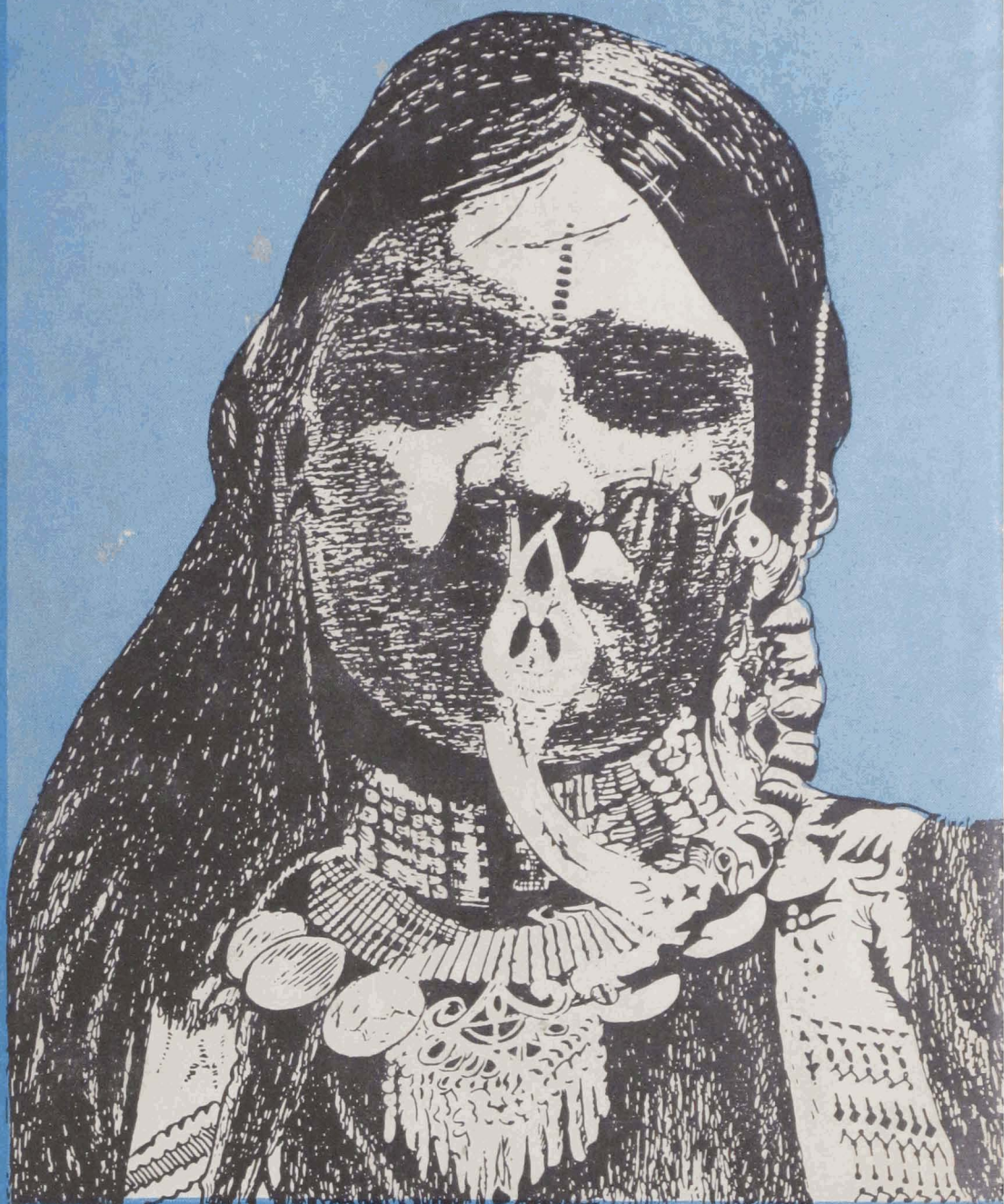


HIMALAYAN POLYANDRY



D. N. MAJUMDAR

Himalayan Polyandry

STRUCTURE, FUNCTIONING AND CULTURE CHANGE

A FIELD-STUDY OF JAUN SAR-BAWAR

by

D. N. MAJUMDAR



ASIA PUBLISHING HOUSE

BOMBAY • CALCUTTA • NEW DELHI • MADRAS

LONDON • NEW YORK

© 1960 BY D. N. MAJUMDAR

First published 1962

Reprinted 1963

PRINTED IN INDIA

BY PYARELAL SAH AT THE TIMES OF INDIA PRESS, BOMBAY,
AND PUBLISHED BY P. S. JAYASINGHE, ASIA PUBLISHING HOUSE,
BOMBAY 1

Prolegomena

OVER a large area of the Himalayan region, both *trans*-Himalayan and *cis*-Himalayan, it is customary for a man to share his wife or wives with his brothers. This is known as fraternal polyandry, as distinguished from matriarchal polyandry, once commonly practised in Malabar, where husbands of a woman were not necessarily related to one another by kinship or by consanguinity. In fraternal polyandry, the wife comes to live with the group of husbands in their house; in matriarchal or maternal form, she remains in her own house, and her husband or husbands come to live by turn as casual visitors. Property under the fraternal type of polyandry passes from father to son or sons, while in the maternal form, the woman or her parents or guardians own the property and pass it on to successors in the uterine line.

Polyandry appears to have been a widely practised form of marital relationship. Though many scholars nail it down to non-Aryan, Dravidian or Tibetan peoples, there is no doubt that the Indo-Aryans, particularly those who followed the foothills of the Himalayas on their entry to India, and settled down in the *cis*-Himalayan parts, did practise this form of marriage. Some of them still do so.

Marital life in the *cis*-Himalayas shows unmistakable signs of deviant sexual preferences. The Naiks of Kumaon brought up their girls for a career as courtesans and dancers. In Manali, in Kulu, a high incidence of divorce has been reported; also, the absence of formal marriage in cases of union between divorced men and women. In the Simla hills and Rawain and Jaunsar-Bawar, the practice of polyandry and absence of any vocal resistance against it indicate the marital climate of the *cis*-Himalayas even today. In Tibet and the *trans*-Himalayas the incidence of polyandry has been reported by competent scholars.

Our information about the race elements in the population of the Himalayan region is extremely meagre. The relationship between the various racial groups in the *cis*-Himalayan region and those of Central Asia is also little known. So far as Central Asia is concerned, we have primarily to depend upon the data collected by Sir Aurel Stein between 1900 and 1928. These have been analyzed by T. A. Joyce and G. M. Morant. Morant has compared three new series,

namely the Pathans, the Dardic-speaking Torwals of Upper Swat, and the population of the Hunza valley, and has pointed out the similarities between the first two groups, while both these distinctly differed from the third. The data analyzed by him indicate considerable intermixture between the original Dardic and invading Pathan people in the Upper Swat valley on the one hand and between the original Hunza and immigrating people from the Pamirs on the other.

Our knowledge of the race elements in the Hindukush and Karakoram mountains is also not exhaustive, though a number of investigations have been carried out during the last seventy-five years or so. Ujfalvy's measurements of a number of tribes in 1881 provide 'the earliest systematic records of physical anthropology of the North Western Himalayan region'. He was followed by Sir Aurel Stein, who measured a large number of tribes including Red Kaffirs, Khos and Hunza Burushos. Ronald Dixon measured a large number of Burushos and de Filipi made a detailed study of the somatology of six major racial groups of the Upper Indus valley. As a member of the Scientific Expedition of the Government of India, which collaborated with Morgenstierne's Linguistic Survey of the Hindukush region, B. S. Guha carried out an anthropometric survey of the races living there. His conclusions were recorded in a paper on the 'Racial Composition of the Hindukush Tribes'. He found three distinct strains in the racial composition of these tribes: a dark oriental type forming the base, a short-headed fair race constituting the apex of the population, and a third, with a certain amount of Mongoloid admixture, specially in the eastern section. Guha also indicated how the proportion of the three varies in different parts: the last two are stronger in the western valleys, whereas the basic oriental and the Mongoloid strains are more conspicuous in the eastern territories drained by the Upper Indus.

In connection with the Anthropometric and Serological Survey of Uttar Pradesh I had the opportunity of measuring 300 adults, 100 each from the Brahmins, the Rajputs, and the artisan castes including the Koltas—the three important social groups of Jaunsar-Bawar in the Dehra Dun district. The results showed that the first two castes had similar physical traits and could not be distinguished from each other on the basis of somatic traits, while the artisans and the Koltas, who are the traditional 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' and live by serving the two higher castes, showed marked differences from the latter. The coefficients of racial likeness between the three castes were as follows: Brahmins and the artisan castes (including the Koltas) 7.713 ± 0.246 ; Rajputs and the artisan castes 7.021 ± 0.246 . The coefficients indicate close resemblance between the Rajputs and the Brahmins, and dissociation of these from the artisan castes (including

the Koltas). In terms of physical stature, the Brahmins and the Rajputs have a higher value than the artisan group. All however are of medium stature. The average for the Brahmins is 163.3 ± 0.30 cm. and that for the Rajput is 162.4 ± 0.57 cm. The artisans average 161.1 ± 0.43 cm.

From the available data we can group the population of the Himalayan region into three ethnic types. The highest altitudes are inhabited by the Mongoloid races whose nomadic infiltrations into the south, south-west, and south-east have contributed to the 'yellow' infusion among the descendants of the Indo-Aryan or Mediterranean type. The advance of the latter into the Punjab was marked by successive waves of immigration. They first settled in the sub-Himalayan districts of the Punjab. The Plain of the Five Rivers must then have been a dense jungle interspersed with marshy bogs. On reaching the plain, the immigrants could have turned in two directions, either eastwards along the north of the plain or southwards along the Baluchistan border. They probably followed both these ways. As a knowledge of agriculture was not unknown to these immigrants, some of them naturally chose the foothills to which they had been accustomed while in Turkestan. The penetration of the various Indo-Aryan hordes into the hills and inaccessible fastnesses may also have been due to the fact that these earlier immigrants came in conflict with the incoming hordes who drove them from their original settlements. The former had to take shelter in distant hills and were given the most opprobrious epithets. The aboriginal 'Austric' or 'pre-Dravidian' population is represented by the Koltas and other artisan castes, many of the latter having received Indo-Aryan blood through mixed marriages and concubinage. The higher castes, the Brahmins and the Khasas of the area, may have maintained their purity to a large extent by ingroup and endogamous marriages — by polyandry and by inter-caste unions between the Brahmins and the Rajputs (Khasas). The highland regions of the Himalayas thus form even today a residual island, as it were, of the Mediterraneans in India, whose settlement among less developed races secured their cultural dominance.

The Rajputs of the *cis*-Himalayan region — and they are the dominant people here — are known as Khasas who with the Brahmins constitute the apex of the social ladder. Locally, the Khasa represents both the Rajput and the Brahmin, and the frequent intermarriages that one notices in various parts of the *cis*-Himalayas leads to the conclusion that both belong to the same ethnic stock, are similar in origin and share similar culture.

The Khasa is usually a tall, handsome male, of fair complexion (rosy or sallow white), possessing a long head, vertical forehead, fine or

leptorrhine nose, hazel or light eyes, curly hair and regular proportioned features. The women are comparatively small and have fine figures, but, like all hill women, they age earlier. There is little to distinguish a Khasa from the Brahmin in these parts, and even anthropometric and serological characters do not tell a different tale.

There is ample evidence of the physical similarity of the Khasas with the Kashmiris, and there is a remarkable similarity of the Khasa family law with the Punjab customary law, notably with that prevailing in the Kangra hills. The reference to the Khasas along with the Kulutas (residents of Kulu), Tanganas and the Kashmiras in the Brihat Samhita, and to the occupation of Madhyadesa by the Khasas and the Sakas in the Vishnu Purana, Hari Vamsa and in the Mahabharata go to prove their antiquity. The Khasas, in prehistoric times, most probably occupied various parts of northern India, and there is some truth in the statement that they were in possession of large areas from Kashmir to Nepal. The fact that the Khasas are described in the Mahabharata (Drona Parva) as having arrived from diverse realms corroborates the above hypothesis. Manu in his code of laws refers to the Yavanas several times along with the Sakas, Kambojas and other rude tribes on the borders of India. In one place (x, 43 and 44) he writes: 'The following races of Kshatriyas by their omission of holy rites and by seeing no Brahmins, have sunk among men to the lowest of the four classes, viz. Paundrakas, Odras, Dravidas, Kambojas, Yavanas and Sakas; Paradas; Pahlavas, Chinas, Kiratas, Daradas and Khasas.' These are all described as Dasyus or wild people who were descendants of the four original castes mixing promiscuously with one another and neglecting their religious observances (Book x, vv. 12-24). In the Mahabharata, it is said that these tribes of Kshatriyas had become Vrishalas from seeing no Brahmanas (*Muir's Sanskrit Texts*, 2nd edition, 1, p. 482). The Khasas are not related to the Mongoloid Khasis of Assam, although they share some cultural traits in common, particularly that of polyandry. While the Khasas do continue the practice of polyandry, the Khasis have abandoned it.

The Khasas and the Brahmins, who were the later immigrants to this area, from Kashmir probably, are an ancient people, and must have been living in the *cis*-Himalayas long before the Christian era (A. C. Turner, *Census Reports*, vol. 1, pt. III, p. 24).

It was in 1937 that I got interested in the Khasas of Jaunsar-Bawar. In an informal discussion, my teacher, Professor Bronislaw Malinowski, discussed polyandry in the Himalayas, and referred to Jaunsar-Bawar. Although I had joined the Lucknow University in 1928, I did not

know of the existence of polyandrous people in the Dehra Dun district, and felt ashamed of my ignorance. I promised Professor Malinowski that I would visit these people and plan a major field assignment there. This I did in the autumn of 1937. I stayed with these people for about two months, and collected first-hand data about the cultural life of the Khasas. I had great difficulty in negotiating the Khasa countryside. I was essentially a man of the plains, and had never seen the hills. My field work in Jaunsar-Bawar was a constant source of worry to me on account of my feet becoming numb for weeks and I remember once nearly having decided to abandon the work due to altitude sickness. However, I continued the work and for the last twenty-two years I have worked in Jaunsar-Bawar almost every year for some weeks during the summer recess. The total period of my stay in the area has been in all four years and eleven months. I am known in Jaunsar-Bawar in every village, and to most of the people. Some know me as a peripatetic homoeopath, some as a doctor, a collector of herbs, or an eccentric traveller, and many as a friend. My first paper on the Khasas appeared in 1940 in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Letters) vol. vi, 1940, no. 1, pp. 1-44, under the title 'Some Aspects of the Cultural Life of the Khasas of the Cis-Himalayan Region'. This paper was reprinted with additional coverage in my book *Fortunes of Primitive Tribes*, in 1944. In 1940, my paper on the Racial Composition of the Polyandrous People of Jaunsar-Bawar in the Dehra Dun District, U.P., was published in the *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, vol. xviii, pt. 2, December 1940. This paper recorded the results of an anthropometric and serological survey carried out by me in connection with the Census of 1941, when we projected a racial and serological survey of U.P., 1941 (published in *Sankhya*, vol. ix).

A series of articles written by me on the polyandrous life of the people appeared in various journals. Many anthropologists in India became interested in Jaunsar-Bawar; the Department of Anthropology, Government of India, established a summer camp in Chakrata to study the people and some anthropometric, psychological and social studies were reported to have been made, but nothing has been printed so far. The University of Delhi sent several batches of students to Jaunsar-Bawar to train them in field work, and occasional papers by the students and staff of the Department of Anthropology at Delhi University appeared in local journals. A stay of one or two weeks in Chakrata is not enough to enable any one to understand the intricate social structure of an ancient people, living a quaint life, and practising a curious mixture of monogamy, polyandry and polygyny. Dr. R. N. Saksena, then Principal of the D.A.V. College, Dehra Dun, had

opportunity of studying the people of Jaunsar-Bawar; he visited the area with his students, and his book on the polyandrous people of Jaunsar-Bawar was published by the Agra University (1955). This is the significant background information in the context of our research, the result of which I am presenting in the present volume.

The Research Programmes Committee (R.P.C.) of the Planning Commission in 1954 generously offered financial help to assess the changes that are taking place in Jaunsar-Bawar, and to evaluate the working of the Community Development Project there. A three-year scheme was suggested, sponsored and subsidized by the R.P.C. For three years we worked in Jaunsar-Bawar with a team of several investigators and supervisors. I know how indebted I am to this field team, and how efficiently they carried out the work. Not all the investigators that I appointed, or the supervisors continued in their assignments throughout the three years of our project, but they did not leave any void, as I had always appointed more investigators than the sanctioned strength and trained them so that when one left, the next in the supernumerary list stepped in. Mr. S. K. Anand and Mr. C. T. Hu supervised the field work, Mr. Anand at the initial stage, which was most difficult, and Mr. Hu for over two years. Mr. Anand left us, when he joined the all-India service in the Communications Department, but Mr. Hu stuck to the post till the work was completed and the report drafted. He later joined the Gorakhpur University as Assistant Professor of Chinese. It is becoming a custom in *ad hoc* research to use investigators and supervisory staff to produce reports, but no one knows how important they are, and it will be a great shame if the Director appropriates all the credit to himself; the blame he has every right to accept and swallow. If there is any credit in the work that I have presented in this volume, I share with the supervisors and the team of investigators. The latter included Mr. Prem Narain Nigam, Mr. Gopala Sarana, Mr. Lalit Mohan Shankhdhar, Mr. D. P. Sinha, Mr. C. B. Tripathi, Mr. S. L. Kalia, Mr. Sunil Misra, Mr. J. S. Bhandari, Mr. B. B. Goswami, Mr. A. P. Sinha, Mrs. Esther Tewari, and Miss Sneha Bhargava. My colleagues in the Department, Mr. K. S. Mathur, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Mr. Kailash Nath Saxena and Mr. Shivendra Bahadur, have rendered general assistance when I needed it. Professor M. L. Dantwala, who was member-secretary of the Research Programmes Committee when the scheme was approved by the R.P.C., and his successor Professor D. K. Malhotra, and Professor D. Ghosh gave me the necessary cooperation; so also did Dr. S. M. Shah and Dr. Raghavendra Rao, research officers, who had taken genuine interest in my research assignment. The task has been a difficult one, but with the goodwill

I had from all those whose assistance I sought, the work has been completed and I present it for what it is worth.

The general pattern of investigation, organization and technique etc. were recommended by the Programme Evaluation Organization (Planning Commission), but the actual techniques of study, analysis, etc. followed by me are largely of my own choice. The Programme Evaluation Organization (Planning Commission) has no responsibility for the facts and opinions expressed in this book ; these are entirely mine.

D. N. MAJUMDAR

Contents

<i>Prolegomena</i>	v
--------------------	---

PART ONE

I <i>Past and Present of Jaunsar-Bawar</i>	3
II <i>The Field Centres</i>	29

PART TWO

III <i>Social Stratification and Caste-Hierarchy</i>	57
IV <i>Kinship Structure and Its Dynamic Functions</i>	70
V <i>Village Organization and Leadership</i>	135
VI <i>Economic Activities and Occupational Specializations</i>	179
VII <i>The Family Economy</i>	200
VIII <i>Education and Training</i>	220
IX <i>Religion — The Wonder World of Khasas</i>	249

PART THREE

X <i>The Impact of Community Development Programmes and Culture Change</i>	285
XI <i>Sponsored Change and Community Response</i>	310
XII <i>A General Appraisal of C.D.P.</i>	353
<i>Index</i>	383

LIST OF MAPS

1. <i>Tehsil Chakrata</i>	<i>facing p. 3</i>
2. <i>Village Lohari</i>	34
3. <i>Village Baila</i>	36
4. <i>Village Lakhamandal</i>	38

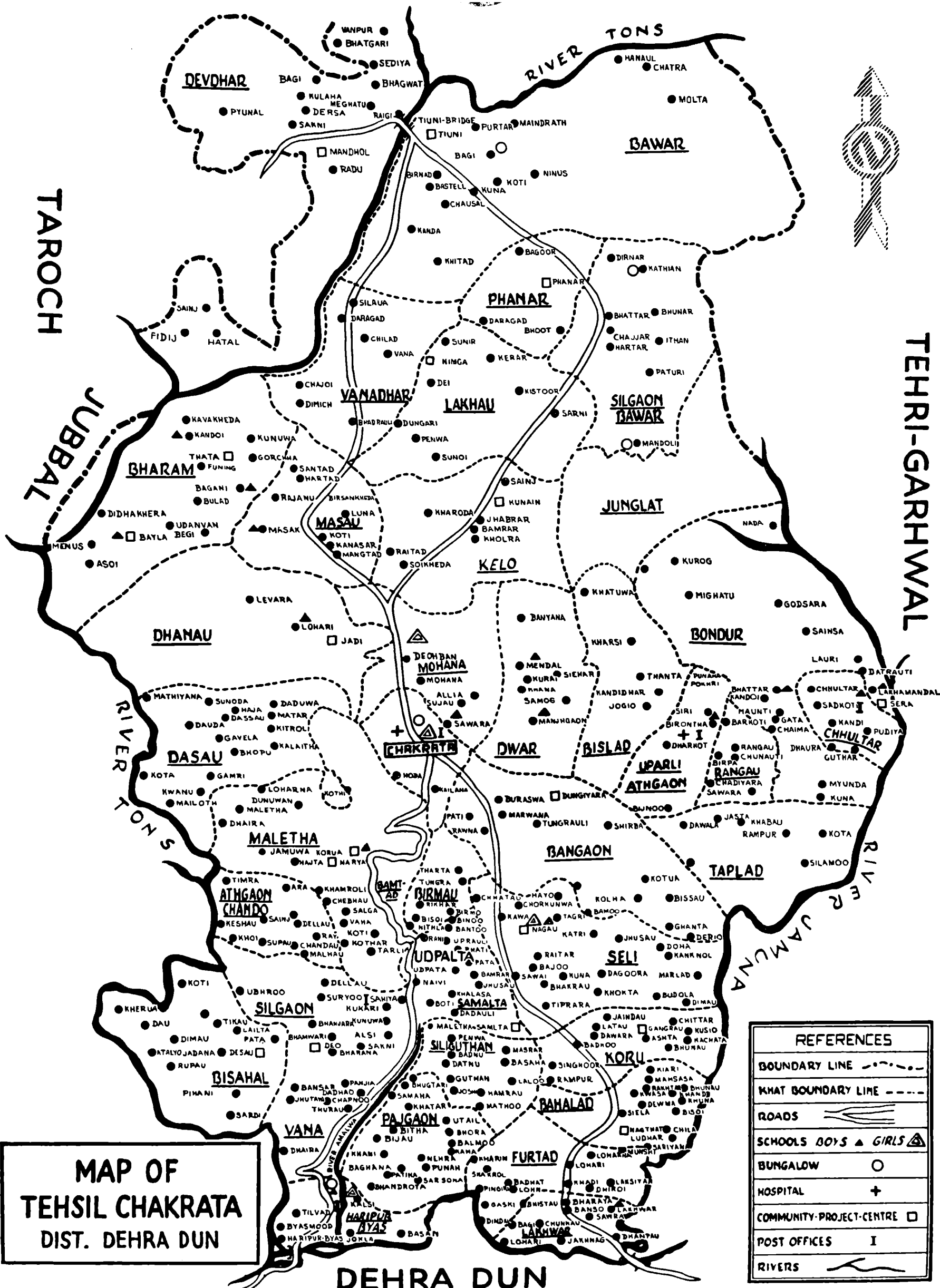
LIST OF CHARTS

1. <i>Segmented Lineage System</i>	84
2. <i>Kinship Structure among Agnates</i>	97
3. <i>Khasa Kinship Classification</i>	98
4. <i>Genealogy of Gods and Goddesses</i>	258
5. <i>Chain of Assistance among Rajputs</i>	269

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Between pp. 208-9

Part One



**MAP OF
TEHSIL CHAKRATA
DIST. DEHRA DUN**

REFERENCES	
BOUNDARY LINE	-----
KHAT BOUNDARY LINE	-----
ROADS	====
SCHOOLS BOYS	▲
SCHOOLS GIRLS	△
BUNGALOW	○
HOSPITAL	+
COMMUNITY-PROJECT-CENTRE	□
POST OFFICES	I
RIVERS	~~~~~

Past and Present of Jaunsar-Bawar

JAUN SAR-BAWAR is in the *cis*-Himalayas, located at the north-western corner of the State of Uttar Pradesh. It forms the northern half of the Dehra Dun district, and lies between $77^{\circ} 42'$ and $78^{\circ} 5'$ east longitude, and $30^{\circ} 31'$ and $31^{\circ} 2'$ north latitude. The area is roughly oval in shape, with its major axis lying north and south. Its southern side is adjacent to the western Dun Pargana of the same district. The western and north-western boundaries are contiguous with Sirmur, Jubbal and Taroch, all of which were formerly princely states, but now form parts of the State of Himachal Pradesh. On the north-east, east and south-east, it is bounded by Tehri-Garhwal, which was also a feudatory state but has now been constituted into a district of Uttar Pradesh.

Jaunsar and Bawar form the two constituent parts of Jaunsar-Bawar. Roughly speaking, Jaunsar consists of the lower half of this region, from Chakrata southwards, whereas Bawar includes the northern parts. There is also a belt lying in between the two, locally known as the Kandmanrh, which means the 'rugged hillock'. It includes three out of the 39 Khats (Hill Sectors) of Jaunsar-Bawar, but is usually associated with Bawar. For administrative purposes, this region as a whole is known as the Jaunsar-Bawar Pargana. It is under Chakrata Tehsil, which is one of the two Tehsils (Revenue Sectors) of the district of Dehra Dun.

EARLY HISTORY

Very little is known about the history of this region and of the local people, but the legends and archaeological evidence may well point to an ancient date. The local Brahmins and Rajputs claim the earliest origin. They associate themselves with the Pandavas of the Mahabharata fame whose monuments are supposed to exist at Lakhamandal, a village on the eastern border of Jaunsar-Bawar. It is from the Pandavas that they trace the origin of their prevalent polyandrous system of marriage. There have also been recently excavated, at the temple site of Lakhamandal, a good collection of stone sculptures dating back

to eighth century A.D. On the other hand, there was found in the last century on the right bank of the Jamuna near Kalsi, in Lower Jaunsar, an inscription on a huge boulder containing the edicts of Ashoka, which shows that by the end of the third century B.C. this part of the country was no longer an uninhabited jungle.

However, living memory and documentary accounts do not go farther than a couple of centuries. According to the *District Gazetteer* of Dehra Dun (1911, p. 183), the tract of Jaunsar-Bawar 'originally formed part of the territories of the Rajas of Sirmur or Nahan, who are occasionally mentioned by the Mohammedan historians as the victims of the aggression of the heroes of their faith'. This early Muslim invasion of the Sirmur hills was traced to that of Sultan Muazzam Nasir-ud-dunya-wa-ud-din in A.D. 1254. Again, in 1388, Prince Muhammad Khan, son of Sultan Firoz Khan, took the Sirmur hills as his retreat and in course of time he made good his claim to the throne with the assistance of the hill Rajas. In 1398, the Mohammedans made an incursion into the hills from the Dun, marched across the Jamuna and entered the region of Jaunsar-Bawar to defeat the Raja of Sirmur. Little, however, is known about the then internal affairs of Jaunsar-Bawar. Even the history of the Dun in the next century and a half is wrapped in obscurity.

During the second half of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth century, the Dun remained mainly a part of the principedom of the Raja of Garhwal. The Rohilla chiefs of Saharanpur (Najib Khan and his successors) held their sway over Garhwal for a time, and, for more than a decade, the area was ravaged by the pillage and plunder of the Gujars, Rajputs and Sikhs. Meanwhile, Jaunsar-Bawar continued to remain under the control of the Sirmur Rajas, who appeared to be the complacent vassals of the Moghul emperors.

The affairs of the feudal states in the hills took another turn when the Gurkhas entered Kumaon in 1790. Garhwal came to be their next target of invasion. The feeble young Garhwal chief bought nominal peace for a period of twelve years by paying a large tribute of Rs. 25,000 a year to the Gurkhas. An open war broke out, however, soon after. The Garhwal Raja, Pradhuman Sah, lost both his own capital and the Dun in 1803, and, in an attempt to recover his kingdom with the help of the Gujar Raja of the plains, perished in 1804 with most of his retainers. Meanwhile, the unpopular Sirmur Raja, Karam Prakash, made an alliance in 1803 with the Gurkhas and became their tributary. This infuriated the neighbouring Rajas and other minor hill chiefs who, with the support of his rebellious subjects, expelled Karam Prakash from his dominions. Karam Prakash sought the help of the Gurkhas. They crushed the allies in the following year and restored his

position. The Gurkhas, however, soon deposed him owing to his non-compliance with the conditions agreed upon. Since then, both Jaunsar-Bawar and the Dun remained under the Gurkhas.

BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

In 1814, the British declared war on the Gurkhas and expelled them from the Dun in 1815. The Dun was at first annexed to Saharanpur district and administered by the Assistant Magistrate of North Saharanpur, but in 1822 it was put under a Joint Magistrate and Assistant Collector. In 1817, the Dun was by a Regulation declared to be subject to the laws of the ceded and conquered provinces. However, Mr. F. J. Shore, the Joint Magistrate and Assistant Collector, recommended the suspension of this Regulation. The administration of the district was carried on according to the system pursued in Kumaon. His recommendation was accepted in 1825, and he became the Assistant to the Commissioner of Kumaon. He was also placed in charge of the Western Pargana (part of a Tehsil) of Garhwal. The Pargana of Jaunsar-Bawar also was probably included within the Assistant's jurisdiction.

After the ejection of the Gurkhas, Jaunsar-Bawar was administered by British officers who took orders from the Resident at Delhi. Its connection with the Dun apparently began with the appointment to its charge of Captain Young, then also the Commandant of the Sirmur Battalion at Dehra Dun. Captain Young became in 1828 also the Joint Magistrate of the Dun under Mr. Shore, whom he succeeded as Assistant to the Commissioner of Kumaon in December of the same year.

In 1829, the Dun was again removed from the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Kumaon. The connection between Kumaon and Jaunsar-Bawar was also severed. Jaunsar-Bawar thenceforward seems to have been treated as an integral portion of the Dun district. From 1829, the Commissioner of Meerut was invested with the civil appellate powers of a provincial court in respect of Dehra Dun, but the affiliation of the Superintendent of Dehra Dun was transferred from the Commissioner of Meerut to the Sadar Dewani Adalat in 1838. In 1842, by a resolution, the government abolished the office of the Political Agent and annexed the Dun to Saharanpur. It was placed in charge of a Superintendent, subordinate to the Collector and Magistrate of that district. There arose once again the question of the applicability of the Regulations to the Dun, and in 1871 the Dun proper was at length put on the same footing as the other districts in the North-Western Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh).

Jaunsar-Bawar was removed, by an Act in 1864, from the jurisdiction of the Judge of Saharanpur and the Sadar Court, and the administration

of justice and revenue collection was vested in such officers as the Lieutenant-Governor should appoint. Those officers were expected to be guided by the rules framed in 1861 for the Tarai districts. Meanwhile, the Superintendent of the Dun was invested with the duties of administering Jaunsar-Bawar, but subordinate to the Commissioner of Meerut. The Act of 1864 did not remove Jaunsar-Bawar from the sphere of the Regulations, but the fact that the Pargana was from the beginning outside the pale of the Regulation law was clearly recognized by the Courts of Judicature, the Government and the Legislature. All that was designed and effected by the Act was to empower the Lt.-Governor to prescribe an organization best suited for the judicial administration and to apply rules of procedure which had already been tried and approved in the similarly circumstanced districts of the Tarai.

Further, there were the traditional rules of justice and administration in vogue among the people in Jaunsar-Bawar. It is worth mentioning that a local code of common law (*Dastur-ul-Amal*) was drawn up by village headmen (*Sayanas*) under the supervision of Mr. A. Ross during the settlement concluded for 1862-4, but it was considered to be too crude in form, and some of its provisions too startling, for legislative recognition. Nevertheless, in local practice it is this code which has been generally followed down to recent years and to a certain extent is even observed today.

JAUN SAR-BAWAR PARGANA AND CHAKRATA TEHSIL

Jaunsar and Bawar were originally two separate Parganas (*Dehra Dun District Gazetteer*, p. 229). They included 35 Khats in all till the time when the *Dastur-ul-Amal* code (customary laws) was drawn up. Later on, however, the number of Khats was increased to 39 and Jaunsar-Bawar was regarded as one Pargana. It now forms the Chakrata Tehsil, with the cantonment town of Chakrata as its headquarters. It was notified in 1879 that the functions of the Superintendent of the Dun in Jaunsar-Bawar were those of a District Magistrate. The Cantonment Magistrate was the Assistant Superintendent in charge of Jaunsar-Bawar.

The Tehsil was headed by a Tehsildar who was empowered to try certain civil and revenue suits. The subordinate Tehsil staff consisted of one Registrar Kanungo (revenue subordinate), one Assistant Registrar Kanungo and twelve Patwaris (village revenue collectors). These Patwaris had little in common with the Patwaris of the plains. In 1889, the Patwari's revenue duty was only to maintain a diary, a revenue distribution roll (*phant-bandhi*), and a village account book (*siaha*), besides a counterfoil book for the record of births and deaths. The

Registrar Kanungo was required to visit the circles once a year and to maintain a mutation register to record the transfers of property. Besides, the Tehsil staff also undertook the entire police administration of the Pargana, with the exception of the Chakrata cantonment.

In each of the 39 Khats, there was a Khat Sayana, responsible for the whole Khat in all its relations with the government, especially in matters of revenue collections. He was also entrusted with certain police duties. Below him there were the Village Sayanas, each of whom combined in his person the functions discharged in the plains by the Lambardar and the village headman.

SETTLEMENT HISTORY

No details are known about the history of earlier settlements, or about the rent and cess collected in Jaunsar-Bawar, before the commencement of British rule in 1815. There was an indigenous revenue system in terms of Khats and Sayanas, which might have been well established since the earlier days of the Sirmur Raja's rule and had continued even after the Gurkha occupation. It was well preserved during the period of British rule, especially in the earlier settlements.

The revenue system of Jaunsar-Bawar has two distinguishing features, as compared with the system prevalent in the plains. On the one hand, the revenue is not fixed on the land alone, but on the general resources of the zamindars. These include the number of sheep, goats, cattle and serfs possessed by the family as well as the quantity of land and its produce, including walnuts, apricots, etc. On the other hand, the total amount of revenue of the whole Pargana is not counted on the basis of individual family contribution, but is arbitrarily fixed at a lump sum, which is subsequently distributed to tax payers through the Sayanas. Thus the latter form the machinery for both collecting and distributing the incidence of the revenue system.

Traditionally, the four most influential Khat Sayanas were called Chauntras, who formed a council known as the *chauntru*. To it was submitted the gross sum assessed on the Pargana as revenue. They used to distribute this sum over all the Khats, while each of the Khat Sayanas redistributed the sum allotted to the Khat among the villages within his Khat. Thereupon the Village Sayanas fixed the sum to be contributed by each proprietor in the village. The revenue was collected by the Village Sayana in four annual instalments and he had to deposit the sum with the Khat Sayana, who further deposited his collection with the *chauntru*. The Khat Sayana was entitled to an allowance of 5 per cent on the collection as *bisaunta*, similar to the Lambardar's fees on the plains, but the Village Sayana received no commission. The

Chaustras were not only revenue agents, but also had civil and criminal jurisdiction, in addition to the duties of Khat Sayanas. As revenue agents, they used to receive payment of Rs. 40, Rs. 60 or Rs. 100 a year.

The entire Pargana had one banker for the revenue purpose, and it was Din Dayal Ram, a resident of Kalsi, who was since the beginning of the settlements the surety (Malzamin) for the punctual payment of revenue on the appointed day. The surety undertook to pay up the revenue and debited the sum due to him by each proprietor as a personal account with interest from the date fixed for payment. He had a quarter anna per rupee or one month's interest on the gross revenue termed *ganth-khulai* or fees for opening his money-bags, besides an interest at the rate of 18.75 per cent per annum on each of the four annual instalments calculated as due six months before the actual date of payment.

The first settlement in Jaunsar-Bawar was made for two years from 1815-16 to 1817-18 by Captain Birch, acting under the orders of the Delhi Resident. His demand, based on the tribute exacted by the Gurkhas, amounted to Rs. 16,247, or Rs. 18,000 including the Sayanas' and Chaustras' allowances and the custom on all goods passing out of the Pargana by Kalsi.

The second settlement was at Rs. 17,001 made by Captain Ross, for three years from 1818 to 1821. The third settlement was made by Captain Young for the next three years. He had been instructed to keep the assessments low and his demand was the same as the last settlement. He summoned to Kalsi all persons liable to taxation. Eighteen hundred people attended. The demand was first distributed among the Sayanas of the Khats. They in turn distributed their quota over the component villages of the Khats, and then the contribution required from each person was calculated. Each person was given a list of the dues payable by him and was warned to pay nothing in excess thereof. These warnings were necessitated on account of the malpractices of the Sayanas, who used to meet every six months for a fresh division of the assessment called *malba*, amounting to Rs. 1,500. Of the total revenue of Rs. 17,001, Rs. 1,501 was on account of the excise revenue, leaving a balance of Rs. 15,500 for land revenue. The stipend of the Chaustras and Sayanas amounted to Rs. 1,400 a year. The old system continued to work well, as up to 1824 all the collections were made without any coercion. No revenue officer had to be sent to any of the villages.

The fourth settlement was also made by Captain Young for the next three years. This was at Rs. 18,701 a year, including Rs. 1,601 derived from the excise. *Malba*, including the salaries of the Chaustra

and Sayanas, accounted for Rs. 1,485. This made the revenue exigible from the land at Rs. 15,615. Other returns gave Rs. 17,282 and Rs. 19,000, including the surety's allowance. This settlement was extended from three to five years and it seems to have been satisfactory. In 1827, the revenue increased by Rs. 750, by auctioning the excise revenue to the highest bidder. As proposed by Captain Young, now a Major, Rs. 3,000 of the revenue was spent on a road running through the centre of the Pargana, from Kalsi to Bastil. He was very hopeful of the future of the Pargana. The people were prosperous, and crime was non-existent. Major Young confidently expected that the opening of the road would be followed immediately by the adoption of pack animals for transporting necessaries and the valuable minerals believed to exist in the area. This, however, did not materialize even after the completion of the road.

The fifth and sixth settlements of 1829 and 1834 were also made by Major Young at Rs. 18,100 and Rs. 21,412 a year respectively. The former was for five years and the latter for fifteen years, up to 1848. The net amount of land-tax in the sixth settlement was Rs. 16,280. Before the expiry of this settlement, however, difficulties arose. Previous to the annexation of Jaunsar-Bawar to the Dun, there was an officer known as Diwan, stationed at Kalsi, who performed all the duties of an Amin and Tehsildar. In 1818, one Bakir Ali was appointed as Diwan and his service was much praised by Major Young. Bakir Ali was appointed Tehsildar at Dehra in 1830. Afterwards, Young, now a Colonel, recommended the abolition of the post of Diwan at Kalsi. Meanwhile, Din Dayal Ram, the old surety for the revenue, died, and his son Kirpa Ram, being a minor, was not accepted by the Chauntras. A quarrel arose between Kirpa Ram and the Chauntras.

These matters came to the notice of Mr. Vansittart, who removed Kirpa Ram from the office. However, Mr. A. Ross restored Kirpa Ram in 1846. On this the Chauntras demurred and set up a rival surety. This led to an order from the Superintendent to relieve the Chauntras of their functions. The Chauntras continued their opposition and appealed to the Lt.-Governor at Agra. In 1849, Mr. Ross visited the Pargana and the Governor-General also happened to pass through. Complaints were brought from the two factions as well as from the villagers against both. The surety was accused of ruining the country by charging exorbitant interest, and the Chauntras were accused of under-assessing their own good Khats and transferring the burden to other poorer Khats. At last, the seventh settlement was made by Mr. Ross to redistribute the land revenue. The net amount came to Rs. 18,006, to which was added Rs. 750 on account of roads and the items comprising the *bisaunta* of the Sayanas, making a gross assessment

of Rs. 19,750 a year for the next ten years. This settlement was made after an inquiry into the condition of each Khat and its villages. Thenceforth, the institution of *chauntru* was abolished, the management of each Khat through its own Sayanas was established, and the joint responsibility of the landowners for the payment of revenue was limited within the Khat. The Khat Sayanas' allowances were confirmed at 5 per cent of the collection. The debts due to the surety were paid or remitted, and in future the landholders were to be relieved from the payment of the interest in anticipation, hitherto a perquisite of the surety.

At the same time, Mr. Ross, with the help of the Sayanas, drew up a code of common law and procedure for the use of the local community for administering justice among themselves. It was known as *Dastur-ul-Amal*, and was compiled from the customs and traditions in vogue among the people, with certain alterations required by the modern standards of morality and common sense. For example, provisions were introduced to prohibit the practice of compounding felonies, especially murder, by the Sayanas; the accusation of witchcraft was made a punishable offence, as well as the practice of cursing the ground for motives of revenge. It allowed, however, the continuation of certain local traditions such as the high interest taken by the creditor, the custom of swearing before the deity to settle a dispute or the decision of cases by taking an oath, as well as certain peculiar customs in matters of marriage and inheritance. The main purposes served by this code were, however, to recognize and to standardize certain local conventions with regard to land tenure and revenue, the duties and privileges of the Sayanas, the inter-village and inter-Khat relations and, to a great extent, the interrelations and demarcation of property rights between the villagers and the government. In fact, the recognition of this code by the villagers had affirmed the government's control over the village community as well as over the land and forests. On the other hand, it helped the villagers to manage village affairs according to a common standard. This was a remarkable achievement as a by-product of the seventh settlement of Jaunsar-Bawar. During this settlement the Khats freed themselves from debt, but the general state of the Pargana was still not very satisfactory and at its expiration, in 1859, it was not deemed advisable to raise the revenue.

The eighth settlement was made by Mr. J. C. Robertson for the years 1860-61 to 1870-71. It was the first attempt to measure the cultivated land which approximated to 21,603 acres, of which 164 acres were held revenue-free. The gross revenue was fixed at Rs. 21,525, and the net land revenue at Rs. 18,695, which at the end of the settlement rose to Rs. 19,678. The surety's allowances and his office were abolished.

The ninth settlement was made by Mr. W. Cornwall, the Assistant Superintendent, in 1870-73. A feature of this revision was the demarcation of Khats, especially their boundaries in relation to the government forests. It was in 1869 that the forest lands were divided into three classes: from the first the villagers were entirely excluded; in the second they were allowed rights of grazing, fuel collection and reclamation; the third class was handed over to them under condition that no alienations were to be made under any circumstances. The government of that time directed that all land not likely to be needed for forest purposes should be made over unreservedly to the Khats as third class forest land. This necessitated a fresh demarcation of forest boundaries, which was begun in 1873 and finalized in 1874. The total revenue assessed by Mr. Cornwall was Rs. 26,335, as a result of his elaborate calculations. He was instructed to work on the plan followed by settlement officers in Kumaon, with whom he consulted before he set to work in 1871. He measured each field separately, and made 945 maps, more than two for each village, on a scale of one inch to twenty yards. The apparent increase of cultivation was found to be small, but it was explained as being due to the inaccuracy of the previous survey. The Khat was the unit of his settlement. He devised the rent rates at Rs. 4 an acre for irrigated land, Rs. 2 for first class and 13 annas and 4 pies for second class dry land. These rates were based on a consideration of the productiveness of the three classes of land and the market price of grain. They were, therefore, modified by making allowances for the remoteness of marts, the population and condition of the people (mainly their flocks and herds) and the liability of their fields to the depredations of wild animals. Meanwhile, Mr. Cornwall recommended that the Patwaris or village accountants should replace the Karkuns of the old arrangement, and a new cess was levied to support them.

This assessment was increased by 34 per cent over the previous one. At first the Sayanas refused to sign the engagements on various excuses. It was also complained that Mr. Cornwall assessed to revenue 'god's villages', which were not technically rent-free, but in practice the amount of revenue assessed on them used to have been distributed by the Chauntras over the whole Pargana. As Mr. Cornwall's settlement unit was the Khat, the nominal revenue on the villages had to be paid now by the Khats in which the 'god's villages' were situated. This was felt as a grievance and seven villages with a revenue demand of Rs. 154 were declared revenue-free. However, when the government sanctioned Mr. Cornwall's proposals, it was realized that the assessment was heavy. In 1883, Mr. H. G. Ross, the Superintendent of the Dun, was placed on special duty to enquire into the matters of the

assessments as well as of the popular complaints against the forest department and the doubts expressed on the system of *sayanachari* settlement.

Mr. Ross, accordingly, reassessed the land, cattle and intermittent cultivation in all Khats, with a special rate for villages growing valuable crops such as opium, turmeric, ginger or chillies. To land he applied the provincial average of Rs. 1-9-7 per acre on cultivation, and Rs. 1-4-3 per acre on the assessable area. To cattle, in lieu of a grazing cess, he applied half the grazing rates in Dun: two annas per buffalo, one anna per cow and one pice per sheep or goat. Taking these rates with an additional rate for intermittent cultivation, he calculated a maximum demand on each Khat, which could be modified according to local circumstances. In the result, a remission of Rs. 2,000 was proposed to be distributed over 15 Khats which were regarded as over-assessed by Mr. Cornwall, whereas in the other 23 Khats no change was made. Mr. Ross strongly recommended the continuance of the *sayanachari* system, though he admitted that it was in many ways objectionable. The chief reasons in favour of its continuance were that the people themselves would prefer the Sayanas to the otherwise proposed *ryotwari*, and that, with the disappearance of local men of influence, litigation instead of a friendly discussion would be the means adopted for resolving disputes. However, the Sayana's duties and privileges were more clearly defined. He was required to file the *phant* or distribution roll of the revenue in his Khat every March. A standard *phant* was drawn up by the settlement officer. The Sayana was empowered to alter the *phant* from year to year as circumstances should require, but any landowner considering himself aggrieved was allowed to appeal to the Superintendent within fifteen days of the Sayana filing the *phant*. The Sayana, being declared responsible for the management of the Khat, was directed to arrange for the payment of the revenue assessed on deserted land which it was in his power to dispose of as he liked. He was bound to carry on necessary litigation on behalf of the Khat or of any resident in it. It was his duty to represent all hardships or grievances, and he was entitled to a travelling allowance, paid in grain, when so employed.

Mr. Ross also recognized the past services of two out of the four Chauntras' descendants—Ram Das, Sayana of Khat Koru, and Moti Ram, Sayana of Khat Seli—and obtained for them the award of stipends of Rs. 100 each for life, with the title of Chauntra. No consideration was given to the descendants of the other two Chauntras—Debi Singh, Sayana of Khat Udpalta, and Jwala Singh, Sayana of Khat Semalta—who had long ceased to take any interest in the Pargana or afford any assistance to the local officers.

The settlement made by Mr. Ross in 1884 was confirmed for twenty years in the first instance, and it was further extended up to very recent years. Of late, the Government of Uttar Pradesh made a new settlement in 1949-51. The land revenue has been fixed at Rs. 27,985.25 a year. A phenomenal change made in the settlement is that the government has taken over the exclusive right to assess and to revise the revenue payable by each cultivator individually and the Sayanas shall not have any right to make alterations, although the Khat Sayanas continue their duty of collecting the revenue. Further, the lower castes, who suffered from the traditional disability to own land, as was admitted in the Dastur-ul-Amal, are now allowed to reclaim new land by *nautor* (breaking new land), as well as to own land. The latest survey gives the total area of cultivation as 38,828 acres, of which 3,178 acres are irrigated. There are about 140 square miles of reserved forests and 64 square miles of private forests.

THE JAUN SAR-BAWAR ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

It may be added here that before the last settlement was made, a special committee was appointed by the then Government of the United Provinces in 1939 to make enquiries on the spot about the living conditions of the people in Jaunsar-Bawar Pargana. Its terms of reference were as follows :

- (a) To enquire into the needs and grievances, if any, of the people of Jaunsar-Bawar.
- (b) To determine how the economic and social conditions of the inhabitants of this area could be suitably ameliorated.
- (c) To see if any measures were required to improve the administrative system of the Pargana, and if so, to make recommendations.

This Committee consisted of six members, with Mr. F. W. W. Baynes, the then Superintendent of the Dun, as the President, and the Tehsildar of Chakrata as its Secretary. The other members included the Chairman of the Dehra Dun Municipal Board, the Deputy Collector in charge of Chakrata, the Divisional Forest Officer of Chakrata and two Members of the Legislative Assembly, namely Pandit Mahavir Tyagi from Dehra Dun and Pandit Har Govind Pant from Almora.

Before the enquiry was started, some provisional suggestions were made by Mr. Baynes on the basis of his administrative experience in the district. A ten-day tour was made by Mr. Pant, who was a stranger to Jaunsar-Bawar, in company with Mr. Tyagi, the Deputy Collector and the Tehsildar in June 1939, to make local enquiries. After this tour, all the Committee members met at Chakrata for two days and drafted

a questionnaire. They also examined a few witnesses. Two months later, the Committee met again at Chakrata for five days when a large number of witnesses of all classes were examined and replies to the questionnaire were scrutinized. The report of the Enquiry Committee was finally completed in June 1941.

There were in all 150 replies to the Committee's questionnaire, which included 26 from Sayanas, 109 from zamindars and 25 from Koltas. Apart from these, some 1,756 persons presented petitions to the Committee. Of these, 35 were from Sayanas, 1,524 from zamindars, 153 from Koltas, 19 from officials, 5 from local lawyers, 19 from Ladakhi Muslims and one from the Chakrata Trades Association.

This Committee, in accordance with its purpose, laid special emphasis on the land system, which was connected with the Sayanas of the villages and Khats on the one hand, and on the other, with the Koltas who had suffered many disabilities on account of traditional restrictions. Special studies and suggestions were also made on the *nautor* system, that is on the ways of reclamation of new land. A summary of important suggestions made by the Committee is given below.

(A) THE LAND TENURE SYSTEM AND THE KOLTAS

(1) Notwithstanding any provisions in the Dastur-ul-Amal or any Wajib-ul-Arz (customary laws), the Kolta, Bajgi, etc. should be allowed to own land, and to break up *nautor* (i.e. to reclaim land from the waste).

(2) In all Khats, except Haripur - Bias, every tenant who had been holding land continuously for seven years or more should be given the occupancy rights of such land.

(3) *Nautor* should be governed by regular fixed principles. The right to break up *nautor* should be given to all *bona fide* residents of the Khats, but subject to the permission and the control of the Assistant Superintendent, or the Sub-Divisional Officer of Chakrata.

(4) Koltas etc. should be given an opportunity to break free from their old serfdom by new debt regulations. Forced labour should be prohibited.

(5) All persons obtaining possession of agricultural land should be compelled to apply for mutation within a period of six months of obtaining possession.

(B) VILLAGE ORGANIZATION AND SAYANASHIP

(1) Except in Khat Haripur - Bias, there should be a Village Panchayat composed of the heads of all families residing in the village, including the Koltas and Bajgis. The Village Sayana, who is also the Sarpanch of the Village Panchayat, should be appointed by election from the Village Panchayat.

(2) Except in Khat Haripur - Bias, each Khat should have a Khat Panchayat, composed of one delegate each from the Village Panchayats in the Khat who were known as the Panchs of the Khat Panchayat. In villages containing more than 25 families, there should be one delegate from every 25 families, and in which case one of the delegates should be a Kolta or Bajgi. In addition, two Khat Panchs should be appointed by election from their own number by the Koltas and Bajgis of the entire Khat. The Sadar Sayana should be the *ex-officio* Sarpanch of the Khat Panchayat.

(3) Khat Panchayats should exercise such civil and criminal judicial powers as may be entrusted to them by the Superintendent. They should assist the Patwari to hold inquests. They should also be responsible for the equitable distribution of rights of timber allotted to the Khat by the Forest Department, and should advise the Assistant Superintendent regarding grants of *nautor*.

(4) The Sayanas' powers should be restricted to collection of revenue, while their other traditional powers should be exercised by the Village and Khat Panchayats, of which they are the Sarpanchs.

(5) The Sadar Sayana and Khag Sayanas may be appointed and removed by the Assistant Superintendent. Ordinarily, the heir to the late Sayana should be appointed, unless he is unfit or unsuitable. The Village Sayanas may be removed by the Assistant Superintendent for misconduct, corruption or neglect of duty.

(C) SPECIAL POSITION OF KHAT HARIPUR-BIAS

Haripur - Bias is the southernmost Khat, including the arterial town of Kalsi. This Khat is in close contact with the plains, and has most of its cultivation situated at the base of the foothills. Its social conditions and tenure system, therefore, differ from the general pattern of Jaunsar - Bawar, and in many respects resemble those of the villages in the Dun on the opposite side of the river. The Enquiry Committee noticed this fact and made an interim Report regarding this Khat. It recommended that Haripur-Bias should be governed by the main principles of the 1926 Agra Tenancy Act, which applied to the plains in general.

(D) LOCAL CUSTOMS

(1) The prevalent child marriages, which used to take place at the age of one year, was considered 'barbarous', and it was recommended that the Sarda (child-marriage) Act should be introduced in Jaunsar-Bawar in a modified form. The age of marriage was recommended to be 16 in the case of boys and 12 in the case of girls.

(2) Considerable stress was laid by several witnesses on the need for strong action against the custom of branding certain persons as *dag* or *bishiyari*. 'A *dag* is believed to be a witch who causes illness or death to human beings and cattle by eating away inner portions of their bodies; a *bishiyari* is thought to be a woman who administers poison in food, causing the victim to contract leprosy. *Bakis*, who come mostly from Tehri Garhwal, may declare any woman to be a *dag* or *bishiyari*, and their decision is accepted unreservedly as correct. Some Brahmins also will consult their old books and then point to some woman as a *dag*. Women so declared become complete outcastes, having to leave their house and children, and it is alleged that they are often made away with.'

There was an order from the government to prohibit this practice, and the Enquiry Committee drew the attention of the District Officer to the need for vigilance in uprooting this 'barbarous' custom.

(E) THE REVENUE SYSTEM

(1) It was suggested that the revenue be ordinarily assessed in a lump sum on each Khat, or at the opinion of the Settlement Officer on each Khat. The Khat Panchayat, and in Khat Haripur-Bias the Sadar Sayana, should fix the revenue payable by each sharer according to his general capability, as well as with regard to the area actually cultivated by him.

(2) According to the Committee, a *phant-bandhi* showing the distribution of revenue, should be drawn up by the Sayana of each Khat, and filed in the Tehsil on or before the 1st of April each year. The Patwari should make the same known to the

zamindars, who should lodge at the Tehsil any objection they have to make within 20 days from the 1st of April each year. The Superintendent should examine the *phant-bandhi* and his decision should be binding on the sharers, who should pay their revenue to the Sayana accordingly.

(3) The Committee recommended that the Sadar Sayana should be held responsible for the payment of all land revenue for the whole of his Khat, and in case the settlement had been made by Khags, the Khag Sayana should be held jointly and severally responsible with the Sadar Sayana for the payment of revenue assessed on his Khag. The Village Sayana should be held jointly and severally responsible along with the sharers for the payment of revenue allotted to his village. If a Sayana failed to collect the revenue, the Superintendent could proceed in any or all of the following ways :

- (a) arrest the Sayana and detain him in custody for 15 days
- (b) distrain and sell his movable property
- (c) transfer his land to one of the other sharers on payment of the balance due
- (d) distribute the balance over the whole Khat, Khag or village and collect it from the sharers

(4) One more Patwari should be appointed for Bawar, and all the Patwaris should reside in their respective circles.

(5) The revenue staff should be composed of hillmen, and if possible, Jaunsaris.

(F) THE JUDICIAL, POLICE AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

(1) The system existing in 1940 was that the Tehsildar, Chakrata, exercised the power of a Munsif, trying civil suits up to a valuation of Rs. 300; suits between Rs. 300 and Rs. 2,000 were tried by the Sub-Divisional Officer (known as Assistant Superintendent). The Superintendent of the Dun was the District Judge of Jaunsar-Bawar, who heard all suits above Rs. 2,000 in valuation and exercised appellate powers. The highest civil authority was the Commissioner of Meerut, who took the place of the High Court.

During the course of investigation by the Enquiry Committee, the Chakrata Bar suggested that the original and appellate civil powers of the Superintendent should be transferred to the Civil Judge in Dehra Dun, and that the District Judge of Dehra Dun, who was stationed in Saharanpur, should be the High Court instead of the Commissioner of Meerut. However, the Enquiry Committee was in favour of the public opinion, which was satisfied with the then prevalent system and wanted no change. It was further remarked that the witnesses did not want any lawyers in Jaunsar-Bawar.

(2) Apart from the Chakrata Cantonment, there was no regular police in Jaunsar-Bawar. The revenue-police system in Jaunsar-Bawar was that the Tehsildar was the only officer with actual police powers. Previously, Tehsildars used to be plainmen and many of them were physically incapable of getting to any distance from their headquarters at Chakrata. In consequence, the investigation of even murder cases used to be made over to one of the Tehsil clerks. Since 1938, it was effected at the instance of the Superintendent of the Dun that the Tehsildar and the Kanungo must be hillmen with revenue and police experience. The Enquiry Committee recommended that the same convention should be followed in future, and that only the Kanungo should be entrusted to make criminal investigation and not the clerical staff of the Tehsil, whereas serious cases should be investigated by the Tehsildar himself. It was also suggested that a second Supervisor Kanungo should be appointed with headquarters in the northern parts of Jaunsar-Bawar.

It further recommended that, on the whole, wide police powers should be conferred only on the Tehsildar and Supervisor Kanungo; but the rest of the revenue staff should continue to be able to perform police duties when so authorized by the Tehsildar, under the general control of the Sub-Divisional Officer. The powers of a Police Inspector should be given to the Tehsildar, those of an officer-in-charge of a police station to the Supervisor Kanungo, and the powers of constables to Patwaris and Tehsil Chaprasis, when so authorized by the Tehsildar. The Tehsil Naib-Bazir, who keeps the police register and records first information reports, should be given the powers of a Head Constable.

(3) Jaunsar-Bawar should have two additional members on the District Board.

(4) Jaunsar-Bawar should receive more generous treatment from the government, and there should be more schools, better roads and a vigorous campaign for rural development.

POPULATION TRENDS

The earliest record of the population of Jaunsar-Bawar was that given by Major Young in 1827, at a total of 23,228 souls. This number almost equalled that of the Dun in the same year, which was, according to Mr. Shore, 24,529. Some other figures of early years are as follows:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Authority</i>
1834	17,278	Mr. A. Ross
1848	19,471	Mr. A. Ross
About 1848	24,684	Statistics of N. W. Provinces
1865	36,532	Census Report

No reasons could be given to explain the great fluctuations and discrepancies shown in the above figures. In 1865, the population of the Dun was 66,299 — a figure much larger than that of Jaunsar-Bawar. This was the first occasion when an accurate census appeared. Tables 1 and 2 show the details of the population of Jaunsar-Bawar since 1881.

TABLE I
CHANGING TREND OF POPULATION

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Increase</i>	
		<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
1881	45,117
1891	50,697	5,580	12.4
1901	51,101	404	0.8
1911	54,812	3,711	7.3
1921	55,623	811	1.5
1931	56,774	1,151	2.7
1941	57,650	876	1.5
1951	58,469	819	1.4

Figures in Table 1 show that there were great increases in population during the periods 1881-91 and 1901-11, whereas much smaller increases took place in other periods. No reason is known for these increases. It is clear that the population of Jaunsar-Bawar has a trend of continuous increase, but the rate of increase has varied greatly and irregularly. In the long run, the rate of increase of population, especially during the last four decades, has been very mild. This gives an impression that the population has been more or less static.

TABLE 2
SEX-RATIO IN THE POPULATION

<i>Year</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Sex-Ratio</i>
1881	25,400	19,717	100 : 77.6
1891	28,435	22,262	78.3
1901	28,349	22,752	80.3
1911	30,518	24,294	79.6
1921	31,567	24,056	76.2
1931	31,922	24,857	77.8
1941	32,345	25,305	78.2
1951	32,704	25,765	78.8

Table 2 brings forth the great disparity between the two sexes in Jaunsar-Bawar, evidenced by the large shortage of females who are 20 per cent less than males. It is said that female infanticide was prevalent in the area some 25 years ago. Nowadays, though infanticide is no longer practiced in this area, yet no significant changes in the sex-ratio have taken place in recent decades. We shall refer to this subject in another context.

PRESENT CONDITIONS

Brief descriptions about the state of Jaunsar-Bawar Pargana, its people, its local units, administrative system and the arrangement of Development Blocks are given below.

THE LAND AND ITS PRODUCTS

Topography

Topographically, Jaunsar-Bawar is a hill appanage of the Dun, to which it has no physical resemblance. While the Dun belongs to and lies at the end of the great plains of northern India, Jaunsar-Bawar is

constituted entirely of rugged mountains and gorges. The natural demarcation between the two regions is so distinctive that travelling from Dehra Dun to Chakrata one becomes easily aware of his arrival in Jaunsar-Bawar as soon as he comes near Kalsi. Here, the Jamuna separates the mountainous Jaunsar on the north from the Dun plains in the south. The most striking features of Jaunsar-Bawar topography have been summarized in the *District Gazetteer* (1911, p. 6) as follows: ' Even in the hills, Jaunsar-Bawar has the character of being one of the wildest and most rugged tracts, affording naturally very little level ground, and that only in small patches. The mountains are peculiarly rough and precipitous, there is much cliff and rock and few villages, so that the cultivation is necessarily small and very laborious.'

Mountain System

The mountains of Jaunsar-Bawar belong to the *cis*-Himalayan system. The main range is that separating the drainage area of the Tons on the west from that of the Jamuna on the east. Commencing from Haripur-Bias near Kalsi, just above the confluence of the Jamuna and the Tons, the ridge runs northward up to the west of the Deoban peak ahead of Chakrata, and thence in a north-easterly direction to the Kharamba peak above Lokar. Going further north-east, it enters the Tehri district and ends at the spurs of the Bandarpunch or Jamnotri, where lies the source of the Jamuna. From the main range, ridges are given off on either side towards the great rivers. Each of these ridges also gives off lateral spurs, the hollows between which form the beds of torrents that feed the numerous tributary streams of the Jamuna on the east and the Tons on the west.

The highest peak in the whole of Jaunsar-Bawar, Kharamba, is 10,075 feet high, while the Deoban near Chakrata is 9,331 feet, and the township of Chakrata itself is 7,076 feet above the sea level. There are a number of towering peaks in the interior of Bawar and Kandmanrh, which are situated at an elevation of more than 5,000 feet, sometimes even at more than 7,000 feet. Certain villages, however, are deep in the gorge at a much lower altitude. Most of the villages on both the east and west borders are situated three or four thousand feet above sea level, whereas those in the southern part of Jaunsar are at a lower level.

Water System

The water system consists of two lines, that of the Tons and the Jamuna, respectively. The Tons, carrying a larger volume of water than the Jamuna in its upper course, sweeps down from the north-east and encircles the northern and eastern sides of Jaunsar-Bawar. The Jamuna

taking its origin from the Jamnotri glacier in Tehri-Garhwal at the eastern end of the Baundar Khat, where it is joined by the affluent Riknargad from the north, runs southward and encircles the eastern and southern borders of Jaunsar-Bawar. It is finally joined by the Tons at the south-western corner of this Pargana, and then runs south-west into the valley of the Dun. At the confluence, the Tons is by far the larger, broader and deeper river, but the Jamuna, having a more illustrious origin in the snowy range, is in popular estimation the more important stream, and hence its name is given to the twin streams. The whole of Jaunsar-Bawar is practically encircled by these two rivers, except that at its north-western corner, where the Tons is joined by the Parbar river running down from the north, there are 17 villages of the Deoghar Khat lying across the rivers on the west. Among other noticeable tributaries of the Jamuna, there are the Khutnugad, which flows through the Mohna and Bawar Khats, and the Amalawa, which rises at the southern base of the Deoban mountains and runs southward through the middle of the Jaunsar region down to Kalsi where it merges into the Jamuna. The currents of these rivers are generally too swift for navigation, except at a few places where ferries exist, but they offer cheap carriage for timber felled in the hill forests.

Climate

The climate in Jaunsar-Bawar varies greatly from place to place according to elevation, but generally it follows the distinct pattern of three seasons in the year: the cold, the hot and the rainy, as is usually found in the plains of Upper India. The cold season starts in November, but the months of severe winter are from December to March. The warm season begins from April and the hottest days fall in May and June before the rains set in. The rainy season usually includes the months from June to September, whereas the month of October is the most enjoyable period in the year.

As mentioned earlier, many of the villages in the central parts of Bawar are situated at great altitudes of five to seven thousand feet above sea level. At such places, the winter is severe and snowfalls heavy; and blizzards often become so strong that communication is stopped for days together. In villages located on the Dhar, or the top of the mountain, strong winds blow constantly in the winter mornings. At higher altitudes, summer is usually pleasant and devoid of much heat. There are also villages situated at a much lower level, such as those on the eastern and western borders by the riverside. These are at some three to four thousand feet above sea level or still lower. Here, the winter is not severe, and there is not much snowfall, but in summer,

the temperature may rise high and often very exhausting days may follow in May and June.

The rainfall is moderate in this region. The average annual rainfall as recorded at Chakrata is 70 inches. The heaviest rains usually come in the months of July and August, and only sometimes in September, while November is the driest month. In other months, rainfall may be occasional.

Soil and Produce

The land on the rugged and often rocky hills is usually of an inferior quality. The soil is often porous and water drains away. The fields of good loam and good clay, such as may be found in the Dun, are rare in Jaunsar-Bawar, except near the water courses.

Minerals of various kinds have been reported from different places in Jaunsar-Bawar since more than a century ago. Deposits of lead, antimony and copper were found in the days of Major Young. Later, General Lovett explored samples of haemetite ore at Busaru, ironstone at Lohari, Runkar and Gaski, copper at Punaha, antimony at Baula and zinc at Palan. None of these ores, however, have been exploited so far.

The forest in Jaunsar-Bawar is one of the most important sources of wealth. It had supplied the villagers with both building material and fuel for generations, but it came under the control of the government department about a century ago. Varying according to altitude, it has been said to include the *sal* and *kukat* in the sub-tropical zone up to about 4,000 feet; the *chir*, *ban oak*, *ban* and *ayar* in the temperate zone, from 3,000 feet to 6,500 feet; the most valuable *deodar*, spruce, *kail*, *moru*, etc. between 6,500 to 9,000 feet; and the *kharshu*, oak, silver firs, etc. in the Alpine zone above 9,000 feet.

Among the fruit trees, walnut, apricot, peach, pear and apple are found at various places. Some of these fruits may be sold for cash, but farming and sale of fruits are not organized as an industry.

The crops are counted in two *fasals* (harvests), *Kharif* and *Rabi*. The *Kharif* crops are sown during the rains in June and reaped by October, though there are local differences in the seasons according to altitude. Principal *Kharif* crops are rice, *manduwa*, maize, potato, ginger, tobacco, *chulai* and *gagli*. The *Rabi*, which is sown in October and November and reaped in April and May, includes mainly wheat, barley, mustard and pulses. It is found that grains produced in Jaunsar-Bawar are always consumed locally; in certain villages the production is unable to meet the local needs and import of grains from the plains is a necessity. Potato is a cash crop and has a good market nowadays. Some quantities of ginger, turmeric, chillies and tomato are also

produced and exported. Till very recently opium was produced in many Khats in Bawar and had a good market in the neighbouring feudatory states, or even in the distant markets. But, owing to the strict check on its cultivation, production has now been greatly reduced.

Fauna and Domesticated Animals

Being well forested and with considerable climatic variation, the area at one time was rich in wild animals, including game of all sorts. Since the last century, however, their number has been greatly reduced on account of indiscriminate slaughter on the one hand, and rapid expansion of cultivation on the other, which diminished the forests in which the game lived. Tigers are only occasionally found in Jaunsar-Bawar. Leopards and black bear are not uncommon, so also the Sambhar, a kind of deer, and the barking deer or Kakar. The musk-deer is rare. Chamois, wild pig, fox, porcupine, etc. are some of the other animals found in this region.

Domestic animals are of great importance in Jaunsar-Bawar, as the people lead an agricultural or pastoral life. Cattle are reared both for plough work and for producing manure. They are, however, popularly held to be of poor quality. The cows are wretched milkers, and whatever quantity of milk they produce is used by the villagers to prepare ghee (clarified butter); thus one finds great difficulty in getting milk to drink in the villages. Sheep and goats are reared in considerable numbers, both for meat and for wool. Wool is of great importance and is used for manufacturing home-spun woollen cloth and blankets. Fowls are reared by the lower castes, seldom by high caste men. Pigs are reared as well as eaten only by the Koltas. Their skins are used as water containers.

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR SOCIO-CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

Population

The total population of Jaunsar-Bawar was given in the 1951 census as 58,469, which included 32,704 males and 25,765 females. The latest figures available in the Chakrata Tehsil, however, show a total of 59,857 in 1957.

Castes and Scheduled Castes

No details of the distribution of castes are given in the census data. Caste discrimination among the village population, however, is as important and strong as ever in matters of social relations and daily life.

It may be mentioned here that in the 1951 census, the population statistics included a column under 'Scheduled Castes'. This column

seems to have been 'misused' in Jaunsar-Bawar, so far as its purpose of indicating the comparative status of those classes of people is concerned. For instance, in village Lohari (No. 257, p. 8, Dehra Dun District Population Statistics), which was one of our field centres, the total population was shown as 482, with the Scheduled Castes as 10 and the others, 472. The ten individuals labelled as Scheduled Castes are evidently the Bajgis, whose caste name appears in the 'List of Scheduled Castes in Uttar Pradesh'. In fact, Bajgis are by no means the people standing on the lowest rung of the social hierarchy in Jaunsar-Bawar. Their social position and ritual status stand much above that of the Koltas, who are really the traditionally down-trodden group of people at the bottom of the local caste hierarchy. Koltas have a population of more than 100 in Lohari, but their number is not included under the 'Scheduled Castes' in the District Population Statistics because their caste name has been missing from the list of the prescribed 'Scheduled Castes' in Uttar Pradesh.

Two characteristic features may be noticed in Jaunsar-Bawar: one, that the village population is generally multi-caste in structure, and the other that only a few stereotyped castes are found in this region whose relative statuses are well defined by tradition. These castes fall into three groups, namely:

- (a) The high-caste group, which includes the Brahmins and the Rajputs, consists of the traditional landowners and cultivators.
- (b) The intermediate castes group, embraces in its folds the artisan classes, such as the Badi (carpenter), Sunar (goldsmith), and Lohar (blacksmith), as also the Bajgi (drummer) and the Jagra and Nath (religious servicemen and magicians), though their respective caste status may be further differentiated.
- (c) The lowest caste consists of the Koltas, the traditional agricultural labourers or serfs. They are also leather workers and, at some places, are associated with the Chamars and Mochis.

As a matter of tradition, the village community here is dominated, both socially and economically, by the Brahmins and the Rajputs. There is practically no differentiation in status between the two, but they form two different castes despite occasional inter-marriages between them. In the case of inter-marriages, the children belong to the caste of their fathers. It is rather difficult to assess the inter-relations and relative positions between these castes and the Brahmins and Rajputs of the other regions of India, but they generally receive due respect from their neighbours and outsiders who are in contact with them.

It is worth mentioning that Rajputs have a numerical superiority over Brahmins as well as over other castes. In fact, they form the absolute majority in most of the villages and in the total population of Jaunsar-Bawar as a whole. They call themselves Khosh or Khasa, and are also known locally as such. Brahmins have no other appellation.

Ethno-Cultural Affiliation

As regards racial affiliation, the high castes show general resemblance to their equals in the plains, with the characteristics popularly known as 'Aryan' features. They claim to have immigrated from Kashmir or the north-west in ancient times, though some immigrant families from the neighbouring districts or states can also be found. The lower castes, especially the Bajgis and Koltas, have been regarded as aboriginals or belonging to an earlier wave of immigrants. They often have the features which may be regarded as derived from the Proto-Australoid strain, though mixed features are not uncommon. At any rate, there exists little certainty about their origin, or of the origins of other intermediate castes in this region. Socially as well as culturally, the affiliation and association of Jaunsar-Bawar and its people with Sirmur have been referred to; the plains people in the Dun and the Garhwalis in Tehri-Garhwal have also been their close neighbours.

Cultural Pattern and Changes

We may add here that, whatever origins may be attributed to various groups of people in this area, they seem to have been isolated from the people of other areas to a great extent and for quite a long time. They themselves, therefore, formed an integral multi-caste community, with defined relative status, mutual relationship and inter-dependence. They also established among themselves certain peculiar customs and usages in matters of social organization, including the systems of family and lineage and the village organization, occupational pattern, etc., as well as of socio-religious rituals, supernatural beliefs, and festivals. It appears that when this community came into contact with outsiders, the latter often ridiculed them on account of their curious customs. There seems to have been much misunderstanding or lack of understanding of the local culture pattern.

It is also noticed that cultural contacts have from time to time brought about changes especially in the border areas and in the area near the Chakrata Cantonment. Of late, various efforts have been made by both the government and the public to develop and to ameliorate the living conditions of the people in Jaunsar-Bawar. The improved roads and other means of transport and communication have largely increased the contacts between the local people and outsiders

as well as among the local people from different areas. All of these have been intensified and greatly accelerated since the application of Community Development Programmes in the area in 1953. As a result, changes in the way of thinking, in worldly knowledge, in the ways and means of life among the people and in culture pattern as a whole have taken place and are being speeded up. A systematic study of the cultural pattern and the changes taking place in Jaunsar-Bawar is, therefore, necessary to understand the impact of innovations and technology.

LOCAL UNITS AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

We have already mentioned the Khat, which is the traditional local unit, containing a number of villages. The historical background of the interrelationship between the villages of each Khat is usually not known, but all the villages within the Khat have traditionally formed one unit, for administrative as well as for social and ceremonial purposes, under the leadership of the Khat Sayana, who is more popularly known as the Sadar Sayana.

Nowadays, there are in the whole of Jaunsar-Bawar 39 Khats, which, for revenue and administrative purposes, come under 13 Patwari circles. There are in all 357 revenue villages, though for other purposes the number of villages may be otherwise reported. For instance, in the District Population Statistics in the Census of India, 1951, the number of villages in Chakrata Tehsil has been shown as 436; and excluding two villages which have been subsequently transferred to Himachal Pradesh, one village included in the Chakrata Cantonment, and 28 unpopulated villages, the number comes to 405. The number of villages in a Khat is not definite. In some cases, it is only one, such as in the Khats Koti and Buraswa, while the largest number is 24, as in Seli.

As mentioned before, Patwaris as well as the other staff of the Chakrata Tehsil are not only responsible for revenue collection, but are also entrusted with certain administrative and police functions. However, the traditional position of the Khat Sayana has been respected, and even at present all matters concerning the Khat or the residents therein are handled by the administrative authorities in consultation with, or with the help of, Khat Sayanas, who may, in their turn, consult all the village elders in the *khumri*, or village meetings. Although the traditional system of administration has undergone certain changes since the introduction of the new system of Panchayats, the Sayana system has remained the most important link between the villages and the outer world.

At any rate, collection of revenue remains the Khat Sayana's most important and definite responsibility to the administration. It

is interesting to note that in all the 39 Khats in existence these days, there are altogether 67 Sadar Sayanas whose names are recorded and who are responsible to the Tehsil for revenue collection from their respective Khats. It is not necessary that there should be only one Sadar Sayana in one Khat. Some big Khats have been sub-divided into two or more Khags. There are separate Sayanas for the Khags, who are independent of one another, and are all known as Sadar Sayanas. In other cases, it may happen that there are traditionally two or more Sadar Sayanas in one Khat, who take their responsibility jointly. In this way, the total number of Sadar Sayanas has become more than the number of Khats in Jaunsar-Bawar.

The Jaunsar-Bawar Pargana in the Chakrata Tehsil has now been divided into two 'circles', southern and northern. The former covers the Jaunsar area, while the latter covers the Bawar along with the Kandmanrh. Under the Tehsildar of Chakrata, there are since the last settlement two Supervisor Kanungos in charge of the two circles, respectively, and one Registrar Kanungo, besides 13 Patwaris in charge of 13 Patwari circles. Each of the Patwari circles consists of two to four Khats. Since October 1957, however, the work of a new settlement has begun, with the Deputy Collector in charge of Chakrata and the Tehsildar as the Settlement Officer and Assistant Settlement Officer respectively. Moreover, 39 Mohrirs (scribes) have been appointed to assist the 13 Patwaris in their respective circles. It is proposed that after the completion of the settlement, there shall be 39 Patwaris to take charge of the revenue matters.

Tables 3 and 4 show the articulation of the Patwari circles with Khats and the number of Sadar Sayanas responsible for the revenue of all the Khats.

THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BLOCKS

The Community Development Programmes in Jaunsar-Bawar were inaugurated on 2 October 1953. The whole of Chakrata Tehsil was then put under one Community Development Block, with its headquarters at Chakrata. The Panchayat Act came into force in this area in December 1953, and under this law Jaunsar-Bawar was divided into 54 Gram Sabhas and 13 Adalti Panchayats.

Since October 1956, however, this Block has been divided into two, namely, the Chakrata Block and the Kalsi Block. The former has been given the Status of a Post-Intensive Block, while the latter that of a National Extension Service Block. The merits of this distinction in status between these two Blocks have been a matter of much criticism and argument, in view of the fact that the Chakrata Block, which coincides with Bawar or the Northern Circle of the Tehsil,

TABLE 3
NUMBER OF SADAR SAYANAS IN THE NORTHERN CIRCLE
OF CHAKRATA TEHSIL (1957)

<i>Patwari Circle</i>		<i>Khat</i>		<i>No. of Sadar Sayanas</i>
<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	
(1)	Bawar	1.	Deoghar	1
		2.	Bawar	4
(2)	Banadhar	3.	Banadhar	1
		4.	Lakhau	1
		5.	Phanar	1
		6.	Silgaon Bawar	2
(3)	Bharam	7.	Bharam	2 (2 Khags—Baila & Kandoi)
		8.	Masau	4
(4)	Dasau	9.	Dasau	3
		10.	Maletha	1
		11.	Dhanau	1
(5)	Kailau	12.	Kailau	2
		13.	Mohna	1
		14.	Dawar	1
		15.	Rangau	1
		16.	Uparli Athgaon	1
(6)	Bangaon	17.	Bislar	2
		18.	Bangaon	2
		19.	Buraswa	1
		20.	Dirmau	3
(7)	Baundar	21.	Baundar	1
		22.	Chhutan	1
		23.	Taplan	3
TOTAL		(23)		40

is the area both traditionally regarded as 'much the more wilder' (according to the Dehra Dun *District Gazetteer*, 1911) and nowadays popularly admitted as the much more under-developed among the two parts of Jaunsar-Bawar. This argument, however, has not led to any revision in their status.

TABLE 4
NUMBER OF SADAR SAYANAS IN THE SOUTHERN CIRCLE
OF CHAKRATA TEHSIL (1957)

<i>Patwari Circle</i>		<i>Khat</i>		<i>No. of Sadar Sayanas</i>
<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	
(1)	Seli	1.	Seli	1
		2.	Samalta	2
(2)	Bamtar	3.	Udpalta	2
		4.	Koti	1
		5.	Bamtar	2
(3)	Koru	6.	Koru	2
		7.	Bahtar	2
(4)	Lakhwar	8.	Lakhwar	2
		9.	Phartar	2
(5)	Haripur-Bias	10.	Haripur-Bias	1
		11.	Panjgaon	2
		12.	Siliguthan	1
		13.	Bana	2
(6)	Silgaon	14.	Silgaon	2
		15.	Athgaon Chandan	1
		16.	Bisahal	2
TOTAL		(16)		27

At present, the number of Panchayat units and V.L.W. (Village Level Worker) circles in these two Blocks is as follows :

<i>Block</i>	<i>Gram Sabhas</i>	<i>Adalti Panchayats</i>	<i>V.L.W. Circles</i>
Chakrata	31	7	10
Kalsi	23	6	10
TOTAL	54	13	20

The Field Centres

SELECTION OF THE FIELD CENTRES

THE selection of field centres was made on the basis of a two-fold consideration : firstly, the village to be selected must have a representative character with regard to the culture of the region for study, and secondly, the village must have a suitable size and setting.

Among the two major parts of the Jaunsar-Bawar region, it is the upper part, the Bawar area, which possesses more of the typical culture of the area ; whereas the conditions of the lower part, the Jaunsar area, which is comparatively open to the outsiders, may not give a good insight into and a proper understanding of the way of life of the people. Our primary attention, therefore, was focussed on the Bawar area.

However, even in Bawar, local differences are so great and they vary so much from place to place that it was not advisable to depend on a single centre for our study. Much qualitative difference exists between the interior parts of Bawar and its peripheral parts, especially those bordering Tehri-Garhwal, from where migrations have been frequent and contacts have produced many changes in the culture of the Bawarian. These facts led us to decide on three field centres, two of which would jointly represent the normal pattern of the Jaunsar-Bawar culture, while the third would indicate the cultural influence from the Tehri-Garhwal side. Among the first two centres, we selected one for its contacts with the outsiders, while the other for its remoteness and lack of constant contacts.

We selected as our field centres three villages : Lohari, Baila and Lakhmandal. Other villages could have served our purpose equally, but the easy rapport we could establish in these villages made us finally select them.

SITUATION OF THE VILLAGES

Village Lohari falls within the Khat of Dhanau, of which it is the biggest constituent village, in terms both of population and of the

area of cultivation. It is situated to the north-west of Chakrata, at a distance of 10 miles from Janglat Chauki (forest outpost), which is the northern end of the Chakrata Cantonment and the terminus of the 3 mile motor road from the Chakrata Bazar. The main road from Chakrata to Lohari is the Lower Simla Road, which passes through Jadi, the Khat headquarters of Dhanau. It is through this route that Jadi and Lohari have been brought into frequent contacts with people from Chakrata.

From Jadi, the main road runs for about 4 miles up to the Lokhandi Pass. From here a rugged and stony path leads to the village settlement of Lohari, through a steep descent of more than 500 feet stretched over a length of about half a mile. There are also two short-cuts for Lohari from the main road. One of these takes a turn at a point about 3 miles from Jadi and reaches Lohari by a continuous descent for a distance of about one mile. The other path is a diversion from the main road about one mile ahead, but it mazes up and down the gorges for more than one and a half miles to reach the village. There is also a lower path meant for the winter months, when other paths are covered with snow. This path passes through gorges and dense forests to reach Sijla and Jadi on the one side, and Chakrata via Dasau on the other, but it is so rough and risky that even the villagers would like to avoid it.

The nearest forest outpost is that of Budhyar which is located two miles ahead of Lokhandi by the main road. There is also a lower route from Lohari to Budhyar via Leura, a Kolta hamlet. A few hilly paths connect Lohari with Buraila, Jagtan and other villages, most of which are narrow and rocky.

Baila is the village headquarters of Khat Bharam. It is an out-of-the-way Khat located on the west margin of the Jaunsar-Bawar Pargana. Culturally, however, it is well within the orbit of a larger 'culture area', which includes Jaunsar-Bawar and the districts of Sirmur and Jubbal in Himachal Pradesh on the other bank of the Tons.

Khat Bharam is of considerable size and very difficult of communication. It has been sub-divided into two Khags, namely, the Baila Khag and the Kandoi Khag. Again, the village Baila is the headquarters of the Khag of the same name, which includes six villages in addition to Baila. Except for a trade route leading along the Tons on the western margin, the whole of Khag Baila is inaccessible.

There are two main routes from Chakrata to Baila. One of them goes via Jadi, Lohari and Udanva, and the other via Dasau and Sainj. Both are about 20 miles in length, but neither of them is easy to negotiate. The path between Baila and Udanva is extremely hazardous.

One has to climb up and down many times through a narrow and zig-zag way, and at times to cross dense forests and precipitous rocks, where there is no recognizable track. The way from Dasau includes a sharp descent of five miles from Dasau down to Mayar on the eastern bank of the Tons and, in the last stage, a back-breaking ascent of four miles from Sainj to Baila. However, Sainj is of great importance as it is situated on the main road from Sahiya to Tuni on the eastern bank of the Tons. Maintained by the Forest Department, this road serves as the main artery of travel and commerce for the whole area.

There is a mountainous route leading from Baila to Kandoi via Begi and Bulad. This route serves as the main link between the two Khags of Khat Bharam, and goes beyond Kandoi to join the Lower Simla Road. Besides, there are a few hilly paths, connecting Baila with Asoi, Jagtan and other villages.

The situation of Lakhmandal, on the other hand, is in many ways different from that of Lohari and Baila. On the eastern border of Jaunsar-Bawar, near the west bank of the upper course of the Jamuna, Lakhmandal has a much lower elevation, about 2,800 feet above sea level, in contrast with the five to seven thousand feet of Baila and Lohari. The 25-mile trade route from Chakrata ends at Sera which, situated on the west bank of the Jamuna, is a satellite hamlet just below the hillock on which the village Lakhmandal is built. This road is maintained by the District Board, and is busy with mule transport all the year round. In fact, Sera is an important centre for trade between Jaunsar-Bawar and the interior parts of Tehri-Garhwal on the other side of the Jamuna.

The density of population in the area around Lakhmandal is greater than that around Baila and Lohari. Within a circle of a radius of 5 miles with Lakhmandal as its centre, there are more than a dozen villages.

Lakhmandal belongs to Khat Baundar, which consists of seven villages. Its headquarters are at Lauri which is about 2 miles to the north-west of Lakhmandal. Though not the Khat headquarters, the village Lakhmandal has its importance due both to its situation on the main traffic route and its close proximity to the neighbouring district of Tehri-Garhwal.

Lakhmandal has also a claim to historical importance. It is evidenced by the presence of an archaeological museum containing relics which, excavated during the late nineteen-twenties, point to the existence of a religious centre here during the period from the eighth to sixteenth century A.D. The local legend goes even farther to account for an etymological origin of 'Lakhmandal' from 'Lakshagraha', the House of Lac, which is said to have been built here to burn the

Pandava brothers alive. This mythological tale is, no doubt, difficult to substantiate. Nevertheless, the legend, combined with the archaeological finds, does attract a good number of outsiders who come either for the exhibits or for pilgrimage. Moreover, this village is also a halting station for the pilgrims going to Jannotri, the source of the Holy Jamuna, which is about three days' journey upwards.

Details given above justify Lakhamandal's claim for a rival status to Lauri, the Khat headquarters. The Sayana of the village has for some time called himself the Sadar Sayana of a Khag consisting of Lakhamandal and a few of its satellite hamlets. Whatever may be its status in the territorial set-up, Lakhamandal is important from the point of view of culture contact and culture changes. It was, therefore, selected as one of our field centres and it has provided material for the study of a diversity of culture patterns and the changes that are taking place.

THE VILLAGE SETTLEMENT AND POPULATION COMPOSITION

The study of the demographic structure of villages has been made on the basis of the village census and family-wise genealogies. The census is recorded in prescribed forms for families in this area, and the genealogies are taken according to a model designed for the polyandropolygynous type of family. Besides, certain narrative accounts have been collected through structural interviews with various families and individuals, and general observations have been made with regard to the conditions of the village settlement. Reference data have also been gathered from various official sources and checked with our field findings.

THE VILLAGE SITE

Village settlements are to be found in comparatively open parts of a slope half way up the hill, with greater or lesser number of terraced plots for cultivation on one or more sides, above and below, though most of the fields are often situated far away from human habitation. A few outpost quarters, known as *chhani*, serve both as livestock sheds and as temporary residence for field workers. Occasionally, a village may be found near about the top of a hill; such a village is known as Dhar. There are also hamlets located much lower down the slope in deep gorges, such as are the colonies of the low-caste Koltas.

Most of the villages have been there for generations, though occasional changes of site have also taken place. In the selection of sites, due regard is paid to the availability of water supply. It is considered

necessary to have at least two water sources, in order that the degraded Koltas may not use and defile the water meant for higher castes in the village.

The topography of Jaunsar-Bawar region is such that all the huts in a village are never situated at the same level. The difference in elevation between the clusters of houses may vary greatly. The village Lohari, on a stony ridge, known as Lohari Dhar, projected from the slope below the 8,000-foot Lokhandi peak, may represent an extreme case of ruggedness. There is practically no flat space in the main site of the settlement, except the *angan* or 'dancing ground', near the temple. Each house is built on a solitary piece of rock and in between the houses there is no path or lane. A fair idea of this topographic condition may be obtained by a glance at the maps. The map on p. 34 shows that most huts are on the eastern side of Lohari Dhar, and also indicates the difference in the level of clusters of houses scattered on the western side of the ridge.

The village settlement of Baila is situated on a huge slope which rises high right from the level of the Tons river at Sainj, from where there is a continuous and steep climb of 4 miles to reach the village. The huts in the village are distributed in two major clusters, situated respectively on the two arms of an L-shaped slope (p. 36). This village site, being quite near the top of the Dhar which flanks the village on the north, is flatter and more open in comparison with the site of Lohari.

Both Baila and Lohari represent the rugged topography of Jaunsar-Bawar. They are also high in elevation (about 6,000 to more than 7,000 feet above sea level). The village Lakhmandal (p. 38), on the other hand, is situated at a much lower level. Its base is a much more open valley, at the confluence of the upper course of the Jamuna and a small tributary, the Rikhnar Gad. The houses are located on a multi-staged flat half way up the hill from the river bank.

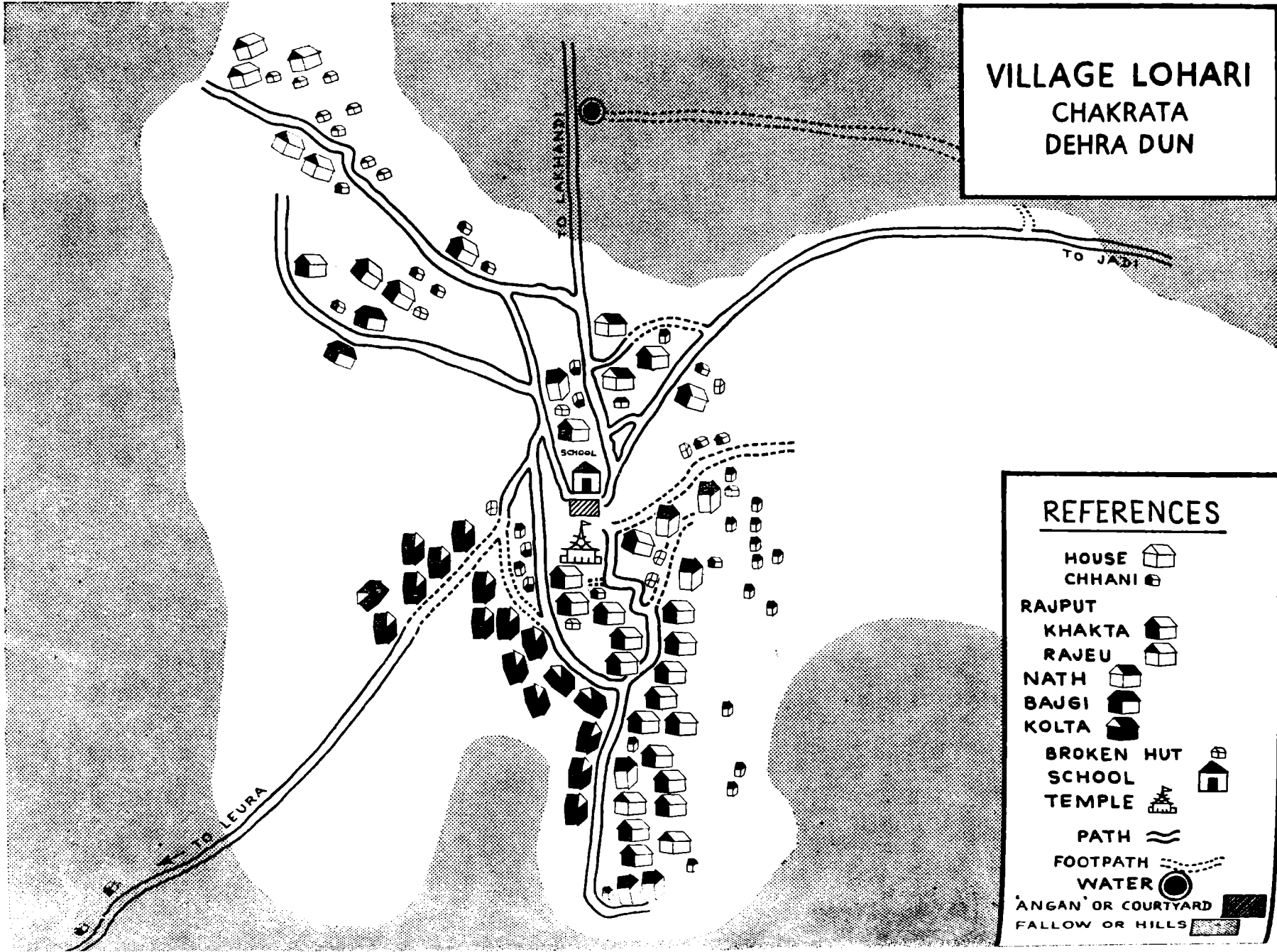
THE VILLAGE PLAN

The rugged topography and limited space give the villages in Jaunsar-Bawar a generally untidy and clumsy appearance. As a rule, all the houses are crowded together on a group of rocks, with hardly any gap between the adjacent huts. There is neither sufficient space for the houses to have a proper orientation and alignment, nor any room for a lane to go straight for some distance.

















At any rate, there is always discernible a definite order with regard to the distribution of localities among different communities. These are discriminated on two bases, namely that of caste and lineage.

The caste-wise distribution of houses is one of the most striking and important features of the village settlement in Jaunsar-Bawar. Owing

VILLAGE LOHARI
CHAKRATA
DEHRA DUN



REFERENCES

- HOUSE 
- CHHANI 
- RAJPUT 
- KHAKTA 
- RAJEU 
- NATH 
- BAJGI 
- KOLTA 
- BROKEN HUT 
- SCHOOL 
- TEMPLE 
- PATH 
- FOOTPATH 
- WATER 
- 'ANGAN' OR COURTYARD 
- FALLOW OR HILLS 

to the functional inter-dependence of all castes, the high castes, that is the Brahmins and the Rajputs, have to remain in the same village as the low-caste Koltas, as also with a few other artisan castes. The Brahmins and Rajputs are the traditional owners of land and masters of the village. They occupy the main part of the village, which is usually a level ground at an airy and high altitude. The Koltas, however, are given miserable shelters, which are built in one or more clusters, situated much lower down the rocky slope, or at the outskirts of an equal altitude, as for example in Thana, away from the main settlement. The intermediate castes, including the Badi, Sunar, Lohar, Bajgi, Nath and others, which usually form only a few families in each village, may take their residence here and there within the main cluster of huts of the high castes.

The lineage-wise distribution of residential quarters in the village is a consequence of the multiplication of population and division of families. Here we have to notice the two Jaunsar terms, namely *aal* and *bhera*, which mean 'lineage' and 'sub-lineage', both patrilineal. Both of them are the result of separation of brothers and division of families from time to time. In the olden days, each family, settled in the village, used to occupy plenty of space within and around their homesteads, so that on the division of the family, additional huts for the new family units could be built near about the ancestral house. As a result, families belonging to the same lineage or sub-lineage used to have a common habitat, which is known in the Jaunsari dialect as a *bhera*. This lineage habitat is still in some way or the other distinguishable in most of the villages.

Besides the private quarters, there is in each village a temple dedicated to the local guardian deity 'Mahasu', a temple of 'Shilguru'—the protector of herds, and some other shrines. The Mahasu temple is usually built at a comparatively open space inside the village, with an open flat ground, known as *angan*, used as an arena for dancing as well as for other collective activities in the village. Nowadays, there is also a primary school in each of the bigger villages, and it is either housed inside or at the outskirts of the village. In the village which serves as the headquarters of the Panchayat organization, there may also be a Panchayat Ghar, which is of public importance.

In Lohari, it is seen that residential discrimination on the basis of lineage among the Rajputs has led to the sub-dividing of the village settlement into two completely separated wards, known as Rajeu and Khaktad, respectively. Rajeu refers to the area over the main ridge of Lohari Dhar, where dwell the three major *aals* of the village, namely the Badiate, Dogranh and Chandanh, all of which are derived

VILLAGE BAILA
KHAT BHARAM
TEHSIL CHAKRATA
DIST. DEHRA DUN



REFERENCES

- HOUSE
- CHHANI
- BRAHMIN
- RAJPUT
- HORIYAND
- BASRAND
- DALAND
- RAVAIK
- LAKHTATE
- SUNAR
- BADHAI
- BAJGI
- KOLTA
- TEMPLE
- RAISED GROUND
- PATH
- THARI (DEITIES)
- WATER SOURCE
- HILLS & ROCKS
- FIELDS



from a common ancestor. Khaktad, on the other hand, refers to the area to the west of the main ridge, far up the slope towards the Lokhandi Pass. It is the habitat of a solitary *aal*, known as Khakta, containing only two families which are the remnants of an early group of Rajput settlers. The Khaktad contains a few small clusters of houses, including the homesteads of the Khakta Rajputs, the shelters for the Koltas serving them, and the two temples of Lord Mahasu and Shilguru, and is a complete unit by itself. Yet these two wards are not recognized as separate units, but are known together under the name of the larger village unit, Lohari.

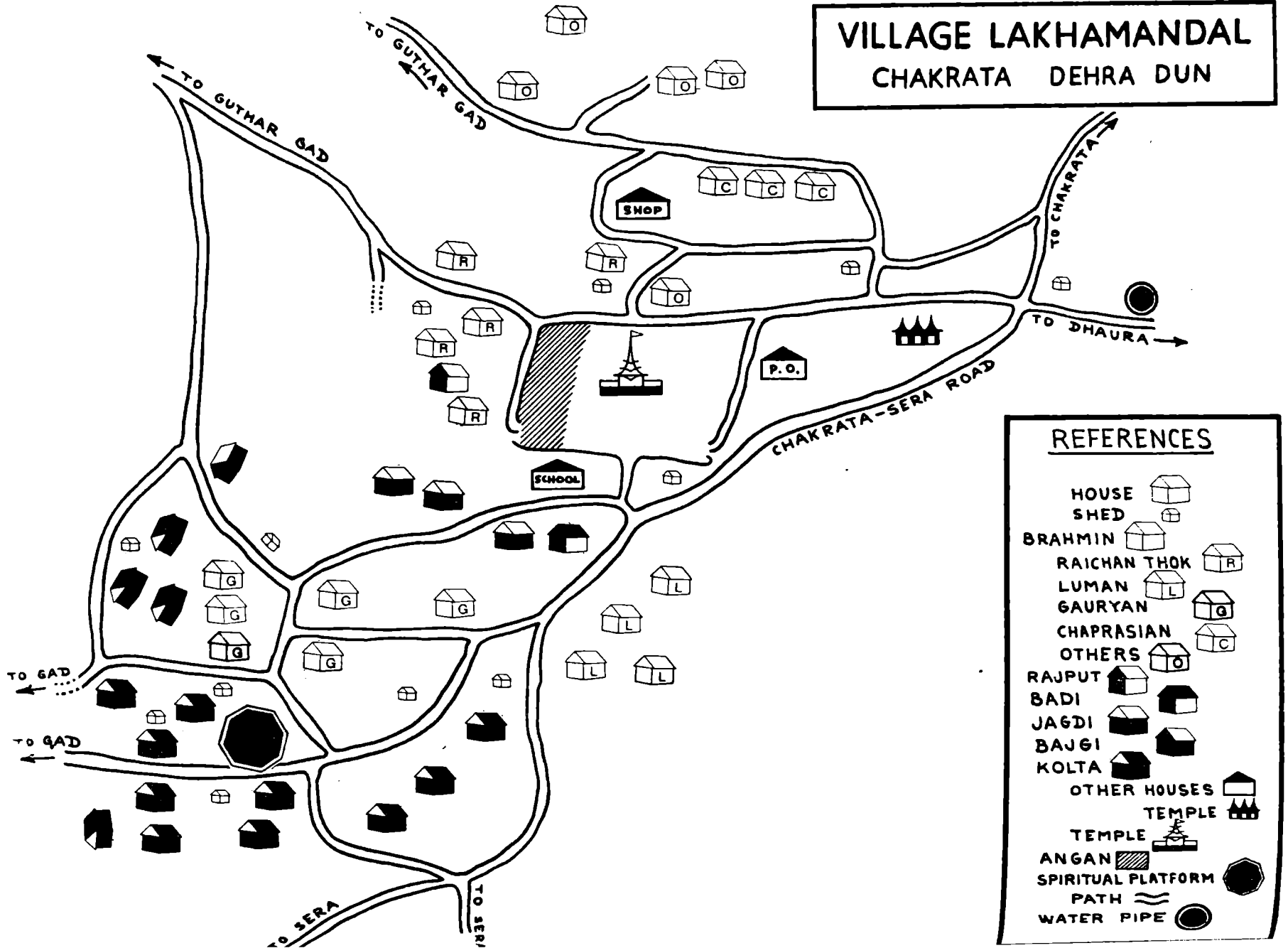
The lineage-wise distribution of localities is further noticed in the Rajeu area. However, it seems that due to a long history of Rajput settlement in the village, the sub-division of families and multiplication of homesteads have gone beyond the territorial limits of the *bhera*, so that some new houses have to be built away from the cluster of huts occupied by one's own *aal* members. For instance, Dallu of the Dogranh *aal* and the Jagtan *bhera*, whose original house was situated below the Mahasu temple of the main cluster, has left the place for his new house constructed recently on the west side of the main ridge just below the Khaktad.

The majority of Koltas in the Rajeu ward are living in the clusters of huts situated much lower down the western slope of the main ridge. A few of them, however, have been accommodated in huts near their Rajput master's residence. The two Bajgi families also live at a lower site on the same slope, but their houses are completely detached from those of other castes. The two families of Nath, who claim to be very early settlers in the village, are residing at the upper portion of the main ridge. Besides these castes, there is a seasonal dweller, Kunaira by caste. Being a professional weaver coming from Naraya near Salinga, he remains in the village only during the warm months and his house is situated at the farther end of the Lohari Dhar, just below the *bhera* of the Muranh Rajput.

Similarly, it is seen in Baila that residential quarters have been divided among the five Rajput *aals* into two wards. The *aals* named Basrand and Daland occupy the north-easterly wing of the main slope, whereas the members of Horiyand, Ravaik and Lakhtate reside on the south-westerly wing of the same slope. Thus, the whole of the residential area of Baila appears L-shaped, with a considerable gap left at the junction of the two wings just above which two temples are situated. These two wings or wards are conventionally referred to by the villagers as two 'villages', the 'Parla Gaon' and 'Urla Gaon', which mean 'the village on the other side' and 'the village on this side', respectively.

VILLAGE LAKHAMANDAL

CHAKRATA DEHRA DUN



The discrimination of *bhera*, or the lineage quarters, is noticed within either ward. Genealogically the Basrands, Horiyands and Ravaiks are said to be direct descendants of the earliest Rajput settler in Baila, and the founder of the Basrand *aal* was the eldest among his three brothers. He was said to be the first to separate from the ancestral household, whereas his two younger brothers separated from each other some time later. It is thus easily understandable why the *bhera* of the Basrands stands alone in the northern ward, though their habitation was later on shared by the Dalands. Dalands are said to be the descendants of an adopted son-in-law (*gharjamai*), a newcomer who settled in the village after his marriage with a daughter of the Basrands. The Horiyands and Ravaiks, on the other hand, were joined later by the ancestor of the Lakhtate, another newcomer and probably the latest settler among the Rajputs of Baila, whose *bhera* is evidently smaller than those of the other *aals*.

The southern 'village', being larger than its northern counterpart, contains also all the homesteads of the intermediate castes, namely the Badi, Sunar and Bajgi, as also that of the single Brahmin family, whose quarters are located on the north-eastern corner of the ward, at the end of the *bhera* of Ravaik. There is also standing amid the field conspicuously, at the north-western end of this ward, a vacant house which belongs to a former Brahmin resident, who left the village some eight years ago for religious reasons. All of the Koltas attached to the Rajputs of this ward are residing at the southern end, just below the *bheras* of Ravaik and Lakhtate. Near the village *angan* at the north-west corner of this ward, there are two huge rocky mounds, known as 'Thari' and 'Shiran', respectively, which are holy sites commanding religious awe and respect from among the villagers.

The northern 'village' is exclusively occupied by the Rajputs of Basrand and Daland *aals*, with the addition of a few *chhanis* or live-stock sheds of others and one hut of a Kolta at its eastern end. Three more Kolta houses are situated at a long distance farther east amid the fields.

Lakhamandal, on the other hand, presents the picture of a much better aligned settlement, as there are comparatively large flats available and lesser difference in elevation between them. Here the whole village is divided into two localities, known in local terms as 'Madha' and 'Domra'. Madha is the residential area of the Brahmins, who are the dominant group in Lakhamandal, while Domra refers to the habitat of the Koltas, which lies to the north at the lower end of the village site.

Madha is further divided into the three main Brahmin lineages or *thoks*. *Thok* is a Garhwali term, which is used here in place of the

Jaunsari term *aal*. These three *thoks* are known as the Raichan, Luman and Gauryan. The Lumans and the Gauryans share the large flat on the lower step, just above the Domra area of the Koltas, whereas the Raichans occupy the flat on the upper step of the same slope. There is a fourth *thok* among the Brahmins in the village, known as Chaprasian, which has only very recently emerged in the village. Their residence is located just above that of the Raichans, with whom they have an affinal relationship. There are a few other Brahmin newcomers, who are also taking their residence on this upper end of the settlement, while the intermediate castes are residing at the space between the Luman and Raichan quarters.

The village *angan*, situated by the side of the Raichan quarters and above that of the Lumans, is the most conspicuous landmark of Lakhamandal. Its size is much bigger than what one sees in other villages. The village temple stands in the centre of the well-paved stony floor of the *angan*. Beside the temple there is an unroofed shrine of Lord Shiva. On its back is the recently excavated site, where stands a 4-foot high statue of Lord Buddha along with other monuments. The finds of stone sculptures and inscribed tablets are exhibited in the archaeological museum located at the western outskirts of the village.

The village school building, also on the western periphery of the village, is yet incomplete, and the classes are even now held in a shed attached to and in front of the temple, on the north-east corner of the *angan*. There is also a Branch Post Office in the village, which is housed on the western side of the *angan*. The *angan*, of course, is an important centre of public interest for the village community.

SETTLEMENT HISTORY

It is rather difficult to trace the history of the Jaunsar-Bawar village settlements. Living memory falls short in this respect and the documentary reference does not go beyond half a century or so. The archaeological evidence from Lakhamandal points unmistakably to a central history for more than a millenium, yet no details are available by which to interpret the discoveries. During our demographic study, some genealogical inquiries have yielded certain useful data with regard to the settlement history of the present-day residential castes and lineages in the villages. Though they cannot go beyond four or five generations, the genealogies so far collected help us to know the characteristic features pertaining to the patterns of village settlement in Jaunsar-Bawar, as also to their modes of development.

In Lohari, according to Madho Nath who is the village Chaukidar and is reputed for his wide knowledge about the village and family histories, the earliest settler was one of his forefathers. He came from

Jubbal state with a Kolta, whose direct descendants are the families of Jumanu and Jamnu. At that time, it is said, there lived a Dom and two Lohar families. They later on left the village. After some time, there came a Rajput from Jubbal, who was the ancestor of the present Khaktas. He lived near the 'Lokhandi' by the side of the water source, where he cleared up a plot of land. After some time again, a Rajput named Jagrat came from Sirmur state, worked for the Khaktas, and became an adopted son-in-law (*gharjamai*); thus he acquired some land and settled down in this village. It is said that the sudden acquisition of property made Jagrat so greedy that he resolved to exterminate the Khakta families in order to seize the land of the whole village. He consulted a Brahmin of the then neighbouring village, known as Manifalte (which is said to have been a Brahmin village situated on a nearby slope below the Lokhandi, but was entirely destroyed by a landslide some time ago), who gave him an enchanted iron nail and advised him to fix it into a tree near the village temple. At that time there were eighteen families of Khaktas. Due to the effect of the witchcraft, they were reduced to a single family within four or five generations. It was with great difficulty that the remaining family could survive. Eventually, one of the Khaktas went to Hanol, the holy seat of Lord Mahasu, to pray for blessings. He was advised by a Brahmin to separate his family between two brothers, which would be an effective means to get rid of the witchcraft imposed on them. Since then, there are two Khakta families, that of Madan Singh and Ran Singh, respectively.

The same story has been told in different versions in the village, but all have agreed to the Khaktas' position of priority in the village. Madan Singh Khakta also said that black magic had been practised on his family, but he related it to a time later than that of Jagrat; he did not remember Jagrat's name. However, it is generally agreed that due to the black magic, the Khaktas' rival families developed, multiplied and became prosperous. They have now a strength of thirty families. All of them are known as Rajeu, since their ancestor Jagrat came from a *bhera* known as 'Ajeu' in Sirmur.

The Rajeu Rajputs, who are now the dominant group and the real masters of the village, are divided as stated earlier into three *aals*, namely Badiate, Dogranh and Chandanh, which are further subdivided into different *bheras*. The composition and strength of the various *aals* among the Rajputs in Lohari today are shown in Table 1.

No detailed information is available about the settlement history of the Bajgis and Koltas, as they generally migrate frequently from place to place, so long as they are not landowners, and are not much attached to the village. The earliest group of Bajgis of Lohari

TABLE I
RAJPUT LINEAGES IN LOHARI
(December 1957)

<i>Aal</i>	<i>Bhera</i>	<i>No. of Families</i>
(1) Badiate	1. Jugianh	1
	2. Muranh	2
	3. Ruanh	1
	4. Ravaik	4
(2) Dogranh	1. Ramianh	3
	2. Siltanh	1
	3. Bijanh	3
(3) Chandanh	1. Sikranh	3
	2. Sojanh	1
	3. Jagtan	3
	4. Khelanh	3
	5. Bairanh	2
	6. Biraik	3
(4) Khaktad	1. Khakta	2
TOTAL	14	32

has since long gone elsewhere, whereas the Bajgi families now staying came later, in successive immigrations. The same is the case with the Koltas, excepting the two families which have descended from the Kolta who came with the Nath before the arrival of the Rajputs at Lohari. Koltas have been brought by their Rajput masters to the village from time to time, and belong to different places of origin, including Jubbal and Sirmur, as well as some part or the other of Jaunsar-Bawar. The Koltas form the second largest caste in the village, and contain twenty-one families. No *aal* has been established among them, but there are eight *bheras*, containing eighteen families in all, while the remaining three families have not yet received a *bhera* name.

In Baila, there are at present six castes, namely Rajput, Brahmin, Badi, Sunar, Bajgi and Kolta. The composition of population here, both of the higher and of the lower caste groups, has undergone changes since the time of its known settlement history.

Baila is now known as a Rajput village but its earliest inhabitants were Brahmins, who are no more in existence in this village. As far

as the faint memory of the village elders goes, this group of Brahmins were known as the 'Bhujreu'. They were here during the time when there was a Rana ruling over this territory. It was before the penetration of the Britishers into this area, and those were the days of fights and disputes. Killing and murder were a common practice. Battles and blood feuds were not unusual. The Rana was most probably Rajput by caste. He lived on a hillock (*timba*), just a couple of miles away from Baila towards Jagran, from where he ruled over a good part of Jaunsar-Bawar. He had his forces and attendants like any other ruler. The Bhujreu Brahmins were priests serving the Rana, and they were the only residents at this place, which with only four or five houses, might not have been recognized as a unit separated from the Rana's capital on the nearby hillock.

It was probably not before the arrival of the Rajputs that Baila obtained its status as a village. This is indicated by the name itself, which is taken from a village in Sirmur, from where, it is said, two brothers came to this side of the river Tons. One of them settled in Baila, while the other went ahead and founded another village known as Bijnad. The Rajputs of both Baila and Bijnad, as well as of four more villages including the village Baila in Sirmur, nowadays regard themselves as kins to one another, and inter-marriage among them is forbidden.

The Rajput youth coming to Baila lived first at Asoi, a village down below the slope south of Baila, where he was grazing the sheep of a Rajput family. With the sheep he came up regularly to the water source near the quarters of the Bhujreu Brahmins. He fell in love with one of the Brahmin girls who went there to fetch water. The girl ran away with him to his place, and later he was allowed to come and stay with the Bhujreus. In course of time, this couple got seven sons and the number of Rajputs increased. According to another statement, the Rajput young man married a widowed daughter of the Bhujreus and began to live with her parents. With the expansion of his family, the Rajputs acquired more and more strength till at last they were able to expel the Brahmins from the village. It is said that the Bhujreus had to take shelter in a village in Sirmur known as Sidaki. Thus no trace of them is left in the village of Baila.

At a later date, however, another Brahmin came from Sirmur and settled in Baila. His family and his descendants were known as Bhodiya, after his original village, Bhod. They were also called Bhatt. These Brahmins, however, could not stay longer in Baila as the village guardian deity got displeased with them and asked them to leave the village. The two families of Hem Chand and Narayana Chand had to seek shelter at Jagtan, about four miles from Baila. Another two

families, that of Hisaru and Khonkaru who are known as Jagaik, also had to leave the village. Khonkaru left for Asoi and Hisaru went to Jagtan to live with the Bhattas. The Jagaiks have left behind in Baila a well-constructed house in which they lost many family members. They are ready to sacrifice several goats to the deity in order to get his permission to stay in Baila, but apparently their offer has not been accepted. Hem Chand, too, wants to return to Baila, but he is also unable to please the deity. It is said that he has been asked by the deity to leave Jagtan also.

At present there is only one Brahmin family, known as the Ghamdaik, living in Baila. The family is descended from a Brahmin from Garhwal, who married a Rajput girl of the Daland *aal* (Jhumghaik *bhera*) and secured some land to settle down in Baila quite recently. In occupation and in ceremonial status, they are identified with the Rajputs of this village.

The Rajputs in Baila have a total of twenty-nine families, which are distributed among five *aals* and twenty-one *bheras*, as shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2
RAJPUT LINEAGES IN BAILA
(December 1957)

<i>Aal</i>	<i>Bhera</i>	<i>No. of Families</i>
(1) Basrand	1. Basrand	1
	2. Sidaik	1
	3. Tegaik	1
	4. Kolaik	1
	5. Singtaik	1
(2) Horiyand	1. Bhyand	2
	2. Jugnand	2
	3. Gurand	1
	4. Nargaik	1
(3) Ravaik	1. Monaik	3
	2. Dhokhrand	1
	3. Chumbaik	2
	4. Jagtand	2
(4) Daland	1. Daland	1
	2. Chilaik	1
	3. Jakhiya	1
	4. Doniyand	2
	5. Singnand	1
	6. Jhumghaik	1
(5) Lakhtate	1. Sograik	1
	2. Delaik	2
TOTAL	21	29

The first three *aals*, namely Basrand, Horiyand and Ravaik, are said to be the direct descendants of the Rajputs who came from Sirmur. The Dalands are the offspring of a Rajput from Sirmur who married the only daughter of a family of the Basrand, and settled here near the latter's *bhera* in the village. The Lakhtate is said to have originated from a man of some lower caste, a Tamota, who repairs utensils. He was employed by a Rajput family of Baila to attend to the sheep. He used to go with the Rajputs in their marriage parties. Later on, he married some Rajput girl from Sirmur and settled down in Baila. In the beginning, the Lakhtates were discriminated against by the Rajputs. They would not inter-dine or exchange a smoke with the Lakhtate, but later on they established the *dai chara* ('brotherhood') relationship with other *aals* in the village.

According to Daya Ram, a Lakhtate, some Rajputs had come to Jaunsar-Bawar from the plains during the reign of Aurangzeb, when mass conversion of the Hindus was taking place. Many Rajputs had fled to remote parts of the country. One batch of such refugees came over to this area under the leadership of a powerful man known as Rana. They settled down here with their capital at Ranikoti, but were vanquished after some time by a fresh wave of Rajput immigrants. Thus, according to him, the Rajputs of Jaunsar-Bawar are of different origins, and the Lakhtates are derived from an origin different from that of the other Rajputs.

It is asserted by the Bajgis of Baila that their forefathers were the original inhabitants of this village and that they were the attendants of the aforesaid Rana. There are seven families of Bajgis, all of which belong to the same *bhera*, Dhanand.

The Badis, eight families in all, belong to the same *bhera*, named Punand. However, they prefer to call themselves as the Torand. According to Chhadu Badi, their ancestor was a Torand Rajput from Sirmur. As he was proficient in carpentry, he took the profession of a Badi. When he came to Jaunsar-Bawar, he stayed at first at the village Bulad. Here he married the daughter of a Badi and then came over to Baila. His descendants are thus regarded as Badi and no inter-marriage between them and the Rajputs has taken place.

The Sunars of Baila have come from Mashak some time back. Their two families were separated from each other only a few years ago. They have not yet been given a *bhera* name.

As regards the Kolta, all families except one have the same ancestor who came to Baila from Sirmur quite some time ago. They have now twelve families in all, which are distributed among three *aals*, namely Dogrand, Jidwand, and Jirand. The Jidwand *aal* has been sub-divided into two *bheras*, Dobaik and Makhraik. Inter-marriage is taboo

between these three *aals*, but it is permissible between them and the thirteenth family of Kolta, which came to Baila recently.

The settlement history of village Lakhamandal is very much different from that of either Baila or Lohari. In the first place, being situated on the periphery of Jaunsar-Bawar and having better communication with the neighbouring parts of Tehri-Garhwal than with the other parts of Jaunsar-Bawar, Lakhamandal is virtually an ethnic extension of Tehri-Garhwal, though administratively it belongs to Jaunsar-Bawar. Most of the present residents in the village, from the Brahmins who form the dominating population group down to the Koltas, can trace their ancestry to the men who migrated from Garhwal at some time or the other. There are more than a dozen Brahmin villages on the Tehri-Garhwal side, within a distance of ten miles from Lakhamandal, whereas on the side of Jaunsar-Bawar there are only two or three such villages. This is why the Brahmins of Lakhamandal have their marital alliances mostly in Tehri-Garhwal.

Another striking feature noticed in the population of Lakhamandal is the high mobility of its component parts. It is seen that this village contains not only such stereotyped castes of Jaunsar-Bawar as the Brahmin, Rajput, Nath or Jagdi, Badi, Bajgi and Kolta, but also such additions as the Nepali. There was also a Musalman who kept a shop here till some two years ago, while recently a Sindhi Rajput came with his family and runs a business. Both immigration and emigration have taken place at a very high frequency among the various castes. Even among the Brahmins, who are the traditional landowners and masters of the village and form the most stable section of the population, there are found many newcomers from time to time.

No one remembers when the earliest settlers came to Lakhamandal. Such early date as the archaeological evidence points to, is not possible to infer from the present groups of inhabitants. Among the Brahmins in the village, there are three *thoks* (lineages), namely the Raichan, Luman and Gauryan, who claim to have settled down here for a very long time. Raichan is recognized as the oldest *thok* of this village and the honour of village headman or the Sayanaship has been conferred on them as a hereditary right. The seventy-year old Sayana, Sri Chand, can trace his genealogy for five generations to two brothers named Karu and Brahmadas, but he is unable to say precisely how remote is the position of his early ancestor Raichu, after whom the *thok* was named. Nor does he know from where his family came. Some years ago, there was a dispute between the Raichans and the Lumans, when the latter put forward a counter-claim against the former as the first settler in the village. The case was decided by an inter-Khat *khumri* (which is the meeting of village councils) in favour

of the Raichans, on the evidence that the name Brahmdas was inscribed on the central beam of the village temple. At present, the Raichan *thok* has six families.

The Luman *thok*, on the other hand, has a strength of four families. They are, however, said to be richer in possession of land and wealth than the Raichan families. They have also a long history of settlement in the village, comparable to that of the Raichans. Their ancestry is traced to Konli Bhanbhil, a place probably to the south of the village.

The Gauryan *thok* also claims to have a long settlement history, but the genealogical evidence does not take them as far as that of the other two *thoks*. However, their *thok* is well established in the local sense and it consists of four families.

Besides the three *thoks* mentioned above, there is a fourth Brahmin *thok*, Chaprasian, which has been established in Lakhamandal only recently. Its founder, Chanchalanand, was a peon (*chaprasi*) at the Tehsil office of Kalsi and Sahaspur in Dehra Dun. He came from Sirmur after he married the sister of Sri Chand's father, of the Raichan *thok*. Thus his family was attached to the Raichans with affinal ties. After his death, his family was split up when his four sons separated. But the families of his first two sons were re-united after the death of his eldest son a few years after. Containing three families, the Chaprasian group is now generally recognized by the villagers as a *thok*, but it is not considered to have the same status as the other three *thoks*, particularly in matters pertaining to the village.

There are a few single families, of both Brahmins and Rajputs, which have come only lately due to their individual attachments, either on marital or economic ground, to some one or the other of the above-named *thoks*. Among the Brahmin families, that of Shiva Nand is attached to the Raichans, as his father, Ram Krishan, who came from Srinagar of Pauri-Garhwal, married the sister of Sri Chand. This family is sometimes referred to by the villagers as 'Patran', because Ram Krishan was a Patwari.

The family of Sia Ram, another Brahmin, is attached to the Chaprasians, as well as, for sometime, to the Raichans, as his father Daulat Ram married a daughter of Chanchalanand and Sia Ram married Sri Chand's daughter who, however, was divorced later on. Daulat Ram also came from Pauri-Garhwal and was the Patwari of this area. His family is, therefore, like that of Shiva Nand, referred to as the 'Patran'. These single families are, however, not regarded as *thoks*.

There are three families attached to the Luman *thok*. One of them is the family of the late Sibba, whose widow is a daughter of Udrum (Luman). Sibba's father was a Brahmin coming from Tehri-Garhwal with his wife. His family has now only two widows: Sibba's mother

and his wife. After Sibba's death, Sibba's mother adopted a Gurkha as her ' Dharamputra '. He lived with Sibba's widow for some time and begot a son by her.

Another family is that of Ram Singh Shah, who is not a Brahmin but a Rajput from Tehri and has adopted the profession of a goldsmith (Sunar). He married the daughter of Sish Ram. It was a case of inter-caste love marriage. A third family is that of Sant Ram, a Brahmin from Tehri-Garhwal, who came only a few years back. He works in the field for Sish Ram (Luman) and he is also accommodated in the latter's quarters.

There is one Rajput family, that of Nag Chand. His grandfather came from Tehri-Garhwal and lived at Dhaura, a Kolta hamlet about half a mile away from Lakhamandal, where he had procured some land. For about fifteen years now, Nag Chand is residing in the locality of the Raichans.

The brief account given above shows that the composition of the village community is much more unstable in Lakhamandal than elsewhere in Jaunsar-Bawar. What is more notable is the lack of unity among the members of the dominant caste-group. This feature may have been largely due to the better condition of communications in its surrounding areas, especially on the Garhwal side. Further, it has been noticed that there is also in this village a lack of functional unity among the different castes.

Besides the Brahmins and the Rajputs, there are in Lakhamandal two families of Jagdi or Nath, one family each of Badi and Bajgi, and fifteen families of Koltas, most of whom have come during the present and the last generations. The mobility of castes and families is so high that both the processes of immigration and emigration are going on side by side, and families coming to and departing from the village is an everyday feature in Lakhamandal.

The two families of Jagdi or Nath have lived in Lakhamandal for some time. These two caste names are confused here. Ordinarily, Jagdis are servicemen of the temples and Naths are the traditional magicians, especially in the lower Jaunsar area. Here, besides being agriculturists, they also now serve pilgrims on their way to Jamnotri as their local guides and companions. The single family of Badi has only an aged widow of Ranjit, who died a few years back. She earns her livelihood by brewing liquor and selling wool which she occasionally shears from the sheep of her relatives. Similarly, the Bajgi caste is represented by a single family with only a widow. Her husband came from Tehri-Garhwal not long ago and died two years back. He left behind three sons, who lived in Lakhamandal and served as the traditional drummers, but all of them left the village last year.

The widow has since taken a Gurkha as her husband, who works for the villagers in the field.

It is clear that families of the professional castes such as Badi and Bajgi are no more working for the village community as carpenters and drummers. In fact, Brahmin and Rajput boys have been regularly seen to beat the drums at the village temple nowadays.

Among the fifteen families of Koltas, one has been known as the Mochi family. It is so recognized in this village on the professional basis, though this is an unusual addition to the stereotyped caste structure in Jaunsar-Bawar. The single family of Mochi is, however, represented by an aged man only, who is invalid and unoccupied. The Kolta families have mostly come from Tehri-Garhwal. Though, generally, they are attached to particular families of the various Brahmin *thoks* in Lakhamandal as their agricultural labourers, some of them have striven for better economic living by means of other odd trades. Since they are not residents of long standing, there is no *aal* or *thok* established among them.

It may be mentioned here that some Gurkhas often come to this part of Jaunsar-Bawar, either from Nepal or from the hilly districts of Almora and Garhwal. They may either be employed as labourers or they may take tenancy according to the sharing system. Some of them may settle in the village for good. It is interesting to note that they are allowed by the local society to marry their daughters or widows, under certain circumstances. Here in Lakhamandal, as mentioned above, two Gurkhas have been taken into the households of a Brahmin and a Bajgi respectively.

Besides all of these, there is a Rajput business man who has come with his family to stay and keep a petty shop in Lakhamandal since 1956. He is a refugee from Sind and has been in Chakrata for some time. We have also mentioned that there was a Muslim keeping a similar shop at Lakhamandal two years ago. The presence of a shop with a business man who is purely an outsider is, therefore, another special feature which distinguishes Lakhamandal from other villages in matters of the general setting of the village population.

POPULATION COMPOSITION

The composition of the village population, as we have discussed at some length in connection with the settlement history of the respective villages, is summarized in Table 3.

With a view to elucidating the relative positions of the various groups of the population in the villages, we give in Tables 4, 5 and 6 statistics showing the population strength of the respective field centres.

TABLE 3
COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION IN THE FIELD CENTRES
(December 1957)

	<i>Economic Dichotomy</i>	<i>Social Hierarchy</i>	<i>Instances</i>		
			<i>Lohari</i>	<i>Baila</i>	<i>Lakhamandal</i>
Stereo- typed components	(i) Zamindar group	High castes	1. Rajput	1. Rajput 2. Brahmin	1. Brahmin 2. Rajput
	(ii) Artisan group	Intermediate castes	1. Nath 2. Bajgi	1. Badi 2. Sunar 3. Bajgi	1. Jagdi or Nath 2. Badi 3. Bajgi
		Low castes	1. Kolta	1. Kolta	1. Kolta
Extra component			Nil	Nil	1. Sindhi (Rajput) 2. Gurkha

TABLE 4
GROUP-WISE POPULATION STRENGTH IN LOHARI
(December 1957)

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Caste</i>	<i>Family</i>		<i>Individual</i>			
		<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
1.	Rajput	32	56.2	129	114	243	65.9
2.	Nath	2	3.5	5	5	10	2.7
3.	Bajgi	2	3.5	2	5	7	1.9
4.	Kolta	21	36.8	64	45	109	29.5
	TOTAL	57	100.0	200	169	369	100.0

TABLE 5
GROUP-WISE POPULATION STRENGTH IN BAILA
(December 1957)

S. No.	Caste	Family		Individual			
		No.	Per Cent	Male	Female	Total	Per Cent
1.	Rajput	29	48.3	131	100	231	59.2
2.	Brahmin	1	1.7	5	4	9	2.3
3.	Badi	8	13.3	23	19	42	10.8
4.	Sunar	2	3.3	5	3	8	2.1
5.	Bajgi	7	11.7	20	17	37	9.5
6.	Kolta	13	21.7	34	29	63	16.1
TOTAL		60	100.0	218	172	390	100.0

TABLE 6
GROUP-WISE POPULATION STRENGTH IN LAKHAMANDAL
(December 1957)

S. No.	Caste	Family		Individual			
		No.	Per Cent	Male	Female	Total	Per Cent
1.	Brahmin	21	48.8	57	66	123	60.9
2.	Rajput	2	4.7	4	2	6	3.0
3.	Jagdi or Nath	2	4.7	4	8	12	5.9
4.	Badi	1	2.3	0	1	1	0.5
5.	Bajgi	1	2.3	0	1	1	0.5
6.	Kolta	15	34.9	31	22	53	26.2
SUB-TOTAL		42	95.7	96	100	196	97.0
7.	Sindhi (Rajput)	1	2.3	2	3	5	2.5
8.	Gurkha	0	0.0	1	0	1	0.5
TOTAL		43	100.0	99	103	202	100.0

Table 3 gives substance to the arguments about the stereotyped and the extra component of village population, as well as about their articulation with the traditional economic dichotomy and social

hierarchy which have all been explicitly or impliedly indicated in our earlier discussions. We may, however, add here that the pattern of caste combination as shown in Table 3 reflects, on the one hand, the prevalent fact in Jaunsar-Bawar in general, with regard to the classification of caste, and indicates, on the other, the differences or deviations which exist between different villages in particular with regard to the combination of castes in each of such groups. This differentiation should further be considered with reference to the actual strength of each caste individually, as shown in Tables 4, 5 and 6.

It is noticeable that the high-caste group, invariably among the three sample villages, and usually in other villages in Jaunsar-Bawar, forms the bulk of the village population. Thus the Rajputs count for 65.9 per cent of the total population of Lohari (i.e. 243 out of 369 individuals), and 59.2 per cent of the population of Baila (or, together with 23 per cent of Brahmins, account for 61.5 per cent of the total population of the high-caste group), and the Brahmins account for 60.9 per cent of the population of Lakhmandal (or, together with 30 per cent of Rajputs, account for 63.9 per cent of the total population).

The low-caste group, that is the Kolta, forms the second biggest group among the village population. Thus they occupy 29.5, 16.1 and 26.2 per cent respectively of the total population of Lohari, Baila and Lakhmandal. It can be seen that the village Baila has a smaller number of Koltas.

The intermediate castes, however, vary greatly in strength from village to village, and in certain cases, they may be absent or may exist nominally. It is seen that Baila has the largest population of the intermediate caste, which comes to 22.4 per cent of the total population of the village. This is found to be due to the existence of a large number of both Badis and Bajgis, who have remained in the village for a pretty long time. Lohari, on the other hand, has the lowest figure of 4.6 per cent of the total population, as there are only two families each of Nath and Bajgi. All other artisan castes are absent.

In Lakhmandal, the situation is much more complicated. Though the strength of the intermediate caste is only 6.9 per cent of the total, it consists of three castes, namely Jagdi, Badi and Bajgi. Besides, there is the extra component of population, which includes one Gurkha man and a family of the Rajput shopkeeper from Sind and forms 3 per cent of the total population of Lakhmandal. The extra component of population indicates a change in the population structure but it should be regarded here as a special case of the village Lakhmandal and not as a part of the general pattern of village population of Jaunsar-Bawar.

In conclusion, we may remark that the caste system is in existence in its most complete and persistent form even today in the *cis*-Himalayan society of Jaunsar-Bawar. It is based on both the geo-economic conditions of the area and the socio-cultural environment of the people. The local setting of the Jaunsar-Bawar villages has its present configuration as a result of historical trends since time immemorial.

As shown in Table 4, the society has an economic dichotomy of classes, which is combined with a social hierarchy of these major caste-groups, with their minute sub-divisions, on a functional basis. This pattern of caste combination has its dynamic connections with the strength and the trend of population of the various castes, and may be briefly analyzed as follows.

(1) The 'high-caste' group, whenever existing in a village, is invariably the dominating element of the village population. This situation is due to the fact that they are, traditionally, the landowners as well as self-cultivators, which position has naturally encouraged their stable stay and helped in the multiplication of their population in the village. A difference may, however, be made out whether a village is dominated by Brahmins or by Rajputs; and accordingly the village is conventionally known as a Brahmin village or a Rajput village. In general, however, only one of them is the dominating group or the leading caste of the village. It has been further noticed that this dominating group is generally a combination of a few allied lineages which are either believed to be derived from the same ancestor or have ritually formed a kind of 'brotherhood' relationship known by a local term as *dai chara* or *dai bhai*. This sense of unity of the dominating group in the village, no doubt, promotes their stability and prosperity.

It is seen that the existence of one or two families of newcomers of the same or of the other high caste in the village usually does not affect the dominance of a group. Examples of this kind may be referred, on the one hand, to the ritual adoption of *dais*, which took place many a time in the settlement histories of both Baila and Lohari, and, on the other hand, to the presence of a Brahmin family in Baila and two Rajput families in Lakhamandal. The Brahmin family in Baila is to a great extent associated and assimilated with the Rajputs who form the majority, whereas the two Rajput families in Lakhamandal, not related to each other, are not at all concerned with the dominating position of the Brahmins in the village, which is all the more rigid due to historical trend and assured hereditary rights.

Difficulties, however, may arise when there are two groups, whether of the same high caste or one of the Brahmin and the other of the Rajput, both of which have comparable number of families

residing in the same village. Thus we are told about the practice of black magic by the Rajeu Rajputs of Lohari to exterminate the Khaktas, and also about the exit of the early group of Brahmins from Baila, as well as the dispute between the Lumans and the Raichans in Lakhmandal with regard to the Sayanaship.

At any rate, it is indisputable that it is the high-caste group, including both Brahmins and Rajputs, which invariably form the majority among the village population, except in the case of the hamlets which are the exclusive Kolta colonies.

(2) Table 4 shows that Koltas are found in all the villages. Further, Tables 4, 5 and 6 show that they invariably form the second largest group of population. This fact has its functional basis, as the presence of Koltas is important in a Jaunsar-Bawar village. Besides other services which they may offer to the village community, Koltas have been the traditional 'serfs' to work in fields. This is of prime importance to the whole of the Jaunsar-Bawar society.

(3) As regards the intermediate castes including all artisans, their presence among the village population may not be so important as that of Koltas. Thus, in general, each of the intermediate castes is present in a village in small numbers of families, determined by the needs of the village community. In comparison to other intermediate castes, Bajgis are more important for a village as they are the traditional drummers. Their services are needed both in the temple and in social ceremonies. Thus we usually find the presence of one or more Bajgi families in all villages.

In short, the village population in Jaunsar-Bawar is, as a rule, composed of a few of the stereotyped castes, stratified on both economic and socio-religious grounds. These castes are functionally interdependent as well as supplementary to one another but the strength of each of them in the population may vary from village to village.

Part Two

Social Stratification and Caste-Hierarchy

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL GROUPING

SOCIAL groups may be formed on various bases, such as the economic status of the family, professional specialization of the individuals, ethnic affinity, territorial affiliation, kinship, descent and, in India particularly, caste groupings.

An analysis of the social grouping in Jaunsar-Bawar indicates three specific factors or principles of social grouping, namely economic status, professional calling and caste. The last is connected with ethnic difference as well. Functional specialization is of prime importance in the routine life of the people. On the other hand, the horizontal or lateral grouping in Jaunsar-Bawar has been on the basis of the principles of territorial and kinship affinities.

An attempt is made to describe and discuss in the following pages the general pattern of social stratification in Jaunsar-Bawar, in terms of economic status and caste hierarchy.

ECONOMIC CLASSES IN THE VILLAGE

As a social criterion, the economic status of a Jaunsar villager is of secondary importance, the primary one being his caste. However, economic prosperity or financial ruin has been found to modify a good deal an individual's or a family's social activities and the inter-personal or inter-family relations. The status or the strength of material affluence has its repercussion on the status of the family. In the words of Shesh Ram of Lakhamandal, 'a rich man in the local dialect is referred to as a *saukar*, one who produces more than what he needs and possesses gold and silver ornaments more than what an average family has'. 'A *saukar* is a man who manages hundred (*sau*) works (*kar*)', he further explained. 'By *sau* we mean varieties of occupations. A *saukar* has to look after a number of family undertakings. He has to organize

the field operations, he possesses cattle, sheep and goats, he employs agricultural labourers, he owns houses and he is able to afford gold or silver ornaments for his wife or wives. He is a man who not only possesses money but also holds proprietary right over fields, houses, livestock, etc. He is a well-to-do and prosperous man.' Again, there is the 'poor' fellow, who usually earns his livelihood by serving the rich class. Naturally, he holds no land and cattle and is hardly able to subsist.

In between these two economic classes is the intermediate class, that is the class which is just able to manage its living. Members of this class are more or less self-sufficient, and own only as much land as is necessary to meet their needs. At times they may produce a little more or a bit less than their requirements, and have an average number of cattle and sheep, as well as an average number of working members in the family.

The three terms, rich, intermediate and poor, are relative. The classification depends on :

- (a) size of fields owned by the family
- (b) number of cattle (cows, bulls and buffaloes), sheep and goats possessed
- (c) number of houses and *chhanis* (livestock sheds) owned
- (d) cash, silver coins and grains in store
- (e) number of working members in the family
- (f) gold and silver ornaments worn by the wives in the family.

Added to all these, a rich family may also boast of being the possessor of a number of Koltas or Kolta families serving them as their serfs.

Generally, it is the higher castes (Khasas and Brahmins) which form the rich class. This is a matter of tradition or a result of the historical trends. As we have seen, only the high castes are as a rule the land-owners, who naturally dominate the village community. However, exceptional cases do occur and changes have occurred in recent years. It is found that the richer member among the lower castes may sometimes be better off than the poorest member among the Brahmins or Khasas in the same village, but in no case is a low caste man or a Kolta comparable to the rich among the high castes, who hold a substantial piece of land and possesses a good number of cattle etc.

Among the Brahmins of Lakhamandal, the rich class comprises the families of Shesh Ram Luman, Sri Chand Sayana, and Kamulu Gauryan, who belong, respectively, to the senior branches of the three well-established lineages or *thoks* in the village. After them come the other families of the three lineages, as well as the families of Bramanand

Chaprasian, who belong to a recently established lineage in the village. There is also Sia Ram, whose father came to settle down in the village of which he was a Patwari. He did not have sufficient land but could eke out a living on his well-paid job as the Chaukidar of the Archaeological Museum in the village. The poorest among all the Brahmin families are the two brothers, Shivanand and Jivanand, whose father came to the village long ago after his retirement from Patwari-ship. The poor brothers, living with their elderly widowed mother, but without a wife (recently the wife divorced), cannot maintain a decent standard. They are poorer than the richer among the Koltas, for example Dalebu and Durgoo, who are supposed to have earned a lot of money in brothel business during recent years.

Among the Rajputs (Khasas) of Baila, the three economic classes are distinctively marked. The top position is occupied by the families of Daya Ram, Bir Singh (Basrand), Punoo (Basrand), Rajpal and Kishan Singh. The middle group consists of Birbal Sayana, Kal Singh, Shiboo, etc., whereas the poorest among them are Supa, Danoo and Ratna. Similarly, at Lohari, Jas Ram Sayana, Dalloo Singh, Ran Singh, Madan Singh Khakta and Rati Muranh are among the rich; Ganga Ram, Dev Ram, Bhoru, etc. form the middle class whereas Thepadu and Dhyanu represent the poor.

It was also noticed that the poor Rajputs of Baila, such as Ratna and Danoo, were certainly poorer than the better off Koltas, Phantiya and Dassi, whose families are descended from a very early group of Koltas settled in the village. At Lohari, the rich Kolta families, like those of Sainsu and Jiwanu, are also somewhat better off than the families of Dhyanu and Thepadu. At any rate, the richer Koltas have only reached a subsistence level; the bulk of the Koltas is generally poor. Even Durgoo Kolta of Lakhmandal, for instance, remained in debt to Sri Chand Sayana of Lakhmandal, despite his extra earnings from the brothel, with himself and his brother as agents, as well as through their wife.

The economic status of the other castes varies between the two extremes. Generally speaking, there is a close correlation between the caste hierarchy and their economic competence. Bajgis and Naths are just better off than the average Koltas, while the financial position of the well-established Badi and Sunar families is more or less comparable to the intermediate class among the high castes. A few exceptionally well-off Badi families are found in Baila, where a substantial number (eight) of the families of Badi are settled since several generations. Some of these have secured sufficient land and have also earned much by their traditional profession of carpentry, not only in Baila but also elsewhere in the area.

The rich families have a better socio-economic status than the other, but they are hardly economic classes. The three groups of families were neither exclusive nor stable. The position of the Koltas of Lakhamandal has changed to a certain extent as some of their members own land and earn money by shady means. Some of the Rajput families also have improved their economic status in recent years. The Village Sayana Daya Ram has been a rising star since the last few decades. His *aal* (lineage), being established at a later date and supposed to have a lower caste paternity, was discriminated against by the other *aals* in the village, but now he has become not only the most influential person in the village of Baila, but one of the top three in the whole Khat of Bharam. In contrast, the traditional Sadar Sayana Birbal Singh of Baila, who was till now the head of Khag Baila, has not been keeping pace with him in matters of personal prestige and social influence, a fact admitted by Birbal himself. Daya Ram has more influence in the official quarters as well. Nowadays, he is the Sarpanch or head of Nyay Panchayat of Kandoi-Bharam, whereas Birbal occupies only the position of the Pradhan of the Baila Gram Sabha. Much of Daya Ram's personal status and influence is due to his ability and zeal for work for the village society, but the most important fact has been his economic solvency. Birbal belongs merely to a 'middle class'.

PROFESSIONAL CLASSES

Professional specialization is one of the main planks of the caste structure. However, there are certain occupations which are not monopolized by one particular caste, but are, as a matter of tradition, generally taken up by a number of castes. This is especially true of agriculture, which is the major occupation of the people in Jaunsar-Bawar. On the other hand, professional classification may help us to reduce the various castes in Jaunsar-Bawar into three broad categories as below.

AGRICULTURISTS

Under this heading, the following sub-groups may be listed.

1. 'Zamindar' or Owner-Cultivator

Locally, the term *zamindar*, unlike in the plains, does not refer to a man who is the owner of any amount of land for cultivation. As a rule he cultivates the field himself, but he may give some part of it, or under special circumstances the whole of it, to others on tenancy. This class comprises in the main the Brahmin and Rajput families in the villages.

As already mentioned, it is usually the high castes only (Brahmins and Khasas) who are landowners or zamindars, though the traditional restriction barring the low castes from possessing land is no longer operative.

2. *Owner-Cultivator-cum-Tenant*

Locally, tenants are known as *asami*, a term which indicates not only the occupational status but also the general socio-economical status of the people addressed by the term. It is often found that some families which were *asami* traditionally have subsequently procured some land of their own. This is not only a change in their economic condition, but also a shift in their social status, as they may now claim to be landowners (zamindars). This has been found frequently among the better-off lower castes or among the late immigrants of the high castes who as a first step towards settling in the village took a tenancy from the old zamindars in the village. As a rule, these families do not receive same recognition and status as the traditional zamindars, and are often referred to as *asami*.

3. *The Tenant or 'Asami'*

The *asami* tills the land but has no proprietary right over it. He simply hires the land from its owner, who owns more land than he can cultivate himself. Two kinds of tenancy rights have been found in this area :

- (a) Simple tenancy, in which the tenant takes the land from the landlord on crop-sharing basis. The tenant may pay a share of the land-tax as well.
- (b) The serf's usufruct, where a plot of land is given to the Kolta, who is employed by the landlord as his labourer. In usual practice, the landlord advances to such a Kolta some amount of money as well as some land, which he tills for himself as long as he is engaged by the master. The tax on such land is paid by the master but the produce goes to the Kolta as part of his remuneration. Thus, it is not a tenancy in the strict sense.

4. *Landless Labourers and 'Serfs'*

In Jaunsari tradition landlords employ some low caste Koltas as labourers who till the land as well as render domestic and other services. Often it begins with a loan of several hundred rupees in cash, which the landlord gives to the Kolta to meet his family needs in marriage, funeral, etc. In return the Kolta, with his family, serves the landlord

as labourers or rather 'serfs'. The service attachment is usually exclusive and compulsory and the landlord is obliged to give the Kolta daily food and shelter as well as to provide for other needs of his family. This mutual relation continues for generations until the Kolta has paid off the loan or transferred himself to another landlord. In terms of social stratification, this sub-group lies at the bottom, below all the professional groups described below.

ARTISANS

Each of the few groups of specialized artisans has its own caste name, and usually had a trade also, though exceptions may be found. There are certain professional castes which are typical of Jaunsar-Bawar and are indispensable elements of the village polity, though these may not be found in every village. These may be arranged in the following order.

1. Carpenter and Mason

The specialists in this profession are known locally as Badi or Badhai, who are not only experts in woodwork, but also in masonry. The Badi families may not be present in each and every village. They are generally scattered throughout Jaunsar-Bawar, and are easily available if required. Persons of various other castes may occasionally learn this trade and take to this profession without any prejudice to their caste status. Instances of it are available at Lohari, where there is no Badi family. A few Rajputs are proficient in carpentry and take up the work of house construction when wanted. The senior Koltas, such as Sainsu, also used to work as carpenters for house building. They would take up carpentry as their part-time job only and for a period during the off season when they were free from their work in the fields.

2. Goldsmith

The traditional goldsmiths are Sunar by caste. Their profession is important for Jaunsari villagers who need ornaments for their women-folk. Sunars, however, may not be found in the village and their profession may occasionally be taken up by other castes. For instance, at Lakhmandal, this trade has been taken up by Ram Singh Shah, a literate Rajput from Tehri-Garhwal.

3. Blacksmith

The special caste professing blacksmithy is the Lohar. The Lohars make iron implements for agricultural and household purposes. They are found here and there, but are absent in many villages. This profession has not been taken up by high castes, even where there is no

Lohar in the village. But instances have been found in Lohari and Lakhamandal of a few Koltas who are competent in this trade and serve the needs of the villagers.

4. Barber and Tailor

These professions are manned by Bajgis who are the traditional drummers. Nai and Darzi, who are the professional castes in the plains are rarely found in this area. At Lohari, Madho Nath, whose capabilities are manifold, is also proficient in tailoring.

5. Weaver

The professional caste of weavers known as Julaha or Garav are found in some villages. Many Koltas have been found to serve the villagers as weavers. Spinning of wool is, on the other hand, a daily vocation of all castes, high or low. Some of them may also be proficient in weaving, and looms are often found stored in the houses of Rajputs.

6. Leather Worker

Leather work is regarded locally as one of the 'lowest' professions and it is invariably taken up by Koltas or Doms. Similarly, the profession of shoe-making falls to the share of Koltas, who are also expert in making the typical Jaunsari snow-shoes.

COMMUNITY SERVANTS AND FREE PROFESSIONALS

Besides the two major professional groups outlined above, there are other professional specialists who either serve at the temple or on ceremonial occasions in the village. These are the professional medicine men, magicians, etc.

Drummers are an indispensable artisan community in Jaunsar-Bawar. Their services are needed at the temples and on communal and ceremonial occasions. These drummers are usually known as Bajgis or Dhakis, but their occupational specialization has split them into smaller groups, on the basis of the instruments they play. Thus the players of 'Ransinga' are Garavs and drum-players are Bajgis, although Bajgis are often seen playing both the instruments if a Garav is not available. A Garav may also play on drums when no Bajgi is available. Bajgis have also been professional barbers and tailors. For the village community the Bajgi often serves as the messenger or village Chowkidar.

There are also the religious service men, known as Jogra or Jogri, also as Nath. The Nath is a traditional sorcerer and medicine man. Madho Nath of Lohari, however, was a skilful tailor as well as the

village Chowkidar. In Lakhmandal, there were two Jogra families and they were also known as Nath. They were not only serving the village community as the 'Maha Brahmins' but also have taken up the profession of local guides to escort pilgrims to the holy Jamnotri.

The much talked of magicians or diviners, known as 'Baki', are generally recruited from among the lower castes, from the Nath and the Bajgi. But they are not necessarily hereditary professionals nor do they form an exclusive social group.

There is no professional group of village priests. The individual 'Pujaris' serving at the temples are mostly drawn from the local Brahmins. The elderly Brahmins of Lakhmandal may be invited to officiate in marriage ceremonies in many a neighbouring village. Sri Chand Sayana of Lakhmandal, for instance, was also the official Pujari of the temple of the neighbouring village Chulter. In the main, however, Brahmins are agriculturists.

The above analysis gives an impression that many of the professional castes are not so specialized as one may come across in the plains of India. In fact, most of the artisan castes earn their livelihood mainly by agriculture, either as tenants or as tenant-cum-owner-cultivators, whereas their hereditary trades are retained as subsidiary occupations. Even the few well-to-do Badis of Baila, who earn a lot by carpentry and house-construction, are more attached to agriculture.

The size of the professional groups often varies from village to village. Changes have taken place in various ways in professional specialization. Inter-group adaptability and mobility are also found in different degrees from group to group.

CASTE HIERARCHY IN JAUN SAR-BAWAR

On an analysis of the composition of tier village population at our field centres, we found a three-tier structure in Jaunsar-Bawar. Generally speaking, there are just a few stereotyped castes present in the village community, the hierarchical order of which may be arranged as follows:

- (a) On the top, there is a dominating group of 'high castes', including Brahmins and Khasas (Rajputs).
- (b) In the middle, there is a number of castes, which form an intermediate group, including Badi, Sunar, Jagdi, Nath, Lohar, Bajgi, etc.
- (c) At the bottom, there is the low caste, which includes Koltas in general and at some places also Dom, Mochi, etc.

CONCEPT OF CASTE

Although the caste hierarchy has its historical and geo-economic background, its general acceptance and currency have religious sanction. It was due to a belief in divine dispensation that they secured the status differentials in Jaunsar-Bawar. Mr. Baynes remarked in his report (Jaunsar-Bawar Enquiry Committee, 1939-40, p. 8): 'The somewhat surprising spirit of compromise displayed by the witnesses of both sides was probably the result of a good deal of political propaganda exercised previous to the session of the committee, and we rather doubt whether Jaunsar-Bawar public opinion generally would be quite so ready to agree to mutual concessions.'

An answer to what was doubted by Baynes may, however, be found in the explanation given by Dev Ram, a Brahmin of Lakhamandal, with regard to the status of castes among the Jaunsaris. He said:

'Castes have been made by "Ishwar" (God). A man or woman is born in this life in a high or low caste, according to the activities and conduct in his or her last incarnation (*purva janma*). One's high or low caste is therefore the reward or punishment for his past behaviour. Remedies lie in acquiring the noble virtues, which may enable him to be born in a higher caste in the next life.

'What can we do in this respect?' he asked. 'God is Omnipotent and Omnipresent. He sees every act done by everybody. Nothing is hidden from Him and nobody can afford to go against His will. And, if anyone tries to violate His Laws or to refuse to conform to the dictates of "Dharam", he is sure to be condemned to hell (*narak*) after his death.'

One is not sure whether this view is representative of all people among all castes in Jaunsar-Bawar, but it is a common explanation offered by many a Brahmin, and admitted by many others. A low caste man may not favour the theory, but none dare question it. At any rate, it was religious awe which made all castes accept the situation, however unjustified it may be. Instances were frequently mentioned of members of the low caste dying accidental deaths due to this violation of the caste taboo.'

STEREOTYPED CASTES AND SOCIAL PRECEDENCE

Brief descriptions may be given here to indicate the positions of each caste in the village society of Jaunsar-Bawar.

1. *The High Castes*

Generally speaking the high caste group comprises only the local Brahmins and Rajputs (or Khasas). At Lakhamandal, some people

distinguish 'Rawats' from Rajputs; the former are regarded as descendants of the local rajas or kings of olden days. This distinction, however, did not find general support elsewhere in Jaunsar-Bawar, but seemed to be an adopted idea from Garhwal. On the other hand, there was sometimes a differentiation of two groups among the Brahmins, one of which may intermarry with the Rajputs, while the other may not.

Both Brahmins and Khasa Rajputs generally have much the same position, economically and socially. Both of them are, on the one hand, zamindars or landlords of the locality, and, on the other hand, the dominating caste in the village community. As a rule, as stated earlier, it is only one of the two castes which plays a dominant role in the village, according to their settlement history, and the village is known as a 'Brahmin village' or a 'Rajput village'. Both Lohari and Baila are Rajput villages; Lakhamandal is a Brahmin village. No Brahmin resides at Lohari, while the single Brahmin family in Baila and the two Rajput newcomers to Lakhamandal have no status in their respective villages.

Ritually, Brahmins have a higher position than that of Rajputs. As they have priestly roles assigned to them, Brahmins perform certain religious duties. Only the Brahmins can enter the innermost part of the temple and offer *puja*. They have the right and duty to officiate in ceremonies and to offer sacrifices. They organize *katha* etc., and sometimes predict the future of people, and make *janmapatris* (horoscopes). They generally refrain from wine, though they take meat as the Rajputs do.

Rajputs, on the other hand, are said to be descended from rajas and warriors, who came as conquerors to Jaunsar-Bawar in the olden days with a few families of Brahmins as their *purohits*. It is not possible to say anything about the remote past and about the origin of Brahmins and Rajputs, but it appears that Rajputs have formed not only a great majority of the high-caste group, but also a majority of the total population in Jaunsar-Bawar. What is certain is that both the castes are respected and regarded as more or less equal by all the other castes.

2. *The Intermediate Castes*

The intermediate castes do not form a homogeneous group, but may be lumped together for practical purposes. Relatively there is much less sharp difference in social position or in matters of discrimination among themselves but they are distinguished from the high castes on the top and from the low castes at the bottom of the caste hierarchy. Nevertheless, we have to recognize the differences both in the functions

and in the social positions among various castes of this stratum. The highest among them are the Badi and Sunar, who are treated as equals, while the Lohar and Bajgi are regarded as much lower. The position of Jogra and Nath is not quite certain and the distinction between them is sometimes not clear. Generally, however, they may be treated as somewhat higher than Bajgis, but lower than Badis.

Not all but only a selected few of the intermediate castes are found in any particular village. The castes found in the three villages which were our field centres include only Badi, Sunar, Jogra, Nath and Bajgi. Their present positions are as follows.

Badi. They are traditionally the professional carpenters-cum-masons and experts in house construction. They may not be present in every village. There was no Badi in Lohari and the single Badi family in Lakhamandal consisted of but one widow. However, we found eight families of Badi in Baila. They are, in fact, also owner-cultivators and are well-off in terms of local standards. In the caste hierarchy, they come just next to Rajputs, though they do not belong to the 'higher caste'.

Sunar. They are the traditional goldsmiths. They are rare in most of the villages. Among the three field centres, we found in Baila only two families of Sunar, which came to the village from Mashak a couple of generations back. They neither owned nor had any affiliations to land, but lived by their hereditary trade. Their social status was comparable to that of the Badi, as intermarriage has taken place many a time between Badis and Sunars of the same village.

Jogra and Nath. There were in Lakhamandal two families of Jogra. They were professional guides escorting the pilgrims to sacred places like Jamnatri, Badrinath and Hardwar. They also served the village community as the 'Maha Brahmins', those who received gifts (*dan*) at funerals. In this village, the position of the Jogra was regarded as even higher than that of the Badi. Jogras were also known as Nath, though the Nath residing elsewhere, in Lohari for instance, had a much lower social position. There were two Nath families in Lohari. They claimed to have descended from the earliest settlers who came to the village prior to the arrival of the ancestors of the Rajputs. According to Madho Nath, who is the village Chowkidar of Lohari, Nath's claim to be the followers of Guru Gorakh Nath (a saint who started a new sect called the 'Gorakh Panth'). They are drawn from different castes and are known as 'Sadhus'. This is why they don't have a definite position in the village caste hierarchy, although it is found that the State Government has recently included 'Nath' in the list of 'scheduled castes'. Like the Jogra, the Nath may do religious services and accompany the pilgrims. They may also be magicians and

medicine men. Some of them have taken to agriculture. Madho learned tailoring and recently acquired a sewing machine with the help of the Community Development Project. At any rate, both Jogra and Nath are minority groups in the village population and are not found in all villages.

Bajgi. They are the professional drummers and also the barbers and tailors of the village. They are found in every village, since they have to play music not only on the occasions of marriage, birth, death, and festivals, but also in the temple. However, they are often a minority group among the village population and they occupy the lowest position in the intermediate castes group.

3. *The Low-Caste Group*

This group is formed by Koltas, who are the traditional serfs or landless labourers. They are invariably found in each and every village in Jaunsar-Bawar. They not only supply labour in agricultural operations to high-caste zamindars of the village but also serve the village community in various other ways, such as messengers, skinners of dead animals, removers of dead bodies, and also as leather workers, weavers of rough woollen cloth and carpets, and makers of shoes.

Among the Koltas themselves, there are two sub-divisions: the higher one is equated to or just known as 'Chamar', the other and lower one as Dom. The Kolta families of Baila, for instance, are said to belong to the lower section, the Doms, whereas those of Lakhamandal label themselves as Chamar and Mochi. They do not intermarry with Doms, nor would they like to take food and smoke 'hookah' at the Dom's place. It appears that the caste affiliations of Dom and Chamar have been adopted recently or given them by the higher castes. Durgoo Kolta explained that Chamars do not eat the meat of a bear, which they call 'jungle dog', whereas the Doms do. Both Chamars and Doms, however, take pork as well as beef.

INTRA-CASTE UNITY AND CASTE DISCRIMINATION

The Jaunsari system of caste hierarchy, as in the plains or other parts of India, has all the characteristic features of intra-caste unity and inter-caste discrimination. One may discover though that in Jaunsar-Bawar society caste discrimination is not so rigid as among the people on the plains.

Inter-caste marriage, for instance, has been a much talked of topic in this connection. It is true that intermarriage has been allowed between Brahmins and Rajputs, but the incidence of such marriages is limited to certain areas where the neighbouring Brahmin and Rajput villages have established their common marital circle. There are

Brahmins who have never allowed intermarriage with the Rajputs (Khasas). Again, inter-caste marriage has not been allowed to go beyond their 'high-caste' group. Similarly, in Baila for instance, there were several cases of inter-caste marriages between the Badi and the Sunar, the top two among the 'intermediate castes' group. No socio-ritual stigma is attached either to the couple or to their issues who belong to the caste of their respective fathers. In other cases, however, no inter-caste marriage would be allowed. Even an occasional inter-caste sexual offence or adultery would lead to grave consequences should it be publicly admitted in the village. It appears, however, that the rigidity of caste structure now obtained in this area has developed in recent years, following the pattern prevalent in the plains. It indicates a shift in inter-group relations.

Among the lower castes, there is sometimes the caste Sayana, who represents the interest of his caste members. In the high caste this Sayanaship generally coincides with that of the village or of the Khat.

Kinship Structure and Its Dynamic Functions

THE study of a society requires a deep probe into and proper understanding of the kinship structure and the behaviour pattern of its members. It is more so when we are studying a rural society, the members of which are living an agricultural-cum-pastoral life, as that of the native folk of Jaunsar-Bawar who are closely attached to land and village.

The Jaunsaris are well known for their polyandrous family system. The polyandry functioning among them is no doubt far more complete and tenacious than any other similar systems so far reported. In the context of our research project of evaluation of culture change, a study of the Jaunsari kinship system was considered especially important because this society has often been misunderstood and the men have been derided by their neighbours for their practice of sharing a wife amongst several brothers. An inquiry into their family system to discover possible causes for its formation and its continued existence was, therefore, a matter of great urgency.

Another characteristic and interesting feature found in the Jaunsari kinship structure is the lineage system. It is, in fact, the lineage, locally known as *aal* or *thok*, which has divided the Jaunsari families into groups, and it is on the basis of these groups that the villages have been established and maintained.

In addition to the system of lineage, the kinship web among affinal relatives forms another important part of the kinship system. An attempt is made here to analyze these systems in terms of their respective positions and functions. Again, the village community of Jaunsar-Bawar is generally multi-caste in composition. Such castes are likely to have different kinship systems. Further, local variations of customs caused by cultural contacts with outsiders are also noticed, as these customs have affected the society in different degrees at different places.

We have seen from the demographic analysis above that the local society in Jaunsar-Bawar is a combination of the dominating group

of high castes, consisting of the local Brahmins and Rajputs who used to be the zamindars or landowners, and the subordinate group of lower castes, the artisans and landless labourers. Here we present in greater detail the kinship system practised both by the Brahmins and the Rajputs. The lower castes generally follow the institutionally established customs and usages among the high-caste groups, though there are certain deviations which result from their different socio-economic status.

There are regional differences as well and they are much more distinctive than the usual caste differences. In fact, among the systems we studied at the three field centres, that of Lakhmandal is much different from the one which we may regard as covering both Baila and Lohari. The latter is, generally speaking, a standard form which may be found everywhere in the interior of Jaunsar-Bawar and may be regarded as the traditional pattern. The kinship system as found in Lakhmandal is perhaps more Garhwali than Jaunsari in pattern. The obvious reason for this fact is that not only geographically Lakhmandal lies on the border of the district of Tehri-Garhwal, but also ethno-culturally almost all of the present residents of this village are immigrants or descendants of the immigrants from Tehri-Garhwal. We have found at Lakhmandal that not only the polyandrous family setting as well as other structural features of the Jaunsari kinship system have undergone orientation, but even the kinship terminology has been adjusted and adapted to that of their neighbours and relatives in Garhwali villages. We would, therefore, give here a detailed description of the main pattern of the Jaunsari kinship system on the basis of our field findings from Lohari and Baila, and make casual references to certain distinctive features found at Lakhmandal and other villages which we have come across.

THE FAMILY SYSTEM

A family among the Jaunsaris, as among the plains people, forms a domestic unit, with patrilocal residence, patrilineal descent, patronymic designation and patriarchal authority. Further, it often takes the form of a joint family which, as found normally among the local Brahmins and Rajputs (Khasas), is a union of all male members of all living generations, in the patrilineal line of descent, along with their wives and their unmarried sisters and daughters. Often there are also the married sisters and daughters who remain in the family before the consummation of marriage or after divorce or on being widowed. Child marriage is customary. Often a girl's wedding is celebrated during her infancy, but she remains at her father's home till her

puberty. It is also a custom that a married sister or daughter, even after consummation of marriage, frequently returns and stays in the parental home for months, though she is not a member of the family. The polyandrous family of Jaunsar-Bawar differs from that of other parts of Uttar Pradesh. The nuclear family is not as stable as we find in a monogamous society; the wives are not permanent members of the family. During festivals and on other occasions they go back to their *mait* or parental village, and divorce is so frequent that seldom does a wife stick to a family for many years together. It is in this sense that the family assumes a unilateral character and thus forms the unit of the lineage system.

The high castes of Jaunsar-Bawar, Brahmins as well as Rajputs, live in joint families; but what distinguishes the Jaunsari family from the joint family of the Hindus of the plains is the absence of a horizontal joint family. All the brothers marry together, and have one or more wives in common, instead of having separate wives. In fact, the Jaunsari family system is not only polyandrous but a combination of paternal polyandry and polygyny. All men of each generation who are brothers marry together with one or, as is usually the case, more than one wife.

Traditionally, the eldest brother is the representative of the family as well as the controller of all the brothers, in matters of marriage and conjugal life. It is he who marries the wife or wives, and it is through him that his brothers have access to the common wives. In principle and in practice, all the brothers form an inseparable group as 'fraternal husbands' in the name of the eldest brother. The wives, on the other hand, join the union individually, one after another, in the same way as is usually found in the polygynous system, except that the single husband is substituted by the polyandrous group of husbands. This form of marriage may, therefore, better be known as 'polygynandry', and this union a polygynandrous family unit, instead of being known by the popularly used term 'polyandrous'.

FAMILY ORGANIZATION

Being a kin-group formed on the patrilineal basis, the Jaunsari family is headed by a senior male member, who may not necessarily be, but usually is, the eldest among the male members of the senior generation living in the family. He commands the patriarchal authority in the family, and is known as its Sayana. Sayana is a very popular term in these parts, and is used to designate the headman of the village or of the Khat. Etymologically, it means an intelligent and well-informed man. He is the general manager of the family affairs, as well as the patron of all members of the family. He represents the family, especially in the village meeting (*khumri*), and is also expected to be able to speak

and express himself. Generally, he attains his position automatically by virtue of his seniority among the male members of the family, but he may concede his place to his younger brother or his eldest son when he grows old or becomes otherwise incapable of dealing with the family and village affairs. However, the seniormost male member, even after he has given up Sayanaship, is the most respected member of the family, and his opinions and advice are often sought for. At Baila, the Khat Sayana Birbal Singh, aged about 45 years, is the highest authority in all village affairs, yet his aged and invalid father may give a final verdict in the family affairs. It is also found in the polyandrous family that a father who is the juniormost amongst his brothers may be about the same age or even younger than his eldest son, yet it is the former who has priority in the family Sayanaship.

The Jaunsari joint family shows a well-knit organization in matters of division of labour among the family members. The prosperity of the family depends much upon the ability of its Sayana in the management of family affairs. Also important is a spirit of cooperation amongst all members of the family. These virtues are particularly essential for a family of the zamindar class, because its members have to do heavy and hard work, both in the household and in the field. The Sayana is responsible for the distribution and supervision of work among all the male members of the family. Usually, he himself works in the field, besides looking after the family affairs in general. Only when the hands available are more than those needed in the field, the Sayana may be spared, and may stay in the house and do some odd jobs such as spinning wool and entertaining guests. The male members work mainly in the field, but they also go out for grazing cattle, and they carry out duties connected with cottage industries. The assignments of work are given to every one according to his personal capacity and strength. The strongest man in the family is invariably given the task of grazing goats and sheep, because he has to climb up and down the precipitous cliffs and gorges, and has also to protect the flock from attacks of the wild beasts. He has often to remain away for days together, as the herds are seasonally kept in *chhanis* or livestock sheds in the field, or in the rock shelters, far away from the village settlement. This man does a really hard job, and he is, therefore, held in the highest esteem among all members of the family. At any rate, all members have equal status in the family, except the Sayana.

The Sayana has sole authority over the family property, but he should not misuse his right; often he requires and receives advice from his brothers. The wives as well as the children are common to all brothers, but as stated above, the tradition prescribes that it is only the eldest brother who marries all the wives and it is he who is regarded

as the 'social' father of all children born to the polyandrous or polygynandrous unions. Even in the case when a younger brother is very much younger so that a separate wife is taken for him, it is the eldest brother who marries the woman. He has his authority over this young bride also, though he may, in practice, concede this prerogative to his young brother.

As a rule, all the family members abide by the traditional pattern of behaviour and obey the patriarch in the family. The Sayana, in his turn, takes care to provide comforts and to cater to the needs of his younger brothers and others. This makes the family a cooperating and harmonious unit.

Like the Sayana of the family, the seniormost woman in the house, usually the first wife of the Sayana, is known as Sayani. She looks after the household matters and makes the domestic assignments among the womenfolk. She is the commander as well as the caretaker of all *ryantis* or wives in the family. Traditionally, a special and privileged status is given to the first among all the wives. She is more respected than her co-wives. All other wives have equal status, but those who have proved their fertility are more favoured by the husbands. Often additional wives are taken for begetting children, though usually the number of wives depends upon the economic condition of the family and the amount of work for women to perform. Women are great assets to their husbands. They not only perform the household work, such as cooking, washing, cleaning, fetching water and rearing of children, but also help their husbands in grazing milch cattle, collecting fuel, as well as in agricultural operations. They may be helped voluntarily by their daughters and their husbands' sister or sisters who, generally known as *dhyantis*, are frequent visitors to the family. However, *dhyantis* are by tradition not allowed to take part in any hard tasks.

Children are loved by all of their fathers, as well as by their mothers and step-mothers, and they are dependable working members of the family. Even very small boys and girls often take part in domestic work such as collecting fuel and tending cattle. In this way, all members of the family contribute to the family economy, and in return they receive their due rights and privileges, according to sex, age and status.

Although the family economy demands the maintenance of a joint unit, division of families does take place occasionally, either among the brothers or between the fathers and sons. It seems that the main causes calling for the division of a family are the quarrels between women, especially when one or more of the husbands take a fancy to one of their common wives. Otherwise, it may result from the division of labour

among the family members, especially when the size of the family has grown beyond the desirable limit, and working hands are few.

There are traditional codes to regulate the shares of inheritance, and the division of the family property is usually a concern of the village *khumri*. The father, the eldest brother, or both the eldest and youngest brothers, as the case may be, may be given the preference or priority to choose their shares. A woman is not entitled to any share, but a *dhyanti* is always a concern of her father or brothers, whenever she may like to come and stay at home. A *ryanti*, on the other hand, has her choice to stay with her husband or with her own sons. A mother may choose to stay with one of her sons, but her maintenance will be met by all sons born to her. It is also noticed as a special feature that, on the occasion of the division of a family, it is not necessary for all the heirs to separate from one another simultaneously. Often one or two of the brothers, with special attachment to one of their wives, may choose to establish a new household, while the rest stay back together until further division of family takes place.

POSITION OF THE POLYGYNANDROUS FAMILY

Much has been said about the origin of the polyandrous family, and many authorities are agreed that it cannot be traced to a single source. As far as the development and existence of the more complicated form of polygynandrous joint family among the Jaunsaris is concerned, there is a geo-economic cause. It is true that the hardship and volume of work and the labour involved in the Khasa family economy, due to their hill agricultural-cum-pastoral occupation, needs a great number of hands to work jointly in the household as well as in the fields. This need may be connected with the emergence of the joint family. It can be argued that this form of family may not be the only solution, but there is no doubt that this is one of the ways in which limited means and resources may be marshalled to cope with the environment. This argument finds support in the fact that the polygynandrous form of family is particularly prevalent among the landowners, the Khasas and the Brahmins, whereas its incidence among other castes, who are artisans and landless labourers, is much lower.

The local people believe that polyandry is necessary for the security of family property. As a rule, the family holdings of land are very small in this extraordinarily rugged hill region, and frequent separations of brothers and division of the family would lead to the disintegration of the entire society. Further, it is argued, joint family life of the type practised by the plains people, who recognize the individual units of the monogamous brothers, are likely to be divided sooner or later, either among themselves or among their issue, whereas in the

case of the polyandrous family, unity would be secured by the fact that all issues are born to the family as a whole.

It is also admitted that the polygynandrous family system suits the Jaunsaris as the number of wives can be adjusted to their economic means and personal needs. Two or more brothers may begin with only one or two wives, but they may subsequently add more wives when they can afford to. Further, a single husband or a father and son may take more wives than his or their own number, in order to get sufficient hands to work in the field. One such example is that of the family of Narayan Chand, where both the father and the son have married two wives each, and the resultant family is a joint unit of polygynous unions in two generations. On the other hand, when there are more male members in the family, the brothers usually take common wives equal in number to or less than their own. The number of wives smaller than that of the husbands is also found to be advantageous, as one or two of the husbands may have to remain outside for days together whereas all wives may stay in the village. The polygynandrous arrangement is therefore not only economic, but also convenient for companionship.

Instead of leading to a state of confusion and conflict due to sexual jealousy, as outsiders often believe, the polyandrous comradeship among the brothers in a Jaunsari family has helped in consolidating the family unity as well as in insuring cordial cooperation among all members of the family, under the leadership of both the patriarchal Sayana and his household assistant, the Sayani. Instances showing this spirit of mutual accommodation have been found in various ways among the brothers, the co-wives, as well as among the husbands and wives. The eldest brother or the elder brothers often try to get one or more young wives for the youngest brother or younger brothers and concede their prerogative to the latter. On the other hand, a senior wife may ask her husbands to get a new wife to help her with the house work, and a resourceful woman may give the same suggestion in order to devote herself more fully to a particular husband of her choice.

It seems that the existing Jaunsari family system has been secured under conditions not known on the plains of India. This, however, does not necessarily remove our doubts, for all people living in similar conditions as the Jaunsaris do, do not observe polyandry. Yet many *cis*-Himalayan people do practise polyandry. The neighbouring Simla states, Rawain and Kulu, are strong pockets of polyandry. In the Kumaon hills, polyandry has been abandoned but the lax marital code still sanctions deviant sexual intimacy, and the Naik women have posed a problem of serious magnitude — that of traffic in women. In Mailani, in Kulu, women are known to change their husbands as

often as they want, and a society, unusually tolerant in its attitude, turns the blind eye to all kinds of deviant sexual relations. Elsewhere I had suggested a matriarchal matrix in this region the survival of which are the widespread cross-cousin marriages among the lower castes, and the double standard of morality, in which patriarchal code is insisted on wives but the daughters are allowed inordinate latitude and licence. The wives periodically migrate to their *mait* (parents' village), where they take the liberty sanctioned to the daughters of the village. Polyandry in Jaunsar-Bawar has been reinforced by the mythology of the Pandavas, from whom the Khasas trace their origin, but all these can only explain its persistence, not, however, its origin. Changes and modifications, both in idea and in practice, have taken place in this family system lately, under the cultural influence of outsiders, as well as due to the growth of communication in this region. The degree of change varies greatly from place to place, but the system as a whole does not seem to be dying, nor would it be terminated so long as the local environment remains. We shall discuss the origin of this institution and its future at the end of this report, in the last chapter.

FORMS OF MARRIAGE AND TYPES OF FAMILY

Although joint family system is a dominant feature of the Khasa or the Brahmin society, yet simple or nuclear families are also found. The nuclear families, however, tend to become joint in course of time, in the process that characterizes family life among them. Generally speaking, the high caste group maintains a big household and, in general, a more complicated form of family, whereas the lower castes employ simpler forms.

An analysis of the distribution of different types of families among the various groups comprising Jaunsari society is, however, a matter much more complicated than it is among other societies. As we have seen before, it is the local geo-economic setting which appears to have created the complicated form of 'polygynandrous' marital union. In a joint family of two or three generations, the combinations of different forms of marital union in different generations complicate the issue of the composition and the type of the family. Before we start analyzing the family types, therefore, it is necessary to study the distribution of the various forms of marriage amongst the different castes.

It is also necessary to consider the distribution of marriage forms among different generations. The form of marriage may be determined by some biological fact, such as that a man born without a brother can only engage in a monogamous or a polygynous union; on the other

hand, two or more brothers might traditionally practise polyandry or polygynandry.

Taking all of the living generations together, the distribution of marriage forms among the various castes in the village of Baila is as shown in Table 1.

TABLE I
FORMS OF MARRIAGE AMONG VARIOUS CASTES IN BAILA
(December 1957)

Caste	Polygynandrous		Polyandrous		Polygynous		Monogamous		Total	
	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%
Rajput	18	40.0	2	4.4	13	28.9	12	26.7	45	100.0
Brahmin	1	50.0	1	50.0	—	—	—	—	2	100.0
Badi	3	25.0	2	16.7	2	16.7	5	41.6	12	100.0
Sunar	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	100.0	2	100.0
Bajgi	3	33.3	1	11.1	3	33.3	2	22.2	9	100.0
Kolta	4	21.1	2	10.5	4	21.1	9	47.8	19	100.0
TOTAL	29	32.6	8	9.0	22	24.7	30	33.7	89	100.0

The data reveal that among the Rajputs, who are the dominant group in the population of Baila, the highest frequency of the polygynandrous form occurs, this being 18 out of 45 cases of existing marital unions, and accounts for 40 per cent of the total. The figures given indicate only the present marital condition, whereas some of the polyandrous and other simpler unions now in existence may have been reduced from the polygynandrous form by divorce or death of wives, or due to division of the family. This high incidence, therefore, may substantiate our statement that the polygynandrous form of joint family is a result of adaptation. In fact, a claim that polygynandry is the normal form of marriage among the Khasas and Brahmins in Baila is supported by the fact that all the deviant forms enumerated above have resulted from the polygynandrous family. As a rule, when there have been two or more brothers in the family, they have married together, except in the family of Bir Singh Basrand, where his two sons have married separately owing to the great disparity between their ages (Tika Chand, the elder son, aged 37 years, married a wife a little older than him while his younger brother Dhoom Singh aged 13, married a wife 10 years of age).

A more detailed study of the marriage forms in terms of their generation-wise distribution among the Khasas of Baila is presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2
MARRIAGE FORMS AMONG KHASAS IN BAILA
(December 1957)

<i>Generation</i>	<i>Polygynandry</i>	<i>Polyandry</i>	<i>Polygyny</i>	<i>Monogamy</i>	<i>Total</i>
Senior	6	5	1	5	17
Middle	11	4	1	7	23
Junior	1	4	—	—	5
TOTAL	18	13	2	12	45

Here the three generations, senior, middle and junior, are divided with reference to the age of the head of each family. Those above 45 years of age belong to the senior generation, and those between 25 and 45 to the middle generation, while the generations of other members of each family are determined genealogically with reference to the family head. Table 2 shows that the largest number of polygynandrous unions are found within the middle generation. Meanwhile, some of the cases of polyandry among the senior generation have been reduced from the polygynandrous form by deaths of wives, whereas some among the junior generation may sooner or later become polygynandrous as the youngsters take their second common wife.

Baila, as we have mentioned earlier, is a more backward village, and here we find the greatest incidence of polyandrous and polygynandrous forms. Table 1 shows that not only the high castes, namely the Brahmins and the Rajputs, have contracted these marriages, but the same forms are also found in high frequencies among the lower castes. Statistics collected from Lohari point to a similar situation, but the condition in Lakhamandal is somewhat different. Separation of brothers has taken place more frequently in Lakhamandal than in Baila and Lohari. As a result, the frequency of polygynandry is much less than that of monogamy. An analysis of the marriage forms among the Brahmins of Lakhamandal is shown in Table 3.

Table 3 shows that the incidence of polygynandrous union is reduced to only 4 out of the 26 cases of marriage. This forms about 15 per cent of the total, in contrast with the 40 per cent found among the Brahmins and Rajputs in Baila. On the other hand, the frequency of monogamy

TABLE 3
MARRIAGE FORMS AMONG THE BRAHMINS IN LAKHAMANDAL
(December 1957)

Generation	<i>Polygynandry</i>	<i>Polyandry</i>	<i>Polygyny</i>	<i>Monogamy</i>	Total
Senior	1	4	1	7	13
Middle	3	2	2	5	12
Junior	0	0	0	1	1
TOTAL	4	6	3	13	26

rises up to 13 out of 26 cases, which is 50 per cent of the total. These figures indicate a great change in the custom. This change may have resulted from cultural contacts with Garhwal, as also from the fact that many immigrants came with small families.

It is obvious that the usual classification of families into joint family (or extended family), nuclear family, etc., would not serve our purpose here, since the polyandrous union and the consequent family structure is quite different in nature from these forms. It is hoped that the scheme we adopt here will indicate clearly the position of the various polygamous forms of marriage, especially the polygynandry and polyandry among the Jaunsar-Bawar society. Here again, we take the families in Baila as an example. It must be noted that the types of family referred to below, are not stable, and there is a constant shift from one type to the other due to frequency of divorce and of taking multiple wives. Every monogamous family may change to one or other of the forms indicated below and even a polyandrous and polygynous family may be reduced to monogamous unions.

LINEAGE SYSTEM

The lineage system is an extension of the joint family system, but it has a wider scope. Among certain castes, especially the Khasas and the Brahmins, the lineage system has been elaborately worked out as a matter of tradition and as a result of adjustment to the local environment. This system, in terms of *bhera* (sub-lineage), *aal* (lineage) and *dai chara* (allied lineages) provides the foundation on which the villages of this region were built up in the remote past.

An analytical account is presented here to show the characteristic features of this system and the way of its articulation with other parts

TABLE 4
TYPES OF FAMILY IN BAILA
(December 1957)

Sub-type	Rajput		Brahmin		Badi		Sunar		Bajgi		Kolta		Total	
	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%
I. POLYGYNANDROUS														
1. Simple polygynandrous	4	13.8			1				1				6	10.0
2. Multi-polygynandrous	3	10.3									1		4	6.7
3. Polygynandrous-cum-monogamous	2	6.9			2				1				5	8.3
4. Polygynandrous-cum-polyandrous	5	17.2	1						1	2			9	15.0
5. Polygynandrous-cum-polygynous														
Sub-total	14	48.3	1		3				3	3			24	40.0
II. POLYANDROUS														
1. Simple polyandrous	3	10.3			1				2				6	10.3
2. Multi-polyandrous	2	6.9											2	3.3
3. Polyandrous-cum-monogamous	1	3.4								1			2	3.3
4. Polyandrous-cum-polygynous					1					1			2	3.3
Sub-total	6	20.7			2				2	2			12	20.0
III. POLYGYNOUS														
1. Simple polygynous					1				1	1			3	5.0
2. Multi-polygynous	1	3.4											1	1.7
3. Polygynous-cum-monogamous														
Sub-total	1	3.4			1				1	1(7.7)			3	5.0

TABLE 4—*contd.*
 TYPES OF FAMILY IN BAILA
 (December 1957)

Sub-type	Rajput		Brahmin		Badi		Sunar		Bajgi		Kolta		Total	
	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%
IV. MONOGAMOUS														
1. Multi-mono- gamous	2	6.9			1						1		4	6.7
2. Appended monogamous	1	3.4											1	1.7
3. Nuclear monogamous	3	10.3			1	2	1			6			13	21.7
4. Broken	1	3.4											1	1.7
Sub-total	7	24.1			2	2	1			7 (53.8)			19	31.7
V. OTHERS														
1. Single male	1	3.4											1	1.7
2. Single female														
Sub-total	1	(3.4)											(1)	(1.7)
TOTAL	29	(100)	1		8	2	7			13 (100)			60	(100)

of the local society, which, as we have mentioned before, is a multi-caste structure.

MAIN FEATURES

Certain main features of the Jaunsari lineage system need be considered before a functional analysis can proceed. Here we may study the following aspects:

- (a) The lineage functioning in the absence of a clan
- (b) Lineage system as a graded structure
- (c) The territorial connection of the lineage system
- (d) Caste differentiation in the lineage system
- (e) Local differentiation in the lineage system

LINEAGE AND CLAN

The clan, or 'sib', generally exists among the Hindus of the plains in the form of a *gotra*, which, being a patrilineal kin group, affiliates

all its members to an ancestor, real or imaginary. According to the Jaunsari tradition, the *gotra* or clan is completely absent among all of the local castes.

However, there is a kin group, known as the *aal*, which is found invariably among the dominating caste group in the village. The members of an *aal* are believed to be real descendants of a common forefather, who was an early settler in the village. Although his place cannot be located genealogically, all member families of the *aal* count their common pedigree through the *bhera*, which, being a sub-division of the *aal*, consists of one or more families established on the division of an earlier family. In this way, they can trace their consanguineal relationship to the correct generation. As such, the *aal* should technically be recognized as a lineage and the *bhera* a sub-lineage.

In place of a clan or *gotra*, the *aal* as a lineage functions in matters of marriage regulation, as an exogamous unit, in its strict sense. This function has been extended through the graded lineage groups up to the intra and inter-village levels among the caste community. On the other hand, the *aal* further functions as a 'pivot' of the caste community in all affairs, personal, family and village, concerning their day-to-day life and subsistence. An *aal* is a well organized social group on kinship basis, which protects the interests of all of its members, examples of which will follow in subsequent chapters.

SEGMENTED LINEAGE SYSTEM

The lineage system as it prevails among the Khasas is a segmented structure which appears to start from the family and ends at the village or inter-village level. Needless to say, a lineage system cannot expand beyond the caste boundary. Nevertheless, it usually enrolls all member-families of the dominating caste in the village, and often includes a few allied villages as well.

This expansion of the lineage system has been made possible by a local provision of 'fictitious kinship' tie, under the name *dai chara*, which means 'brotherhood' relationship. The scheme represented in the diagram on p. 84 may help us to clarify the situation.

The scheme shows that the lineage system may be considered in its six segments, namely inter-village, village, lineage-group, lineage, sub-lineage and family.

We have seen in the foregoing paragraph that the *aal* may be technically recognized as the lineage, and the *bhera* the sub-lineage, whereas the agnatic core in 'family' stands at the lowest rung of the lineage ladder.

Above the *aal*, or lineage, as the scheme shows, there are three groups of lineages, namely the collateral *aals*, affinal *aals* and affiliated

THE SEGMENTED LINEAGE SYSTEM

Segments :	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	<i>Inter-village</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Lineage-group</i>	<i>Lineage</i>	<i>Sub-lineage</i>	<i>Family</i>
				<i>Aal :</i>	<i>Bhera 1 :</i>	<i>Family 1</i>
			<i>Collateral</i>	<i>Aal 2 :</i>	<i>Bhera 2 : etc.</i>	<i>Family 2</i>
			<i>Aals :</i>			
			<i>Affinal Aals :</i>			
		<i>Village</i>	<i>Affiliated Aals :</i>			
		<i>Dai Chara</i>				
		(I)				
<i>Inter-village</i>		<i>Village</i>				
<i>Dai Chara</i>		<i>Dai Chara</i>				
		(II) etc.				

*aals**. In Baila, for instance, there are now five *aals* among the Khasas who form the dominating group in the village. It is found that three out of the five *aals*, namely Basrand, Horiyand and Ravaik, are said to be the direct descendants of the founder of the Rajput (Khasa) community of Baila. This fourth *aal*, Daland, is not directly descended but affinally related to the family of the aforesaid founder. His descendants were, therefore, not lineage members of the first three *aals*, who were the agnates of his wife. However, they were later on ritually admitted into the *dai chara* or 'brotherhood' relationship with the three earlier *aals*, and henceforth intermarriage between them was forbidden. Further, the fifth *aal* was not at all related to the other *aals*. Their ancestor, who came for service, was said to belong to a lower caste, though he married a Rajput girl from Sirmur. His descendants were formerly discriminated against by others, but they were also admitted into the same *dai chara* at a later date.

The five *aals* in Baila may, therefore, be recognized as three different groups. The first three *aals*, being descended from the same ancestor, may be regarded as the 'collateral *aals*'. They are real consanguineal kins. The fourth *aal*, Daland, may be put in the group of 'affinal *aals*', since its founder was an affinal kin of the first group of *aals* of the *dai chara* union. The Lakhtate, which was originally not related to the main group of *aals*, but which has been admitted to the *dai chara* by social and ritual affiliation, belongs to a third group, the 'affiliated *aals*'. As indicated in the diagram opposite, each of these three lineage-groups may contain one or more *aals*. Here, in the above instance, there are 3 collateral *aals*, and one each of the affinal and affiliated *aals*.

The *dai chara* is composed of the above mentioned three lineage-groups. It is significant that the admission to the *dai chara* union is a matter of both social and supernatural sanction. The latter has to be sought from Lord Mahasu, the guardian deity of Jaunsar-Bawar villages. This *dai chara* is, in a sense, a local group, which embraces the whole of a caste group in the village, but at the same time it is a kin group, ritual or fictitious, as the case may be, which together forms an exogamous unit. It may be argued that it is due to the necessity of cooperation between all neighbours to strive for their subsistence, that the newcomers or minorities also were adopted into the 'lineage system' of the majority group on the basis of an affinal or fictitious kinship tie. The existence of the *dai chara* has no doubt integrated the caste in the same village.

Side by side with the *dai chara* is the customary way of addressing the residents of a village by a common term, which is expressive of

* See Chapters One and Two for details about settlement history and distribution of lineage groups at Baila and Lohari.

consanguineal kinship. For example, all the Khasas in Baila are known as *tinniu*, and the majority group of Khasas in Lohari as *rajeu*. Both are named after the respective founders of the villages. This term of address, however, is not co-terminous with the *dai chara*. In Lohari, the *dai chara* of the Khasas includes two groups, *rajeu* and *khakta*.

Both the *dai chara* and the terms of address of the local group may go beyond the village boundary. The *dai chara* of the Khasas in Baila includes also the Khasas of five other villages, both in Jaunsar-Bawar and in Sirmur and Jubbal of Himachal Pradesh, on the west side of the river Tons. The Khasas of four of these villages are known as *tinniu*, and those of the other two villages, *binniu*. It is said that the ancestor of the Khasas of Baila was one of the two brothers who came from Sirmur, while the other brother went further to the village Birnar, in Khat Bawar, where the residents are known as Binniu. The ancestors' sibling relationship, therefore, made the Khasas of all the six villages of Binniu and Tinniu an exogamous unit, which is an inter-village *dai chara*.

TERRITORIAL ASPECT

A territorial aspect of the lineage system is found in its relation with the village or villages. This aspect of the lineage system is significant in the sense that the villages of Jaunsar-Bawar have, as a rule, been founded and built up by the ancestors belonging to the dominant caste, that is, either a Brahmin or a Khasa group. It is due to this fact that there are usually several 'collateral *aals*' found to exist in each village. It is also on this basis that the *dai chara* has been established.

Another important connection of the lineage groups with the territory is found in the *Bera*, which is usually referred to as the habitat of a *bhera*, but it may also refer to the whole *aal*. Here we may trace a link between the name of an *aal* or a *bhera* and that of an ancestral homestead. Every *aal*, as well as every *bhera*, has a specific name, which is either derived from the personal name of the head of the original family or refers to some particular event connected with the family. This name was, in fact, used in the first instance as a means of referring to the house where the original family lived, but subsequently it was carried as a *bhera* name by all the offshoot families on the division of the family. Meanwhile, all of the new family units used to build their new huts in and around the ancestral site. Consequently, the families belonging to the same *bhera* are residing in one place, hence a *Bera* is called by the *bhera* name. Similar was the case when an early *bhera* developed into an *aal*, though the rule of residential contiguity among the member families could not be rigid. This territorial tie, therefore, helped the kinship to be maintained and developed for mutual security and cooperative living.

CASTE DIFFERENTIATION OF THE LINEAGE SYSTEM

Although a well-knit system of lineage is in existence among the Khasas and the Brahmins, the situation among the other castes is quite fluid.

Generally speaking, the establishment of lineages among members of a caste in the village depends upon the size of the community and the duration of their stay in the village. As regards the development of a 'lineage system', however, it depends more upon the socio-economic status of the caste.

As a matter of tradition, the village community is invariably dominated by a high caste group, either a Khasa or a Brahmin, but only very rarely by both. This group consists of a large number of families having a long history in the village. They occupy the supreme socio-economic position among all the village castes. The lineage system is well developed among them.

As regards the lower castes, especially the artisans, who have no attachment to land, but earn their livelihood by the traditional services they perform, it is found that they frequently migrate from village to village. They seldom stick to a village for many generations, nor are they to be found in large numbers. For example, there are only two families each of Nath and Bajgi in Lohari, one each of Badi and Bajgi in Lakhamandal, and only two families of Sunar in Baila. Naturally, no *aal* could be founded among them. The same situation is found even with a high caste when it forms a minority component in the village, e.g., the single Brahmin family in the Rajput village Baila, and the two non-related Rajput families in the Brahmin village Lakhamandal. However, the *bheras* are found among the minority groups as well. The *bhera* name is sometimes used to refer to the residence of the family. As such, it would be given even to the solitary families.

It would however be incorrect to deny the existence of a lineage group among the lower castes. We have found that the seven families of Bajgi in Baila, all belonging to the same family stem, have claimed for themselves an *aal* known as Dhanand. Similarly, all the eight Badi families in the same village claim to have an *aal* named Punand. It would remain uncertain whether these names should be regarded as their *bheras*, so long as they do not have another *bhera* name. In all probability, these castes have traditionally no sound system of lineage for the aforementioned reasons, but they may have taken the *bhera* as their *aal*.

Depending upon the population strength and duration of stay in the village, we may expect the Koltas to have the lineage system. In Baila, for example, 12 out of the 13 Kolta families belong to the family lines

of early settlers. They have established among them two *aals*, one of which is sub-divided into two *bheras*. All the families of both *aals* are related to one another by *dai chara*. Intermarriage among them is forbidden, though they can marry with the thirteenth Kolta family which came to the village at a later date. In Lohari, on the other hand, out of 21 families, 18 are old residents, among whom there are 8 *bheras*, but no *aal*. Evidently, the *aal* and the lineage system are not the Kolta tradition. Even though the *aal* has been found among the Koltas in Baila, it is functioning no more than an exogamous unit, as long as their socio-economic status leaves no room for their *aal* to exert any influence upon the village affairs.

LOCAL DIFFERENTIATION OF THE LINEAGE SYSTEM

We have mentioned earlier of differences in the customs of different parts of Jaunsar-Bawar — those of the interior parts, like Baila and Lohari, from the border region, like that surrounding Lakhmandal. Same differences arise in regard to the lineage system.

As a matter of fact, we have chosen to present the system found in Baila-Lohari area in greater detail, as this would represent the traditional pattern typical of the Jaunsari culture. Lakhmandal, under the Garhwali cultural influence, has a lineage system altogether different in appearance, though the position of the lineage, which is known as *thok* at Lakhmandal, is not very different from those of Baila and Lohari, in so far as it regulates and controls the day-to-day affairs of the villagers.

Lakhmandal is known as a Brahmin village, where Brahmins account for 21 out of 43 families. They have a well established lineage system. The next biggest group of village population is that of the Kolta, which being unstable in its composition due to the high mobility of the member families, contains no lineage or *thok*. Table 5 gives a summary of the lineage composition found among the Brahmins at Lakhmandal.

The more significant features found with the lineage system among the Brahmins at Lakhmandal may be summarized as follows:

(1) Instead of *aal*, the lineage is known as *thok*, though the nature of the latter, as a kin group, is found to be in conformity with that of the *aal*, except that the *thoks* of Lakhmandal are rather small in size, which points to a comparatively short history of the settlement of the present group of Brahmin families in Lakhmandal. The term *thok* has a Garhwali origin.

(2) Considering that the *thok* is an *aal*, we find in Lakhmandal no sub-lineage equivalent to a *bhera*. This is due to the obvious reason that the *thoks* are yet too small to have any sub-divisions. In fact, the

TABLE 5
COMPOSITION OF LINEAGES (THOK) AT LAKHAMANDAL
(December 1957)

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Name of Thok</i>	<i>No. of Families</i>
1.	Raichan	6
2.	Luman	4
3.	Gauryan	4
4.	Chaprasian	3
	Individual families	4
TOTAL		21

thok names also serve the purpose of denoting the houses of the families concerned, as the *Bhera* name usually does.

(3) Each *thok* has a Sayana, who is an important figure not only in the lineage but also in the village community. It is especially so in the case of the three old *thoks*, the Raichan, the Luman and the Gauryan, whereas the Chaprasian, which has been established in the present generation, is not a full-fledged lineage or *thok*, as far as its position in the village affairs is concerned.

(4) It is noticeable that the new families of Brahmins, as well as of the Rajputs, were immigrating till a very late date. This is not the case among the dominating groups of population in other villages in Jaunsar-Bawar. This fact is both the cause and the result of the unstable situation of the lineage system in this village. However, the authority and the functions attached to the three senior *thoks* do qualify them to be 'lineages', in the true sense of a Jaunsar 'aal'.

A FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

The foregoing structural study shows that the pattern of the lineage system among the Jaunsaris may vary on both the caste and the local bases. However, the system prevailing among the Khasas of both Baila and Lohari may be regarded as a standard form in accordance with the Jaunsari tradition. It is this system which has built up the villages in Jaunsar-Bawar and maintained them as they are now. The importance of this system among the local society may be further elucidated by a functional analysis, with particular reference to the following aspects:

(a) The organization of the lineage, or *aal*

- (b) Solidarity among the *aal* — the *aal* functioning as a kin group and as a local group
- (c) *Aal* and the village community

THE LINEAGE ORGANIZATION

Although the lineage system is a graded structure, its main functions are focussed on the *aal* which, as a lineage, is itself a well organized and stable unit, with definite rules to govern the leadership, membership, as well as their rights and duties among the group.

The leadership in the *aal* is centered in the Aal Sayana who is a senior member of the senior branch among all the member families or *bheras* of the same *aal*. He attains his position by seniority and as a matter of hereditary right. His authoritative status is derived from that of the patriarch in the Jaunsari patrilineal joint family. However, his authority is manifold and is far beyond the scope of that of the family head, though his actual position depends on the status of the village community. Normally, he is, on the one hand, the authority which settles intra-*aal* disputes. On the other hand, he is also the conventional leader and representative of the whole *aal* in dealing with other *aals* and other castes in the village. He is an important figure in the village meeting (*khumri*) where he represents the interests of his *aal* members at various levels.

There is also a Bhera Sayana in each *bhera* or sub-lineage. However, the *bhera* is not as stable a group as the *aal*. Again, the Sayanaship in the *bhera* is not very well defined, though the mutual obligation and intimacy among the *bhera* members remains at a much higher level than that among the *aal*. Thus a *bhera* is a more intimate kin group than an *aal*, but the latter has more authority. This difference is due to the fact that the *bhera* is a direct extension of the joint family, the members of which are united by blood relationship and affection, whereas the *aal* is a bigger unit and a part of the village community, which is more concerned with the local authority of law and order.

Membership in both the *aal* and the *bhera* is determined automatically and non-voluntarily by consanguineal relationship. However, the membership of the lineage is counted on a family basis, instead of a personal one. It is the family and not the individual which is the constituent part of a *bhera* and an *aal*, and it is through the family that individuals get their membership in the lineage groups. Notwithstanding the fact that the *aal* and *bhera* are patrilineal, women change their membership after marriage. Thus a married daughter or *dhyanti* does not observe the taboos on her father's side, whereas a housewife or *rhyanti* has to follow those of her husband.

SOLIDARITY IN THE AAL

As regards the interrelationship among the lineage members and the lineage solidarity, it is seen that an *aal* is functioning both as a kin group and as a local group.

Aal as a Kin Group

As a kin group, all members of the *aal* regard themselves as belonging to a big family, or *kutumb*. There is, therefore, among them an incest taboo which leads to a strict *aal* exogamy. This idea goes even beyond the *aal* level, and has led to *dai chara* exogamy.

All the members of an *aal* are obliged to help one another both in their daily needs and in family crises. The mutual obligations are binding on them at social and ritual occasions. For instance, when a family is sending away a daughter for marriage, all male members of the *aal* to which she belongs are expected to participate in the 'Jojora' or marriage party, which goes with the bride to the village of the bridegroom. Similarly, on the marriage of a son, all male members of the same *aal* and some of their wives attend the feast as well as assist the family in all necessary arrangements. It is also a custom that during such grand festivals as the Magh Mela and Bissu, invitations are sent to all families of the same *aal*. On the occasions of the Kimona, an annual festival of making the '*keem*', a fermented cake, large quantities of which are stored for preparing country liquor all the year round, it is seen that all families of each *aal* in the village form a work group instead of working individually. The team spirit displayed shows lineage unity and solidarity.

The lineage solidarity is further manifested in matters of enmity and rivalry between the family groups. Whenever a dispute arises between two individuals or families belonging to different *aals*, it may soon reach the *aal* level. When at Baila some time ago, a fight broke out between the families of Tikam Singh (Basrand) and Badroo (Horiyand), it was taken by the villagers as an inter-*aal* fight between the Basrands and the Horiyands. An inter-family enmity often passes in the lineage line, in the form of '*chhinga*' or '*barjan*', which is a ritual observance of inter-family difference on the basis of ancestral vows. Both at Baila and at Lohari, children are told by their parents not to go to certain houses nor to take food there. Bahadur (Sitlanh) and Bhag Singh (Biraik) are studying together in the school at Lohari. They read together and play together. They are very good friends, but they cannot eat from each other's hand. 'We are at *barjan* with each other', said the 9-year old boy Bahadur, 'we don't know why it is so, but we were told that in the past there had been a quarrel

between our families and therefore we can't eat at each other's houses nor from each other's hand'. In fact, almost every family at Lohari is at *barjan* with four or five families. For example, all the three families of the Biraik *bhera* are at *barjan* with the families of Sitlanh and Muranh, the Sitlanhs with all families of Biraik and Khakta, etc. Similar cases are found with the families in Baila, in terms of *chhinga* which is found not only among the Khasas but also among other castes in the village. It is a custom that when two families are involved in a prolonged dispute or serious conflict, and find no way out of it, then either or both of them may go to the temple of Mahasu to sacrifice a goat and take a vow to sever all social relations with each other. This vow, bearing a supernatural sanction, forces all the descendants of these families to keep away from one another, generation after generation, until it is removed by another ritual performance at the Mahasu's temple, by the heads of the families or *bheras* concerned.

Aal as a Local Group

The *aal* has also a position as a local group functioning in the village community, for all members of an *aal* are bound together by a territorial tie. We have mentioned the territorial aspect of the lineage system, according to which all the families of one *bhera* used to remain together at an ancestral site, known as their *Bera*. This residential contiguity then intensifies the intimacy and mutuality of the member families of the lineage group and furnishes a basis for them to act as a local group in the village affairs.

In a like fashion, all the *aals* in the village generally join hands to form a *dai chara*, which is as much a kin group as a local group, at the village level. At the intra-village level, the *aals* are also attached to the locality. For instance, Lohari is sub-divided on the lineage basis into two completely separate wards, the Rajeu and the Khaktad. The former accommodates three *aals*, while the latter has a single *aal* of the Khakta. At Baila, the village site is locally regarded as two 'villages', which are formed by two and three of the Rajput *aals*. As a result of contiguity, solidarity and cooperation have been developed among these local groups. Thus when the families of Tikam Singh and Badroo were involved in an open fight, it was feared among all the villagers of Baila that it might take the shape of a communal feud between the northern 'village' which consists of the *aals* of Basrand (to which Tikam belongs) and Daland, and the southern one which consists of the Horiyand (to which Badroo belongs), Ravaik and Lakhtate. It is said that such fights were of frequent occurrence in Baila during the olden days.

From the functional point of view, the position of the *aal* as a local group may be regarded as established on account of the fact that the

village community is dominated by the caste to which the *aal* belongs. For instance, in a 'Rajput village' as at Baila or Lohari, it is only the Rajput *aals* which are the real constituent parts of the village community, and it is their castemen who largely dictate or have an authoritative voice in village affairs, whereas other castes in the village are only their subordinates and followers. It is, therefore, in the same way as it used to function as a kin group in the caste community that the *aal* is functioning as a local group in the village community. In fact, it is owing to this position of the *aal* in the Jaunsari village community, that the institution of the *aal* deserves special attention.

AAL AND THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

The position of the *aals* in the Jaunsari society, as they are today, is the culmination of historical trends. Reference may be made to the histories of the settlement of various castes and *aals* in the village, as we have described at some length in Chapter Two on the Field Centres. We are told how the Khaktas, who were the original settlers of Lohari, were reduced in number due to the alleged practice of black magic by their rival group, the Rajeus. This points unmistakably to the fact of competition and rivalry between the lineage groups in the village. Similarly, the earlier groups of Brahmin settlers of Baila, namely, the Bhujreus and the Bhodiyas, could not continue their stay in the village due to the alleged displeasure of their god. All of these instances illustrate the way in which the village community came about, and how important was the position of the *aal*. It was also at Baila that even the water source in the village came within the *aal's* ownership, and it was this ownership which led to much controversy and dispute among the villagers, when the C.D.P. proposed to transform the water source into a reservoir for all the villagers.

A legend is current here that there was a time when no water was available at Baila, but due to the painstaking efforts of one of the ancestors of the Horiyand *aal*, who prayed to Lord Mahasu at Hanol, a water source was created in this village. In this connection, the Horiyands were traditionally regarded as the owners of that water source. There is an interesting and elaborate system of distribution of water among the villagers. It is said that there was another water source, which belonged to the Lakhtate *aal*, but it dried up some 30 years ago. In the days when there were two water sources in the village, the source known to be the Lakhtate's was used exclusively by the Lakhtate families in the night, but was open to other Rajput *aals* in the day, while the other source, which was regarded as owned by the Horiyand *aal*, was used by the Horiyand families in the day, and left for other *aals* to draw water from in the night. Since the drying

up of the water source owned by the Lakhtate, that of the Horiyand became the only source of water supply in the village. The Horiyands continued to draw water from it in the day, whereas other *aals*, except the Lakhtate, came in two shifts to draw water on alternate nights, as well as in early mornings. The Lakhtate, however, were obliged to go far down the mountain slope to reach another water source, in the same way as all the other castes normally used to do.

When the construction of a reservoir (*diggi*) was proposed early in 1955, by the C.D.P. and the Sub-Divisional Magistrate of Chakrata, it was welcomed by all sections of villagers in Baila, barring the Horiyands, who were afraid of losing their hereditary monopoly of the water supply. All the six families of Horiyand, under the leadership of Kishan Singh, who is the Aal Sayana as well as one of the four Gaon Sayanas of Baila, put up strong opposition to the plan. They put forward the reason that the water source belonged to the deity, who was not ready to give his consent for the construction of the *diggi*. They even thought that the application of cement on their reservoir would displease the deity and therefore they would possibly lose even the water supply.

On the other hand, all the other four *aals* of Baila, under the leadership of Daya Ram, who is the chief Gaon Sayana and the most influential village elder, were in favour of the *diggi* work. Daya Ram, being well informed and respected, as well as being the Sarpanch of the Adalti Panchayat of Kandoi Bharam Khat, to which Baila belongs, raised his voice in the public challenging the *aal* ownership of the water source to which the Horiyands had their claim. He also refuted the alleged displeasure of the deity, and even blamed the village Patwari, who was sent by the Government to prepare an estimate some time earlier, for misleading Kishan Singh and his party. Notwithstanding the majority support for Daya Ram's views, it was rather difficult to disregard the objections of Kishan Singh's party as long as it was a matter of the hereditary privileges of their *aal*. For a time, feelings ran high and a fight was expected between the Horiyands and the other *aals* in the village. Kishan Singh personally appealed to the Tehsil at Chakrata, and this delayed the construction, which was due to begin in May of that year. Even the Panchayat Secretary's and the V.L.W.'s repeated persuasions could not prevent the dispute from continuing for half a year. It was only due to the Sub-Divisional Magistrate's strict order that the spade work could be started on the 19th October 1955, and the reservoir was completed only by the end of the following year. It may be added here that up to now, the construction of this *diggi* has been the biggest achievement of the C.D.P. from the villagers' standpoint.

Aal in the Village Khumri

An index to the importance of an *aal* in the village life is how much voice it has in the village *khumri*. The *khumri* is invariably monopolized by the dominating caste, whereas the component *aals* of the caste are the contending parties in the meetings.

Although the representatives to the *khumri* are there on a family basis, more importance is attached to the *aal* participation. As a rule, all families of each *aal* cooperate under the leadership of the Aal Sayana, in the interest of all members of their *aal*. The village Sayanas, as also the Sadar Sayana in case of the Khat headquarters, are hereditarily determined on the basis of the *aal*, even though such individuals once selected, demonstrate general interest in the welfare of the community. It is the Aal Sayana and the Bhera Sayana who take leading parts in the discussions. Thus the village *khumri* is found to be the stage for all *aals* in the village to contend against one another when it is necessary. However, as a matter of tradition, the rightful privileges and interests of individual *aals* are respected by all and a general balance of power is usually maintained among all the *aals*, as far as intra-village affairs are concerned. It is on this basis that the village life and village affairs are proceeding smoothly. Thus, in Baila, all the five Rajput *aals* are well represented in the village *khumri*. There are, besides a Sadar Sayana, four Gaon Sayanas from different *aals*. Their positions are determined as a matter of tradition. Though Daya Ram from Lakhtate is the most important among the four and is the real village Sayana in action, both inside and outside the village, the other three Gaon Sayanas have equal status with him in the village *khumri*. Besides, there are other spokesmen of the various *aals* and *bheras*.

Village peace and solidarity depend much upon the leadership both in the village and in the *aals*. In Lohari, for instance, it seems that there is a general confusion of authority and a state of chaos in the village. Apparently much of this is caused by the lack of general leadership, as the late village Sayana Jas Ram was, owing to his personal defects and weakness, very unpopular among the villagers for quite a few years, till he died in December 1957, while Ganga Ram, who is known as the 'small Sayana' of the village, is too much self-contained to have any voice in the *khumri*. Further, there is a lack of leadership in the individual *aals*.

On the other hand, the strong leadership and close relationship among groups of families have led to considerable solidarity of the lineage among the Brahmins of Lakhamandal, specially in the case of three main *thoks*, namely the Raichan, the Luman and the Gauryan. Each *thok* is headed by a Thok Sayana who is the judge and controller of the affairs among *thok* members. He also represents the interests of

his *thok* in the village community. In the village *khumri* the Thok Sayana is as important as the village Sayana. The village Sayanaship of Lakhmandal is held by the Thok Sayana of Raichan, but his rightful position has been challenged by the Lumans. The Lumans and the Raichans may have different origins, but both of them have had an equally long duration of stay in the village, as well as equally great economic strength and social influence. The Gauryans also have a position comparable to that of the Raichans and Lumans. As a convention, the affairs of the village are managed by the common agreement of all the three Thok Sayanas, though the Thok Sayana of Raichan, at the inter-village level, represents Lakhmandal as the village Sayana.

The Thok Sayanaship points to the lack of unity among the Brahmins of Lakhmandal. This is probably due to the difference in origin of the groups of families who have migrated to Lakhmandal, from Tehri-Garhwal from time to time. A few Brahmin as well as Rajput families, which immigrated recently, have their respective attachment with the one or the other of the main *thoks* in the village, on either kinship or economic ground. As a result, local groups have evolved from the kinship groups. It has been a local convention to count the gross strength of the *thok* by adding the number of its member families, those of the affiliated families, and the Kolta families serving them.

The comparative position and importance of the *thoks* in the village, therefore, not only depends on its net strength as a consanguineal kin group, but also varies according to its gross strength as a socio-economic constellation and a local group. It is this way of affiliation of newcomers to the old groups of families, which determines the balance of power among the *thoks* of the Brahmins of Lakhmandal.

KINSHIP WEB

The foregoing sections have shown that the Jaunsari kinship structure, especially that among the Khasas, is characterized by a polygynandrous family and a graded system of lineage, both of which are counted in the patrilineal line of descent, and are, therefore, within the sphere of the 'agnates'. We may now proceed further and study affinal kin and the kinship web among the Khasas in general.

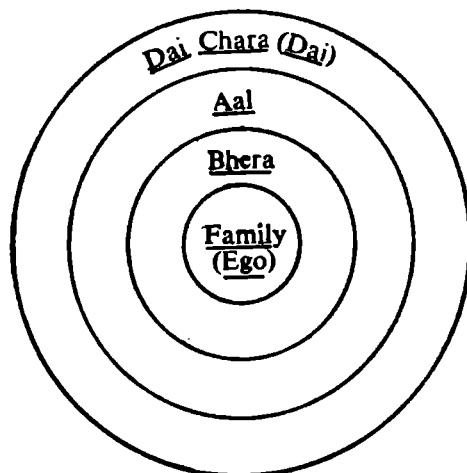
CLASSIFICATION OF KIN

Although the Khasas have among them very complicated systems of family and lineage, their way of recognizing affinal kin is remarkably simple in comparison with the burdensome categories of kinship nomenclature among the Hindus of the plains.

For the Khasas an essential distinction has to be made between a consanguineal kin and an affinal kin, and is denoted by a pair of terms, *dai* and *soga*. We have discussed at length the *dai chara*, which is an exogamous group including all the *dais* or brothers. On the other hand, the affinal kin of the Khasas is known as *soga*, which means the affinal relatives or the 'kindred', excluding the agnates. The term *soga* has its Hindi equivalent *rishta*, to which reference has been made by many a well-informed Jaunsari informant. The practice of cross-cousin marriage may orient the kinship structure by eliminating the ego's mother's cognates, a separate kin group.

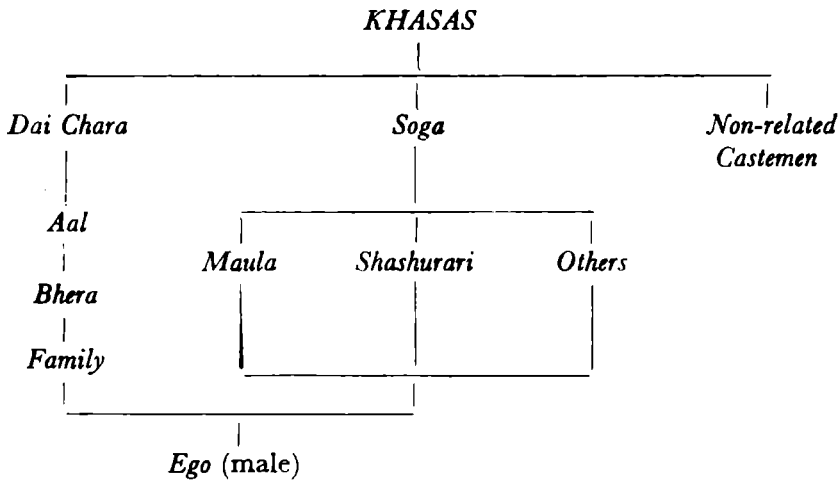
Due to the customary rules of lineage and village exogamy, the terms *dai* and *soga* have not only their kinship connection, but also their territorial significance. In the Khasa tradition, a *dai* is usually a co-villager of the speaker, while a *soga* is, as a rule, an outsider. However, the *sogas* are those outsiders who are related to the speaker by an affinal tie, whereas there are other outsiders who are Khasas but are not related to the speaker. In terms of kinship, therefore, the whole of the Khasa society (i.e. the Khasa caste) may be recognized by a Khasa individual in three groups, namely, the *dai* or agnates, the *soga* or affinal relations, and the non-related castemen. The latter, however, may become his *soga*, when a marital alliance is arranged between them and him.

As regards a further sub-division of kinship, we have already discussed a 6-grade scheme of the *dai chara*. Ignoring the differences amongst the component lineage-groups (i.e. the collateral *aals*, affinal *aals* and affiliated *aals* of the *dai chara*), we may represent the structure among the *dais* in a few concentric circles as follows:



Among the *soga*, or the affinal relations, the Khasas emphasize one group, namely the *maula*, or 'avunculates', which has been given a special appellation. Another term in vogue is *shashurari*, which means the 'in-laws'. These two groups of kin are of the same kinship significance from the family's viewpoint, since a man's *shashurari* coincides with the *maula* of his children. There is also a term *mait*, which is used by women to refer to their natal house or their father's family. Here again, the *mait* of a woman coincides with the *maula* of her children, as well as with the *shashurari* of her husband. Significantly, Khasas give a definite status only to the avunculate (which is recognized by the people of the plains as the *mamera rishta*), whereas the nepotic (or amitate) kin and the kin through the mother's sister (which are usually recognized by the plains people as the *phuphera rishta* and *mausera rishta*, respectively), as well as all other kin are left unspecified, although known in general as the *soga*.

As a whole, the Khasa kinship classification may be shown as follows:



KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

A study of kinship terms may help to elucidate the idea underlying the Khasa way of recognizing and grouping of kin. The kinship terms may be enumerated group by group according to the lines indicated above. Thus there may be four groups, namely the family members, the agnates in the lineage, the avunculates, and the other kin.

1. Kinship Terminology in the Family

On the basis of a polygynandrous union, the interpersonal relationship in the Khasa family is likely to differ from that in the nuclear family on the one hand, and from that in the usual type of monogamous joint-family on the other. In order to make out these significant differences, we propose to deal first with the primary kinship terms,

which are used in a nuclear family, and then proceed further to consider those used in connection with the polygynandrous union, and in their joint family.

(a) *Kins in a Nuclear Family Unit*. The relationship and terms are indicated in Table 6.

TABLE 6
KINS IN A NUCLEAR FAMILY UNIT

S. No.	Relationship (abbr.)	Term of Kinship	Term of Address	Term of Reference
1.	Husband (H)*	Khwand	no term, but 'ole'	Khwand or by teknonymy
2.	Wife (W)*	Joru	no term, but 'oli'	Joru or by teknonymy
3.	Son (Z)*	Chhota	by name	Chhota or by name
4.	Daughter (D)*	Chhoti	by name	Chhoti or by name
5.	Father (F)*	Baba	Baba	Baba
6.	Mother (M)*	Iji	Iji	Iji
7.	elder Brother (eB)*	Dada	Dada	Dada
8.	younger Brother (yB)*	Bhaiya	by name	Bhaiya or by name
9.	elder Sister (eS)*	Dadi	Dadi	Dadi
10.	younger Sister (yS)*	Bhayati	by name	Bhayati or by name

* The abbreviations as indicated here will be used hereafter without further explanation.

In Table 6, there are shown against all the relationships three sets of terms, namely terms of kinship, terms of address and terms of reference. The 'terms of kinship' are the terms describing the kinship relationships in general, such as the husband, the wife, etc., whereas the terms of address and terms of reference are those indicating the way in which each term is used by one to address another person directly or to refer to another person indirectly. For instance, in Baila, Daya Ram married Sundei from Kandoi, and they have a son named Gopi Chand. Now we may see how they are using *the above mentioned three sets of terms* with reference to the relationships: Husband, Son and Father.

Daya Ram stands in a relationship to Sundei as her husband. The Jaunsar term of kinship for this relationship is 'khwand'. However, she is not addressing him as *khwand* or using any term or description, but an interjection 'ole', and in her talks with a third person, he is

referred to either as her *khwand* or as 'father of Gopi Chand'. Similarly, Gopi Chand is the son of Daya Ram. The term of kinship for 'son' is '*chhota*', whereas Daya Ram is addressing Gopi Chand not as *chhota* but by his personal name. When Daya Ram is talking with a third person about Gopi Chand, the latter is referred to either as his *chhota* or by name. On the other hand, Daya Ram is Gopi Chand's father. The Jaunsari term of kinship for 'father' is '*baba*', and here both the term of address and term of reference are also *baba*, as is shown in Table 6.

In the same table, there are also shown the corresponding terms of kinship, address and reference, for all other relationships between the members of a nuclear family, namely the wife, the daughter, the mother, the brother and the sister. The last two are, however, differentiated into two categories, the elder and the younger.

Considering all of the above terms together, we see that there are three ways of addressing the kin, namely

- (i) by the term of kinship itself, as in the case of father (*baba*), mother (*iji*), elder brother (*dada*) and elder sister (*dadi*);
- (ii) by the name of the person addressed, as in the case of son (*chhota*), daughter (*chhoti*), younger brother (*bhaiya*) and younger sister (*bhayati*); and
- (iii) by the use of no term, but of an interjection, as in the case of husband (*ole*) and wife (*oli*).

In short, persons who are senior to the speaker are addressed by the corresponding term of kinship, while the juniors, either in generation or in age, are addressed by name; the spouses are addressed neither by the terms of kinship nor by personal names, but by an interjection, which is a kind of 'teknonymy'.

As regards the 'terms of reference', they often coincide with the terms of kinship. However, the juniors are more frequently referred to by name than by the respective term of kinship, whereas in the case of either spouse, teknonymy is often resorted to, i.e. he or she is referred to by his wife or her husband respectively, in her or his talk with a third party, as the father or the mother of so and so.

Generally speaking, some of the usages mentioned above are similar to those in vogue among some groups of people in the plains. However, many of the terms of kinship are unknown to the latter. It may be added here that most of the terms used here are not differentiated according to the sex of the speaker, e.g. a son is known as *chhota*, both by his father and mother. We may say that all the kinship terms mentioned here and hereafter are used equally by both male and

female speakers, except when otherwise noted, or when the sex of the speaker is obviously indicated by the term itself, such as those related to one's spouse or to the latter's relations.

(b) *Kin in the Polygynandrous Family Unit.* In a family unit of the polygynandrous pattern, certain adjectives are needed to qualify the relations who are addressed or referred to by terms of kinship. These are shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7
TERMS OF ADDRESS AND REFERENCE SHOWING KINSHIP

S. No.	Relationship	Term of Kinship	Term of Address	Term of Reference
1.	Senior father	Baba	Baba	Jetha Baba
2.	Junior father	Baba	Baba	Kancha Baba
3.	Intermediate fathers	Baba	Baba	Manjhilka Baba (usually with an occupational prefix)
4.	Mother	Iji	Iji	Iji (with a territorial prefix)
5.	Step-mother	Iji	Iji	
6.	Step-son (w.s.)*	Same as her own son	(Chhota)	
7.	Step-daughter (m.s.)	Same as her own daughter	(Chhoti)	
8.	Senior co-wife	Shokh	Dadi	Shokh
9.	Junior co-wife	Shokh	by name	by name

* w.s. = woman speaking; m.s. = man speaking.

(1) In the case of several fathers, all of them are addressed by their children as *baba*. However, the term of reference, which is usually used during their absence, needs to be qualified in order to avoid confusion. Hence each of the fathers has a qualifying word, which is, as a rule, determined by the special assignment of work allotted to him in the family. Thus the man who takes the sheep for grazing is known as the *bhera baba*, the one who goes with the goats as the *bakra baba*, etc. However, the eldest among all the fathers is always known as the *jetha baba*, and the youngest as the *kancha baba*. When there are only three fathers in all, the middle one is usually referred to as the *manjhilka baba*.

(2) If there are several mothers, all of them are addressed as *iji*, but in the term of reference they are indicated respectively by the names of the villages from which they came, e.g. Kandoi-wali-Iji, Buraila-wali-Iji, etc. It is remarkable that the real mother is treated on par with

all the step-mothers in matters of kinship terminology. Reciprocally, all the children born to the same polygynandrous union are addressed, as well as referred to, by all mothers in the same way as they do with their own issue.

(3) In between the co-wives, the senior one in order of their marriages is addressed by her junior co-wives as *dadi*, which means 'elder sister', whereas in return she addresses others by name. As divorce and remarriage are common features in this society, a newcomer among the co-wives may be older in age than some of the earlier ones. In that case, both of them would address each other as *dadi*. In the term of reference, they refer to each other as *shokh* or by name according to seniority.

(c) *Kin in the Polygynandrous Joint (or Extended) Family*. In the case of an extended or joint family among the Khasas, it should be borne in mind that there is traditionally no horizontal or lateral joint family in the usual sense, so long as all the brothers have no separate family units, but take to many common wives. However, brothers may take separate wives when there is a great disparity in age between them. Generally, the Jaunsari joint family exists in the sense of its vertical or lineal extension. Possible additions of kinship terms found in the Jaunsari joint family, besides those mentioned above, are shown in Table 8.

Here we may note the following characteristic features :

(1) As in the case of the son, the son's wife is not distinguished from the wife of a step-son. In the case of several wives of the son or sons, they are differentiated in the term of reference, by the territorial prefixes, for example, Baila-wali-Bou. The term *bou* is generally used at Baila, whereas at Lohari, it is usually known as *buari*.

(2) As regards the parents-in-law, i.e. H.F. (w.s.) and H.M. (w.s.), it is noticed that they must be known as *sheura* and *shashu* and not as *mama* and *mami*. The latter terms mean primarily the M.B. and M.B.W. We shall refer to this point later on.

(3) The term *bouti* is generally used by a daughter of the house to address her brother's wife, both elder and younger. Reciprocally, she is invariably addressed as well as referred to as *dhyan*, hence the popular term *dhyanti* for the daughters of the village.

(4) It is a matter of convention and also probably a recent change of custom that the youngest among the brothers may address his elder or eldest wife as *bouti* when she is as old as his mother. For example, Ajab Singh, the 14-year old younger brother of Sibboo of Baila uses the term '*bouti*' to address as well as to refer to Sibboo's senior wife, who is about 15 years older than Ajab Singh, although she is in relation a wife (*joru*) of the latter. Sometimes the age disparity compels two

TABLE 8

ADDITIONAL KINSHIP TERMS IN JAUNSARI JOINT FAMILY

S. No.	Relationship	Term of Kinship	Term of Address	Term of Reference
1.	Z.W.*	Bou or Buari	Bou or Buari	Bou or Buari
2.	H.F.	Sheura (not Mama)	Sheura (not Mama)	Sheura (not Mama)
3.	H.M.	Shashu (not Mami)	Shashu (not Mami)	Shashu (not Mami)
4.	e/yB.W.(w.s.)	Bouti	Bouti	Bouti
5.	H.e/yS.	Dhyan	Dhyan	Dhyan
6.	eB.W.(m.s.)	Joru	Bouti	Bouti
7.	yB.W.(m.s.)	Joru	no term, but 'oli'	Joru
8.	Z.Z.	Natunta	Natunta or by name	Natunta
9.	Z.D.	Natunti	Natunti or by name	Natunti
10.	F.F.	Nana	Nana	Nana
11.	F.M.	Nani	Nani	Nani
12.	Z.Z.W.	Natini	Natini	Natini
13.	H.F.F.	Nana	Nana	Nana
14.	H.F.M.	Nani	Nani	Nani
15.	Z.Z.Z.	Natunta	Natunta	Natunta
16.	Z.Z.D.	Natunti	Natunti	Natunti
17.	F.F.F.	Nana	Nana	Nana
18.	F.F.M.	Nani	Nani	Nani

*Z.W. = Son's wife; reference may be made to Table 6 on p. 99.

brothers to take wives separately, such as is the case of Tikam Chand (Basrand) and Dhoom Singh of Baila. Dhoom Singh (aged 13) addresses Tikam's wife (aged 40 years) as *bouti*, whereas Tikam who is about 36 years old addresses Dhoom's 10-year old wife as *joru* (i.e. wife). Reciprocally, however, both Tikam and Dhoom are addressed by each other's wife as the *khwand* (i.e. husband).

(5) The term *natunta* means the grandson (Z.Z.) as well as the great-grandson (Z.Z.Z.), and, in fact, it goes on to indicate the great-grandsons of all generations further down. Similar is the case of *natunti*, which is used for the grand-daughters. The term *natini*, which means the Z.Z.W., indicates also the wives of all other categories of *natuntas*. On the other hand, the terms *nana* and *nani* indicate the grand-parents as well as the great-grand-parents of all generations further ascending.

2. Kinship Terminology among the Agnates

Had the polyandrous family functioned in its perfection, all the agnates would have been confined to the Jaunsari joint family. It is only due to the division of families from time to time that the *bheras* and the *aals* have come into being. As we have seen before, the consanguineal relationship has gone beyond the *aal* boundary. It has been recognized in the collateral *aals*, as well as by all the allied *aals* in the *dai chara*, which co-terminate with the village or a few related villages.

The kinship terms for the agnates are, therefore, derived from those used in the joint family. A few significant features, however, may be noted here briefly.

(a) *The F.B. and F.B.W.* The recognition of the father's brother starts from the *bhera*, which is the direct extension of the family. In the *bhera*, every male member of the father's generation is recognized as a brother of one's own father, but he is simply addressed, and also referred to, as *baba*, which means 'father'. Similarly, his wife is regarded as mother and addressed as *iji*.

The use of the term *baba* is even extended to all F.B.s within the *aal*. It is, however, remarkable that the F.B. outside the *aal*, but within the same *dai chara*, is alternatively known as *kaka*, which is, in fact, a term used by the plains people for the 'paternal uncle', i.e. the F.B. in the non-polyandrous family.

The use of the term *iji*, however, ends within the *bhera*. The F.B.W. outside one's *bhera* but within the *aal* is known as *mausi*, which originally meant mother's sister, or maternal aunt, whereas the wife of a *kaka*, as specified above, is known as *kaki*, which means the paternal aunt.

(b) *The Brother's Children (B.Z. and B.D.)*. Reciprocal to all of those F.B. who are known as *baba* and *kaka* in the *bhera*, *aal* and *dai chara*, all the men and women who stand in relationship with them as nephews and nieces (B.Z. and B.D.) are known as *chhota* and *chhoti*, i.e. son and daughter, respectively. Further, they are also regarded as *chhota* and *chhoti* of the wives of such paternal uncles (F.B.W.).

(c) *The Cousins and Their Wives (F.B.Z. and F.B.Z.W.)*. On the consanguineal principle prevailing among the *dai chara* or *dai bhai*, all male members of the same generation who are cousins in a broad sense, are regarded as one's brothers. Thus they are, according to their seniority, known as *dada* or *bhaiya*. Both the terms of address and of reference are the same as those used for one's own elder and younger brothers. Reciprocally, the male or female Ego is regarded as one's own brother and sister, with reference also to their relative age.

The F.B.Z.W. and all wives of the Ego's *aal* or *dai* brothers are treated in the same way as one does his separated brother's wife. She is related to a male Ego and his *joru* (wife), but she may be addressed

by her H.yB. as *bouti*. *Bouti* means brother's wife, a term used both by her H.eS. and H.yS. alike. Reciprocally, the male Ego is regarded as *khwand* (husband), and the female Ego as *dhyan*.

(d) *The H.eB.W. and H.yB.W. in the Aal*. So long as their husbands are regarded as brothers to each other, in the same *bhera*, *aal* or *dai chara*, the women are regarded as H.eB.W. and H.yB.W. respectively, to each other. The term of kinship is *shokh* (co-wife). However, the H.eB.W. is addressed as *dadi* while the H.yB.W. is addressed by name.

(e) *The Female Agnates (F.S. and F.F.S.)*. The female agnates, including the father's sister and the grandfather's sister, who being *dhyantis* in the village are frequent visitors to their *mait*, have special kinship terms used for them as shown in Table 9.

TABLE 9
TERMS OF ADDRESS AND REFERENCE FOR FEMALE AGNATES

S. No.	Relationship	Term of Kinship	Term of Address	Term of Reference
1.	F.S.	Phuphi	Phuphi	Phuphi
2.	B.Z.(w.s.)	Bharcha	by name	Bharcha
3.	B.D.(w.s.)	Bharchi	by name	Bharchi
4.	H.F.S.	Shashulti	Shashulti	Shashulti
5.	F.F.S.	Nani	Nani	Nani
6.	B.Z.Z.(w.s.)	Natunta	by name	Natunta
7.	B.Z.D.(w.s.)	Natunti	by name	Natunti

Father's sister is very closely associated with the Ego's family. The terms used for her, and her brother's children, are specific. However, the F.F.S. is known by the classificatory term *nani*, and thus ranked together with all the female relations of the second ascending generation from Ego. She also, in the same way, uses the generalized terms *natunta* and *natunti* for her brother's children.

3. Kinship Terminology among the Avunculates

The avunculates are the only groups which have received special recognition among the affinal kin ('*soga*'). This group may include both '*maula*' and '*shashurari*'. Here we may consider also the relations in one's son's *shashurari*. The kinship terms are listed in three sub-groups separately.

(a) *Kin in the 'Maula'*. The relationship and terms are given in Table 10.

TABLE 10

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Term of Kinship</i>	<i>Term of Address</i>	<i>Term of Reference</i>
1.	M.e/yB.	Mama	Mama	Mama
2.	m.e/yB.W.	Mami	Mami	Mami
3.	H.M.B.	Mama	Mama	Mama
4.	H.M.B.W.	Mami	Mami	Mami
5.	M.F.	Nana	Nana	Nana
6.	M.M.	Nani	Nani	Nani
7.	H.M.F.	Nana	Nana	Nana
8.	H.M.M.	Nani	Nani	Nani
9.	M.B.Z.	Same as e/yB.	(Dada/Bhaiya)	
10.	M.B.D.	Same as e/yS.	(Dadi/Bhayati)	
11.	M.B.Z.W.	Dadi	Dadi	Dadi
12.	M.B.D.H. (m.s.)	Mitra	Mitra or by name	Mitra

The following points may be noted :

(1) The woman recognizes the kin of her husband's *maula* in the same way as her husband does and she uses the same terms.

(2) The terms for the maternal grandparents (M.F., M.M.) are *nana* and *nani*, i.e. the same as paternal grandparents. It may be added here that the terms *nana* and *nani* are often used by the people of the plains to indicate M.F. and M.M., while in their case the F.F. and F.M. are known by other terms.

(3) The children of the M.B., i.e. the maternal cross-cousins, are known by the terms used for one's own brother and sister. However, the wife of the M.B.Z. is not known as *joru* (wife) but as *dadi* (elder sister), irrespective of her actual age. The husband of the M.B.D. is, on the other hand, known as *mitra*, i.e. son's own S.H.

(b) *Kin in the Shashurari*. Table 11 gives the relationship and the terms used.

Here we may note a few points as follows :

(1) The parents-in-law of a man, unlike those of a woman, as we have seen in the kinship terminology among the extended or joint family, may sometimes be known as *mama* and *mami*, which basically mean M.B. and M.B.W., although there are two other specific terms for them, i.e. *sheura* and *shashu*, which are used side by side with the former terms.

(2) Both the W.B. and W.S.H. are known by the same term *mitra*, but the wife of the former, i.e. the W.B.W., is known as *dadi*, which

TABLE 11

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Term of Kinship</i>	<i>Term of Address</i>	<i>Term of Reference</i>
1.	W.F.	Mama or Sheura	Mama or Sheura	Mama or Sheura
2.	W.M.	Mami or Shashu	Mami or Shashu	Mami or Shashu
3.	W.e/yB.	Mitra	by name	Mitra
4.	W.B.W.	Dadi	Dadi	Dadi
5.	W.e/yS.	Joru	by name	Joru
6.	W.S.H.	Mitra	by name	Mitra
7.	W.F.F.	Nana	Nana	Nana
8.	W.F.M.	Nani	Nani	Nani

means 'elder sister', whereas the wife of the latter, i.e. the W.S., is known as *loru*, which means 'wife'.

(3) The relations in the senior generation, i.e. two generations ascending, are, as usual, known by the terms *nana* and *nani*, classifi-
catorily.

(c) *Kin in the Son's Shashurari*. The relationship and terms of address and reference are indicated in Table 12.

TABLE 12

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Term of Kinship</i>	<i>Term of Address</i>	<i>Term of Reference</i>
1.	Z.W.F.	Dada	Dada	Dada
2.	Z.W.M.	Dadi	Dadi	Dadi
3.	Z.W.F.F.	Mama	Mama	Mama
4.	Z.W.F.M.	Mami	Mami	Mami
5.	Z.W.B.	Jawain	Jawain	Jawain
6.	Z.W.S.	Bou	Bou	Bou

A few interesting features may be noted as follows:

(1) The son's parents-in-law are known as *dada* and *dadi*, which means 'elder brother' and 'elder sister'. It is noticed that these terms are used reciprocally, without considering the actual ages of the addressors or addressees.

(2) The parents of the Z.W.F. are regarded as *mama* and *mami*, which basically mean M.B. and M.B.W. It may be remarked here

that the terms *mama* and *mami* are the conventional terms used for addressing the castemen who are from the villages other than that of the Ego, and such terms are used for showing respect or formality in general.

(3) The brother of the daughter-in-law (Z.W.) is known as *jawain*, which means the son-in-law (i.e. D.H.), whereas his sister is known as *bou*, that is the same as the daughter-in-law herself.

4. Kinship Terminology among the Sogas

Besides *maula* and *shashuraris*, other *sogas*, though having no specific terms for their groups, may be traced through various individuals who form the links. The more important kin may be traced respectively through the F.S., S., D., M.S. and W.M. The first three groups may be put together as an amitate kin group or the nepotic kin. However, we list these kin into five groups as follows:

(a) *Kin through the Father's Sister*. The relationship and terms used are as in Table 13.

TABLE 13

S. No.	Relationship	Term of Kinship	Term of Address	Term of Reference
1.	F.S.H.	Mama	Mama	Mama
2.	H.F.S.H.	Mama	Mama	Mama
3.	F.S.Z.	Same as e/yB.	(Dada/Bhaiya)	
4.	F.S.D.	Same as e/yS.	(Dadi/Bhayati)	
5.	F.S.Z.W.	Dadi	Dadi	Dadi
6.	F.S.D.H. (m.s.)	Mitra	Mitra or by name	Mitra
7.	F.S.H.F.	Nana	Nana	Nana
8.	F.S.H.M.	Nani	Nani	Nani

Here we note that:

(1) The husband of the father's sister is known as *mama* which means basically 'mother's brother'. This is, no doubt, one of the most striking features of Jaunsari kinship terminology, as in other parts, he is known as 'phupha'.

(2) The children of the F.S., i.e. the paternal cross-cousins, are known by the same terms as are used for one's own brother and sister. This case is the same as that of the maternal cross-cousins. Their spouses too, are treated in the same way as those of the latter.

(3) The parents of the F.S.H. are known as *nana* and *nani*, which means classificatorily the grandparents.

(b) *Kin through the Sister*. This is indicated in Table 14.

TABLE 14

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Term of Kinship</i>	<i>Term of Address</i>	<i>Term of Reference</i>
1.	S.H. (m.s.)	Mitra	Mitra or by name	Mitra
2.	S.H. (w.s.)	Khwand	by name	Khwand or by name
3.	H.S.H.	Dada	Dada	Dada
4.	S.Z.	Bhanja	by name	Bhanja
5.	S.Z.W.	Bhanji	Bhanji	Bhanji
6.	S.D.	Bhanjoti	by name	Bhanjoti
7.	S.D.H.	Jawain	by name	Jawain
8.	S.H.F.	Mama or Sheura	Mama or Sheura	Mama or Sheura
9.	S.H.M.	Mami or Shashu	Mami or Shashu	Mami or Shashu

(1) The sister's husband is known to a man as his *mitra*, which is the term used reciprocally for the wife's brother. No age differentiation is made here. On the other hand, to a woman, the sister's husband is known as *khwand*, which means husband. She is, as we have mentioned before, also reciprocally known as *joru*, i.e. 'wife'.

(2) To a married woman, her H.S.H. is known as *dada*, with means the elder brother, and she is, being the latter's W.B.W., known as *dadi*, which means 'elder sister'. These indicate a mutual respect between them.

(3) The S.Z. is known as *bhanja*, a term also used in the same way by the plains people. However, the term *bhanji*, which is used among the plains people for the S.D., is here now used among the Khasas for the S.Z.W., whereas the S.D. among them is known alternatively as the *bhanjoti*, and her husband is known as *jawain*, which means basically one's son-in-law.

(4) The parents of the S.H., i.e. the parents-in-law of one's sister, are treated in the same way as one's own parents-in-law.

(c) *Kin through the Daughter*. Table 15 gives the relationship and the relevant terms of address and reference.

TABLE 15

S. No.	Relationship	Term of Kinship	Term of Address	Term of Reference
1.	D.H.	Jawain	by name	Jawain
2.	D.Z.	Natunta or Natia	by name	Natunta or Natia
3.	D.D.	Natunti	by name	Natunti
4.	D.Z.W.	Natini	Natini or by name	Natini
5.	D.D.H.	Natunta	by name	Natunta
6.	D.H.S.	Bhanjoti	by name	Bhanjoti
7.	D.H.F.	Dada	Dada	Dada
8.	D.H.M.	Dadi	Dadi	Dadi

Here we may notice the following features :

(1) The daughter's husband (i.e. the son-in-law) is known as *jawain*. He is addressed by name, but referred to as *jawain*.

(2) The children of the daughter (D.Z. and D.D.) are known, respectively, as *natunta* and *natunti*, which are the terms also used for one's son's children. However, the D.Z. may be also alternatively known as *natia*.

(3) The wife of the D.Z. is known as *natini*, that is, the same as the wife of one's Z.Z. The husband of D.D. is known as *natunta*, which means grandson. Here the affinal relationship is ignored. It is the same as in the case of Z.D.H.

(4) The sister of the son-in-law (D.H.) is known as *bhanjoti*, which means basically the sister's daughter.

(5) The parents-in-law of the daughter are known as *dada* and *dadi*, which means basically the 'elder brother' and 'elder sister', irrespective of their actual age.

(d) *Kin through the Mother's Sister*. This is shown in Table 16.

(1) In the case of the kin through mother's sister and her husband, we may compare them with those through the M.B. Here we see that the M.S.H. himself is known as *mama*, which means 'M.B.'

(2) The M.S. is known as *mausi*, which term is also in vogue among the plains people. However, among the plains people the husband of the *mausi* is known as *mausa*, while the Khasas call him *mama*.

(3) The married woman calls her husband's mother's sister as *shashulti*. This term is, as we have seen earlier, also used for her husband's father's sister.

TABLE 16

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Term of Kinship</i>	<i>Term of Address</i>	<i>Term of Reference</i>
1.	M.e/yS.	Mausi	Mausi	Mausi
2.	M.S.H.	Mama	Mama	Mama
3.	H.M.S.	Shashulti	Shashulti	Shashulti
4.	H.M.S.H.	Mama	Mama	Mama
5.	M.S.Z.	Same as e/yB.	(Dada/Bhaiya)	
6.	M.S.D.	Same as e/yS.	(Dadi/Bhayati)	
7.	M.S.Z.W.	Dadi	Dadi	Dadi
8.	M.S.D.H. (m.s.)	Mitra	Mitra or by name	Mitra
9.	H.S.H.F.	Nana	Nana	Nana
10.	M.S.H.M.	Nani	Nani	Nani

(4) In the case of all other relations through the M.S., as are noted in Table 14, they are treated in the same way as in the case of corresponding kin through the M.B., i.e. in the *maula*.

(e) *Kin through the Wife's Mother*. The relationship and terms used are shown in Table 17.

TABLE 17

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Term of Kinship</i>	<i>Term of Address</i>	<i>Term of Reference</i>
1.	W.M.B.	Mama	Mama	Mama
2.	W.M.B.W.	Mami	Mami	Mami
3.	W.M.S.	Mami or Shashu	Mami or Shashu	Mami or Shashu
4.	W.M.S.H.	Mama or Sheura	Mama or Sheura	Mama or Sheura
5.	W.M.F.	Nana	Nana	Nana
6.	W.M.M.	Nani	Nani	Nani

Here we see that the man regards his wife's maternal uncle and his wife as his own M.B. and M.B.W., while he treats his wife's M.S. and her H. as his wife's parents themselves. The parents of his W.M. are just known as *nana* and *nani* which is the classificatory term of the grandparents in a very broad way.

It may be added here that there are still more distant kin, both in the depth and in the extent, besides those we have included above. For instance, the kins may be traced also from F.M., M.M., F.F.S.,

etc. However, they are of no consequence among the Khasas. The kinship terms for them, if any, are simply a classificatory extension from those used in the family of the person through whom the relationships are traced. Such relations, therefore, are not to be mentioned here.

AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF THE KINSHIP TERMS

A brief analysis of the Khasa kinship terminology may be made here with regard to its application. This may include some discussion on the classificatory use of terms, the dichotomy of consanguineal and affinal kin, the extension of kinship terms to non-relations, general rules of the nomenclature and the adoption of kinship terms of the neighbouring people.

The Classificatory Kinship Terminology

There are in all some 35 kinship terms in vogue among the Khasas with which they address as well as refer to their kith and kin, besides certain supplementary and conventional means, such as the use of personal names to address the juniors and equals, the teknonymic and vocative use between the spouses etc.

A perusal of the above lists would reveal the highly developed classificatory use of kinship terms. The only exceptions to this rule seem to be found in the pair of terms *kaka* and *kaki*, which mean the father's *dai* brother (i.e. a male member of the Ego's *dai chara* but outside his *aal*, who belongs to his father's generation) and his wife. Even these kin are not in fact limited to a well-defined group, but are distributed at large in the village amongst the supposed consanguineal kin of various degrees. Among all the other 33 terms, each indicates at least two distinctive categories of kin, e.g. *baba*, which includes both father and his '*bhera* brothers' or paternal cousins, and *phuphi* which includes both the father's sister and his *aal* and *dai* sisters. At times, a term may stand for some 10 or more categories of kin. Such terms as *mama*, *mami*, *nana*, *nani*, *dada*, *dadi* have this characteristic.

This classificatory system has been established on the basis of certain rules governing the extension of the range of application of kinship terms, which may be summarized as follows.

(1) Extension of kinship term on the lineage line — for example, *baba*, which basically means 'father', is extended to indicate all of his paternal cousins in the same *bhera*, which is an initial lineage containing a few families, all of which belonged to a single family sometime in the past. Similarly, *joru*, which means 'wife', is extended to indicate the wives of all *dai* brothers of a male Ego. In fact, the lineage extension (or consanguineal extension) of kinship terms is the

most important way by which alone most of the Khasa kinship terms have been rendered classificatory.

(2) Extension on the ground of *soga*, or the preferable marital relationship for example, *joru* (wife) is used for a man's wife's sister, and *khwand* (husband) for a woman's sister's husband. Similarly, *bou* (daughter-in-law) is used to include the sister of one's daughter-in-law (Z.W.S.) as well. It may be added that although there is no 'preferential marriage' typified here, the Khasas do prefer to marry with the *sogas*, whose family condition is better known to them than those of the non-related castemen.

(3) Because of the polygynous aspect of the family system, the step-mother is known by the same term as one's own mother (*iji*), and reciprocally she regards all of her step-children as her own sons (*chhota*) and daughters (*chhoti*). It is on the ground of the polyandrous family system that one recognizes several fathers by the same term *baba*.

(4) Because of the conjugal relationship, either spouse may adopt the terms used by the other with regard to certain relations of the latter, for example, a woman regards her husband's *dai* brother's son as her *chhota* (son), a man regards his wife's grandfather as his *nana* (grandfather) etc.

(5) The affinal extension of kinship terms, for example, the cross-cousins, as well as the maternal parallel cousins (i.e. F.S.Z., F.S.D., M.B.Z., M.B.D., M.S.Z. and M.S.D.) are known by the same terms used for one's own brothers and sisters, respectively, with due consideration of age (i.e. *dada*, *bhaiya*, *dadi* and *bhayati*).

(6) The extension through a sibling — for example, a man regards his sister's father-in-law (S.H.F.) as the *sheura*, and his sister's son-in-law (S.D.H.) as the *jawain*, and *vice versa*.

(7) Extension of kinship terms on the basis of the 'bilateral' equivalence — for example, both the son's son and the daughter's son are known as *natunta* (grandson), both the paternal and maternal grandparents are known as *nani* and *nana*, etc.

(8) Extension on the basis of reciprocity and affinal equivalence — for example, *mitra* is used mutually between a man and his sister's husband, as also between him and his wife's sister's husband. In fact the term *mitra* stands for one's S.H., W.B. and W.S.H., in the same way as the English term 'brother-in-law' does.

(9) Extension on the basis of respect and affection — for example, the co-wives address one another, respectively, as *dadi* (elder sister) and by name (which is the customary way to address one's younger sister), whereas the parents-in-law of one's son or daughter are known, respectively, as *dada* (elder brother) and *dadi* (elder sister) irrespective of age.

(10) Extension on the ground of distance of kinship — for example, all the male relations of the second ascending generation and above are known as *nana* (grandfather), which includes both consanguineal and affinal kins, such as F.F., M.F., F.F.F., M.F.F., F.F.S.H., S.H.F.F., etc., all the male and female kins, both consanguineal and affinal, of the second descending generation and beyond are known as *natunta* (grandson) and *natunti* (granddaughter), etc.

The Dichotomy of Consanguineal and Affinal Relations

Besides the ten possible ways of establishing the classificatory kinship terminology, as given above, special mention may be made of the contrast between the *dai* and the *soga*, i.e. the consanguineal and affinal kins. This contrast is so much emphasized among the Khasas that certain important differentiations among the affinal kin, as are usually made in other societies, have been ignored by the Khasas. The term *mama*, which means basically the 'mother's brother', is extended to indicate the father's sister's husband as well as the mother's sister's husband. Both of the latter who are usually known as *phupha* and *mausa* in the plains, are not given special terms by the Khasas. So also, as we mentioned earlier, the respective groups of kin traceable through either of them, are left without special recognition, but are merged in the *sogas*.

In this way, it seems that all component parts of *soga* are regarded as a whole, with the *maula* as its special representative, standing against the *dais* in the dichotomy of the kinship circles as well as in the kinship terminology among the Khasas.

The Extension of Kinship Terms to Non-Relations

Further, the extension of kinship terms to the members of the *dai chara* in the village, as well as to all castemen beyond the village boundary, is a significant trait of the Khasa kinship structure.

We have seen in the nomenclature among the agnates that the members of *bhera*, *aal* and *dai chara* in the father's generation are differentiated by distinctive classificatory terms such as *baba* (father) for the father's *aal* brothers and *kaka* (paternal uncle) for his *dai* brothers, and similarly, *iji* (mother) for the father's *bhera* brother's wife, *mausi* (mother's sister) for the father's *aal* brother's wife and *kaki* (F.B.W.) for the wife of the father's *dai* brother. The terms *kaka* and *kaki* are obviously alien to the polyandrous society, but they have been adopted by the Khasas from their neighbours in the plains. It is significant that these terms are used to indicate the members of the *dai chara* (other than the *aal* members) which is, as we discussed earlier, not a real but a fictitious 'consanguineal' kin group.

Between the classificatory mother and aunt, i.e. the *iji* and *kaki*, there is interposed a *mausi* or mother's sister, at the stage between the *bhera* and the *aal*, whereas no distinction has been made between the father's *aal* brother and his *bhera* brother in the terminology. The possible explanation may be that the 'father', signifying the lineage solidarity, is as much connected to the *aal* as to the *bhera*, whereas the mother signifying the family union, is more important to the *bhera* than to the *aal*.

The kinship terms may be extended even to the non-related castemen, who may be usually living in other villages, and the terms used for this purpose are invariably *mama* and *mami*, used reciprocally as the case may be, except for the *dhyantis*, who are called by name.

As a matter of convention, even an outsider from the plains visiting the Jaunsari village is addressed by the villagers as *mama* (or *mami*), and the terms appropriate to respond to this address are also *mama* and *mami*. However, this is just a matter of courtesy and respect, which seems to have taken its root in the Khasa way of addressing their castemen who are not related to them. This argument is supported by the fact that the Khasas would never address the men of local lower castes by the term *mama*, and would address the man known to be a Brahmin as 'Pundit' or 'Maharaj'.

It is significant that the extension of kinship terms has taken a bifurcated course in accordance with the dichotomy of consanguineal and affinal kin. The terms *mama* and *mami* are indicative of the *soga* relationship of the addressee with the Ego, and are, therefore, used as honorific terms to address the non-related castemen, who, as we remarked before, may become *soga* of the addressor at any future moment.

General Rules of Khasa Kinship Nomenclature

In evaluating the traditional or conventional rules among the Khasas with regard to the formation of kinship terms, attention may be drawn to the fact that while in the foregoing discussion on the classificatory use of kinship terms, we were dealing with the ways in which various categories of kin 'merged' under one term, here we deal with the ways by which kin are separated into different groups under distinctive names. In line with what Radcliffe-Brown calls the 'Sociological Laws', certain generalized rules can be formulated on the basis of the Khasa kinship terms.

(a) *Sex Differentiation*. The criterion of sex in the kinship nomenclature is strictly observed without any exception. This is partly due to the fact that Hindi, of which the Jaunsari dialect is a branch, is a language which emphasizes gender, though the Khasa kinship terms are not

always Hindi in origin. For instance, *mama* (M.B.) and *mami* (M.B.W.) and *nana* (grandfather) and *nani* (grandmother) are typical examples of terms which follow the Hindi grammar and which are widely used among the Hindi-speaking people of the plains. Similarly, there are also the Jaunsari usages of *chhota* and *chhoti* for son and daughter, *natunta* and *natunti* for the grandchildren, etc. The sex differentiation of kinship is, however, emphasized even in the case of terms not ending with the vowels 'a' and 'i', such as *khwand* for husband and *joru* for wife, *bou* for daughter-in-law and *jawain* for son-in-law, etc. *In fact, there is not a single term which is used to indicate kin of both sexes.*

(b) *Generation Differentiation.* The rule of generation differentiation of kin is to be observed in the fact that among the 35 terms mentioned in the foregoing lists, there are only five exceptions. These deal with the second descending and second ascending generations.

It is interesting to see that there are 10 terms in all for kin in the Ego's generation, while there are 9 in the first descending generation and 11 in the first ascending generation. All of these distinctively refer to the respective specified generations. Besides, there are two terms referring to grandparents, namely *nana* and *nani*, which are, however, used classificatorily to indicate the great-grandparents of all descriptions as well as those of still earlier generations. Similarly, in the second descending generation, there are three classificatory terms, namely *natunta*, *natunti* and *natini*, meaning, respectively, grandson, granddaughter and granddaughter-in-law, of all descriptions both consanguineal and affinal. These terms are also used to indicate the great-grandchildren and those belonging to further descending generations. The reason for ignoring the generation of the kin denoted by these terms is the distance of the kin concerned. In fact, one would rarely be able to see his or her great grandchildren, who are therefore, classificatorily known as *natunta* or *natunti*, as a result of the extension of affection, and as a matter of convenience. Similarly, the great-grandparents, or those of a still earlier generation, are conventionally known as grandparents, as a matter of respect.

(c) *Age Differentiation.* The age differentiation, referring either to the age of the Ego, or to that of the linked relative, is much less emphasized among the Khasas than among the plains people. In fact, the Khasas often ignore the age-differentiation between persons of the first ascending generation. Obviously, there is no 'father's brother' in the polyandrous family, while the difference between the elder and younger sisters of the father is ignored in the same way as the plains people usually do. So also there is no consideration of the relative age of the mother's brother. However, within the family, there is a convention to single out the eldest and youngest among the fathers,

who are referred to as the *jetha baba* (senior father) and *kancha baba* (junior father), respectively.

The age differentiation is invariably marked among the siblings and the cousins. Cousins of all descriptions are known classificatorily as siblings, with due consideration of their ages relative to the Ego. In the family, the youngest brother sometimes addresses the senior common wife as *bouti*, which means the 'brother's wife' or the elder brother's wife, but the same term is used by a sister to address all of her brother's wives, irrespective of the relative age.

Among the co-wives, who are related to one another as *shokh*, the senior one is addressed as *dadi* (elder sister) whereas the junior is regarded as her younger sister and therefore addressed by name. It is remarkable that the terms *dada* and *dadi* (eB. and eS.) are used reciprocally between the parents of a married couple, disregarding their actual age. This usage is a matter of mutual respect and courtesy which, however, implies their indifference to the age-differentiation of kin.

(d) *The Speaker's Sex*. The speaker's sex is taken into account in certain cases. For instance, a man calls his *aal* and *dai* brother's children *chhota* and *chhoti*, i.e. son and daughter, but a woman calls the children of her own brother as well as of her *dai* brother, *bharcha* and *bharchi*. Similarly, a woman calls her brother's wife *bouti*, while a man calls all wives of his *dai* brother's wife *joru*. This distinction is obviously due to the polyandrous form of marriage. Further, a sister's husband is known as *mitra* to a man, but he is a *khwand* (husband) to a woman.

(e) *Differentiation of Consanguineal and Affinal Relationships*. We have mentioned the dichotomy of consanguineal and affinal relationships among the Khasas, in terms of *dai* and *soga*. This dichotomy has divided the majority of kinship terms into two groups. The *dai* group includes nine exclusive terms, namely *khwand*, *joru*, *baba*, *iji*, *shokh*, *dhyan*, *kaka*, *kaki* and *phuphi*, with two affiliated terms, *bharcha* and *bharchi*. The *soga* group includes another nine terms, namely *sheura*, *shashu*, *mama*, *mami*, *bhanja*, *bhanji*, *bhanjoti*, *jawain* and *mitra*. However, many other terms, e.g. *nana*, *nani*, *dada*, *dadi*, etc., are found in both groups due to their classificatory use. It is noticeable that the term *mausi* (mother's sister) is used for the father's *aal* brother's wife, in contrast to *kaki* (father's brother's wife), which denotes the father's *dai* brother's wife.

Generally speaking, the Khasas are not so particular as their neighbours on the plains about the differentiation of kin as well as about the kinship terminology. We have mentioned that there are no subdivisions among the *soga*, except an emphasis on the *maula* or avunculates.

This fact is confined to the kinship terminology. The husbands of both father's sister and mother's sister are known by the term *mama* (mother's brother). Among the consanguineal kin, however, there is the 'collateral' differentiation of kin in the first ascending generation, by the classificatory terms *baba* and *kaka* on the male side and *iji*, *mausi* and *kaki* on the female side.

(f) *Special Ways of Differentiation among Kin in the Family*. As a result of the polygynandrous family system, there are found in the Khasa kinship terminology two special ways of differentiating the kin in the family. These are the 'occupational' differentiation of the male members of senior generations, and 'territorial' differentiation of female members. Thus, as we have seen, when there are many fathers, they are referred to as *bakra baba* (the father who attends the goats), *chhani baba* (the father who stays with the sheep or goats at the livestock shed), etc. The same prefixes may also be used in referring to grandfathers, according to the assignment of work to them as a main specialization. Such a term is attached to them even after they have given up that particular assignment of work later on. Among the several mothers, the differentiation is usually made by the name of their villages of origin, e.g., *Kandoi-wali-Iji* (the mother hailing from Kandoi).

In short, the differentiation of kinship terms among the Khasas is made on the grounds outlined above. The most important criteria are the sex of the kin and the generation to which he or she belongs. Age differentiation is strictly observed in the Ego's generation. The speaker's sex is taken into account in some cases in connection with possible marital relations. Differentiation of consanguineal and affinal relations is generally made in the first ascending and first descending generations, but not among the siblings and all groups of cousins, nor among the kin two or more generations removed from the Ego. There is an absence of differentiation in kinship terms in the sub-groups made amongst the affinal kin, but classificatory terms are employed to differentiate kin of the first ascending generation according to the *bhera*, *aal*, and *dai chara* levels. Lastly, in the family, there are the special ways of occupational differentiation of fathers and territorial differentiation of mothers. As a whole, it is the family in general and all kin of the first ascending generation in particular, in which the differentiation of kinship terms has been most emphasized.

Variation and Adoption of Kinship Terms

Variations of kinship terms have occurred for two main reasons: local deviations and the adoption of neighbours' terms. It is not known how the terms came to be employed by the Khasas but it is obvious that most of the terms have been adopted from their neighbours in the plains.

Among the 35 terms used in the tables, only a few are probably of native origin, such as *khwand* (husband), *joru* (wife), *shokh* (co-wife), *dhyan* (sister-in-law of a woman), *iji* (mother), *natunta* (grandson) and *natunti* (granddaughter), whereas almost all of the rest are akin to, and are possibly adopted or derived from, the kinship terminology among the plains people, though the usages may be different in some way or the other. In fact, the kinship terminology among the plains people is itself quite a complicated system, since it may vary from place to place, from caste to caste, and from group to group.

There are local differences even among the Khasas themselves. Thus one's daughter-in-law (Z.W.) is known by two terms, *bou* and *buari*. The term *bou* may have been derived from the term *bahu* current in the plains, and the term *buari* may be more typical of the Jaunsari tradition. Similarly, some informants have related the term *natia* in place of *natunta* (grandson), to the case of a daughter's son, as, in their opinion, it has a special significance. The terms in the above lists are, therefore, just meant to show a general pattern of the Khasa kinship terminology, as current among the villagers living in Baila, Lohari and certain other villages in nearby areas.

There seems to be some difference between the two sets of kinship terms gathered from the Baila-Lohari side, on the one hand, and from Lakhamandal on the other. We have pointed out that due to the ethno-cultural influence from Tehri-Garhwal, the cultural pattern found at Lakhamandal is different from that found in general in Bawar. At least, the kinship terms in vogue among the Brahmins in Lakhamandal carry Garhwali elements. Without going into details, we may see the difference in the terms of both of the nomenclatures as are put together in Tables 18, 19 and 20. Here we use only the terms of kinship as they are recognized in the respective villages.

The lists show that the Brahmins of Lakhamandal have used more terms to differentiate kin than the Khasas of Baila and Lohari. In other words Lakhamandal kinship terminology is more descriptive than that of Bawar.

KINSHIP BEHAVIOUR PATTERN

A brief account of the Khasa kinship behaviour pattern is given here, with particular reference to those of its characteristic features which distinguish the Khasa kinship system from the general pattern found among the patrilineal societies in the plains. We may consider the kin groups one after another according to the scheme outlined above.

TABLE 18

TERMS OF KINSHIP IN THE FAMILY AND AMONG THE AGNATES

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Baila-Lohari</i>	<i>Lakhamandal</i>
1.	Husband (H.)	Khwand	Malik or Khwand
2.	Wife (W.)	Joru	Aurat or Joru
3.	Son (Z.)	Chhota	Beta or Larka
4.	Daughter (D.)	Chhoti	Beti or Larki
5.	Father (F.)	Baba	Baba
6.	Mother (M.)	Iji	Bui
7.	Elder Brother (eB.)	Dada	Dada or Bara Bhai
8.	Younger Brother(yB.)	Bhaiya	Bhaiya or Chhota Bhai
9.	Elder Sister (eS.)	Dadi	Dadi or Bari Bahin
10.	Younger Sister(yS.)	Bhayati	Bhaiti or Chhoti Bahin
11.	Co-Wife	Shokh	Saukh
12.	B.W.(w.s.)	Bouti	(e) Dadani (y) Bauti
13.	H.S.	Dhyan	(e) Badori Dhyani (y) Nandori Dhyani
14.	Z.W.	Bou or Buari	Bou or Buari
15.	H.F.	Sheura or Mama	Seru or Sira
16.	H.M.	Shashu or Mami	Sau
17.	Z.Z.	Natunta	Natunta
18.	Z.D.	Natunti	Natunti
19.	F.F.	Nana	Nana
20.	F.M.	Nani	Nani
21.	Z.Z.W.	Natini	Natini
22.	Z.Z.Z.	Natunta	Natunta
23.	F.F.F.	Nana	Nana
24.	F.S.	Phuphi	Phuphi
25.	H.F.S.	Shashulti	Phup Sau
26.	B.Z.(w.s.)	Bharcha	Borcha or Beta
27.	B.D.(w.s.)	Bharchi	Borchi or Beti
28.	F.F.S.	Nani	Nani

Kinship Behaviour in the Family

The greatest importance of the kinship tie lies in the family. As we have seen, the Khasas have a polygynandrous family. This family union is essentially a cooperative unit, which is characterized by the even division of labour among all the male and female members of the family, under the patriarchal authority of the family head, or Sayana, assisted by a senior mistress, or Sayani, who looks after the domestic affairs. Now we may further study certain interpersonal obligations and privileges.

Father and Son. As is expected of a patriarchal society, the fathers and sons form the backbone of the Khasa family. What is more

TABLE 19
KINSHIP TERMS AMONG THE AFFINAL KIN
(IN MAULA AND SHASHURARI)

S. No.	Relationship	Baila-Lohari	Lakhamandal
1.	M.B.	Mama	Mama
2.	M.B.W.	Mami	Mami
3.	H.M.B.	Mama	Maysu Siru
4.	M.F.	Nana	Nana
5.	H.M.F.	Nana	Nana
6.	M.B.Z.	Dada/Bhaiya	Dada/Bhaiya
7.	M.B.D.	Dadi/Bhayati	Dadi/Bhaya
8.	M.B.Z.W.	Dadi	Dadi
9.	W.F.	Mama or Sheura	Siru or Shesur
10.	W.M.	Mami or Shashu	Sau
11.	W.e/yB.	Mitra	Mitra
12.	W.B.W.	Dadi	Dadi or Bhaya
13.	W.e/yS.	Joru	(e) Jher Sau or Joru (y) Sali
14.	W.S.H.	Mitra	Dada
15.	W.F.F.	Nana	Nana
16.	Z.W.F.	Dada	Samdhi or Dada
17.	Z.W.M.	Dadi	Samdhin or Dadi
18.	Z.W.B.	Jawain	Jawain
19.	Z.W.S.	Bou	Buari

characteristic of the Jaunsari tradition is that, instead of authoritarian control over the sons by the father as obtaining in a Hindu joint family, there is in the Khasa polygynandrous family considerable liberty and latitude allowed to the sons. The sons are given due shares of work in the family according to their personal capacity, and are allowed to have a say in family affairs, as well as in village activities.

The sons, on the other hand, besides performing their respective shares of work according to the assignment given by the senior father, show due respect for all fathers. There is between the father and son mutual trust, respect for age and seniority. For instance, the youthful Sabal Singh of Lohari, being the best speaker in his *aal*, is one of the two members who represent Lohari at the Adalti Panchayat, yet he remains a junior in the family and his father Bhoru, who is just a few years older, is the head of the family. Similarly, Madan Singh of Baila, being aged and invalid, has abdicated the Khat Sayanaship to his son Birbal, who is more than 45 years of age and is respected by the villagers. In the family, however, Birbal remains subordinate to his old father. At Lakhamandal, Bhag Chand, who is approaching his

TABLE 20
KINSHIP TERMS AMONG THE AFFINAL KIN (CONTD.)

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Baila-Lohari</i>	<i>Lakhamandal</i>
1.	F.S.H.	Mama	Phupha
2.	H.F.S.H.	Mama	Phup Seru
3.	F.S.Z.	Dada/Bhaiya	Dada/Bhaiya
4.	F.S.D.	Dadi/Bhayati	Dadi/Bhaiti
5.	F.S.Z.W.	Dadi	Dadi
6.	F.S.H.F.	Nana	Nana
7.	S.H.(m.s.)	Mitra	Mitra
8.	S.H.(w.s.)	Khwand	Jawain
9.	H.S.H.	Dada	Dada
10.	S.Z.	Bhanja	Bhanja
11.	S.Z.W.	Bhanji	Buari
12.	S.D.	Bhanjoti	Bhanji
13.	S.D.H.	Jawain	Jawain
14.	S.H.F.	Mama or Sheura	Siru
15.	D.H.	Jawain	Jawain
16.	D.Z.	Natunta or Natia	Natunta
17.	D.D.	Natunti	Natunti
18.	D.S.W.	Natini	Natini
19.	D.D.H.	Natunta	Nati
20.	D.H.S.	Bhanjoti	Bou
21.	D.H.F.	Dada	Samdhi
22.	D.H.M.	Dadi	Samdhin
23.	M.e/yS.	Mausi	Mausi
24.	M.S.H.	Mama	Mausa
25.	H.M.S.	Shashulti	Mayan Sau
26.	M.S.Z.	Dada/Bhaiya	Dada/Bhaiya

centenary, and has retired from all activities for decades, is still respected by his sons and regarded as the highest authority in the family. In fact, the father is not only superior to his son, who receives from him professional training and inherits authority, but is also the symbol of tradition, to which due respect is always paid.

Mother and Son. The normal relation between the mother and son is of mutual affection and love. In the Khasa family, the son has often two or more polygynous mothers. Though real maternity is never mistaken, he shows equal respect to his mother and step-mothers, so long as they hold no authority in the family, except that the senior among all the mothers, who is the Sayani, is held in higher regard than the others by both her own sons and step-sons alike. Generally, there is no apparent favour towards any mother or any son. But on

the division of family, as it may occasionally take place, the mother is expected, and she also prefers, to go with her own son or sons.

Parents and Daughter. Being a *dhyanti*, the daughter is under nobody's control, so far as her personal liberty and free life are concerned. Her relation with both of her parents is one of love and affection, though she is more intimate with her mother. She is taught skill in feminine works from all mothers and respects the senior father's authority in the family.

Sibling Relationships in General

The general relationship between the siblings is of cooperation and mutual consideration as well as love and affection. Further, the brothers have their extraordinary interrelations in the co-husbandship. Generally, there is more understanding than rivalry or antagonism between them, as long as they follow the traditional form of co-operative family life. However, the eldest brother is always given a superior social position, as being the potential executive head of the family. He is more sober and dutiful, as well as more authoritative than his brothers in family affairs and he is duly respected by all. He is the traditional representative of his generation in the family line, so that he is rightfully the sole heir of family property, as also the rightful husband of all the wives in his polygynandrous union and the social father of all the children born to this union. However, he has due regard to the common and personal interests of all his brothers, and sees that fairness and justice are done in all matters. The other brothers give due regard to one another. They also have their say in family affairs. As far as personal relations are concerned, besides respect for the elder, all the brothers have equal status, especially when they get old. When the elder brother dies, the one next to him succeeds him as governor. Personal conflicts and bickerings are rare among the brothers, so that the division of a family rarely occurs. It is remarkable that the relations between the step-brothers as well as the full brothers are so congenial.

Between the brothers and sisters, the relations are of love and non-interference. The sisters are usually married when they are very young, sometimes even during their infancy. Though they continue to remain at home till puberty, they are in a way treated by the brothers as their affectionate guests. The interrelations among the sisters are normally friendly, as they are all guests in the house, and often get together on festivals.

Grandparents - Grandchildren Relationship. The relations between the grandparents and grandchildren is in the main that of mutual affection. Though the grandparents receive due respect from all in the family,

there is the customary joking relationship between them and the grandchildren. In fact, the grandparents have no authority over the grandchildren in the family and therefore their interrelation is devoid of formality. This feature is further displayed in the kinship terminology, which ignores the criterion of 'bifurcation' in both the grandparents and grandchildren, so much so that even the other kin of the grandfather's generation are known as *nana* and *nani*, which terms are also used for all the kin of further ascending generations. Similarly, grandchildren of all descriptions, as also the kin of further descending generations, are known as *natunta* and *natunti*, along with a third term *natini*, for the granddaughter-in-law, in recognition of the affinal relationship.

Spouse Relationship. The spouse relationship is the most complicated and most important of all the interpersonal relationships in the Khasa family, in view of its polygynandrous composition. The interrelationship between the spouses should be in the spirit of cooperation and mutual help. However, whatever economic or other importance it may have for the foundation of this family system, a family, as soon as it is established, functions more as an affectionate unit than an economic corporation.

There is in the Khasa family much affection and mutual care between the husbands and the wives, as well as between either the co-husbands or the co-wives themselves. Interpersonal jealousy is remarkably absent. In fact, a wife here has a much greater responsibility than that of a monogamous wife, as she has to cater to the needs and satisfaction of all husbands to the same degree, despite her possible liking for or dislike of someone or the other among them.

The conjugal relations between husbands and wives are usually cordial, though either side is always on guard against the other, lest his or her partner may go to clandestine paramours. The wife may even beat her husband when he is detected having illicit relations with some other woman. Generally speaking, she is particularly sober in his village. As *ryanti* her adultery with anyone in her husband's village is a matter of serious consequences to both her and her lover. However, her extra-marital affairs at her father's house (*mait*), where she is a *dhyanti*, is never considered a grave crime. Sometimes, a woman returns pregnant from *mait*, and the child she delivers is as legitimate as the others. There is a craving for children among Khasas, who need more hands to work for their cooperative family, and such lapses on the part of their wives are tolerated, if not condoned.

Due to the existence of bride price and frequent divorces, to her husband a wife is no better than a chattel, which can be sold and purchased. Divorce takes place very frequently because of various reasons and it

may be initiated by either side. Remarriage of the divorcees occurs with equal frequency, so long as the craving for children remains a dominant feature with all families in general. The relations between the husbands and wives among the Khasas are, therefore, never sacred nor so intimate and permanent as they are in the plains.

The husband is expected to treat all the wives with equal favour in matters of clothing and ornaments. It is the duty of all the husbands to provide for all the needs of their wives. In return, the wives are bound to be obedient to the husbands. It is also due to the need of hands to cope with the voluminous work in the family that a good spirit of cooperation is maintained amongst the husbands and wives. The co-wives regard one another as sisters and work together according to the arrangement made by the senior co-wife who is the Sayani. Mutual understanding exists among them so much so that a wife sometimes suggests to her husbands to take an additional wife in order to ease her burden.

The fraternal co-husbands, on the other hand, share their common wives without quarrel or even bitterness. Traditionally, all wives are regarded as belonging to the eldest brother, who is also the social father of all children born to all. The eldest brother, however, sees to it that the brothers are not deprived of their conjugal rights and interests. The obedience on the part of the younger brothers and this attitude of the elder, therefore, makes the family life smooth.

Parents-in-Law and Daughter-in-Law. The daughter-in-law regards her parents-in-law with respect and awe, though the custom of 'avoidance' is practically unknown. She may talk and smoke in their presence, but she is somewhat reserved, nor would she smoke the 'hookah' with the pipe when her parents-in-law are alive. She is addressed by her parents-in-law as *bou* or *buari*, and never by her name. The father-in-law generally does not interfere in the affairs of his daughters-in-law, but leaves them to his sons. The mother-in-law, on the other hand, usually has a strong control over the daughters-in-law, especially when the former is the Sayani. As a *ryanti*, the daughter-in-law is obliged to work all the day round in the home as well as in the field.

Bouti and Dhyan (i.e. the B. W. and H. S.). A *dhyanti* is entitled to the care and affection of her brother's wife or *bouti*, but would never receive any order from the latter. She is addressed by the latter as *dhyan* and never by name, whereas she may refer to the latter either as *bouti* or by name. When a *dhyan* takes leave from her *mait* for her husband's place, the *bouti* also has to touch her feet to show respect, irrespective of their age difference.

The Agnates

We have seen in the foregoing paragraphs that the kinship terms have put the agnates of the Khasas in the closest range round the Ego. It would, however, be erroneous for us to judge their kinship relationship merely by the kinship terminology.

As the terms indicate, all male members of alternate generations in the same *aal*, are 'fathers' (*baba*) and 'sons' (*chhota*) to each other. Similarly, all men of the same generation throughout the *dai chara* are regarded as brothers (*dada* and *bhaiya*). Moreover, a male Ego and the wife of his *dai* brother are known to each other as *khwand* and *joru*, i.e. husband and wife, and they are allowed joking relationship. However, such classificatory husband and wife have no sanction to be bed-mates, nor such a father, brother or son has any right to meddle in the affairs of other families. In fact, the usual interrelationship between the *bhera* or *aal* members is limited to mutual respect and affection, along with a formal obligation to attend certain family ceremonies. These are not much different from what their affinal kin and neighbours usually have with them. The only obligation particular to the agnates on kinship ground is the strict taboo on marriage, as conveyed by the term *baba* and *kaka* used for their paternal uncles in the *aal* and *dai chara*, respectively.

The position of the *aal* and *bhera* in the lineage organization is signified by the centralized authority and the solidarity of the kin group functioning as a local group in village politics. The kinship relationships among the agnates are more apparent than real, and more formal than substantial. The mutual obligations between the agnates are never so binding as one would expect among a group known by such intimate kinship terms, but their interrelationship has meant local solidarity.

Among the agnates, we may also mention the father's sister (*phuphi*) who is a frequent visitor to the *mait* even after her marriage. She is always respected by her brother's son (*bharcha*), even if the latter is older than her in age. She enjoys a special position in the family as a *dhyanti*. She also has a say in the family affairs, though she would rarely use this privilege. She is invariably invited to attend the family ceremonies, including the marriages of her *bharcha* (B.Z.) and *bharchi* (B.D.).

She is respected by the wife of a *bharcha* as her mother-in-law (*shashu*), and is known as her *shashulti*. With the *bharchi*, who is also a *dhyanti* of the family, the *phuphi* has a relationship of respect and affection. Both of them may be married to the same man, e.g. Bir Singh (Basrand) of Baila has two wives who are *phuphi-bharchi* in relation, and they continue to address each other as *phuphi* and *bharchi*, despite their new relationship.

Kinship Behaviour among the Affinal Kin

The Khasa kinship system is characterized by the elaborated systems of family and lineage on the one hand, and the lack of precise differentiation of affinal kin on the other. The lineage members, or *dais* are the co-villagers of the Ego's family, whereas the affinal kin, or *sogas*, are outsiders, due to patrilocal residence and village exogamy.

Khasas are so occupied with the routine work at home all the year round that they seldom go out of the village to visit their *sogas*, except on important festivals and family ceremonies. The *sogas* also keep out of contact, and are only rarely guests of the Ego's family. As such, neither a meticulous differentiation in kinship terminology among them is necessary, nor any elaborate prescription of kinship behaviour is important. For these practical purposes, a general recognition concerning with whom a marital tie may be made and to whom the invitations should be sent on ceremonial and festive occasions is all that is needed.

There is yet one important link between Ego's family and the *soga*, and that is the movement of the married women who, off and on, keep visiting their father's house or *mait*. The kin in the woman's *mait*, therefore, have received special attention. They are recognized as a kin group known as the *shashurari* to her husband, or as *maula* or *maukhi* to her son.

As we mentioned earlier, *maula* and *shashurari* are the only sub-groups of *soga* popularly recognized among the Khasas, though people sometimes also talk about a *bur maukhi*, which is the *mait* of the Ego's grandmother. From the joint family point of view, however, all the three coincide with one another, since the same group of kin belonging to the Ego's grandmother is recognized not only as the Ego's *bur maukhi*, but also as the *maula* of his father as well as the *shashurari* of his grandfather.

The Khasas have laid more emphasis on *maula* rather than on *shashurari*. Obviously, this emphasis is due to its connection with the family instead of with the person. It is the mother who links the Ego with his *maula*, and it is the wife who links him with *shashurari*. Owing to the frequent occurrence of divorce in Khasa families, the relationship established through a wife is not to be regarded as definite unless a son is born to her. We have already pointed out the Khasas' general craving for children, hence a woman after proving her fertility is considered more desirable than she was before. So also the *maula*, which is connected by a blood relationship with the children in the family, is more valued than the *shashurari*, which is merely a marital tie with an individual or individuals. The *maula* of the senior Ego, who may be the family head, is a kin group which has a long history

of contact with his family, and which has been so recognized by the Ego since his childhood.

There is an absence of specific names for the 'amitate' and other kin groups and the classificatory use of kinship terms for these kin. It seems that the Khasas are content with a dichotomization of their kin into the *dai*, who are barred by a taboo from marriage with the Ego, and the *soga*, with whom Ego's family has an affinal tie.

It may be argued that the affinal tie is a two-way relationship. The Ego's family may either recognize certain families as the *maula* of some or other of its members, or be recognized by the members of other families as their *maula*. In the former case, for instance, the Ego, his father, and his son have their *maulas*, respectively, in the *mait* of the Ego's mother, grandmother and wife. On the other hand, the Ego's family is related as a *maula* to the families where the Ego's daughter, sister and father's sister respectively married.

Thus, a simple recognition of *maula* is sufficient for each family to count all of their affinal kins. It seems that this is the reason for the Khasas to ignore the 'amitate' and other kin groups, and it is of great interest to see how the kinship terms used for the *maula* have been applied in a symmetrical way.

Kin in the Maula

The *maula*, as we have pointed out, is the group of 'avunculates' or maternal kin. The centre of this group is the mother's brother who is known as *mama* and his wife, *mami*. It is remarkable that most of the kin in *maula* are known by the classificatory terms which are meant for the equivalent parts of the Ego's own family or *aal*. For example, maternal grandparents are known as *nana* and *nani*, which also means one's paternal grandparents; maternal cross-cousins (M.B.Z. and M.B.D.) are known by the same terms as are used for the Ego's siblings or his *aal* brothers and sisters, with the age differentiation, namely *dada* (eB.), *bhaiya* (yB.), *dadi* (eS.) and *bhayati* (yS.). However, the wife of such *dada* and *bhaiya* are not known as *joru* (wife), as in case of his lineage members, but as *dadi*, which means basically an elder sister.

As regards the kinship behaviour pattern, the *mama* (M.B.) is much respected by his nephew (*bhanja*) and niece (*bhanjoti*), but he has no authority over them, nor do they meet each other frequently. The *mama* may pay a visit when he comes to take his sister home or escorts her on her return or on other ceremonial occasions. He is always received with respect and is made as comfortable as possible. When the *bhanja* comes to his village, the *mama* may give him some presents. The *mami* (M.B.W.) is respected, but has practically no contact. The M.F. (*nana*) is greatly respected, but he would seldom come to his

daughter's son's village, except when escorting her on her return journey, which too is done only when his son is not free for the purpose. He has a joking relationship with the daughter's children. His wife, the *nani*, has a greater joking relationship with the grandchildren, but they have very little contact with each other.

The maternal cross-cousins (M.B.Z. and M.B.D.), though addressed as siblings, are not so intimate as the latter. In fact, they meet only on festivals and ceremonial occasions. It is noticed that the wife of the M.B.Z. is known as *dadi*. This implies a respectful relationship. The M.B.D. marriage is not favoured, but a stray case or two has taken place in the Lohari-Baila area; however, it is said that they are not allowed at Lakhamandal.

In short, *maula*, though regarded as the most important among all the *sogas*, does not have much contact with the Ego's family, nor do they have any prescribed duty or right.

M.S.H. and F.S.H.

Both the father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband, who are normally known in the plains as *phupha* and *mausa*, are known among the Khasas by the classificatory term *mama*, though their wives are not known as *mami*, but as *phuphi* and *mausi*, respectively.

It is further noticed that both parents and children of the M.S.H. and F.S.H., as well as of their other relations are known by the same terms as are used in the *maula*. Thus there is an apparent symmetry. This terminological symmetry generally coincides with the kinship behaviour pattern, except that the father's sister has greater intimacy with the Ego's family. The *mausi* (M.S.) is more intimate with the Ego's mother and her daughter's marriage with the Ego is tabooed. A woman calls both her H.F.S. and H.M.S. as *shashulti*, and respects them as her mothers-in-law (*shashu*).

The Shashurari

Although the Khasas have more regard for the *maula* than for the *shashurari*, yet more intimate relations exist between the latter and the Khasas, as a result of direct marital relation of the Ego with a woman who came from the *shashurari*, and of the prescribed joking relationship between the Ego and his wife's siblings. The wife's brother and the Ego (being the former's sister's husband) are known to each other by the reciprocal term *mitra*, meaning 'friend'. They are regarded as among the most intimate kin. The joking relationship between them is as much prescribed as practised, including very old types of verbal jokes, and neither side minds it. It is said, among the villagers of Lohari, that the status of the S.H. is higher than that of his W.B., irrespective of their

age. The wife's sister is known to the Ego as *joru* (i.e. wife) and reciprocally the Ego is known to her as *khwand* (i.e. husband), though they usually address each other by name and disregard age difference. Joking is a common feature between them and they may even be sexually intimate. The term *mitra* is used also between the husbands of two sisters, i.e. the Ego and his W.S.H., and they too have joking relationship without restrictions or restraint between each other. Mutual respect and regard are prescribed for the Ego and the wife or the wife's brother. They are known to each other as *dada* and *dadi*, i.e. elder brother and elder sister, irrespective of their age.

The wife's parents are known either as *sheura* (father-in-law) and *shashu* (mother-in-law), or as *mama* and *mami*. The classificatory use of the latter terms is worthy of notice. It may be recalled that the parents-in-law of a woman are always known as *sheura* and *shashu*, and are never regarded as *mama* and *mami*. This divergence of nomenclature between the man and the woman's viewpoints not only conveys the idea of the emphasis on the patrilineal family line, but also indicates the concept of dichotomy of kin in *dai* and *soga*. The latter is, as we discussed earlier, signified by the term *mama*. Thus a housewife in the patriarchal family of the Khasas cannot regard the father of her husband as *mama*, which points to an outsider, whereas the man may call his parents-in-law *mama* and *mami*, who are *soga* to him.

The father-in-law is regarded with much respect, though there is no restriction for the son-in-law (*jawain*) against smoking 'hookah' before him with the pipe, which is taboo for a daughter-in-law at her husband's, when her parents-in-law are alive. The father-in-law is also much respected by the *jawain* and he shows much affection towards him. However, he does not visit his house under any circumstances.

The grandparents of the wife (W.F.F. and W.F.M.) are known classificatorily as *nana* and *nani*. They are respected by the Ego, who is known classificatorily as *natunta*, which means basically a grandson, but their interrelationships are not very intimate. The W.F.F. may accompany his Z.D. to her husband's village and may go to fetch her home on certain occasions. He may also represent his family to attend the invitations to marriage and funeral at his Z.D.H.'s house.

From the point of view of the family, the counterpart of the male Ego's *shashurari*, may be his sister. Here again we find much similarity between both groups in the kinship nomenclature and to a certain extent in the behaviour pattern. Thus, the classificatory terms of kinship, such as *nana*, *nani*, *mama*, *mami*, *joru*, *khwand*, *dada*, *dadi*, are used and the mutual respect, affection and joking relationship follow.

The Son-in-Law and His Family

The son-in-law is, from the point of view of patrilocal and patrilineal family, one of the most intimate *soga*. He is known as *jawain*. He is treated by his in-laws with much respect, and is given some rights when he calls upon his father-in-law. He or a member of his family has to go to attend the family ceremonies and important festivals at his in-laws. There is no specific term for his kin group, which is just referred to as the *jawain's* family. This family is generally treated with much formality as may be indicated by the classificatory use of the terms *dada* and *dadi*, between the couple's parents to one another reciprocally, with consideration for their respective ages. The children of the *jawain*, i.e. the D.Z. and D.D., are known classificatorily as *natunta* and *natunti*. The relationship is that of affection and love. They are given small gifts when they visit the M.F.'s house for the first time.

Kinship Standards and Values

Although the Khasa kinship behaviour pattern is not so precise as that of the plains people, certain traditional rules are generally observed. These rules indicate the Khasas views of kinship standards and values and are summarized below.

(a) *Respect for the Elders*. The elders are always entitled to due respect from the juniors. The seniority is counted on the grounds of both age and generation. The respect for the senior is shown in the junior's general attitude of obedience, and, in certain cases, with sober and reserved behaviour in the presence of elders. The respect and obedience culminate in the son's behaviour towards his father who is the patriarch of the family.

(b) *Affection for the Juniors*. Affection and love are generally shown by the elders towards the juniors, though the degree of love and affection varies according to the intimacy due to the kinship between them. It is to be noted that the Khasa parents used to give their children much liberty and latitude — a feature different from that on the plains, where the children are under constant supervision and control of the patriarchal head of the family as well as of other elders.

(c) *Cooperation and Equality among the Family Members*. Although the family is commanded by the family Sayana as a patriarch, all members of the family are treated on an equal footing. They live together, work together and share their pleasures. All men and women get their share of work assigned by the Sayana and Sayani, according to their capacity. The Sayana and Sayani always look into both the common and the individual interests in all fairness. Thus a spirit of cooperation prevails amongst all members and makes the family run smoothly.

(d) *Polygynandrous Conjugal Relationship*. The polygynandrous union has been established in the Khasa family due to the need of cooperative spirit and mutual consideration among all the husbands and wives. There is an economic basis for the husbands to control the wives, who are bought by bride-price. However, a dutiful wife is treated with respect, especially if she is the senior wife who is the Sayani or mistress of the house. All wives are entitled to all material needs as well as affection and love from all of their husbands, and a divorce may be sought only when they are aggrieved. The conjugal relationship, especially among the younger generation, is somewhat loose and never sacred as it is in the plains, due to the frequent occurrence of divorce and the conventional extra-marital licence enjoyed by both the sexes.

(e) *Female Inferiority*. Female inferiority is found both among the adults and among the children, right from the birth of a child. It is due to the need of hands to work for the family that a male child is more valued and desired than a female one, who is neither capable of working as the former, nor is a permanent member of the family. On marriage, the woman's position again deteriorates due to the payment of a bride-price by her husband. There is, again, no inheritance for the girl in the patrilocal and patriarchal family of the Khasas. The Khasa women are, in fact, economic dependents and socio-ritual inferiors of their partners.

(f) *Double Standards of Behaviour of Women*. It is one of the most notable features of the Khasa kinship behaviour pattern that a woman has a choice between two standards of sexual conduct according to the situations she is in: as a *ryanti* at her husband's place or as a *dhyanti* in her father's house or *mait*. At her husband's place, she is decent and hardworking, in conformity with the traditional code of conduct of a wife in the house. At her *mait*, however, she is entitled to all liberty and free life. Neither is she required to work for the household, nor is she obliged to obey her parents' order or direction. And, what is worse, she is allowed to, and generally does, indulge in affairs with village youths.

The villagers give three reasons for this licence to the *dhyantis*. Firstly, as child marriage is prevalent, the parents of the girl do not pay much attention to educate her, nor check her conduct, thinking that she would sooner or later be a member of some other household. Secondly, after her marriage, which is performed at a very early age and sometimes in the infancy of the girl, she is no more a member of her father's family and therefore it is only her husband who can exercise control over her. Lastly, when the daughter returns to the *mait*, her parents, knowing that she had to face and endure constant

hardships at her in-laws, allow her a good deal of relaxation and freedom to move in the village and enjoy herself.

CONCLUSION

KINSHIP AND THE SOCIETY

As the facts presented above show, the kinship system among the Jaunsaris in general, and among the Khasas in particular, is characterized by the polygynandrous family which serves as basis for the kinship structure — a well-knit network of lineage which consolidates the caste unity in the village, and an apparently under-specified but broadly accommodating scheme of affinal ties which help to achieve a unity among the Khasas throughout the cultural area of Jaunsar-Bawar.

This kinship system has its socio-ritual significance as well as its geo-economic background. And, it is through adaptation and adjustment over a long period of isolation that the system has been established as it is today, especially in the interior areas represented by the villages of Baila and Lohari.

Characteristically, there is a spirit of cooperation and mutual understanding among all members of the family, so much so that not only all personal efforts are made for the benefit of the family as a whole, but also even in matters of sexual relationship there is no apparent jealousy among either the co-husbands or the co-wives, or both. This spirit has enabled the Khasas and the Jaunsaris to stick to their way of life through the ages, under the patriarchal authority of the family Sayana and his partner Sayani. This spirit of cooperation, along with the patriarchal authority, has been further developed and extended into the *bhera* and *aal*, to strengthen lineage solidarity.

Further, the dichotomy of kinship, in terms of *dai* and *soga*, has embraced all the castemen in the village by some kind of affinal tie. In this way, the kinship system has immense importance and significance in the village community. However, the system of kinship is more important among the high castes, namely the Khasas and the Brahmins, whereas all other castes in the locality imitate the system in varying degrees, according to their respective socio-economic conditions.

Divergence and changes in the kinship system have taken place due to various reasons. The ethno-cultural influence from Tehri-Garhwal has greatly affected the system prevailing at Lakhmandal, where the structure of family and lineage, as well as the kinship terminology and behaviour pattern, are notably different from that of the interior areas. A similar situation has developed in the lower parts of Jaunsar-Bawar on account of the influence of the plains people.

The better educated among the younger generation have started disliking polygynandry, while well-informed elders have also joined them in blaming polyandry and the *dhyanti* system for the spread of venereal diseases. Again, the *aal* system which used to be the basis of the *khumri* and Sayana institutions has in recent years come into conflict with the systems of Gram Sabha and Nyay Panchayats.

Village Organization and Leadership

PATTERN OF VILLAGE LEADERSHIP

A STUDY of village organization implies, in the first place, a knowledge of the pattern of village leadership prevailing in the particular area, in contrast with those found elsewhere in India.

Generally speaking, leadership in rural areas often rests upon a few specified bases, such as territory, kinship, caste, and religion. In Jaunsar-Bawar, this leadership was found to have been determined mainly by the first three of the factors mentioned above. (We have already discussed the kinship structure, and noticed the lineage organization, with the Sayanas of the *aal* and *bhera*, which were evolved on the pattern of a patriarchal head of the patrilineal joint family. We have also pointed out that it was on the pattern of the lineage leadership among the high castes, namely the Brahmins and the Khasas, that the village or territorial leadership had evolved.)

As regards caste leadership, it was subject to the dominance of high castes over the lower castes of the same village. The lower castes may have a caste leadership among themselves in dealing with certain intra-caste matters, but they generally do not meddle with, nor do they have a say in, the village affairs, which are monopolized by the high castes as the traditional zamindars and masters of the village. It is only of late that certain changes have taken place and the representatives of the lower castes are participating side by side with the high castes in the new Panchayats under the sponsorship of the government, though the former may not yet have the same weight as their high-caste counterparts.

Religion has little to do with leadership in Jaunsar-Bawar. A village temple of Lord Mahasu is an indispensable landmark in the village, but the Pujari's is not a specialized job as a village priest's usually is; the duties of the priest are apportioned between the family-heads among the high castes in turn, or are carried out by the Sayana of the village, as the occasion may arise. In fact, a priest of this kind, far from being a leader, is only an employee of the villagers. There are,

besides the Pujari (priest) of the village temple, certain Brahmins and *bakis* or sorcerers, who may or may not be residents of the village, hailing generally from the lower castes, namely Bajgi and Nath. These *bakis* perform some *puja* in family ceremonies or some sort of divination and sorcery on certain other occasions, but they generally do not command much respect in the village.

The village leadership has obviously much to do with the villagers' respect for tradition. A prospective village leader is usually one whose family has been settled in the village for many generations. The village headman or Sayana comes usually from a particular branch of the family of the founder of the village, whereas other leaders are also members of well-established families in the village. An outsider, or one whose family has migrated only recently, would hardly be taken into confidence by the villagers in general. On the other hand, the popularity of the village leaders depends much on their personal qualities and fairness, even in the case of the hereditary Sayanas. It is only the leaders distinguished for their seniority and experience, or their oratorical and executive ability, or owning a well-to-do family status, who are respected and followed by the villagers. And it is they who are the active participants in community affairs, as also the chief contributors to the discussions and decisions of the village council (*khumri*).

TRADITIONAL SYSTEM OF VILLAGE ORGANIZATION

Traditionally, there is in Jaunsar-Bawar a well-established and powerful village organization focussed on two of its old institutions, namely the systems of *khumri* and Sayana. The latter means the village headman. Both of these have their multi-tier structure on territorial basis.

THE SYSTEM OF SAYANA

The *sayanachari*, or the system of Sayana, has been a very old and important institution for regulating the village and social life in Jaunsar-Bawar. In the chapter on kinship structure, we have come across the term 'Sayana', which was used as the designation of the head of a lineage or sub-lineage (i.e. the *aal* and *bhera*), as well as that of the head of a family, as the case may be. In fact, 'Sayana' is also used colloquially as an honorific term to address any respectable villager. The most common uses of the term are, however, those referring to the headmen of the village and the Khat, as the Gaon Sayana and Sadar Sayana. In the olden days, however, there was also a superior group of Sadar Sayanas. These Sadar Sayanas held a position more

powerful and higher than the ordinary Sadar Sayanas and were known as the Chauntras.

It is difficult to say when and how the system came into being, but it must have been established long before the British rule in 1815. Subsequently, its recognition by the government enhanced its position in matters of revenue collection. The system also underwent many changes and modifications with regard to both its structure and functions.

The Structure: Sayanas of Three Stages

The traditional Sayana system with regard to affairs of the village consisted of three main stages: village level, Khat level, and all Jaunsar-Bawar level, known respectively as Gaon Sayana, Sadar Sayana and Chauntra. Certain complications, however, have crept into the structure. In some cases, there is more than one Gaon Sayana in one village, or more than one Sadar Sayana in one Khat, and sometimes there are Sadar Sayanas of the Khags, or a sub-division of the Khat. All of these may be illustrated by a few examples.

Gaon Sayanas. Reference may be made to certain details described in the settlement history of our field villages (Chapter Two). Baila, for instance, has been a village established and dominated by the Rajputs, who are made up of five lineages or *aals*, namely Basrand, Horiyand, Ravaik, Daland and Lakhtate. Now, there are four Gaon Sayanas in the village besides one Sadar Sayana of the Khag of Baila. These Gaon Sayanas are from different *aals*. These include the first three named above, which are believed to be the branches derived from the family of the Rajput founder of the village, and the last *aal*, the Lakhtate, which is said to have been descended from a lower caste man who worked with some Rajputs of Baila and then married a Rajput girl from Sirmur. The Sadar Sayana also came from the Ravaik *aal*, which is, however, believed to be not the senior branch but a junior one among the three *aals* derived from the founder's family. No Gaon Sayanaship has fallen in the fourth *aal*, namely the Daland, which is regarded as descended from a man who came to Baila after his marriage with a daughter of one of the first three *aals* and therefore was related to the latter as their affinal kin. This setting seems to indicate a possible connection between the Gaon Sayanaship and the *aal*.

On the other hand, we found two Sayanas at Lohari, which is not the Khat headquarters. These two Sayanas, belonging respectively to two out of the three *aals* of the dominating group of Rajputs (the Rajeus) of the village, are regarded as different in their constitutional status. One of them is generally known as the Sayana of Lohari, while

the other is known as the Chhota Sayana, generally admitted to be lower in status than the former. The former belongs to the *aal* which is believed to be the senior of the three branches derived from the common ancestor. The recent office holders of the Sayana of Lohari and Chhota Sayana were the late Jas Ram and Ganga Ram respectively. The exact course and origin of these two Sayanaships of the village are not known, but the villagers tell a story about the 'Khag of Lohari'. The Khags arose when the original Khat became too big for administrative purposes. Thus Bharam Khat was sub-divided into two Khags some time ago, named after Baila and Kandoi, the two major villages of these sub-divisions. Lohari belongs to the Dhanau Khat, which consists of six villages with Jadi as the Khat headquarters. It was the fancy of the villagers of Lohari some time ago that their village, which surpassed Jadi in both numerical and economic strength, should become the Khat headquarters, but their proposal was not accepted by the Jadians. The Lohari people then declared their village to be the headquarters of the 'Lohari Khag', which includes the villages of Lohari, Baraila and Jagtah, whereas the rest of the Khat including Jadi, Mangar and Sijla was regarded by them as a separate Khag. They, therefore, maintained that Jas Ram was the Sadar Sayana of the Khag, and Ganga Ram was the Gaon Sayana. This claim was, however, neither conceded by the villagers of Jadi nor admitted in official records.

The situation of the Sayanaship at Lakhamandal is an entirely different story. Among the Brahmins of Lakhamandal, there have been three important lineages, known as *thok* instead of *aal*, and the village Sayanaship was derived from and equated with the *thok* Sayanaship. The Sayana of the Raichan *thok*, who is recognized as the descendant of the earliest settlers of the village, holds concurrently the village Sayanaship, but his position is somehow shared by two rivals, the Thok Sayanas of Luman and Gauryan, and the village affairs and the *khumri* have been managed by all of them together.

As already pointed out, the system of Sayanaship at Lakhamandal might have been a local variant due to cultural influence and frequent immigration of the population from the neighbouring district of Tehri-Garhwal. Nevertheless, the intricate interrelations between the Thok Sayana and the Village Sayana of Lakhamandal may furnish proof of the course of extension of the village Sayanaship from the lineage Sayanaship. More direct support of this theory, however, has been discovered in the settlement histories of the village communities, each of which has grown out of a few or a single family settled in the village during the remote past. It was through this course of development that the various lineages were established under the leadership of

the senior members of the original families or groups who became the Sayanas of the family, *bhera* and *aal*, and finally, of the village.

Sadar Sayanas of Khat and Khag. Above the Gaon Sayana there is the Sadar Sayana, who is the constitutional head of the Khat, consisting of a number of villages. The Khag, however, is an intermediate stage between the village and the Khat, but it does not exist in most of the Khats. In fact, the Khag has been a stepping stone for new Khats to be established. According to the *District Gazetteer* (1911), Jaunsar-Bawar originally consisted of two separate Parganas, Jaunsar and Bawar. The former was divided into thirty Khats, while the latter formed only one Khat divided into five Khags. These Khags, named as Bawar, Banadhar, Phanyar, Silgaon and Deoghar, were later elevated to the status of independent Khats. There are now thirty-nine Khats in the whole region of Jaunsar-Bawar. Some of the big Khats of today are again sub-divided into Khags. We have already mentioned the case of Khat Bharam, which has two Khags, Baila and Kandoi, containing seven villages each. As this case demonstrates, the Khags are for all purposes functioning as Khats, and there is no Sadar Sayana for the whole Khat, but one Sadar Sayana each for the two Khags. Interestingly enough, both of these two Khag Sayanas claim to have been the Sadar Sayana of the original Khat of Bharam, though they are nowadays independent of each other.

The claim of the villagers of Lohari to have a Lohari Khag, which was not recorded officially, is important from the point of view of both structure and functions. Some of the villagers asserted that their demand to have an independent Khag was agreed to by the Tehsildar of Chakrata about a generation ago, and the father of the late Jas Ram Sayana was made the Sadar Sayana of the Lohari Khag, but he was not given the 5 per cent commission on the revenue collection usually paid to the Khat Sayana. Then the Jadi people came for a peaceful settlement of the standing dispute and a Khat *khumri* was called. It was decided that the Khag Sayana of Lohari should deposit the revenue with the Sadar Sayana of Jadi and he would get a commission of 1.5 per cent of the collection. Henceforth, the Lohari Sayana had no direct dealings with the Treasury at Chakrata. Previously, the late Sayana Jas Ram used to get the commission from the revenue he collected from the three villages of the Lohari Khag, but he once bungled the accounts, and his commission was stopped. That is why Lohari Khag and its Sadar Sayana are no more known outside the Khag as such.

An independent status for Lakhamandal was demanded by the villagers. The village traditionally belonged to the Baundar Khat, with the Sadar Sayana at Lauri, a village two miles from Lakhamandal.

When the temple of Shiva was excavated in Lakhamandal some thirty years ago, great public interest was focussed on religious grounds, and the people of Lakhamandal suggested that the village should be made the headquarters of the Khat. This was not accepted by the Khat *khumri* due to the objection of the Sadar Sayana of Lauri. The villagers of Lakhamandal, however, remained adamant, and they refused to have their land revenue deposited with the Sadar Sayana, and made arrangements to deposit it directly at the Treasury. The Sadar Sayana filed a complaint against them in the court of the Deputy Collector. They lost the case, and the taxes had to be handed over to the Sadar Sayana of Lauri. Some time later, it happened that an Englishman came for hunting and lost his companions in the forest in the evening. When he was helpless and tired, he was conducted by the late Ramanand of the Chaprasian *thok* of Lakhamandal to the village, and he was provided with shelter and food. Before his departure next morning, the Englishman asked Ramanand whether he needed any help. Ramanand told him about the case which the Lakhamandal people had lost to the villagers of Lauri. A few days later, an order came from the Chakrata Tehsil office that the Lakhamandal revenue should be deposited at the Treasury and not with the Sadar Sayana of Lauri, though the Village Sayana of Lakhamandal was not entitled to any commission for collecting the revenue. Since then the Gaon Sayana of Lakhamandal called himself the Sadar Sayana of the Lakhamandal Khag, though there had been no such entry of his name in the official records in the Tehsil.

All these examples show that the Khag may be regarded as a transitional rather than an intermediate stage between the village and the Khat. The cases of Lohari and Lakhamandal show the beginning of the transition, those of Baila and Kandoi the final stage of the Khag, which bears all the features of a Khat except in its appellation, whereas those of the five Khats of Bawar testify to the post-transitional stage of the early Khags. The position of the Khag Sayana is, therefore, advancing gradually from that of a Gaon Sayana to the Sadar Sayana of a Khat.

The Khat on the other hand is a stable territorial unit and the Sadar Sayana of the Khat has precedence over the Gaon Sayanas. There may be more than one Sadar Sayana for the same Khat. In some cases, the Sadar Sayanas of one Khat are the heads of different Khags. Some of the Sadar Sayanas may reside outside the village, which is regarded as the Khat headquarters. For instance, in Dasau, a Khat adjacent to both Dhanau and Bharam, there are three Sadar Sayanas, two of whom reside at the Khat headquarters, which is also known as Dasau, while the third Sadar Sayana remains at an adjacent

village Haja. There are nowadays 67 Sadar Sayanas in all among the 39 Khats, their distribution being as follows :

<i>No. of Sadar Sayanas in the Khat</i>	<i>No. of Khats</i>	<i>Total No. of Sadar Sayanas</i>
1	18	18
2	16	32
3	3	9
4	2	8
Total	39	67

The Chauntras. The Chauntras are no more in existence, in the real sense of the term, but they were once the virtual controllers of this region. They were a group of superior and privileged Sadar Sayanas. During the early settlement operations, there were four Chauntras, who were the Sadar Sayanas of the Khat of Udpalta, Samalta, Koru and Seli, with their headquarters at Udpalta, Samalta, Mundhan and Nagau. It was they who, acting collectively, formed the link between the government and the local residents.

The Functions of the Sayanas

The significance of the Sayana system lies in its autonomy. The system starts at the village level, with the Gaon Sayana as the head of the village community. It is, as a rule, the Gaon Sayana, or one of the more distinguished Gaon Sayanas, who presides over the *khumri*, the meeting of the village council. He is the final authority on the intra-village matters in general, unless it is assumed by the Gaon Sayanas acting jointly, but he may consult with, or take certain orders from, the Sadar Sayana of the Khat or Khag, to whom he owes allegiance. He also represents the whole village in the inter-village matters, both within and without the Khat, and he deals with outsiders in general.

Being the head of the village, he is entitled to many privileges and is also obliged to perform many duties. He is duly respected, and his orders are obeyed by all the villagers. In the village *khumri*, not only has he an upper hand, but he is also entitled to a larger share of the fines levied upon the villagers. The Bajgis, after playing their band daily in front of the village temple, or during a *puja*, used to go round the village with their instruments and play the band before

the house of the Sayana, under compulsion. During festivals, the processions of the villagers are first taken to the house of the Sayana, who customarily distributes some gifts. The Sayana is expected also to lead the procession and dancing party on certain festive occasions, and he has to see that all performances are properly carried out, and quarrels and communal fights do not occur. He is responsible for the management of the village temple, and he sees that *puja* is performed regularly. He receives guests, visitors, and officials coming to the village and arranges for their accommodation and meals, and looks after law and order in general. Above all, he collects the land revenue according to the allotment.

It was the old rule, prescribed in the 'Dastur-ul-Amal', that the Gaon Sayana was to be appointed by the Sadar Sayana, but changes have taken place since the last century. The *District Gazetteer* (1911, p. 116) pointed out that, 'In practice, the office tends to become hereditary and the Village Sayana is constantly striving to render himself more and more independent of the Khat Sayana.' Our field findings also point to the fact that succession to the village Sayanship is generally hereditary and takes place according to the rule of primogeniture. For instance, the Sayanship of the late Jas Ram Sayana of Lohari was automatically inherited by his eldest son, a minor about 11 years of age, after the death of Jas Ram in December 1957. The villagers were referring to the boy as the future Sayana even before the death of his father. Obviously, the minor Sayana would be incapable of performing for some time his duties in the *khumri*, but it was not a problem for villagers of Lohari who had defied Jas Ram even before his death.

It was the Sadar Sayana of the Khat (or Khag) who held the key-position in the traditional local government of Jaunsar-Bawar. It is no exaggeration to say that the Sadar Sayana was the real and supreme controller on all matters within and concerning his Khat. He was subordinate to the Chauntras of the early days and had to collect the land revenue according to the allotment given to him by the *chauntru*. After the abolition of the latter, the position of the Sadar Sayana was further consolidated. He not only had the sanction of local tradition, but also enjoyed official recognition to exercise his administrative and judicial powers over the Khat with the help of the *khumri* or village council, of which he was the convener and president. His status was admitted by the 'Dastur-ul-Amal', which specified some of his duties as: 'to keep the zamindars contented; to collect the dues of Government according to custom only—equal shares according to the capabilities of each one; settle all quarrels; and look after the welfare of new ryots; and obey the orders of Government'. His

succession followed the old rules of tradition, as cited by the *District Gazetteer* (1911, p. 116), that 'on the death of a Sayana his eldest son succeeds, if he is unfit or a minor he still holds the title, but a relative does the duties of the office. A Sayana may resign in favour of his eldest son: if he dies without issue his brother succeeds: a woman cannot be a Sayana. The succession to the post by his brother requires the confirmation of the Government, and he is also subject to removal in extreme cases.'

All the powers and privileges of the Gaon Sayana as mentioned above were proportionally shared by the Sadar Sayana. He was usually more concerned with the matters at inter-village and inter-Khat levels, but generally enjoyed a position superior to that of the Gaon Sayana, even at the intra-village level. The Sadar Sayana was not only the most respected head of all the villagers in the Khat, but also the 'constitutional' boss of the Gaon Sayanas, who were to be appointed by him. Although changes have taken place and the Gaon Sayanas' independence from the Sadar Sayanas could be seen here and there, the Sadar Sayana remains in all respects the rightful authority over all the Gaon Sayanas in his Khat. It was seen at Jadi, the headquarters of Dhanau Khat, that the Gaon Sayana of the village was greatly overshadowed by the presence of the more respectable Sadar Sayana, whose family claimed to have always provided the Sadar Sayanas of the whole of 'Kandhmanrh' region, including the Khats of Dhanau, Dasau, Mashak and Bharam. The dominance of the Sadar Sayana in the village of his residence rendered the Gaon Sayana inactive, as had happened at Dasau, where there were two Sadar Sayanas but no Gaon Sayana.

Personal Factors and Influence of the Sayanas

The villagers' respect for tradition exists side by side with their realistic attitude in judging the personal merits of the Sayanas. What the existing situation indicates is that the popularity and importance of the Sayana depends much on his personal qualities, character and capabilities, in addition to the social and economic conditions of his family.

At Baila, for instance, three out of the four Gaon Sayanas are from the three *aals* which are believed to be descended from a common ancestor who was the founder of the Rajput community at Baila, whereas the fourth Sayana, Daya Ram, belongs to the Lakhtate *aal* which is said to have had an 'inferior' origin for which its members were discriminated against and looked down upon by other Rajput *aals* in the village. Yet the fact remains that Daya Ram, now in his fifties, has been the most influential and important Sayana in the village. His position is so firm that his voice in the village affairs counts

more than that of the Sadar Sayana who resides in the same village. The reason for Daya Ram's popularity is not only that he has been more intelligent, capable and experienced than others, but also that he is sober and enthusiastic about his village. Meanwhile, his family condition has, since the last two decades or so, improved considerably. He has good connections in the official quarters, as well as with other outsiders, and he is nowadays judged as one of the three top men of the whole Khat of Bharam. As such, he has been the 'Sayana *de facto*' of the village. The Sadar Sayana, Birbal, whose family circumstances have been rather poor, does not count.

The other is Ganga Ram, the Sayana of Lohari, who is traditionally known as 'Chhota Sayana'. He is an unusually peaceful man and he never speaks in the village meetings. As a result, the village affairs and the *khumri* have come to be dominated by a few active village leaders, who are no Sayanas at all, but have distinguished themselves by both their personal capability and better economic standing.

It may be assumed that the Sayanaship of the village in the early stage of its formation was determined by three major factors: caste, kinship and personal distinction. The system was maintained on the basis of the people's respect for tradition and the recognition and sponsorship of the government. But changes have taken place and adjustments have been made from time to time according to the changes in the village settings in terms of both the economic condition of individual families and the personal ability and qualifications of the individual.

THE OBSOLETE INSTITUTION OF CHAUNTRU AND CHAUNTRAS

A general idea of the position of the so-called Chauntras of old may be formed from the following quotation from the *District Gazetteer* (1911, p. 138):

The Parganas of Jaunsar and Bawar were divided into Khats or collections of villages, at the head of which were officers termed Sayanas similar in every respect to the Sayanas of Garhwal and the Kamins of Kumaon. The four most influential Sayanas were called Chauntras and formed a conclave (*chauntru*) to which was submitted the gross sum assessed on the parganas as revenue. This they distributed over the Khats, and the Sayanas of each Khat re-distributed the sum allotted to the Khat over each village within his jurisdiction. The village Sayana again fixed the sum to be contributed by each proprietor within the village. All were then jointly and severally responsible for the entire assessment.

It is further stated on page 139, 'The Chauntras were not only revenue officers, but also had civil and criminal jurisdiction. As revenue officers they received salaries of Rs. 40, Rs. 60 or Rs. 100 a year. The Sayanas of each Khat had similar powers to a lesser degree

within their own Khats and enjoyed an allowance of 5 per cent on the collection as *bisaunta* similar to the lambardar's fees on the plains.'

It is not clear when, and how, the four Sadar Sayanas whose Khats have been named earlier were elected to the superior position as the Chauntras, but it is certain that they were once active, functioning collectively, with a council known as the *chauntru*. Their judicial power was unlimited, having been derived from their allegiance to the previous Rajas, whereas their functions as revenue collectors were indispensable to the British government.

However, all the four Chauntras were relieved of their functions temporarily by the Superintendent of the Dun, in 1846, when they openly opposed the restoration of the Malzami (the public surety for payment of revenue). The Malzami had been removed two years earlier as a result of his quarrel with the *chauntru*. On this, the Chauntras appealed to the Lieutenant-Governor at Agra, and the dispute dragged on for some time. The Superintendent, A. Ross, visited the Pargana in 1849 and induced the people to listen to him. Meanwhile, the Governor-General happened to pass through the Pargana, and he was beset with complaints from the two factions and from the villagers themselves against both. The surety was accused of ruining the country by charging exorbitant interest and the Chauntras were accused of unfairly assessing their own good Khats and transferring the burden to the poor Khats. To remedy this state of affairs, a redistribution of the land revenue became necessary. In 1849, a new settlement (the seventh settlement of Jaunsar-Bawar) was finalized by Ross after an enquiry into the condition of each Khat and its villages; henceforth, the power and duties of the *chauntru* were abolished altogether, and the management of each Khat through its Sadar Sayanas was established.

At the same time, Ross drew up a code of law and procedure for the use of the local Panchayats (i.e. the *khumris*) for administering justice among themselves. This code was the so-called 'Dastur-ul-Amal', which not only served the purpose of standardizing and codifying the local rules and customs, but also consolidated government control over the village community. As a result of all of these measures, the once powerful Chauntras were reduced to a position which was no better than that of the ordinary Sadar Sayanas. In 1883, Mr. G. H. Ross strongly recommended the continuance of *sayanachari* on the pattern of a Khat-wise management of revenue. He also arranged a special sanction of annual stipends of Rs. 100 each for life, along with the title of Chauntra, for two out of the four Chauntras' descendants, namely Ram Das of Khat Koru and Moti Ram of Khat Seli, in recognition of their past services. The descendants of the two later Chauntras, however, had no claim to any consideration, as

they had ceased to take any interest in the Pargana or afford any assistance to the local officers. It was thought that these two Chauntras were men of considerable local influence and would be able to exercise power with the Khat Sayanas. However, these rehabilitated Chauntras, the modern representatives of the old officials of an extinct social institution, have no more power than what their forefathers had.

The Legend of the Chauntras

Apart from the information available from official sources, the local people have their own legends about these one-time tyrants, as the Chauntras were known to be. The following is a record of the local version of the stories told about them.

The Chauntras or Chauntru Sayanas were the top-ranking Sayanas of the olden days. They occupied a very important position in Jaunsar-Bawar before the Britishers took this area under their administrative control in 1815. These Chauntras were the virtual rulers of their areas, and owed allegiance directly to the King. There were four Chauntras residing at the villages of Udpalta, Samalta, Mundhan and Nagau respectively. They collected revenue from the Sadar Sayanas of the Khats, who in their turn collected the sum from the Gaon Sayanas. Besides, the Chauntras also administered the village affairs and settled disputes. It was believed that the Chauntras possessed some divine powers and hence were highly respected and obeyed by the local populace.

In those days, the whole of Jaunsar-Bawar was under the control of a local chief known as Samu Shah of Bhairat village, who was subordinate to the King of Nahan. He turned out to be a tyrant and his atrocities soon became intolerable to the local people. A *khumri* of the whole of Jaunsar-Bawar was held to see what could be done about this. It was decided in the meeting that it was beyond human power to put an end to the cruelty of Samu Shah, and so the four Chauntras were asked to go and pray to Lord Mahasu in his temple at Hanol to remove Samu Shah from his place. It appears that the prayers of the Chauntras bore fruit and Samu Shah died a painful death. An incredible story was told in this connection, that the ruler felt the presence of pigs in his stomach and also heard their grunts. Gradually two twigs of Deodar grew out of his nostrils and he died of suffocation.

After the death of Samu Shah, lawlessness prevailed in Jaunsar-Bawar, and the Chauntras themselves became tyrants. Soon Gurkha mercenaries descended from Nepal to exploit and loot the people. The Chauntras were helpless, as they could not mobilize a fighting force. There was only one way open and that was to get help from the British. And the British did come on the invitation of the Chauntras. They

drove away the Gurkhas and took over this region under their rule. One of the administrative measures introduced by the British authority, was the abolition of the Chauntraship at two places, namely Samalta and Udpalta. The other two Chauntras were allowed to remain, but their powers were curtailed. The land revenue they collected had now to be paid to the British government; in return they were given Rs. 100 and also 5 per cent of the revenue deposited. They were no more free to indulge in their atrocities but had to work within the new constitution, according to which they could try judicial cases once a month, in the 'Munsif Adalat'. However, they still had a strong voice in the *khumris* and commanded a good deal of respect from the villagers.

The British too did not like to change the Sayana system radically. The Sayanas were in the good books of the British administrators, as they collected the revenue regularly and faithfully, and also reported all necessary information about local conditions. In return, the status of the Sayanas was recognized by the local authorities. They were also given special favours, such as the sanction of gun licences.

Some twenty years or so ago, however, there was an 'anti-Sayana' movement among the people of Jaunsar-Bawar, as some of the Jaunsaries who came in contact with outsiders realized that the Sayanas were extracting respect and money from the people for doing nothing and their presence was just a sort of burden on the villagers. The movement was initiated by a few Congressmen and social workers. Protest meetings were held and resolutions were passed demanding the abolition of the Chauntra Sayanaship. The sequel to this agitation was that the government further curtailed the powers of these Sayanas and they became mere tax-collectors.

Of the two Chauntras retained in office, the Chauntra of Mundhan was ousted by Sher Singh of village Lakhwar some years back. Sher Singh succeeded in forcing the former to concede the Chauntraship to him, and to get it transferred to his village. However, his Chauntraship did not continue after his death, nor was that of Mundhan resumed. Henceforth, there was only the Chauntra of Nagau remaining as the last survivor of a dying institution.

THE INSTITUTION OF KHUMRI

The *khumri* is a traditional organization in Jaunsar-Bawar. Like the 'Panchayats' of the rural areas in the plains, the *khumri* is an assembly of people which meets according to local conventions and regulations to discuss and decide disputes and matters of common interest. The origin of this institution is difficult to trace, though early references exist. The *khumri*, though it has lost much of its power and scope, is

even now the most important and effective means of settling the affairs of the village community.

Different categories of *khumri* have been formed on the bases of territory, caste and kinship. All of these are closely connected with the system of Sayanas. We have mentioned earlier that, on the kinship basis, there are Sayanas of the *bhera* and *aal* or *thok*, who usually arbitrate and settle minor disputes between persons and families within the lineage group. These disputes, as also other matters of common interest, may occasionally be brought before a *khumri* belonging to the same *bhera*, *aal* or *thok*. For instance, the three main *thoks* of Lakhamandal often hold their *thok khumris* to discuss matters among themselves. A strong unity was found in the *aal khumri* among all the families of Daland *aal* in Baila, in 1955-56, during the water dispute between them and all other *aals*.

As regards the caste *khumri*, its existence is often overshadowed by the dominance of a high caste in the village; it also depends on the numerical strength of the population of the castes concerned. The high castes may not have an exclusive caste *khumri* of their own; for them the village *khumri* virtually serves the same purpose. The lower castes may have their own caste *khumris*, but they do not have much importance in the village. At Baila, for instance, there are said to be four caste *khumris*, the topmost being that of the Rajput, to which also belongs the single Brahmin family. This is actually the village *khumri*, in which the lower castes are usually passive or voluntary participants. The Koltas have a *khumri* for their 13 families, and the 7 families of Bajgis have another. The fourth *khumri* is for both Badis and Sunars. At Lohari, there are two caste *khumris*, one for the Rajputs (who are joined by the Nath and Bajgi), and another for the Koltas exclusively.

Obviously, these caste *khumris* have a territorial complexion, since they are always confined to the village. A caste *khumri* covering a wide area is a very rare phenomenon. A Kolta *khumri* held at Budher for all the four Khats of the Kandhmanrh region during the last election took a stand different from that of the high castes. Such a *khumri* was rather an innovation in the history of the *khumri* system in Jaunsar-Bawar.

At any rate, it is the territorial *khumri*, involving all groups of residents in the village or locality, which forms the most important and basic type of village organization, and which we shall discuss below.

Territorial Khumri of Different Categories

A *khumri* may be organized at different levels, in terms of territorial units, as the need may arise. Thus, there are the following categories:

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (a) Village or Intra-village | (d) Inter-Khat |
| (b) Inter-village | (e) All Jaunsar-Bawar |
| (c) Khat or Intra-Khat | |

Among all these categories, it is that at the village or intra-village level, which constitutes the most important and basic type of *khumri* in the whole system of village organization in Jaunsar-Bawar. The meeting at this level is attended by all castes and groups of villagers who are permanent residents in the village. Generally, every family is represented by the head of the family, or some other man deputed by him. Sometimes, especially when inter-village disputes arise, a Sayana of the *bhera*, *aal* or *thok* represents and speaks on behalf of a small number of families belonging to his lineage group. The Sayana of the village is the *ex officio* president of the meeting, though his place may be taken by the Sadar Sayana in case the village happens to be the Khat headquarters. He initiates and concludes the discussions, as well as announces the decisions arrived at in the *khumri*. He has also to see to the execution of the decisions. However, he has no absolute authority and does not dominate the proceedings of the meeting, in which all participants are entitled to speak according to their personal ability. The lower castes, however, customarily keep silent as passive listeners.

It was seen in Lakhmandal that all the three main Thok Sayanas (including the Gaon Sayana) were of equal importance in the *khumri*. Once a *khumri* was held during the absence of the Gaon Sayana, and it was managed by the Thok Sayana of Luman, who was the man next to him in the village in terms of traditional privileges and importance, though some excuse had to be made to justify the irregularity of the meeting. In Lohari, the verdict of the late Sayana Jas Ram was often not only openly challenged, but also overridden. Among the four Gaon Sayanas of Baila, however, it was only Daya Ram who used to occupy the foremost position in the *khumri*. He used to preside over the meetings and played the key role in all community activities, even in the presence of the Sadar Sayana of the Khag of Baila. Nevertheless, even in this case, Daya Ram had no right to dictate to others, but merely exercised his personal influence on the members. As a rule, a resolution of the *khumri* must be unanimous.

The inter-village *khumri* may be held between two villages among the parties concerned and the Gaon Sayanas. If the situation is serious, it is attended by both the parties involved, the Gaon Sayanas and a few other influential people of the two villages, besides the Sadar Sayana who acts as the president of the meeting. It is rare that a decision cannot be reached by the village or the inter-village *khumri*

and the case has to be forwarded to the Khat *khumri*, to which representatives from all the villages of the Khat are invited. This Khat *khumri* is also presided over by the Sadar Sayana, and its decision is final in all matters concerning the residents of the Khat. However, a Khat *khumri* for settling disputes rarely takes place as it is rather an expensive affair for both the parties concerned, as they have to see to the arrangements of food and shelter of all who attend. A Khat *khumri* may also be held for discussing public affairs of common interest to the people of the whole Khat. In such cases, all the villages in the Khat are represented by the Village Sayanas, who come on behalf, and at the expense, of the residents of their respective villages.

Inter-Khat *khumris* are organized between two or more Khats under various circumstances. Sometimes two or more villages belonging to different Khats are involved in a dispute. First of all, efforts are made to settle it at the inter-village level, among the representatives and Gaon Sayanas of both villages. If it cannot be settled, the Sadar Sayanas of both Khats are called. There is a partial inter-Khat *khumri* meeting, which is attended by only the parties concerned, along with the Gaon Sayanas and some other people of their villages, and the Sadar Sayanas of their respective Khats. If the case remains undecided, then a full-scale inter-Khat *khumri* is called, with representatives from all the villages of the two or more Khats involved. In an inter-Khat *khumri*, there is no president, but the two or more Sadar Sayanas present in the meeting exercise the same authority jointly. Besides deciding the disputes, the inter-Khat *khumri* is also held between the Sadar Sayanas and a few other important people concerned, to make arrangements for festivals, like Manr, Jagra, etc.

In matters of *khumri*, the position of a Khag is similar to that of a Khat, as in the case of the two Khags, Baila and Kandoi, of the Bharam Khat; the original Khat is practically no more than a single unit in all matters of local activities. The Sadar Sayana of the Khag presides over the inter-village and the intra- and inter-Khat/Khag *khumris*.

Khumris may also be arranged between the residents of Jaunsar-Bawar and those beyond the boundary of Jaunsar-Bawar, such as the villages in the lower Tehsil of Western Dun, the neighbouring district of Tehri-Garhwal and the adjacent regions of Sirmur and Jubbal in the State of Himachal Pradesh, all of which have had their traditional socio-cultural ties with some part or other of Jaunsar-Bawar. These *khumris* are thus inter-Tehsil, inter-District, or even inter-State in composition, but they are in practice treated traditionally at the level of inter-Khat *khumri*, as long as they involve only local problems of limited areas.

Lastly, there is the All Jaunsar-Bawar *khumri*, which is constituted of all Sadar Sayanas besides some other important village and regional leaders, from all the Khats and Khags throughout the area of Jaunsar-Bawar. This type of *khumri* used to be held under the historical *chauntru* or 'conclave of the four Chauntras' of the last century. A few All Jaunsar-Bawar *khumris* have been organized during recent years for special reasons.

Functions of the Khumri

The functions of the *khumri* are manifold, but the scope of a particular *khumri* may vary greatly according to the type and stage to which it belongs. Generally speaking, a *khumri* functions both as a judicial body to decide cases and disputes among the villagers, and as an administrative organ to manage various sorts of public matters. The most important and basic functions of the *khumri* are those that concern the village.

As a local judicial body, the village *khumri* has traditional powers and authority for dealing with all kinds of cases and disputes among the villagers. As an administrative council, on the other hand, it may deal with all sorts of public affairs pertaining to the village community. The routine duties of the Sayanas of the village, as mentioned before, are closely associated with the village *khumri*, and many of them are subject to the decisions or approval of the *khumri*, which is the final authority on all intra-village affairs.

As for the 'inter-village *khumri*', its ordinary functions are focussed on judicial matters, as its meetings are usually of an *ad hoc* nature for settling a particular dispute arising between two or more parties belonging to different villages in the same Khat. Similar is the case with the 'inter-Khat *khumri*', when it is organized between two or more villages belonging to different Khats. However, both the inter-village and inter-Khat *khumri* may also be held to deal with administrative matters.

The Khat *khumri* has its functions similar to, but of a superior order and wider jurisdiction than those of the 'village *khumri*'. Judicially, it is the final authority to decide all cases and disputes which are forwarded by either the village or the inter-village *khumri*. Administratively, the Khat *khumri* is responsible for arrangements of certain important festivals, as Manr, Jagra, etc., which are customarily held on a Khat or inter-Khat basis, and also for other matters such as public welfare and governmental orders concerning the Khat in general.

The All Jaunsar-Bawar *khumri*, on the other hand, is invariably, if infrequently, held for specified purposes, such as the legendary *khumri* held sometime in the last century when Chauntras were entrusted with

the mission of praying to their guardian deity in order to put an end to the tyrant Samu Shah. Recently, meetings of this type were held for such purposes as consolidating the votes for the candidature in the general election of an M.P., and adopting a united front against the prohibition and restriction of opium cultivation.

Proceedings of the Meetings

There is no definite date nor regular period for the meetings of any type of *khumri*, but a *khumri* may be held any time it is needed. The rightful convener of a *khumri* is the Gaon Sayana or Sadar Sayana, as the case may be. He calls the meeting when he receives a request from the plaintiff of a dispute, or when he otherwise considers it necessary. The date, time and place of the meeting are fixed according to local conventions and the convenience of the participants expected in the meetings. Often the village and inter-village meetings are held in the evening or night, because the villagers generally remain busy with their agricultural activities during the day. Formerly, the meetings used to take place in the courtyard of the village temple, but nowadays people assemble under the shelter of the school or the Panchayat Ghar. In the case of a Khat or inter-Khat *khumri*, however, it is often held in the day, at the Khat headquarters or at a convenient place in the field half-way between the two Khats concerned.

After the Sayana has decided to call a meeting, he instructs the village Chaukidar to convey the message to all persons concerned. The Bajgi goes round the village beating his drum to announce the meeting. In case it is an inter-village or Khat *khumri* etc., messengers are sent to all the villages concerned. The attendance at the *khumri* is optional, but it is regarded not only a privilege but also an obligation of every invitee to participate in the meeting on a reciprocal basis. When a *khumri* is called to settle a dispute and to redress the grievance of the plaintiff party, it is the duty of all co-villagers to lend a cooperative hand, and to come to listen to his complaints; otherwise later he may not come to the help of others.

All participants in the *khumri* are entitled to a share of the fines levied on the party who is found guilty, or on both parties. Usually, the plaintiff who wants his case to be heard by the *khumri* gives one rupee as *bistara*. If both parties are anxious to get their case heard, they have to pay one rupee each. This amount may vary according to the nature of the case and the type of the *khumri*. In an inter-Khat or village *khumri*, which involves persons coming over from the other villages, the *bistara* is of a bigger amount than in the village *khumri*. If the case remains undecided, each of the parties has to contribute a few rupees as compensation for the waste of time of the villagers involved in

attending the *khumri*. The money is collected by the Sayana and is distributed as *bistara* according to a local formula. At Lakhmandal, a high-caste participant in the meeting gets double the amount due to a lower caste man, whereas at Baila the low castes are not entitled to anything. The Sayana or each of the Sayanas takes double the amount of what a high-caste man gets.

Although the *khumri* has well-defined functions and powers, its meeting is hardly held in a way which can be called well organized. The attendance is good, but everyone wishes to talk, and in the effort to have his words heard, each one speaks at the top of his voice. Pandemonium often reigns for quite a while, before the president can raise his voice above the uproar and give his final judgment. Thus the *khumri* meeting usually goes on for quite a long time. In the meeting, there is no disparity between the seats of the Sayana and others, and all the people sit on the floor in a circle.

The usual punishment meted out to the defaulters is a fine or *dand* of an amount varying according to the nature of the offence and the status of the person concerned. The method adopted to ensure the implementation of decision is social boycott locally known as *tyara*. The man who does not accept the judgment of the *khumri* is treated as an outcaste. This is an effective means in view of the fact that life in this hilly region is so difficult and monotonous that one would be unable to carry on his day-to-day activities successfully without the cooperation of his co-villagers, and the social boycott so imposed on family basis is rigidly observed by all, so that sooner or later the person boycotted and his family have to accept the verdict.

However, failure to enforce the decision of the *khumri* occurs when the decision itself is against tradition. At Lohari, a decision was made a few years back by the village *khumri* to stop the traditional way of beating drums on the occasion of the death of a person, on the ground that death is a sad event at which no music should be played. This decision was for the first time enforced at the death of the son of Bhim Chand, despite the latter's objections. Hence, Bhim Chand kept himself aloof from village affairs, and he became more aggrieved when the drum was allowed to be played on the occasion of another villager's death which took place soon after the death of his son. This incident aroused much of the other villagers' sympathy for Bhim Chand. A few months later, the *khumri* realized the injustice to Bhim Chand, and decided at a meeting that a compensation in cash should be paid by other villagers to him. However, Bhim Chand refused to accept this monetary present and preferred to keep aloof from others. He now rarely attends the *khumri*, unless there is a case concerning him directly.

A couple of years ago, a movement was started to reduce the family expenditure by cutting down the number of ornaments given to the womenfolk. In many a village, including Baila, the *khumri* decided to stop the use of *nath*, which is a large nose-ring made of gold. This step was, however, strongly objected to by both *ryantis* and *dhyantis* of the village. The wives of many villagers left for their fathers' villages and refused to return to their *sasurar* (or 'in-laws'), as a protest against the cut in their ornaments, to which they were traditionally entitled. On the other hand, the daughters of all families, who have been the indispensable and welcome participants in the festivals at their *mait* or parental village, began simultaneously to boycott dancing and singing in the village *angan*. This put the village *khumri* in an embarrassing position, and the resolution had to be rescinded.

There are occasions when the *khumri* fails to reach a decision, either due to lack of evidence, or due to the denial of charges by the accused or by both parties involved in the dispute. In such a case, one or both parties are directed to swear before 'Mahasu Deota', and the case would be dropped undecided or be decided in favour of the party who had sworn before the 'Deota'. In case both parties take the oath, the suspected person, or the accused is required to give an amount which is twice that of what was decided by the *khumri* as compensation, along with double the amount of fine, to the plaintiff in the name of the 'Deota'. This is given in the belief that Lord Mahasu would ruin the person taking a false oath. After this, if the plaintiff falls ill or is involved in some other disaster, it would indicate that he did take a false oath, and so is obliged to repay to the defendant double the amount of what he received earlier, plus double the amount of fine to the *khumri*.

It has also been a convention that if either or both of the parties were not satisfied with the *khumri*'s decision, one or both of them may take a vow before the deity against the other side and henceforth sever their relationship by declaring *chinga* or ritual aloofness.

Khumri and the Social Order

A word may be added here with regard to the traditional concepts of law and order as well as of the nature of criminal and civil offences.

Besides its administrative functions, the *khumri* has to maintain discipline in order to ensure the smooth life and progress of the society. According to traditional concepts of law and order among the Jaunsaris, emphasis seems to have been laid on the following criminal and civil offences:

- | | |
|---------------------|------------------------------|
| (a) Theft | (c) Witchcraft and poisoning |
| (b) Sexual offences | (d) Caste behaviour |

On the civil side, cases which have been dealt with by the *khumris* most frequently fall within the following categories :

- | | |
|-------------|------------------------|
| (a) Land | (c) Division of family |
| (b) Pasture | (d) Divorce |

There is much to be argued about the motives of the people of Jaunsar-Bawar in laying down a local Penal Code in the order of importance as given above. It seems that this has much to do with the maintenance of a cooperative atmosphere among them, which is the prime need in their inhospitable environment.

Theft is regarded as a serious crime in this area, because it is a direct damage done to others through a purely selfish motive. Sexual offences have been discriminated according to the social status of the women involved. It is only the *ryanti* or the villager's wife with whom sexual indulgence is prohibited, and such offences are severely punished, because a wife has been customarily admitted as the exclusive, personal and unencroachable 'property' of the husbands. Witchcraft and poisoning are serious crimes, as both lead to murder or homicide. Lastly, the impertinent behaviour of the lower castes towards the higher castes is deemed a serious offence, because the social as well as the economic prosperity of the latter has been based upon the compulsory service and allegiance of the former.

The punishment imposed by the *khumri* on the guilty party is usually a fine and social boycott, but the criminals were in the early days punished by beating, maiming and even death. Adultery committed by a lower caste man with a high caste *ryanti* was sure to be punished with death. Even in recent years, such a case took place at Baila, and the criminal Kolta was under orders from the *khumri* given a severe beating, which deformed his limbs and led to his death soon afterwards.

The considerations given to the importance of the civil cases listed above have social and economic implications. Even the two major means of punishments, namely, fines and social boycott, which have been used so efficiently by the Jaunsaris, are based on economic considerations.

Sample Cases

A few examples of the cases treated by the *khumri* of various categories may be cited here to show the general lines of approach and the manner in which the decision by the *khumri* is implemented.

Case (1): Village Khumri — A case of theft. Sher Singh of Lohari charged two Koltas, Rat Ram and Sambhu, with stealing two maunds of potatoes from his fields. He came to this conclusion after consulting Madho Nath, the village Chaukidar-cum-magician. Besides he had the evidence of a witness who saw them carrying some load on the night he lost his potatoes. Both Rat Ram and Sambhu, however, denied the charges. The *khumri* was held for a whole day and it gave the decision that both the Koltas should give 6 maunds of potatoes to Sher Singh, and if they wanted to deliver the potatoes before the Deota, they should give 12 maunds to Sher Singh. Next day, the two Koltas put forward a counter-charge against Sher Singh of stealing several maunds of their grain from the *gharat* (water mill). The *khumri* after another day's discussion asked them first to give Sher Singh the compensation for his loss of potatoes. Both Koltas chose to pay Sher Singh before the image of Mahasu, hoping to get a return of double the amount they paid, in case Sher Singh should fall ill. Then the *khumri* asked either party to pay Rs. 10 as *bistara* to the *khumri*. This the Koltas agreed to, but Sher Singh refused. Thereupon, the *khumri* increased the amount of his *bistara* to Rs. 20 plus a goat, because the villagers had wasted two days in deciding his case. They also threatened to withdraw the decision made in his case, if he would not obey them, and the social boycott would be an additional punishment to him.

Case (2): Village Khumri — A case of theft in which both parties involved are outsiders. A mechanic named Ram Singh from Garhwal came to Lohari frequently on business. He spent some time one day with the school teacher for a drink. Next day the teacher found that he had lost a ten-rupee note and he suspected the mechanic. About two months later when the mechanic came again he was accused by the teacher, but he denied the charge. A few of the villagers who overheard their quarrel came to handle the matter according to the way of the *khumri*. They first advised both parties to come to a compromise but in vain. Then they asked both to pay Rs. 6 each to the *khumri* as *bistara*. After receiving the amount, they ordered Ram Singh to pay Rs. 10 to the teacher. As an alternative, Ram Singh had to pay Rs. 40 to the teacher and Rs. 24 to the villagers as a fine if he took a false oath and consequently fell a victim to the wrath of the deity. Ram Singh accepted the alternative.

Both of them were then asked to get two witnesses. The teacher took Madho Nath and Ram Singh took Dallu as their witnesses, and they paid Rs. 2 to each. Both parties had to swear before the *deota* by dropping some salt into a *lota* full of water. Having sworn Ram Singh gave Rs. 20 to the teacher. On the advice of the villagers, both

of them decided to observe *chhinga*, i.e. to sever their relationship with each other.

Cases (3 and 4): Village Khumri — A case of suspected witchcraft. Dev Ram of Lakhmandal fell ill with fever and pain all over his body. Both native and foreign treatment having failed Dev Ram's cousin went to a *baki* (or sorcerer) in village Kua of Tehri-Garhwal. The *baki* said that a *dak* (witch) had caused the illness. Dev Ram's cousin came back to the village and arranged a *khumri*. He announced that whoever had cast the spell on Dev Ram should remove it in three days, otherwise he would get the *baki* to mention the name of the witch. It was decided in the meeting that if Dev Ram's health did not improve within three days all the participants in the *khumri* would go to the *baki's* place and ask him to name the witch. The person so named by him would have to pay Rs. 60 and a goat to the villagers. If, however, the *baki* failed to find out the person, Dev Ram's cousin would pay the same amount as a fine. Luckily, Dev Ram improved after two days, hence no further action was taken.

In the same village, Tulsi Ram lived with his widowed mother and stepmother. The latter was the daughter of Sri Chand Sayana, with whom Tulsi was not on good terms. Once Tulsi's mother fell ill for a long period. Tulsi consulted a *baki* who told him that she was under the influence of a witch of his own village. When Tulsi was returning home he met Jeevanand's mother, the sister of Sri Chand Sayana. He was taken aback to find that the description of the witch given by the *baki* fitted her perfectly. He also recollected that a day or two before his mother had fallen ill, Jeevanand's mother, who was his neighbour, had come to his home. He was convinced of her guilt but he did not disclose it to anyone. In the evening, he collected a little flour from every Brahmin and Rajput family of the village, and prepared a *roti* from it. Next morning he threw fragments of this *roti* in all directions and deliberately threw a conspicuous piece at the house of Jeevanand, praying aloud to the god to kill the witch. Jeevanand's mother felt insulted. She went to her brother Sri Chand Sayana and asked him to convene a meeting of the *khumri*. In the meeting, Tulsi Ram was asked to pay Rs. 25 to Jeevanand's mother as a compensation for spoiling her reputation, but Tulsi argued that he had not mentioned her name. The Sayana took the side of his sister, but some others including two of the Thok Sayanas were of the opinion that Tulsi was innocent. They even thought that Sri Chand's sister could be a witch. After all as she had chosen to come out to protest even when her name had never been mentioned. The meeting dragged on till very late in the night, without any acceptable solution forthcoming. Finally, it was unanimously decided that both parties should

pay Rs. 4 each to the *khumri*. The amount was shared among all present and the case was dismissed.

Case (5): Village Khumri — A case of division of family. A Durgu Kolta of Lakhamandal took his wife to Saharanpur and set her up in a brothel. Here they earned enough to enable him to repay his old debts in the village. Later he returned to the village with his wife, but his heavy drinking habits soon made him further indebted. This time, he sent his younger wife, who was with his younger brother Hari, to the brothel, and he himself worked as the brothel's agent for getting village girls to join them. After some time, again, he became tired of brothels and returned with a mind to settle down in the village. He purchased some land and started farming with his brother. However, he continued his addiction to drink, to which Hari objected. There were interminable quarrels between both the brothers. Being advised by the Village Sayana, who had a grudge against Durgu, Hari sought separation from Durgu. Hari called for a meeting of the *khumri* to effect a division of the family. He charged, first, that Durgu was a drunkard who was squandering the family wealth and secondly, that he had failed to bring their second wife back from the brothel. They had three more brothers. One of the brothers, Juta, sided with Hari. In the meeting, the villagers tried to persuade Hari to give up his idea of separation, but in vain. After three hours' discussion, the Sayana gave his verdict allowing Hari to separate from Durgu. The villagers agreed to supervise the division of their family and property.

The possessions in the family were divided into five shares and each of the five brothers had a share. Juta chose to stay with Hari, while the two younger brothers remained with Durgu. Hari and Juta contributed some utensils to their mother, who chose to live with Durgu. The family debts amounted to Rs. 2,800, of which Durgu and Hari agreed to pay half each. Besides, Durgu agreed to pay Rs. 200 to Hari, because he refused to take with him the first wife, who was a T.B. patient. Next day, the *khumri* met again to effect the division of fields and of the stones and wood they had collected earlier for building a new house. After that, Durgu and Hari gave a goat to the *khumri* as *bistara*. The goat was first offered to Lord Shiva in the village, and then its meat was shared among those who had attended the *khumri*.

Case (6): Inter-village Khumri — A case of divorce. Rupa, a Kolta of Lakhamandal, married a woman of the neighbouring village Guthar. As she refused to go to her husband's place for some time, a *khumri* was held in Guthar, which was attended by representatives from both Guthar and Lakhamandal, besides a few others. It was decided that she should either go back to live with Rupa, or get a divorce

from him by giving him an amount of Rs. 700, which he had given to her former husband when he married her. This amount could be paid either by her new husband, if she could get one, or by her father. An interesting feature of this meeting was that the Sayana of Lakhmandal was absent. When the Guthar people enquired about his absence, the Lakhmandal people gave some lame excuse. The next day, when the Sayana himself asked the villagers why they did not inform him of the meeting, they said that a message was sent but it missed him.

Case (7): Inter-village Khumri — A case of inter-caste dispute. Asoi is a village adjacent to Baila, and it belongs to the Baila Khag, which has Baila as its headquarters. In Asoi, there are five Rajput families, four of which belong to the Nadand *aal*, while the fifth one is known as Sadaik. There were also two families of Bajgi and one of Lohar living in the same village. These three families had a complaint against the Nadands, who took away their land and money. In this connection, the two Bajgis, Dallu and Mina, along with Bhupia Lohar, came to Baila to call for a meeting of the *khumri*. They told the Rajputs of Baila in the meeting that they had to live on the land of the Rajputs of Asoi, but the Nadands demanded a *dand* or fine, before allowing them to use the land. As they were too poor to provide the money as demanded, they came to Baila for help. The Baila people decided to give them some of their own land at Asoi, and also promised to give them some monetary aid. So they returned to Asoi with some hope.

Case (8): Khat Khumri — A clash of 'Manr' processions. Lauri, being the Khat headquarters of Baundar, was due to be visited by the 'Manr' procession from other villages, with the *timru* or the powder made from the bark of an intoxicating plant, which is usually offered to a deity at Lauri. Once it was the turn of the villagers of Kandi to contribute the *timru*, but they intended to take a path going directly to the rivulet without visiting Lauri. The Lauri people took it as an insult, and armed with sticks, they stopped the Kandi people on the way. A free fight ensued between both the groups. The Kandi party was defeated and their *timru* was captured by the people of Lauri. The Kandi people with a strong determination to take revenge on the villagers of Lauri started once again with their *timru* after a few days. Now they were armed with guns, seeing which the people of Lauri refrained from chasing them. But Kandi people were keen on fighting this time, and they took the *timru* into the temple of Lauri. This enraged the residents of Lauri. A dangerous fight was about to take place, but it was averted on the intervention of some village elders.

A *khumri* of the whole Khat was called, and it was decided that any village which contributed the *timru* should first take it to Lauri, and

that the Lauri party should come outside the village to receive them. After the meeting, Lauri people returned the *timru* which they had captured from the Kandi people, and the 'Manr' was duly celebrated.

Case (9): An Inter-Khag Khumri — A case of special problems. The two Khags of the Bharam Khat have been for all purposes independent of each other, but some important matters may occasionally bring about a joint meeting which has a status equal to that of the inter-Khag *khumri*. One such inter-Khag *khumri* was held in the year 1955 in connection with the problem of taxes and licence for opium cultivation.

The meeting was held at Begi, a village half-way between the two Khag headquarters, Baila and Kandoi. Those who attended this meeting included the Sayanas and other prominent persons from all the 14 villages in both Khags of the Bharam Khat, besides several other persons. The *khumri* discussed the problem of payments to be made to the Excise Department as taxes in order to get their licence of opium cultivation extended. This was said to be the first time that the people had to pay a good sum of money, and the participants in the meeting were prepared to make early payments according to the advice given by the excise officials, for the purpose of ensuring safety of their further business.

Case (10): Inter-Khat Khumri — A case of inter-district disputes. A few years ago, on the occasion of the 'Manr' festival, a fight broke out between the villagers of Lakhamandal and the people of Bhankoli from Rawain Tehsil in Tehri district, both parties being participants in the same festival which was held on an inter-Khat basis. In the fight, the Bhankoli people were beaten by the Lakhamandal party, but one member of the latter was captured and taken away by the former. The Lakhamandal people went to Bhankoli to rescue the man, but they were outnumbered and defeated by their opponents. Next day, a deputation of the representatives of different villages of Baundar Khat went to Bhankoli to ask for the return of the man, but the Bhankoli people demanded compensation for the maltreatment they had received the previous day. Following this, a *khumri* at the inter-Khat level was called, in which representatives from the villages of both districts participated. After much discussion, the Lakhamandal people agreed to pay Rs. 50 and so secured the release of their man. From the next year, the festival was again celebrated in a friendly manner as usual.

SOME RECENT CHANGES

Every institution grows up as a need of the region. It weakens and gradually disappears when changes occur, and when the community

to which it belongs does not need it any more. Such has been the fate of the traditional system of village organization in Jaunsar-Bawar also.

With the improvement in transport and communication, and with the intensification of the development measures of the government in recent years, the local organizations of the Jaunsaris have been slowly losing their power. A gradual disorganization has taken place in the systems of Sayana and *khumri*, as may be observed in the following instances.

In Lohari, the Muranh, a *bhera* of a single family till a couple of years back, was judged as one of the most well-to-do families among the few Rajput *aals* and *bheras*. This single family was headed by Narain Chand, who had all his five sons living with him. Later, the youngest son, Theparu, sought a separation, as he had taken a fancy to one of the wives he had in common with all his brothers, and he wanted to live all alone with her. Narain Chand did not like the idea, and he tried to prevent him, but in vain. A division of the family was thus unavoidable.

Narain Chand, however, did not follow the traditional rules of making over the lion's share to the eldest and youngest sons, but divided his property into five equal parts. This made Theparu a loser, as he would otherwise have had half a share more, known as *kanchan*, which is due to the youngest of all the brothers. On this, he called for a *khumri*, in which the villagers gave their judgment in his favour. The father, however, disregarded the decision of the *khumri*, and hence his family was socially boycotted by the villagers according to a further decision of the *khumri*.

The boycott of Narain Chand would have had the desired effect, had the *khumri* remained as strong as it was in the olden days. Narain, however, having a rich family and plenty of hands to work, did not even care for the social boycott. Years have passed, and Theparu has had to remain content with the one-fifth of the share of the family property as was assigned to him by his father. The *khumri* had no other means available to chastize the stubborn Narain Chand, whereas the villagers became gradually softened towards him. The Muranh family has recently participated in the marriage of the son of Madan Singh Khakta in the village.

Some ten years back, when A. Ram, a Brahmin of Lakhmandal, had an affair with a Kolta woman of the neighbouring village Dhaura, he was outcasted by the decision of the village *khumri*. He had earlier married a daughter of the Village Sayana. Now the latter took her back without giving A. Ram any compensation on the excuse that A. Ram had become a 'Dom' and consequently had forfeited his claim to the usual *chhoot* (compensation for divorce) money. This

action, however, was resented by many villagers. Ram remained in the village, and also continued to hold his landed property and his job as the Chaukidar of the museum of the Department of Archaeology.

To the surprise of everyone in the village, soon afterwards he managed to arrange his marriage with a Brahmin woman of Garhwal. The Village Sayana of Lakhamandal tried to dissuade the family of the girl, but to no purpose. Then the Sayana asked the villagers not to participate in his marriage, and also ordered Ram not to visit the temple on the arrival of his bride. Ram, however, forced an entry into the temple, and performed the customary rites there. Later on, Ram organized a *katha* and invited all the Brahmins and the Rajputs of the village. To this he received a good response. Even the Sayana participated in the *katha* and accepted *prasad* from Ram's hands. Thus, Ram was re-admitted into the society through his persistent disobedience, despite the efforts made by the Sayana both in and outside the *khumri*.

Disregard for the position of the Sayana has also been shown in an even worse manner. The said Sayana had been lending money to many Koltas residing in his and the neighbouring villages. One of such Koltas was Bhiparu of Dhaura. Bhiparu had taken the loan some years ago, and had paid many times the amount as interest, but the loan itself was still unpaid. Once the Sayana went to Dhaura and demanded the money from Bhiparu, whom he scolded and slapped. This enraged Bhiparu, and under the influence of drink, he locked the Sayana in his room and beat the old man with shoes. Later on, when Bhiparu came to his senses, he released the Sayana and gave him five rupees as compensation for the ignominy caused to him by the assault. The Sayana kept quiet and apparently swallowed the insult. However, the news soon leaked out, and instead of punishing Bhiparu, everybody laughed at the poor old Sayana.

Another instance may be mentioned in this connection, which concerns the behaviour of the Sayana towards outsiders. Many years ago, one L. C. Sharma came from Meerut and opened a shop in village Bisoi, the Khat headquarters of Bahlar. He rented the house for his shop from Surat Singh, the Sadar Sayana of that Khat.

About a fortnight after Sharma had opened his business, Surat Singh came to his shop and asked for a cock and two bottles of wine, which could not be supplied by Sharma, he being a vegetarian. A quarrel somehow ensued between them and Surat Singh demanded that Sharma vacate the house, to which, again, Sharma refused to comply. Surat, being an influential Sayana, brought the matter before the S.D.M. of Chakrata, but the latter gave his judgment in favour of Sharma on the ground that the house could only be vacated if the

rent remained unpaid for three months. On this, Surat submitted his second petition asserting the non-payment of rent, but it was rejected as it was found to be a false claim.

After some two months, Surat made another application asking for permission to eject Sharma from the shop as he wanted to construct a room there for his own use, but this application also was rejected. Then one day Surat went to the shop and removed the stone slabs covering the roof. Sharma reported the matter to the Tehsil at Chakrata, but on his return he found that his kitchen was also dismantled. In the meantime, rains started and all the goods in the shop were spoiled. Sharma filed a suit for damages against Surat. Surat, however, influenced the Adalat Panchayat of his Khat and got the case transferred to the hands of local Panchs (elders) with whom he was friendly. The result was that for a period of six months the case was kept pending, as all the evidences were in Sharma's favour.

When Sharma threatened to take the matter to the S.D.M. again, the local Panchs asked both parties to decide the case locally with mutual goodwill. A *khumri* of a few villages of the Khat was called but no decision could be reached. A Khat *khumri* held a week later also failed to find a solution, as Surat himself was both the defendant and the influential Sadar Sayana of the Khat. Sharma, therefore, called for a *khumri* of four Khats, namely, Bahlar, Lakhwar, Partar and Koru. This *khumri* was also attended by all the 25 members of the Adalti Panchayat. It was decided at last that Surat Singh should pay Sharma Rs. 250 as the cost of the damaged goods, and Rs. 50 as fine for his misconduct, besides Rs. 100 as *bistara* to the *khumri*. Surat remonstrated on the ground that Sharma was an outsider, but Sharma recalled Surat's demand on him of a cock and wine, which was the cause of the long-standing dispute. Sharma argued that if something could be demanded from a newcomer, he should also be entitled to the fine which he demanded. Finally, Surat had to pay all the amounts including the fine, and the dispute ended. Sharma left the village.

JUDICIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE PANCHAYAT UNITS

Although the Panchayat system prescribed by the ordinances for the rural people should consist of three organized units or bodies, known as the Gram Sabha, Gram Panchayat and Nyay or Adalti Panchayat, the actual system which functions as the Panchayat in this part of the country has been a combination of only two of them, namely, the Gram Sabha, and the Nyay (or Adalti) Panchayat.

According to the requirements of the system, the Nyay Panchayat is a judicial body, while both the Gram Sabha and Gram Panchayat are

administrative bodies. The Gram Panchayat is the executive committee elected by and responsible to a general body of villagers, which is the Gram Sabha and Gram Panchayat fused together. The real 'Gram Sabha' consisting of the general body of villagers has never been called, but the actual 'Gram Panchayat', which is composed of the villagers' representatives, has been functioning in the name of the 'Gram Sabha' leaving the 'Gram Panchayat' out of the picture.

As a rule, the villagers forming the general body of the Gram Sabha did not cast their votes in the Panchayat election, although the executive members or Panchs have secured their offices through election. The fact was that the election held for the Panchayat personnel was merely a process of filing the nomination papers of candidates, and it was over when the number of papers became the same as, and often less than, that of the seats allotted to each electorate. All the candidates were thus declared unanimously elected, and the problem of election did not arise. It was, in the words of the villagers, only a matter of 'purchasing the ticket' to become a Pradhan, Up-Pradhan, etc. As a result, the villagers, who did not pay for a ticket, came to identify the 'Gram Sabha' with the persons who purchased the tickets for the various posts. For practical purposes, there was no need to specify the body of Panchs as the 'Gram Panchayat'. It has become a local convention for both the villagers and the Panchayat staff to use the term 'Gram Sabha' in the place where it is really the 'Gram Panchayat'. Thus the Panchs are generally known as the 'members of the Gram Sabha' instead of that of the Gram Panchayat. So also the meeting of the Panchs is regarded as a 'meeting of the Gram Sabha', whereas a meeting of the 'general body' of Gram Sabha has never taken place, except perhaps when there is a special session of the village *khumri*.

Thinking in terms of the traditional *khumri* which used to make a mess of judicial and administrative powers, people of Jaunsar-Bawar were sometimes confused about the functions of both Gram Sabha and Nyay Panchayat. The Gram Sabha was taken to be a village *khumri* and was asked to try disputes between the villagers whereas the Nyay Panchayat, which has a larger jurisdiction, was regarded as a Khat *khumri*.

SIZE AND JURISDICTION OF THE PANCHAYATS

There are in the whole of Jaunsar-Bawar, including both the Blocks of Chakrata and Kalsi, 54 Gram Sabhas and 13 Nyay Panchayats. These have been formed since 1953-54. Each Gram Sabha was made up of a few adjoining villages with a combined population of between 1,000 and 1,500. The Nyay Panchayat was chosen out of four or five Gram Sabhas.

With a total population of about 59,000 in the whole region, the average population works out to about 1,100 per Gram Sabha and about 4,500 per Nyay Panchayat. The population required for each Gram Sabha is usually made up of three or four or more villages, but these figures are not always strictly adhered to. In exceptional cases, when the villages are situated out of the way and the communications are difficult, there may be a Gram Sabha of only two or three villages with a population of about 500 or less. For instance, the Gram Sabha of Buraila in the area of Dasau Nyay Panchayat circle contained only a population some 400 strong, within two villages, Buraila and Jagthan, both of which belong to the Khat of Dhanau.

There are in the whole of Jaunsar-Bawar 39 Khats, both the size and population of which vary to a great extent. A Gram Sabha usually consists of a single Khat or part of a Khat, except in the case of a small Khat, which has to be joined by some villages of another Khat to make up a Gram Sabha. The Nyay Panchayat, on the other hand, usually consists of two or more Khats, and all Gram Sabhas of the same Khat are generally taken as a whole in a particular Nyay Panchayat.

The three villages taken as our field centres fall within this jurisdiction as noted in Table I (along with the relevant figures of population, etc.).

TABLE I

Field Centre	Gram Sabha			Nyay Panchayat			
	Hq.	No. of Villages	Approx. Population	Hq.	No. of Gram Sabhas	No. of Khats	No. of Villages
Lohari	Jadi	4	1,250	Dasau (Dhanau)	4	2	23
Baila	Baila	3	650	Kandoi (Bharam)	5	2	21
Lakhamandal	Lakhamandal	6	1,250	Lauri (Baundar)	4	2	17

COMPOSITION OF THE PANCHAYATS

Representation of different groups of villagers to the Panchayats is a matter of great importance, as it not only forms the basis of intimate connection between the Panchayat organization and the different groups of local population, but also concerns the general pattern and the traditional idea of the relative position of different castes and groups in the village organization.

We have described the way in which the Panchayat election was carried out a few years ago, and also, incidentally, by implication how the election had no connection with the franchise. However, there was the provision in the Panchayat Act for giving adequate representation to scheduled castes or under-privileged groups. In the Panchayat election of Jaunsar-Bawar, due attention was paid to the low-caste groups of villagers, especially the Koltas, who have been the second biggest group of population in most of the villages, next only to the dominating group of the Rajputs or Brahmins. It may be pointed out here that women's representation is still out of the question.

Table 2 shows the distribution of Panchs among the higher and lower castes (in 1957), in the three Gram Sabhas to which our field villages belong.

TABLE 2

<i>Gram Sabha</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>No. of Members (Including Pradhans)</i>		
		<i>General</i>	<i>Scheduled Caste</i>	<i>Total</i>
Jadi	(4)	(25)	(12)	(37)
	1. Jadi	7	2	9
	2. Lohari	7	6	13
	3. Mangar	9	3	12
	4. Sijla	2	1	3
Baila	(3)	(17)	(15)	(32)
	1. Baila	13	7	20
	2. Udawan	2	2	4
	3. Asoi	2	6	8
Lakhamandal	(6)	(20)	(17)	(37)
	1. Lakhamandal	5	3	8
	2. Guthar	2	1	3
	3. Chauntar	2	0	2
	4. Dhaura	1	5	6
	5. Bhatar	4	1	5
	6. Lauri	6	7	13
Total	(13)	(62)	(44)	(106)

The figures show that the representation of scheduled castes in the 3 Gram Sabhas taken together was more than 40 per cent of the total. The rest, being regarded as 'General' seats, went to the high castes, the Brahmins and the Khasas, as they were in great majority. The seats in the Gram Sabhas were allotted village-wise and group-wise, both proportionate to population. Most of the reserved seats for

the scheduled castes were held by the Koltas who formed the lowest group in the local caste hierarchy, and usually the second biggest group of population in the village. Other lower castes, being small in number, were only occasionally given one or two seats; even that was more than the number due to their population. It is worth noticing that the posts of Pradhan (Gram Sabhapati) and Up-Pradhan of all the Gram Sabhas have been invariably occupied by the high castes, and usually by the influential Sayanas of the villages or Khats.

The Nyay Panchayat, on the other hand, offers a different picture of representation. As a rule, each of the Gram Sabhas contributes five members or Panchs to the Nyay Panchayat. It was found that in most cases, the members came from the high castes. For example, all the five Nyay Panchayat members contributed by Jadi Gram Sabha (including two from Lohari village) and another five from the Baila Gram Sabha (including four from Baila village) were Rajputs (Khasas), while those contributed by the Lakhamandal Gram Sabha included one Brahmin, three Rajputs and one Kolta. This shows that the Nyay Panchayats are absolutely dominated by the high castes. This dominance is especially significant due to the fact that the Nyay Panchayat is a judicial body, which is expected to take over the cases of villagers' disputes from the traditional *khumris* of various levels.

ELECTION AND LEADERSHIP OF THE PANCHAYATS

We have already mentioned that the Panchayat elections had nothing to do with the village masses, because the candidates were generally elected to their offices without opposition. This phenomenon testifies to the fact that only the influential or active leaders among the villagers have taken interest in the affairs of the new Panchayats.

Whatever may be the antecedents of the new Panchayat, the heads and members of the new Panchayats have considerable importance in terms of village leadership. In many cases there is a shift of focus on leadership or rise of new leaders in the village, while in other cases factional jealousies have raised an ugly head to confuse village life.

Lohari, which is neither the headquarters of the Khat, nor that of the Gram Sabha, but is the biggest and most important village in this whole Khat and the neighbouring areas, had contributed a larger number of Panchs than any other village, including Jadi, in the Jadi Gram Sabha. They numbered 13 out of a total of 37 members. It had also contributed 2 out of 5 of the Nyay Panchayat members from the same Gram Sabha. Lohari had not secured headships in the Panchayats. The Pradhan, or Gram Sabhapati, was Narayan Singh of Jadi, the Sadar Sayana of Khat Dhanau to which Lohari belongs, and the Up-Pradhanship had gone to the Sadar Sayana of another village.

The Sarpanch or head of the Nyay Panchayat was Kedar Singh, the Sadar Sayana of the other Khat Dasau, in the jurisdiction of the Dasau Nyay Panchayat.

Among the 13 Gram Sabha members from Lohari, there were 7 Rajputs, 4 Koltas and one each of Nath and Bajgi. This distribution of seats among different castes may not mean any positive proof of a comparative status of all castes, as the lower castes have yet very little courage and ability to speak before their high-caste counterparts in the Panchayat meetings. Nevertheless, it furnished a legal stand for the under-privileged group to demand a better living in the village. As regards the village dynamics, or the balance of power between different groups of villagers, it is as yet a monopoly of the privileged high caste people. In this connection two interesting features deserve notice. Firstly, of the 9 Rajputs elected, 7 members of Gram Sabha and 2 members of Nyay Panchayat, came from 9 different *bheras* or sub-lineages, all of which belonged to the 3 *aals* of the Rajeu group, while none came from the Khaktas, who have traditionally stayed away from the village organization. The second, was the absence of both the Sayanas of the village. This may not point to any conflict between the new and old leaderships, but it showed that both of these Sayanas had been ignored due to their personal incompetence. This argument further finds support in the election of two of the most capable and active leaders, Dallu and Sabal Singh, to the Nyay Panchayat. Dallu was not a Sayana of the village, but he had established himself as the most capable leader in the whole village, so much so that he was popularly known as the Reeti ka Sayana (a person who knows the law and sticks to truth), whereas Sabala had been a good speaker and the most articulate among the new generation.

The composition of the Panchayats at Baila presents many other significant features of the organization. Being the Khag headquarters, Baila was traditionally a leading village of the area, and its Sayanas were respected leaders in the whole Khat of Bharam. Not only that Baila was chosen as the Gram Sabha headquarters, but also both the Pradhan and the Up-Pradhan, as well as the Sarpanch of the Nyay Panchayat, came from Baila, although the Nyay Panchayat headquarters have been located at Kandoi (Bharam) owing to geographical considerations.

In sharp contrast with Lohari, Baila had its traditional Sayanas as leaders in the new Panchayats. Much of this was, however, due to the personal interest and enthusiasm of Daya Ram. It is said that when the Panchayats were organized, the Sarpanchship was at first offered by the officials to Birbal, the Sadar Sayana of Baila Khag. But Birbal declined the offer, as he was the only working member in his family.

Also, he was not as well-to-do as Daya Ram, who had established himself as the most important and influential Gaon Sayana of Baila. Therefore, Dayaram was requested to take up the office of Sarpanch of the Nyay Panchayat, whereas Birbal became the Pradhan of the Baila Gram Sabha. Rajmal, another Gaon Sayana of Baila, became the Up-Pradhan.

Baila had been allotted 20 out of 32 seats in the Gram Sabha. Among these 20 seats, 7 were reserved for the scheduled castes, including the Badi, Sunar, Bajgi and Kolta. The people of Baila and its neighbouring villages were notorious for their indifference towards the developmental work. Only a handful of them could be persuaded to participate in the Panchayat. Many of the seats of the Gram Sabha had been lying vacant for years. Till recently, one of the reserved seats, and five general seats had not been yet filled up. Meanwhile, four of the Rajputs of Baila, including Daya Ram, and other Gaon Sayanas of the villages, had been concurrently holding their offices both in the Gram Sabha and the Nyay Panchayats. All this shows a lack of interest among the villagers in the matters of Panchayat. In fact, the Adalti Panchs from Baila, except the Sarpanch, had never been punctual at the Panchayat meetings at Kandoi. One of the Panchs, the conservative Gaon Sayana, Kishan Singh, never attended any meeting, and he said he would be glad to have his name struck off from membership.

The village Lakhmandal, though not the headquarters of a Khat, had a position in the Panchayat organization, which was more important than that of Lauri, the seat of the Sadar Sayana of Baundar Khat, to which Lakhmandal belongs. In fact, Lauri formed a part of the Lakhmandal Gram Sabha, whose headquarters are located at Lakhmandal. This Gram Sabha contained four more villages, namely Phatar, Chauntar, Guthar and Dhaura. The Village Sayana of Lakhmandal, Srichand of the Raichan *thok*, was the Pradhan of this Gram Sabha, but in the Nyay Panchayat of Baundar, he was an Adalti Panch or member. The Sarpanch was Sahaj Ram, a literate person of the younger generation from village Kuna of the same Khat.

Lakhmandal was given 8 seats in the Gram Sabha, including 3 for the scheduled castes. Besides, it contributed two members to the Nyay Panchayat; they were the Village Sayana Srichand and Sabla of the Luman *thok*. It is noticeable that the representation of the high caste in the village was limited to the three main Brahmin *thoks*. A majority of the members came from the Luman *thok*, although the leading figure, Srichand, was from the Raichan *thok*. There was a story told about the Panchayat election in Lakhmandal. At that time, the villagers were quite suspicious of the intentions of the government

and did not like to become Panchs of the Gram Sabha. Most of the Brahmins of the village were actually against the establishment of the Panchayat, as they feared that it would replace their traditional *khumri*, which was a means of making money. As nobody wanted to join the new Panchayats, the Kanungo and the Patwari pressed Srichand to file his nomination paper for the Pradhanship. He did it only under official compulsion, and not due to personal choice. He was elected unanimously and after taking over the charge of the Gram Sabha, he asked some other villagers of Lakhamandal to purchase tickets for membership, and thus the quorum of the Gram Sabha of Lakhamandal was completed.

A different story was told at Nada, which is one of the Gram Sabha headquarters of the same Nyay Panchayat circle and Khat, about 9 miles from Lakhamandal. It became a matter of competition between two village leaders, as it involved their traditional prestige in the same village. This case involved Mor Singh, the Village Sayana of Nada, and Srichand, who being a cousin of the former, had an unsuccessful claim to the Sayanaship, but was otherwise an influential and successful leader. The latter had an extraordinary ability as an orator for which he was nicknamed as the 'illiterate barrister', a title conferred by a former minister. There existed in Nada two factions, led by Mor Singh and Srichand respectively.

During the Panchayat election, in 1954, Srichand made it known to the villagers in the beginning that he had no intention of contesting the seat of Pradhan of the Gram Sabha. Everybody thought that Mor Singh would become the Pradhan. On the day of issuing the nomination papers, however, Srichand went to Lauri personally and purchased a ticket for Pradhanship. Mor Singh did not come himself, but sent his son Rat Ram to purchase his ticket. On reaching Lauri, Rat Ram was advised by the Returning Officer that as Srichand had already purchased a ticket for the seat of Pradhan, it would be better if he purchased the Up-Pradhan's ticket for Mor Singh to avoid a contest between them. Rat Ram, being a boy, did not take this matter seriously, and returned to Nada with the Up-Pradhan's ticket for Mor Singh. Consequently, both Srichand and Mor Singh were unanimously elected. This incident added to the tussle between the two leaders, and, thenceforth, both in the village *khumri* and in the Panchayat they were bitterly fighting against each other.

FUNCTIONS OF THE PANCHAYATS

The Gram Sabha, being the basic unit of local government, has administrative duties and powers to deal with both the public affairs which were usually taken up by the village *khumris*, including

management of public organizations and public property, celebration of festivals, keeping of community funds, and levying of certain taxes, and the development measures introduced by the government with regard to community activities in the village, such as public sanitation, *shramdan* for construction work, and maintenance of population registers. The Nyay Panchayat, on the other hand, is purely a judicial body, with powers to maintain law and order, to try cases, and to levy fines up to a sum of Rs. 100.

Besides the heads and members of the Gram Sabhas and Nyay Panchayats, there was in each Nyay Panchayat circle a Panchayat Secretary, who was the government representative, having an official status. His duties were to help the village Panchayats in carrying out their duties in conformity with the regulations. He was working under the supervision of the Panchayat Inspector and both of them belonged to the District Panchayat Office. Since the latter part of 1957, however, the Panchayat Secretary came under the supervision of the A.D.O. (Assistant Development Officer) in charge of Panchayats, who had replaced the Panchayat Inspector.

The functioning of the new Panchayats was extremely unsatisfactory for the first two or three years. There were many reasons. We have already mentioned the villagers' hesitation to take part in the Panchayat election. There was among the villagers general ignorance of the meaning and functions of the new system of Panchayats and a fear of what it would lead to. There was also a deep-rooted suspicion and even overt antagonism from the old *khumris* at the monthly meetings of the Nyay Panchayat, which were organized by the Sarpanch of the members. They valued their work in the field more than the meeting, unless the subject-matter or the dispute concerned them. Similar was the case with the meetings of the Gram Sabha which were usually called by the V.L.W. (Village Level Worker) or Panchayat Secretary and seldom by the members themselves. During the earlier years, the V.L.W. or Panchayat Secretary had often to threaten the members with a fine in order to get them to attend the meeting. The villagers' complaint was that if they came to the meeting their field and household work would suffer. Many a member even expressed the desire to be relieved of his membership.

The meetings of the Panchayats, whenever held without the presence of the Panchayat Secretary, were usually conducted in the same way as the *khumri*. The decisions were taken according to the traditional pattern. Time and again, they would make a mess of judicial and administrative matters. They even made money as they used to do. No proceedings were recorded according to the requirement of the regulations.

There were official lapses also. The V.L.W. or Panchayat Secretary sometimes conducted the meetings without a fixed agenda. Sometimes, the members participating in the meeting hardly knew as to why and how the meeting was called, and they had little to do there, but to rubber stamp the decisions.

It was long before any improvement could be effected in the Panchayat mechanism, which had to be geared up with the villagers on the one hand, and with the Community Development Projects on the other. It was only when the villagers and the Panchayat staff at the village level came to understand each other and when the officers in charge at the Block level had a better knowledge and more efficient control and check of what was going on in the villages, that there was any improvement and progress possible. The crux of the problem today is the existing rivalry between the traditional *khumri* and the new Panchayat.

THE PANCHAYAT AND THE KHUMRI

Since the introduction of the Panchayat system, the powers and activities of the traditional *khumri* have been curtailed to a certain extent. However, the *khumri* is still active, and this has greatly hampered the functioning of both the judicial and administrative Panchayat.

The new system has emphasized the dichotomy of functions, administrative and judicial, for either of which there is an exclusive organization, that is, the Gram Sabha and the Nyay Panchayat, respectively. In the old system, there is a territorial gradation, based on the village and the Khat, hence the village *khumri* and the Khat *khumri*.

The contrast between the two systems, therefore, clearly shows that each of them has an importance of its own, and ignores what has been emphasized by the other. Thus a Khat *khumri* or a village *khumri* has combined both the judicial and administrative powers under the jurisdiction of the same body. All matters of the intra-village level of whatever nature they may be are dealt with by the same group of village elders, or the villagers interested in the matter, but the matters concerning two or more villages, or those on which the village council cannot reach a solution, are brought forward to the council of a high order, i.e. the Khat *khumri*, where the brains of the whole Khat are available for expert opinion and judgment. This system has, in fact, rested upon the integration of the Khat and the solidarity among all of its constituent villages. Hence, the Khat *khumri* used to be the final authority for deciding all matters, both judicial and administrative, within the jurisdiction of the Khat.

The new system, on the contrary, has different bodies for carrying out its judicial and administrative functions, but it has provided only a single stage in the organization of either of these bodies. In this connection, experience has revealed several kinds of weaknesses of the new Panchayat system, as compared to the old *khumri*.

In the first place, difficulty arises with the single-stage structure, which leaves no room for adjustment when it fails to solve the problem at hand. As there is no other local body dealing with the specified matter, judicial or administrative, every case of failure has to be forwarded to the higher authorities at Chakrata. Hence, it involves not only a question of distance and expense, but also other procedural difficulties.

The more serious problem, however, consists of the fact that both the Gram Sabha and Nyay Panchayat circles, being new units formed on the basis of population, are not in conformity with the traditional units of the local community. The innovation is not readily welcomed by the villagers, as anything new is looked upon with suspicion, particularly if it is to replace an old system, the utility of which has been proved and established beyond doubt. There are also practical difficulties in following the new system. The new units are multi-village organizations, but the local problem is often a concern of only one or some of its constituent villages. When a meeting of the Gram Sabha or Nyay Panchayat is held for dealing with a matter which concerns only one or two villages, the whole troop of Panchs or members have to be mobilized, and thus much labour and time is wasted. This is a serious lacuna especially when the members have to come a long way from distant villages leaving their own work. This is why the attendance at the meetings is often very poor, and consequently there is the lack of a healthy atmosphere at the meetings.

Further, in the case of Gram Sabha, the funds are collected from all the member villages. If a proposal is made for constructing a Panchayat Ghar (house) or doing something else for one village, objections come from other villages, each of which puts forward a demand of its own. Even when the plan is to share the money for purposes useful to all the member villages, difficulties arise as the collections and contributions vary from village to village according to their size and population, and the benefit may go to one village which contributes the least. Difficulties of this nature appeared in Lakhamandal, and led to the failure of the purposed community garden and delayed the construction of the Panchayat Ghar and school building for years. Similar cases have also cropped up elsewhere.

The village *khumri* has to manage the village temple and to arrange for other matters of common interest within the village community,

whereas the Khat *khumri* has responsibilities at a different level. There may be a festival like 'Nunai' or 'Dewali' which has to be organized by and celebrated at the expense of the residents in the village, but a 'Manr' has to be organized at the Khat level, with contributions of money and labour from all the villages within the Khat. These can never possibly be taken up by the Gram Sabha, which does not belong to either of the two levels, village or Khat.

We have already mentioned that among the villagers there is sometimes a tendency to equate the Gram Sabha with the village *khumri* and the Nyay Panchayat with the Khat *khumri*, because the villagers have got accustomed to the two-tier system of their village organization. The two new Panchayats also differ from each other in jurisdiction, and each Nyay Panchayat serves several Gram Sabhas. This analogy has led to further confusion between the functions pertaining to the two Panchayat bodies as well as between those of the traditional *khumris*. It was no wonder that a meeting organized by the Panchayat in the beginning was later on turned into a *khumri*, when the Panchayat was unable to find a satisfactory solution to the problem on hand. An instance or two may be cited here to elucidate this situation.

The case of L. C. Sharma *versus* Surat Singh regarding the house tenancy, as mentioned before, was one connected with both the *khumri* and the Nyay Panchayat. The case was even brought before the S.D.M. of Chakrata, but later on it was transferred to the local Nyay Panchayat, which, however, could not settle the matter, and an inter-Khat *khumri* of four Khats was called for solving the problem.

Another case following the same line of development was seen in Baila. It was a long-standing case between the Sadar Sayana, Birbal, and Hisaru, a Rajput of the same village. It was a land dispute in which Hisaru was asked to pay Birbal an amount of Rs. 32 and about 16 maunds of *manduwa* grain. The case was at first put before the village *khumri* of Baila, but no decision could be made there, probably because of the influence of Birbal over the *khumri*, who was the Sadar Sayana. Hisaru went to the civil court of Chakrata. After that both parties were summoned to the court several times without a hearing because of some defect or the other in the procedures or documents. Both had to experience great difficulties in coming from Baila to Chakrata, which involved a journey of some 20 miles, and sometimes to Kalsi, 32 miles away, where the Chakrata court was shifted during the winter months. Every time they came down they had to spend 4 or 5 days so as not to miss the date given by the court. They had also to pay Rs. 10 to 20 to the lawyers each time, even when there was no hearing, in addition to other expenses and court fees. They had to spend money for the witnesses also. It cost Hisaru more than

Rs. 100 and Birbal more than Rs. 60 till the end of the case. The verdict was given in Birbal's favour, but the condition was that he should go to a village known as Gabella after 8 days to take an oath before the deity in order to prove the statement he had made before the court.

By this time, however, both Hisaru and Birbal were quite tired and were eager to withdraw the case from the court. This would also save them from the trouble and expenditure needed for taking the oath at Gabella. Hence, they decided to apply to the S.D.M. for transferring their case to the Adalti Panchayat. A statement was submitted before the date fixed for the oath, and permission was granted to transfer the case to the Nyay Panchayat of Kandoi. The case was actually taken to the *khumri* level again, and it was settled in Baila itself. Both parties, having come to a compromise, mutually consented that Hisaru should pay an amount of Rs. 140 plus two maunds of grain to Birbal, while Birbal allowed Hisaru to occupy the land in question for his own use, on condition that should Hisaru like to dispose it of, he must let Birbal have the right of pre-emption.

CAUSES FOR THE FAILURE OF THE PANCHAYATS TO REPLACE THE KHUMRI

Though several years have passed since the Gram Sabhas and Nyay Panchayats were introduced into Jaunsar-Bawar, they have not yet succeeded in replacing the traditional system of *khumri*. The reasons are many.

What the villagers need is an efficient and convenient organization on which they can depend for solving their problems at any place and at any time. In these respects, the flexible system of *khumri* has a much more advantageous position than that of the Panchayats, which are bound by many regulations and restrictions not understood by the people.

There was a long-standing quarrel between the villagers of Lakhamandal and Guthar over a pasture land. The village settlement of Guthar is about one mile away from Lakhamandal across a rivulet. Some time ago, the Guthar people became impatient and took the offensive measure of leaving their cattle deliberately in the pasture which was near their village, and to which the Lakhamandal people had a claim. Thus a serious quarrel ensued. Abuses were hurled by the disputants at each other, though a direct clash did not take place, as they were separated by the rivulet, which was in its seasonal spate. This dispute had been time and again dealt with by the *khumri* but to no purpose. Srichand Sayana of Lakhamandal, who had now been elected to the new Panchayat as the Pradhan of Lakhamandal Gram Sabha, called another inter-village *khumri* of several villages

within his Gram Sabha, including Guthar and Lauri, the Khat headquarters, two days after the incident. An agreement between the parties of Lakhamandal and Guthar was reached at the meeting. Apparently, the success of this meeting had a connection with Srichand's position as the Pradhan in his Gram Sabha. It was difficult to say whether this meeting was a *khumri* or a meeting of the Gram Sabha, which also usurped the Nyay Panchayat's authority to settle a dispute. However, the Nyay Panchs, including the Sarpanch who was a resident of Kuna, which belonged to another Gram Sabha, were not invited to the meeting.

The foregoing case is just one of the many similar ones in which the new Panchayat personnel stick to the old custom of calling the village meeting on the lines of a *khumri*. The Sayana of Lakhamandal, who is also the Gram Sabhapati, has been found to be till now deciding the intra-village cases himself. Such cases include family quarrels, divorce and theft. Similar practice was also found with other Sayanas elsewhere. Often the Panchs of the Panchayats were also found to be advising the villagers not to take their disputes to the Nyay Panchayats but to go before the village *khumri*, where they continued the old practice of levying fine and sharing it among themselves. Quite often, however, meetings of this kind were reported as 'Panchayat meetings' in the official records.

Much of the villagers' hesitation and suspicious attitude towards the new Panchayats was traceable to their ignorance of the laws and rules. They would try as far as possible not to put down the proceedings of the meetings in writing so as not to commit themselves to situations which they generally did not understand.

Among the important factors which retard the popularity of Nyay Panchayats, is the incompatibility between the new regulations and the old traditions with regard to divine witness. As the people here generally believe Mahasu Deota to be the supreme and omnipotent and omnipresent authority, the decisions made in judicial cases almost invariably end with an oath taken in the name of the deity. This is a procedure which a modern Panchayati Adalat could never allow, and this would probably remain as one of the reasons why the Panchayat cannot replace the traditional *khumri*. In many respects, the people of Baila have been more superstitious than people elsewhere. It was observed that the Mahasu Deota had more influence in Baila than elsewhere. As a result, not a single case of dispute was put by the people of Baila before the Nyay Panchayat of Kandoi, for two or three years together. Similar was the case with the other interior villages, which were located at long distances from their Nyay Panchayat headquarters.

The distance and the difficulties in communication have certainly been another important cause preventing the villagers from bringing their cases and disputes to the Nyay Panchayats. As mentioned already, this was also the reason for the Panchs to be absent from the routine meetings of Panchayats.

The general lack of interest shown by the villagers in the Panchayats and their enthusiasm for the *khumri* are significant. Certain psychological, economic as well as social factors are in favour of the *khumri*. It was seen that the residents of a village would not mind disclosing their secret dealings, personal behaviour, even their wrong doings and crimes before their own village leaders, but they would be reluctant to narrate or to discuss them before a Panchayat meeting, the participants of which were outsiders from other villages. This may also be connected with a sense of pride in one's own village, the existence of factions and such other factors.

The economic advantage which a Sayana or a high-caste villager could get from the *khumri* was considerable; even a low-caste man had a share in certain cases. This income was derived by the *khumri* from the fines levied on persons found guilty, or failing to find a guilty party, on both parties. In any case, there was always the *bistara*, a sum of money equivalent to the court fees, which had to be paid by one or both the parties, according to the decision of the *khumri*. This would be stopped, if people had their cases decided in the Panchayat.

Then there is the factor of time and of the long procedure to be gone through when the cases are sent to the Panchayat. First of all, the applicant or the plaintiff has to submit his application on a stamped paper of eight annas. Then the notices are issued to the other party and witnesses. The applicant has also to pay for the summons issued to the witnesses. If the place of the Panchayat meeting is at a village other than that of either or of both the parties, a long and difficult journey is inevitable. To avoid all these difficulties and expenditure, the villagers prefer to have their cases decided in the *khumri*, which they can arrange any day, without spending anything before hand and, as a rule, also have a decision within a short time and usually to their satisfaction. The time factor is important because the villagers are generally hard pressed for time for their field and other operations.

Lastly, the prestige of the high caste is a factor whose importance is not less than that of the others in maintaining the *khumri*. Since the *khumris* are fully dominated by the high-caste people, the abolition of the *khumri* would mean liquidation of their powers. No wonder they do not seem to have compromised with the new Panchayats.

The low castes, specially the Koltas who have traditionally no position at all in the *khumri*, favour and welcome the new Panchayats.

They find that their cases are judged with greater fairness in the Panchayat than in the *khumri*, since not only have the lower castes got a representation in the 'Panchayat Mandal' or the 'Council of Panchs', but also there is the Panchayat Secretary as a government spokesman present to see that the proceedings of the meetings are fair. Further, the representation in the Panchayats has made the lower caste people conscious of their improving status. They feel that they are nowadays getting government backing for justice. Many of the lower castes yet hesitate to approach the Panchayats, because they fear that the higher caste people would be offended or the deity would be displeased.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Since the inception of the Panchayat organization and the C.D.P. activities in 1953-54, the traditional *khumri* system in the village organization of Jaunsar-Bawar has been dented to a certain extent. Not only functionally are the *khumri* not as powerful, stable and authoritative as they were before, but structurally also the composition of the *khumris* has had to change, as the Koltas' confidence in their social position has increased. Besides, the Sayanas, or some of them at least, have also contributed their share in undermining the popularity of the *khumris*. Many of them had indulged in money making either by excessive and unfair levy of fines on the people involved, or through the bungling of funds. Such practices have weakened their own position and brought bad name to the organization. Some other Sayanas and influential village leaders have more recently got into conflict with one another and initiated factionalism.

Economic Activities and Occupational Specializations

WHILE collecting the material concerned with the rural economy of Jaunsar-Bawar we had in mind the requirement that the data must enable us to form a picture about the problems of Production-Distribution-Consumption which the hill people of Jaunsar-Bawar have to solve in order to ensure their traditional modes of living. How the goods and services needed by the masses are secured and how the economic activities are determined, how the network of inter-personal and group relations functions, are important in the context of the developmental programmes on the anvil.

In a primitive or tradition-oriented society the economic system is meant to satisfy certain very indispensable and practical needs and, therefore, allows for the expression of social sentiments and attitudes, the ideas of rank and prestige, the nature of economic reward and action, the principles of reciprocity and mutuality, and the influence of wealth and property on leadership.

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS

Traditionally, the village community in Jaunsar-Bawar has been more or less self-sufficient in its economy. The villagers have developed among themselves a system of occupational specialization. Table 1 shows the distribution of occupations in village Lakhamandal.

It emerges that most of the people earn their livelihood by agriculture, in the forms of, respectively, owner-cultivator (i.e. the land-owner cultivating the land with his own family members, with or without additional labourers), owner-cultivator-cum-tenant (i.e. those who cultivate partly their own land and partly the tenanted land), tenant and landless labourer. All put together they form 40 out of 42, or 95 per cent, of the total number of families residing permanently in the village.

Traditionally the Bajgi and the Jagdi do not take agriculture as their main occupation. The Bajgis are, traditionally, drummers, but

TABLE I
CASTE-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS IN
LAKHAMANDAL (DECEMBER 1957)

Main Occupation	Caste	No. of Families	Percentage of the Total
(1) Agriculturists :		40	95.2
(a) Owner-Cultivator	Brahmin	17	40.5
(b) Owner-Cultivator- cum Tenant	Brahmin	4	
	Rajput	1	
	Jagdi (Nath)*	2	
	Sub-total	7	16.7
(c) Tenant	Bajgi*	1	
	Kolta	9	
	Sub-total	10	23.8
(d) Landless Labourer	Kolta	6	14.3
(2) Artisans :		2	4.8
(a) Goldsmith	Rajput*	1	2.4
(b) Distiller	Badi*	1	2.4
Total		42†	100.0

* Special case. See the explanations below.

† Besides these families, there is a Sindhi family residing in the village for business purposes on temporary terms, which is excluded from this tabulation.

the single family of Bajgi here now consists of only a widow who took a Nepalese as her second husband. They are maintained by the tenancy taken by her late Bajgi husband; besides, the Nepalese works as a contractor for breaking the land and preparing the *kyari* (irrigated field). The Jagdis are by tradition religious servicemen. The two Jagdi families usually serve the pilgrims *en route* to Jannotri. A Jagdi may sometimes beat drums at the temple during the absence of a Bajgi in the village. But they are now also making their living by tilling the land.

On the other hand, Rajputs are not the traditional goldsmiths nor the Badis the distillers. Here the Rajput in question is a recent immigrant from Tehri-Garhwal, who settled in the village by marriage (a case of love marriage) with a Brahmin girl. He has learned the art of goldsmithy and is practising the trade in the absence of a Sunar in the village. He has no land in his possession. The Badis are the

traditional carpenters. Here the single family of Badi is survived by only a widow who earns her living by distilling, besides doing other miscellaneous services in the village.

Agriculture is the most important economic pursuit of the people in Jaunsar-Bawar, and occupational specialization and cooperation in the village have been built up around agriculture. In fact, there is a traditional system of service assignment for the artisan castes, who are required to serve the high-caste landowners (agriculturists) in a way similar to the *jajmani* system elsewhere.

Among the agriculturists, there are four sub-groups, which define economic as well as social status. The traditional landowners invariably belong to the high castes; here in this village, the Brahmin. They account for 40.5 per cent or 17 out of 42 families in the village. Next come the families which have partly lands of their own and partly those they got on tenancy from a few villagers. This group includes four families of Brahmins, who are comparatively recent immigrants, one of a Rajput and two of Jagdis. They account for 16.7 per cent of the total number of families in the village. The third group, the tenants, includes one Bajgi and nine Kolta families, who have taken some land from the zamindars. They form 23.8 per cent of the total number of families, or one-fourth of the total number of the agriculturist families in the village. The last group consists of the landless labourers, who are all Koltas. They are 6 out of the 15, or 40 per cent of the total number of Kolta families in the village, and they form 14.3 per cent of the total number of families in the village.

The Brahmin and the Rajput families are agriculturists. The Bajgis and Jagdis are artisans. The Koltas, who are traditional agricultural labourers or 'serfs', are also following various other occupations which supplement their meagre income from service. These include weaving, skinning of animals, leather-work and shoe-making, as well as the removal of refuse, dead bodies and carcasses. It was seen that among the Koltas of Lakhamandal, one was a professional shoe-maker and had been called 'Mochi', though he was now too old to perform any work. Some of the Kolta families of this village have recently resorted to immoral traffic in women, locally known as *chakla*.

Data both from Lohari and from Baila further bear out the characteristic pattern of economic activities and occupational specialization among the villagers in Jaunsar-Bawar, sanctioned both by customary law and by tradition.

As already mentioned, there are four castes in Lohari, namely the Rajput, Nath, Bajgi and Kolta, and six castes in Baila, namely Rajput, Brahmin, Badi, Sunar, Bajgi and Kolta. It is found that all the Rajput families of both the villages are owner-cultivators. The single Brahmin

family of Baila also belongs to the same category. The Badis of Baila, constituting eight families in all, being descendants of a common ancestor also have their own land which they cultivate, though they are at the same time earning a good income by their traditional occupation, namely carpentry. The Sunars, consisting of two families derived from a common ancestor who came to Baila in the last generation, do not possess much land and they are more artisan than agriculturist. Their main occupation is goldsmithy, which is their age-old, traditional calling. The Naths of Lohari have two families and are descended from very early settlers in the village. Though they own some land of their own they are eking out their living by tenancy as well as by divination, witchcraft and magic, for which they are supported by conventional gifts and alms from other families in the village.

The Bajgis and the Koltas are following their traditional profession as drummers and serfs, respectively, but the Baila Bajgis and Koltas have better economic status because of their long residence in the village. Many of them are tenants or have been given land by the zamindars for their maintenance, but nearly half of the Koltas of Lohari are landless labourers. Besides, the Koltas have also taken to weaving and the Bajgis work as barbers and tailors.

In short, the characteristic features of hill economy make the families depend upon land, wholly or partly, for their livelihood. Only the Badis and Sunars of Baila can be regarded as mainly artisans, whereas the Bajgis are to a great extent eking out their livelihood by drumming.

AGRICULTURE

Throughout Jaunsar-Bawar the craggy precipitous ranges hardly leave an even patch of land of any considerable size which could be employed for agricultural purposes. Hence, terrace cultivation is the rule. Whatever fields are available have been prepared by levelling the hard rocks, stones and boulders, the terraces being supported by a stone wall called 'Pusta' of heights varying from four to ten feet. For preparing a terrace one has to build up a wall at the lower part of the slope, then dig the top till the whole plot is levelled. Naturally the expense of making the terraced fields is prohibitive, both in time and in labour. Very frequently a landslip or a thunder shower washes away the whole hillside, and the terraces are obliterated.

As a rule, at the end of every six months after each crop, the cultivators have to spend much time and labour in the repairs and upkeep of the Pusta, especially in the case of irrigated fields (*kyaris*). This has

been a constant and common grievance of the landowners, particularly of those who have a smaller number of working hands in the family, such as is the case of Birbal Singh, the Sadar Sayana of Baila. He, therefore, thinks that for the maintenance and repairs of the terraced fields and boundaries, there should be a system of co-operative working on a regional basis similar to the convention set up for the construction and repairs of the irrigation canals.

GENERAL CONDITIONS

The agricultural condition in Jaunsar-Bawar is indeed difficult. Topographic and economic factors, type of land, soil, its components and texture, temperature and rainfall, all combine to determine to a great extent the scope and possibilities of agriculture. They determine the choice of land, the particular crop to be sown and the methods of farming to be adopted. The position of the fields, and whether they face the north or the south, have important bearings on the nature and variety of the crops.

The economic factors limit the methods of agriculture and the type of organizational and irrigational resources available to the cultivator. Although the C.D.P. and other governmental and non-governmental agencies are trying to improve the lot of the people, nature makes niggardly contribution to the life of the cultivator.

Except for those fields which have been prepared in the valleys, between two precipices, and on either side of a running, noisy torrent, the irrigational facilities for the terraces are meagre. Constructing the canals by breaking heavy stones and boulders and linking the fields with the source of water is not an easy task. Moreover, it needs constant watch to keep the small canals or *guls* in order, as breaches are frequently caused by landslides.

Varying Altitudes for Terraces

A very significant feature and one which is quite important from the point of view of agricultural activities, soil types, and the methods of cultivation employed, as well as the productive capacity of the fields, is that the cultivable fields in Jaunsar-Bawar are situated at varying altitudes, say from 2,500 feet to 9,000 feet above sea level. Naturally, the fields at higher altitudes are quite different in their geo-physical setting from those situated in the lower valleys. At the higher altitudes potato can be grown with profit, while rice is grown easily in the valleys. Rice is not grown above 6,000 feet. One of the reasons for the failure of the rice crop at the higher altitude is the non-availability of irrigational facilities which are accessible in the lower reaches only.

At Lakhmandal (3,000 ft.) rice and wheat are the major cereals for both the Rabi and Kharif crops, and are eaten by all castes, whereas at Lohari (7,000 ft.) rice is a prized cereal used on special occasions only, and the place of wheat is taken by barley. Similarly, pulses are abundantly produced at Lakhmandal but grown in small quantities at Lohari and Baila. In general, there is a difference in the dates of sowing and reaping of the crops at different altitudes.

AGRICULTURAL OPERATIONS

However, a general pattern of agricultural pursuits can be worked out, as the kinds of crops are more or less similar throughout the Pargana. Fields at different altitudes are found even in the same locality, where there are steep hills and deep gorges. A detailed account of the agricultural operations as found in Lakhmandal is given below.

KYARI AND UKHAR

From the point of view of irrigational conditions, the fields have been divided into *kyari* and *ukhar*; the former is a terraced, levelled and irrigated land mostly found in the lower reaches, while the latter refers to unirrigated but permanent fields. Since the *kyari* lands can retain more moisture, a better harvest is possible, but more often than not, rains add to the discomfort of the farmer.

Water is brought from great distances, in many cases over rugged stones and slopes, from rivulets or springs. The streams are dammed by means of temporary diagonal obstructions, made of stones and logs, which divert the water into channels carried along the contour line of the hillside. Naturally, the length of channel is relative to the height at which the field to be irrigated is situated, from the bottom of the valley and the fall of the stream.

It is usual not to direct a *gul* (canal) from a big river or large stream for various considerations. Firstly, the quantity of water needed for small fields is comparatively small, hence a spacious water source is not the one to look for. Secondly, owing to the difference between the flood level and the low water level, a canal has to be constructed over a considerable distance in the earlier part of its course below flood level, and as huge boulders are brought down by the river in flood, this portion of the canal is often entirely destroyed. Many of these *guls* are utilized for turning one or more water mills during their course.

'KHIL' CULTIVATION

Where the cultivation is carried on in the unterraced and almost unirrigated fields on a fairly steep hillside, it is called *khil* cultivation.

These fields are seldom manured because it is believed that the land regains its fertility from the ashes of burnt grass and occasional shrub. Naturally, these fields are left fallow to allow grass and other jungle vegetation to grow again, to be burnt and utilized for manuring afterwards. Many times the *khil* cultivation is discontinued as it disintegrates the hillside causing landslides which destroy the terraced fields at the foothills. *Khil* is used to supplement the produce from other fields, as the latter may not be sufficient for the needs of a family. *Khil* does not require any watch or attention, and once the seeds are sown, the cultivator has only to wait for the harvest.

'KHERA'

Another notable feature of the agricultural system in these parts is the distance of the fields from the villages. Various reasons determine the site of the fields. The villagers have to find out suitable patches of land and such lands are not at hand everywhere. The rugged hills and the sharp declivity of the hillsides do not guarantee many fields at one place. The obvious result of this is that the fields are scattered. The villages are mostly on the hilltops in the vicinity of some water source, and there are very few cultivable plots adjoining the village. The other factors for the fields being scattered are the location of the water source for irrigational facilities, and possibilities of establishing a cattle-shed (*chhani*) near them. Transportation of organic manure from the cattle-sheds to the fields is a difficult job, hence the *chhani* is set up near the fields.

The agricultural fields of the villages are grouped in concentrations locally referred to as *khera*. The fields of Baila village are scattered on three sides, of which two are near the streams but the water can be used only on one side, because the other side is higher than the water level. The fields in Niyod *khera* near the Sainj river have plenty of water for the *khera*. Water of the river Tons is not utilized for irrigational purposes anywhere. At Sari *khera* too, there is ample water and hence both wheat and rice are grown there. The name of the third *khera* is Chila.

The villagers at Lakhmandal have numerous *kheras* virtually on all sides except the west. To the east there is a *khera* by the side of the river Jamuna although the water of the river is never utilized for irrigational purposes. On the south of it there are three *kheras*—Koliyal, Cuthari and Munogi. Two other *kheras* are Puria and Palleyseri.

Near the *khera* the villagers construct their cattle-cum-residential sheds called *chhani*. The man who is responsible for looking after the cattle usually stays at the *chhani*. Whenever, because of the pressure

of heavy work, some of the members of the family have to stay back in the fields till dusk, they secure shelter in these *chhanis*.

IRRIGATIONAL PROBLEMS

A Case of Inter-village Dispute

In many cases the waters of a *gul* (small canal directed from a water source very often claimed by two or more villages) are employed by two or more villages and this causes bitter quarrels. An account of a dispute between the villages Lakhmandal and Guthar which arose out of claims regarding the distribution of water is given below.

History. Guthar-gad separates the two villages Lakhmandal and Guthar from each other. The latter is about one mile towards the west of the former. Towards the right, above and parallel to Guthar-gad, there is a perennial rivulet (*gul*) about 1,320 yards long and one foot deep. The people of both the villages Lakhmandal and Guthar have their *kyaris* below this *gul* referred to as Ratu ki Gul because it goes up to Ratu. First there are the lands of Lakhmandal people and after that further east are the *kyaris* of Guthar.

After the settlement of 1884, villagers of Guthar approached the Lakhmandians with a request to allow them to carry the canal to their land. Some allege that the latter agreed to the proposal on condition that they would also be entitled to utilize the canal waters for their *kyaris*. And the canal was completed by the people of Guthar.

As the water in the canal is not enough to provide irrigational facilities during the summer for all the fields by which it passes and as the canal first touches the fields of the Lakhmandians they direct the waters into their fields. This gives rise to disputes. Guthar people argue that the *gul* has been constructed by them and therefore the Lakhmandians have no right to the waters. On the other hand, the Lakhmandal people say that as the *gul* passes over their land they have equal rights over it. It was on this condition, they say, that their forefathers permitted the *gul* to pass over their lands. Anyway, every year during the summer when there is paucity of water for the parched fields, the dispute takes a serious turn. Often the tension mounts up leading to open hostility between the two villages.

Many cultivators suffer because of the non-availability of canal water but the five Brahmin families, those of Supa, Dhani Ram, Sitlu, Ram Singh and Rudru of Guthar, are the hardest hit as they seldom get any irrigational facilities.

The case has, however, never been put before the court of law because of the following socio-economic causes.

(1) There exist affinal ties between the two villages. For instance :

Lakhamandal

- (a) Sister of Hari Ram
- (b) Mother of Shesh Ram
- (c) Tulsi Ram's F. Sister
- (d) Tulsi Ram's wife

Guthar

- Sita Ram's wife
- Supa's father's sister
- Dhani Ram's mother
- Supa's sister

These affinal ties stand in the way of legal redress.

(2) The villagers are so busy with their day-to-day routine work that they have not been able to work out a solution. When the water situation becomes acute during the summer months both the parties renew their quarrel. If rains fall and the parched fields are soaked, the dispute loses its sting, and the rainy season puts it in cold storage for months.

(3) Legal proceedings involve financial commitments which nobody in either village is ready to accept.

The Problem. In this way the dispute is carried on from year to year. Inter-village factions are developed and this gives rise to group rivalries. In spite of their best efforts, neither the Patwari, nor the V.L.W., nor the Panchayat Secretary, has been able to solve the problem. Strangely enough when the Assistant Settlement Officer visited the village last time, nobody dared to present the case before him.

A Plausible Solution. Though everybody wants water from the canal, only a few can utilize the benefits. If the people of both the villages sit together and allot the water-supply fairly to each village and to the cultivators, the problem could be eased. Since the canal passes over the lands of Lakhamandal but has been constructed by the Guthar people, both should have a claim over its waters.

There is another canal constructed by Moor Singh and Nain Singh, the two Rajputs of Guthar, which runs above the disputed canal. There is surplus water in this canal and this can easily be utilized for providing extra irrigational facilities.

MANURING

Cattle excreta is for the most part used as manures. The excreta of cattle is most effective in clay and sandy soils. It makes the former more porous and the latter more compact and provides the requisite nitrogen. But cow-shed litter only is not sufficient to provide all the manural needs. Moreover, the villagers prepare the compost according to the indigenous method. The cattle are bedded on dry oak leaves which are removed from the *chhanis* with the excreta and heaped at a convenient place, left idle for a few weeks for decomposition and then spread over the fields. Neither do they make pits nor bury the excreta

under the ground. The heap compost naturally loses a great part of its nitrogen content. The villagers did not adopt the scientific pit method introduced by the C.D.P. They thought that even if the pits were dug and manure prepared according to that method the result would not be different.

FERTILIZERS

It is with the advent of the Community Development Block activities that the villagers have learnt the uses of chemical fertilizers. In Jaunsar-Bawar, as elsewhere, the reception was bound to be cold at first. Nevertheless, the immense value of the fertilizers has been understood. Nitrogenic manures constitute important plant food and are specially suited to plants like tobacco. Since they are not prescribed in raw forms they are available in compounds like sodium nitrate, ammonium sulphate, and calcium nitrate. Phosphates act more effectively with farmyard manure and are specially suited for the nourishment and growth of peas and beans. Potash is found more widely distributed than either nitrogen or phosphoric acid and has to be used when the soil is poor in potash content. It is specially suited to potato and fruit plants.

But for one thing, the application of chemical fertilizers presupposes ample water supply or there is a danger of the plants being desiccated. Many cases have been recorded in which cultivators have used chemical fertilizers in their fields but due to scarcity of water the crops have been ruined. The apathy that has developed towards chemical fertilizers can thus be explained.

In 1955, some fertilizers were freely distributed by the V.L.W. (Village Level Worker) in the villages of Lakhamandal and other adjoining villages to the farmers in general, but the enthusiasm of the farmers did not last long. At Baila and Lohari, where there is water scarcity, people even developed resistance against the use of chemical fertilizers. In order to improve the application of scientific manuring, therefore, certain basic facts should not be ignored.

(1) More demonstrations and propaganda are needed before the villagers can be made to purchase the chemical fertilizers.

(2) The fertilizers are available at Chakrata which is too far away from the villages. People do not appreciate the idea of going all the way to Chakrata and spending so much of their time and energy which could be utilized for other activities. If the C.D.P. had managed, in the initial stages, to make the fertilizers available at the V.L.W. headquarters, perhaps more villagers could have purchased it.

(3) The people seem to feel that the time spent in going to Chakrata for fetching the fertilizers is much more than what will be needed if they prepare their own decomposed manure from the leaves and cattle-excreta. Those families which have only one or two male members will never think of getting manures from far-off Chakrata. It is, therefore, as important to improve the local preparation of manure as it is to make the chemical fertilizers easily available to the villagers.

The problem of maintaining and enriching the fertility of soil may thus be approached in two ways — positive and negative.

As far as positive factors for improving the soil are concerned, mention may be made of chemical fertilizers, improvement of the indigenous compost-heap system of manuring, besides an emphasis on the need for technical knowledge of agriculture, for example, rotation of crops and mixed cropping.

For the preservation and maintenance of soil fertility, conservation of forests is of utmost importance. Unrestricted grazing and felling of trees which increase the danger of soil erosion must be regulated. Conservation of forests implies judicious exploitation and replacement of the hill vegetation as it binds the soil and checks erosion during the rainy season.

In view of the small size of the average holdings the villagers must be taught the value of intensive cultivation through such measures as :

- (a) Substituting heavy yielding crops which need little land
- (b) Using more labour and capital on the same piece of land
- (c) Employing more capital in the form of better quality seeds, manures and implements
- (d) Improving the methods of agriculture.

A SURVEY OF THE PRINCIPAL CROPS

Rabi and Kharif are the chief crops of the region. The people believe in solar months (*surya mash*) and the local farmers' calendar begins from the middle of the month of 'Chait' (March-April). Kharif starts from the beginning of April (Chait) and continues up to September or early October, while Rabi starts just after the season for Kharif is over and runs up to the end of the year, i.e. Chait. Besides these, there is another subsidiary crop referred to as 'Jait' crop which usually ripens within two or three months. Jait is often resorted to as a mixed crop but in many cases it can be grown separately.

RABI CROPS (WHEN SOWN)

<i>October</i>	<i>November</i>	<i>January</i>
Wheat	Terea	Potato (in Kyaris)
Masur (Lentil)	Sarson (Mustard)	
Jau (Barley)	Matar (Peas)	
Chana (Gram)		
Arhar (Pulse)		
Pyaz (Onions)		
Lahsun (Garlic)		

KHARIF CROPS (WHEN SOWN)

<i>April</i>	<i>May</i>	<i>June</i>	<i>July</i>
Paddy	Manduwa	Manduwa	Urd (Pulse)
Kauni		Kulth (Pulse)	Kapas (Cotton)
Jhangora			Pharaspin (Beans)
Chinai		Bharat (Pulse)	Moong (Kidney bean)
Tor (Pulse)		Til	
Potato		Maize	
Gagli		Phaphra	
Haldi (Turmeric)			
Ginger			

JAIT CROPS

<i>Kharif</i>	<i>Rabi</i>
Chilly, Brinjal (Baigan), Kaddu (Pumpkin), Karela, Khera (Gourd), Bhindi (Okra), Chichinda, Muli (Radish), Sलगam (Turnip), Ghobhi (Cauliflower), Cabbage, Rai, Chaulai, Lauki and Ginger	Palak (Spinach), Dhania and Pudina (Mint) and Potato

Rice is grown entirely in the valleys where ample supply of water is available. Moreover, there is no risk if the rice is somewhat late, as it is protected by irrigation against any damage which might occur to late 'dry rice' should rains cease early. For this reason it is always possible to grow two crops in the irrigated fields, one of rice and the other of wheat, in the year. Of course, a certain amount of 'dry rice' is grown but people not wanting to run the risk reserve the 'dry lands' for *manduwa* cultivation. Rice is the staple food of most of the people at Lakhmandal. This is why the villagers take a lot of interest over it. There are different varieties of paddy grown in this region.

After rice, the most important food crop is *manduwa* of which bread and country liquor are made. It is a wet crop but excessive rain destroys it. The plant is hardy and flourishes even in rocky fields. The people usually follow traditional methods based on practical experience by growing *manduwa*, wheat and rice by rotation.

First paddy is sown in Kharif followed by wheat in Rabi. After harvesting the wheat in Kharif, *manduwa* is sown in next Kharif. When the harvesting of *manduwa* is over the cultivator leaves the field fallow for the rest of the year. *Manduwa* is of two varieties :

- (a) The variety which takes a short period for ripening.
- (b) The variety which is cultivated according to the process described above, and is superior to (a).

It is the experience of the people that other factors remaining the same, a good year for *manduwa* is bad for rice and *vice versa*.

The next important crops are wheat and barley. They are confined to the hilltops. It is usual to sow the seeds by September or early October so that germination starts before the frost comes. After that the crops are left to themselves, the yield depending upon the snowfall. A heavy snowfall is very favourable to the crops.

Rice is a deep-rooted crop and wheat a short-rooted one. The silt carried down by the *guls* provides for dressing the land. At higher altitudes, however, wheat is often not very valuable, the land being too damp and cold for it. The quality and yield of rice are also not good, so that it is sometimes not grown at all.

Pulses are extensively grown at lower altitudes. *Toor*, *masur*, *matar*, *arhar*, *moong*, *urd* and *kolth* form a prominent part in the diet of the people according to their seasons. Grains of inferior quality such as *kauni*, *khangora*, *chinai*, as well as *chana* (gram) and *phaphra* are also grown as supplementary crops.

Every cultivator grows maize. It fulfils two functions : one that it is a supplementary food taken either after boiling it or in a parched form. It is also ground into flour and used for preparing bread. It is usual to grow it with other vegetable crops like pumpkin and french beans.

It is generally found that the food crops are required for home consumption only ; the main cash crops on which a villager depends for paying the land tax and making other cash payments are turmeric, ginger, potato, and till recent years, poppy. Chillies are also a cash crop. Last year Daya Ram of Baila sold chillies worth Rs. 500.

Poppy cultivation is confined to the Bawar side of the Pargana. Recently its cultivation has been banned and fruit farming is being emphasized as its substitute by the Planning Department. If the poppy

crop escapes hail and severe thunderstorms it is very paying, but it involves risk and needs a lot of manure. Indigenous vegetables are cultivated almost over the entire region. The commonest among them are brinjal, *bhindi*, and *muli*. The *arwi* or *ghunya* and *gagli* are very common plants.

Other non-food crops are linseed and mustard grown exclusively for domestic consumption. They are used both for extracting oil and for medicinal purposes.

Potato has become an important cash crop. Its cultivation is increasing every year. It is usually grown in fields situated above 5,000 feet. At Lohari, for instance, it has fetched much money to all the villagers. It was found that even some of the Patwaris and a V.L.W. of the area were engaged in potato business. In case the fields are lower in altitude other facilities, like water and manure, must be available for potato cultivation. Dharam Singh of Kuna raises potato crops in his field which is at a low altitude, for the soil of that land, locally known as 'Munog', is extremely suitable for potato and fruit farming. He produces three crops of potato per year. At Lohari and some villages near Baila (Kandoi, etc.), cabbage and cauliflower have been introduced recently. According to Dallu and others, the soil of Lohari is quite responsive to vegetables, and the cabbage yield has been very satisfactory.

METHODS OF AGRICULTURE

In their agricultural pursuits the people follow the Hindu calendar. The methods of cultivation in *kyaris* and *ukhar* are slightly different from each other. In *ukhar* lands the ordinary rotations cover a period of two years. The standard rotation starts with *manduwa* sown in May and reaped in October. The land lies fallow until May of the next year when rice is sown, followed in October by wheat or barley. Next year the process is reversed. Another rotation begins with *til* followed by *masur*, then Kharif pulses, and finishing with a fallow period of five months. On the Bawar side, *manduwa* fields are used for poppy cultivation after the former has been harvested.

UKHAR LANDS

The first ploughing is done to dig the land and upturn the soil in the month of April to enable the cultivator to know the extent of moisture in the soil. After this the land is levelled by breaking the clods. It is a general practice to plough only once for coarse Kharif crops such as *jhangora* and *manduwa*, and two or three times for others. The *manduwa* is mixed with the soil at the second ploughing, the ground is levelled

and the clods are broken with *pata* (stone). In the case of Kharif crops a wooden harrow is used to remove the weeds after the crop has attained a height of 4 to 6 inches. The second ploughing is done in such a way that it leaves parallel lines on the field which help the cultivator in seeding. After the seeds are cast the third ploughing is done so that the seeds may go deep into the soft earth. After this the land is left undisturbed.

KYARIS

As far as *kyaris* are concerned, irrigation facilities are easily available and therefore the fields are watered before ploughing is done. In the summer months the cultivators keep their land in readiness by ploughing, watering the fields and again ploughing it for the second time. The plough used during second ploughing is somewhat different. At the first ploughing, the surface of the ground is broken, while the second ploughing goes deeper into the earth and upturns the soil thoroughly. This is possible only because the land has enough moisture. The plough used for the second ploughing is called *dandiyari*. After the third ploughing the field is ready for sowing.

Harvesting of Kharif crops like maize and paddy is almost over by the end of September or early October and the fields are then often prepared for Rabi crops — wheat and barley. This is the busiest period of the year for an agriculturist. Men, women and even children are required to work till dusk. On the one hand, harvesting, threshing, and winnowing of the ripe crop is done, on the other, the fields are prepared for the second crop. Thus two types of work are carried on simultaneously. Wheat is the more important Rabi crop. The same fields where paddy, *kauni*, *jhangora* and *chinai* are grown in Kharif are utilized for wheat, barley, *masur*, linseed, ginger, onion and garlic.

SYSTEM OF CULTIVATION

All the bigger landlords belong to the higher castes, namely Brahmins and Rajputs. From the very beginning, perhaps when the area was taken over by the higher castes, they employed the lower castes for farming. The latter are mostly Koltas. Loans are advanced to them, and occasionally one or two *kyaris*. After that they have to work in lieu of the interest on the loans received. Years pass and the Koltas, unable to clear the debt, remain as serfs. After the death of the debtor, the debt devolves on his son and in this way generations remain under the control of the landlord. According to the local convention, the master takes over the responsibility of helping and assisting his tenant

in all the social and religious ceremonies, including arranging his sons' or daughters' marriages.

The fields which are given to a Kolta are only for the purposes of cultivation; it does not give him any right of possession over them. If any of the serfs dies, the landlord has to look after his widow, should there be no second husband. If the widow marries again, she goes to the house of the second husband with the children, but the master of the second husband has to pay the master of the deceased husband the amount advanced for marriage and maintenance of the children. No account is kept of the money spent on food and clothing during the serf's lifetime as he is supposed to work that off, but an account is kept of all the money advanced for marriage or money spent for the maintenance of the young children after the death of the father. No interest is charged on this account. If the serf disagrees with the master, he cannot leave unless he repays the loans given to him, or until he finds another master who agrees to compensate the former master. Now, because of their contacts with the outside world, the C.D.P. activities and welfare measure for the Harijans, the Koltas have become conscious of their status and they refuse to work for others. In the Lakhamandal area, the Koltas have adopted another way of paying off their debts. They send their wives, mothers, daughters, sisters or daughters-in-law to the brothels at Dehra Dun, Roorkee, Saharanpur and Delhi and use the money earned by them in paying off their debts.

Table 2 shows the recent position of the Koltas' contribution to agricultural labour at Lakhamandal.

It is clear from Table 2 that most of the Koltas are traditionally attached to some high-caste family which in the case of Lakhamandal is that the Brahmins are the traditional landlords. The bond which made a Kolta a serf of the Brahmin is seen here as being for an amount of Rs. 300 to Rs. 500, which was given as a loan by the landlord to the Kolta himself or to his father some time ago, along with a few plots of land, mostly the *ukhar* or unirrigated fields. So long as this loan and these fields remain with the Kolta, he is bound to serve the creditor all the year round, both in agricultural labour and in domestic work, as is prescribed by tradition.

However, as shown in the table, the recent position is to a great extent different from what was traditionally prescribed. Not only have some of the Koltas returned the loans, or both the loan and the land, which made them serfs, and have thus claimed the right to do less work than what they did earlier, but also quite a few of them whose financial position has been strengthened by *chakla* have developed social awareness and have begun to defy the zamindars, their erstwhile

TABLE 2

CONTRIBUTION OF LABOUR BY KOLTAS IN LAKHAMANDAL (1957)

<i>Landlord's Name (Caste)</i>	<i>Labourer's Name (Caste)</i>	<i>Loan and Land Advanced</i>	<i>Labour and Work Contributed</i>
1. Srichand (Brahmin)	(a) Durgu (Kolta)	Rs. 300 and 6 plots of <i>ukhar</i> land—taken by Durgu's father, since about 1950.	Formerly Durgu did all sorts of agricultural and domestic work as a traditional serf. Nowadays he has joined <i>chakla</i> and has refused to pay the debts or do any work.
	(b) Pinathia (Kolta)	6 plots of <i>ukhar</i> land. He has paid off the loan which he had taken earlier by the money he earned from the brothel.	He contributes only <i>bauri</i> *, i.e. he works for Srichand 2 or 3 times a year whenever labour is necessary. He has now become the serf of Narayan Singh of Guthar.
	(c) Bansi (Kolta)	Rs. 300 and 7 <i>ukhar</i> land plots.	As a regular serf, he provides all sorts of agricultural labour.
2. Rati Ram (Brahmin)	Labru (Kolta)	Rs. 300 and 1 <i>kyari</i> , 1 <i>ukhar</i> since 2 years.	Working regularly. Doing all sorts of necessary labour.
3. Sm. Uma (Brahmin)	Pinathia and Nakta, brothers (Kolta)	Rs. 1,100 and 4 <i>ukhar</i>	Working regularly on all sorts of work in the field and at the residence.
4. Bij Ram (Brahmin)	(a) Kansru (Kolta)	5 <i>ukhar</i> — A loan of Rs. 500 has been paid off.	Not providing all services, but only in ploughing, manuring and reaping. He also uses Bij Ram's bullocks to plough his own fields.
	(b) Lachchi (Kolta)	2 <i>ukhar</i> plots. Loan repaid.	Working occasionally in the field. Also offering <i>nasra</i> .†

CONTRIBUTION OF LABOUR BY KOLTAS IN LAKHAMANDAL (1957)
 —Contd.

Landlord's Name (Caste)	Labourer's Name (Caste)	Loan and Land Advanced	Labour and Work Contributed
5. Amar Singh (Brahmin)	Chaddu, son of Chiyam (Kolta)	Loan Rs. 60.	He does everything except ploughing.
6. Sish Ram (Brahmin)	(a) Lachhu (Kolta)	Rs. 650, 5 <i>ukhar</i> and 3 <i>kyaris</i> . The loan has been partly repaid recently.	He has worked as a serf regularly for many years. But now, having paid off a part of the debt, he has refused to do wholtime work. He is also a <i>chakla</i> agent.
	(b) Kamla (Kolta)	Rs. 300 and 4 <i>ukhar</i> . Recently the loan was paid off (by his income from <i>chakla</i>) and the land also re- turned.	He was a regular serf, but after returning the loan and the fields, he only comes to offer <i>nasra</i> .
	(c) Chunnia, wife of Silabu (Kolta)	11 <i>ukhar</i> .	Silabu is a leper, but Chunnia does all the labour she can.
	(d) Rupa (Kolta)	4 <i>ukhar</i> .	He has refused to con- tribute any labour for the last 2 years. He is a <i>chakla</i> agent.
7. Nand Ram (Brahmin)	(e) Chanduri (Kolta)	4 <i>ukhar</i> .	Offering <i>nasra</i> and pro- viding <i>bauri</i> 3 or 4 times a year.
	Lakhni, mother of Bansi (Kolta)	2 <i>ukhar</i> .	Providing <i>bauri</i> once or twice a year.
8. Shyam Chand (Brahmin)	Karia (Kolta) of Pariakhera	7 <i>kyari</i> .	Working in fields, and also providing labour during ceremonies.
9. Bhagat Ram (Brahmin)	Pinathia (Kolta)	3 <i>ukhar</i> .	Working in the fields.

CONTRIBUTION OF LABOUR BY KOLTAS IN LAKHAMANDAL (1957)
—Contd.

Landlord's Name (Caste)	Labourer's Name (Caste)	Loan and Land Advanced	Labour and Work Contributed
10. Tulsi Ram (Brahmin)	(a) Palti (Kolta) of Dhaura	4 <i>ukhar</i> .	Providing <i>bauri</i> occa- sionally.
	(b) Lachhi (Kolta) of Purai Khera	4 <i>ukhar</i> .	Working occasionally either by himself or by someone else from his family.
11. Hari Ram (Brahmin)	Jita (Kolta)	4 <i>ukhar</i> .	Providing agricultural labour and also doing domestic work.
12. Dev Ram (Brahmin)	(a) Jita (Kolta)	3 <i>ukhar</i> .	Providing <i>bauri</i> *
	(b) Chandnu (Kolta)	4 <i>ukhar</i> .	Providing <i>bauri</i> * and sometimes doing other work.

* *Bauri* means that the Kolta, when called, comes temporarily to do any type of agricultural work. He works for a day or two at a time, during which period he is given two meals daily.

† *Nasra* means that on a particular occasion in the year (during the 'Maroj' by the end of the month of *Pus*) the Kolta comes to the family of the landlord to show his due respect for the master and in return he receives a prescribed amount of grains, known as *nasra*, a standard unit of which includes 4 *supa* of paddy, 2 *supa* each of wheat and *manduwa*, and 1 *supa* each of *chaulai* and *jhangora*, besides one hind leg of a goat.

The *nasra* is interpreted as a symbolic expression of gratitude and respect, shown by the serf to the zamindar, under whose roof or from whose land he gets his daily bread. However, this age-old tradition is nowadays ignored, and the amount of the prescribed *nasra* is sometimes reduced to only 1 *patha* each of rice and wheat.

masters, refusing to work for them. They also refuse to repay the loan or to return the land which was given to them by the landlords long ago. There seems to be a state of confusion with regard to the landlord-serf interrelations at Lakhamandal at least.

The economic position as well as the social status of the Koltas of Lakhamandal have been strengthened by the profession of *chakla*. This is a special feature pertaining to the Koltas of Lakhamandal

TABLE 3
DIVISION OF LABOUR IN AGRICULTURAL FAMILIES

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
6-10 years (Children)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Grazing cattle. 2. Cutting grass (fodder). 3. Collecting cow-dung (for manure). 4. Collecting fuel wood. 5. Schooling (in some cases). 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Grazing cattle. 2. Collecting grass. 3. Collecting cow-dung. 4. Helping in domestic jobs. 5. Schooling (in rare cases).
11-15 years (Adolescents)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. All the work done by the earlier age-group. 2. Helping in bringing stones for constructions. 3. Helping elders in agricultural work, as threshing, weeding, etc. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Helping the household and kitchen work. 2. Fetching water. 3. Oil-pressing.
16-60 years (Adults)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Major agricultural work, as ploughing, irrigating, manuring, sowing, reaping, threshing, etc. 2. One stout man for the special assignment as the herdsman of sheep and goats. 3. Other works, of exacting labour, as breaking ground, planting, constructing the fields, canal and house, etc. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Senior lady, in charge of kitchen and household work. 2. Agricultural field work, except ploughing. 3. Threshing, winnowing. 4. Domestic work, as husking, oil-pressing, house cleaning and sweeping, washing utensils and clothes, sending food to field, fetching water, etc.
Above 60 years (Aged)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Directing the field operations. 2. Supervising or advising on family affairs. 3. Entertaining guests etc. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Giving advice on household work. 2. Looking after small children.

alone, possibly as a result of the infiltration and the influence of such practice from the border area of Tehri-Garhwal.

There is also a change in the economic status of the Koltas in general, with regard to land ownership. According to tradition, the land which the landlord gives to the Kolta is in lieu of his wages for the time when he is engaged as a serf. Actually, the Kolta has no right to own a land which will not go with him on his transfer to another serfdom, nor can he get rid of the serfdom without returning that land to the zamindar. Now, the Zamindari Abolition Act is going to be enforced in this region and the Koltas who have been cultivating the land, of which they had the usufruct for a period of five years or more, will have proprietary right over it. They will have to pay the cost of that land calculated at ten times the land taxes on them, but since the land tax in this area is very light, the amount which the Koltas will have to pay will be just nominal. In this way, the Koltas of the whole Pargana of Jaunsar-Bawar are likely to benefit by the new Tenancy Act.

DIVISION OF LABOUR

The division of labour in the family is a complex matter due to the fact that the agriculturists of Jaunsar-Bawar are also pastoral. Their economic life is so hard that all members of the family, male and female, have to share the work. Even the children, when they attain the age of five or six years, have to do some light jobs, and the aged people of 60 or more may have to continue as working members of the family.

Table 3 shows the division of labour among the farmers of Jaunsar-Bawar in general, and of Lakhamandal in particular.

The Family Economy

An analysis of family economy should, for the sake of simplicity, be started with a single family. But the case in Jaunsar-Bawar is complicated, because of the prevalence of polygynandrous and other forms of polygamous joint family. Monogamy, as a general rule, has not asserted itself though the social forces have already made dents into the traditional structure of Jaunsar-Bawar society under conditions of polygynandrous or polyandrous joint family. Marriage, birth, or death do not bring about a new family unit into existence. It simply affects the composition of the already established joint family as far as its members are concerned. The increase or reduction in the number of members of the joint family brings about changes in the family economy, making it simpler or more complex, as the case may be.

The people of Jaunsar-Bawar are agricultural as well as pastoral. They practise terrace-cultivation, the produce from which varies both from field to field and from year to year, and hence is difficult to assess. The people have to live a semi-pastoral life on the forest-clad hills during certain parts of the year, when there is an acute shortage of fodder and grazing fields for the cattle and sheep in the village or near *chhanis*.

AVERAGE SIZE OF THE FAMILY

To study the family economy in Jaunsar-Bawar, an idea about the average size of the family in different castes and villages is necessary. Tables 1, 2 and 3 show the composition of the population at Lakhamandal, Lohari and Baila, as well as the size of the family. Lakhamandal is a Brahmin village, while Lohari and Baila are villages where the Rajputs are numerically predominant over the other castes.

Village Lakhamandal (Table 1): The total population consists of 202 members, and there are 43 families in the village. The average Brahmin family in the village is composed of 5.9 members. The maximum number of families, namely 27, fall in the group composed of 1 to 5 members. The families composed of 6-10 members number 14, and

TABLE 1
SIZE OF FAMILY AT LAKHAMANDAL (DECEMBER 1957)

No. of Family Members	Brahmin		Rajput	Jagdi	Badi	Bajgi	Kolta		Others†	Total	
	fr.*	%*	fr.	fr.	fr.	fr.	fr.	%	%	fr.	%
1-5	11	52.4	2	-	1	1	11	73.3	1	27	62.8
6-10	8	38.1	-	2	-	-	4	26.7	-	14	32.6
11-15	2	9.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4.6
Total	21	100.0	2	2	1	1	15	100.0	1	43	100.0

* fr. = frequency or number of families; % = percentage

† including the family of a Sindhi shop-keeper

Total number of families in the village = 43

Total population = 202

Average number of persons per family = 4.7

TABLE 2
SIZE OF FAMILY AT LOHARI (DECEMBER 1957)

No. of Family Members	Rajput		Nath		Bajgi		Kolta		Total	
	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%
1-5	8	25.0	2	-	2	-	12	57.1	24	42.1
6-10	20	62.8	-	-	-	-	9	42.9	29	51.9
11-15	4	12.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	7.9
Total	32	100.0	2	-	2	-	21	100.0	57	100.0

Total number of families in the village = 57

Total population = 369

Average number of persons per family = 6.5

TABLE 3
SIZE OF FAMILY AT BAILA (DECEMBER 1957)

No. of Family Members	Rajput		Brahmin	Badi	Sunar	Bajgi	Kolta		Total	
	fr.	%	fr.	fr.	fr.	fr.	fr.	%	fr.	%
1-5	10	34.5	-	4	2	4	9	69.2	29	48.3
6-10	12	41.4	1	4	-	3	3	23.1	23	38.3
11-15	6	20.7	-	-	-	-	1	7.7	7	11.7
16-20	1	3.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.7
Total	29	100.0	1	8	2	7	13	100.0	60	100.0

Total number of families in the village = 60

Total population = 390

Average number of persons per family = 6.5

include 8, 2, 4 families of Brahmins, Jagdis and Koltas respectively. The average family in this village consists of 4.7 members.

Village Lohari (Table 2): Lohari is again a Rajput village. There are in all four castes — Rajput, Nath, Bajgi and Kolta — in the village. The Rajputs are divided into 32 families, of which 8, 20, 4 fall in the group of 1-5, 6-10, 11-15 members per family respectively. Twelve out of the 21 Kolta families have 1-5 members, while the rest are larger. Bajgis and Naths consist of two families each, all of which belong to the group of 1-5 members per family.

Village Baila (Table 3): Baila is predominantly a Rajput village, for they compose 48 per cent of the total number of families — 29 families out of 60. The next group is of the Koltas who have 13 families. But from the point of view of the population the Rajputs are still more important, because, although they claim only 48 per cent of the total number of families, they form 59 per cent of the total population. The Kolta families are 21.7 per cent of the total, while they constitute only 16.2 per cent of the total population. There are 29 families in the village under the group of families composed of 1-5 members. The next highest number of families, 23, are composed of 6-10 members. There is one Rajput family of more than 16 members. The majority of Rajput families have 6-10 members. This group of families constituted 38.3 per cent of the total Rajput families in the village. As far as the Koltas are concerned, the majority of the families, 9 in number, have a size of 1-5 members. The average family of the village, however, consists of 6.5 members.

PRESSURE ON LAND

At Lakhamandal the people have nearly five members per family while at Baila the average works out at 6.5 members per family.

Cultivation is the most important means of satisfying the needs for staple food crops, including wheat, rice, pulse, and vegetables. The fats and vegetable oils consumed by the villages are also produced in the fields. The family economy and the organizational control vary considerably according to caste.

The land owned by Rajputs in Lohari averages about 7 acres per family. Out of 20 families of Koltas only 11 possess land, and that too at less than 1 acre per family. Out of the 11 Kolta families who possess land, only one Kishiaru owns 3.47 acres, and Tolu 1.11 acres, the rest possess less than 1 acre of land. Out of 30 Rajput families 13 have their own Koltas. The average holding for Bajgis and Naths also works out at less than 1 acre per family. Table 4 shows the position of land-holding in the village Lohari with reference to acreage and caste ownership.

TABLE 4
LAND-HOLDING AMONG THE VILLAGERS OF LOHARI (1957)

Size of Land-holding (in acres)	Rajput		Nath		Bajgi		Kolta		Total	
	fr.*	%*	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%
Landless	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	47.6	10	17.5
Below 0.5	—	—	1	50.0	—	—	8	38.1	9	15.8
0.5—0.9	—	—	—	—	1	50.0	1	4.8	2	3.5
1.0—4.9	11	34.4	1	50.0	1	50.0	2	9.5	15	26.3
5.0—9.9	15	46.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	15	26.3
10.0 & above	6	18.7	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	10.6
Total	32	100.0	2	100.0	2	100.0	21	100.0	57	100.0

* fr. = frequency; % = percentage.

Table 4 reveals that 10 out of 21, that is, 47.6 per cent of Kolta families own no land. They are 17.5 per cent of the total number of families (57) in the village. There are 9 families, one of Jagra and 8 of Koltas, who own land below 5 acres. Of the total number of families in the village, these 9 account for 15.8 per cent. There are only 2 families, one of Bajgi and the other of Kolta, owning between 0.5 and 0.9 acre of land of those whose holdings are of the size of 1.0 to 4.9 acres. There are 15 families (26.3 per cent of the total number of families). The horizontal study of the table further shows that there are 15 families of Rajputs who own 5.0–9.9 acres, and 6 families owning 10 acres and above of agricultural land, forming 26.3 per cent and 10.6 per cent of the total number of their families.

The vertical study of Table 4 reveals the position of different castes — that out of 32 Rajput families, 34.4 per cent, 46.9 per cent and 18.7 per cent own land of areas of 1.0 to 4.9 acres, 5.0 to 9.9 acres, and 10 acres and above, respectively. Thus 65 per cent of the Rajput families own more than 5 acres of land. There are two Jagra families in the village with only very meagre land at their disposal. One family owns even less than half acre while the other falls in the group of 1.0 to 4.9 acres. Out of 2 Bajgi families, one owns less than one acre of land, while the other possesses less than five acres of land. As far as Koltas are concerned their position is most miserable in this respect. Nearly half of the Koltas, i.e. 47.6 per cent (10 families) have no land. They earn their living by attaching themselves to some of the higher caste families in the village. Nine families own land of less than one acre each. Only 2 out of the 21 Kolta families (9.5 per cent of the total)

have land between 1.0 to 4.9 acres. Kishiaru Kolta has the largest slice, 3.47 acres.

The higher castes have larger joint families than the lower castes. Rajputs in Lohari have larger joint families than the Koltas who very infrequently have more than two to three persons in their families.

Just as the higher castes own more land, so also they own more cattle than the lower castes. They are well off and can afford to keep a large number of cattle. They construct and maintain cattle sheds where needed. Table 5 shows the caste-wise ownership of the livestock in the village Baila.

TABLE 5
LIVESTOCK OWNED BY THE VILLAGERS OF BAILA (1957)

Caste	No. of Families	Sheep	Goat	Cattle			Pig	Fowl
				Cows	Calves	Bulls		
Brahmin	1 (1.6%)	7	35	7	5	6	—	—
Rajput	29 (48.3%)	670	635	126	116	104	—	—
Sunar	2 (3.3%)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Badi	8 (13.3%)	—	21	21	20	19	—	—
Bajgi	7 (11.6%)	—	49	19	12	11	—	46
Kolta	13 (21.6%)	58	59	23	27	24	28	17
Total	60	735	799	196	180	164	28	63

The horizontal study of Table 5 reveals some important features of the life of different castes in Jaunsar-Bawar. There is only one Brahmin family in the village Baila and it owns 18 cattle (6 bulls, 7 cows and 5 calves), other livestock, viz. sheep and goat total 42. Virtually it is the Rajputs who are the masters of land and cattle. Only 29 Rajput families possess 670 sheep and 635 goats, totalling 1,305, compared to 13 Kolta families which own only 58 sheep and 59 goats. The number of Kolta families is nearly half; they possess only one-twelfth the number of goats and sheep owned by the Rajputs. The position with regard to cattle possessed by the Rajputs and the Koltas is not very different either. The former own a total of 346 cows, calves and bulls, while the latter have only 74 in all. There are 2 Sunar (goldsmith) families in the village which do not own any cattle. It is only the Koltas or the lower castes who possess pigs and fowls. Actually, it is only the Koltas and the Doms who eat pig, and it is they who own 28 pigs. Bajgis and other lower castes own fowls.

Reading the table vertically, there are 735 sheep and 799 goats in the village. The total number of cattle is 540. Thus the number of cattle is much less than the number of sheep and goats. The total number of pigs tamed by the Koltas is 28, while there are 63 fowls in the village.

It is obvious from the above that the lower caste families have to depend upon the high caste people of the village for their livelihood.

FAMILY BUDGET

Taking a family of ten adults as the base, the daily food consumption comes to 15 seers, that is, some 140 maunds per year. This does not include additional expenditure during the festivals. Vegetables used are generally what grows in the jungles on the scorpion grass, but now a few of the families have their own kitchen gardens. Pulses are also grown.

The people are practising a self-sufficient economy for most of their requirements.

In the domestic economy of these hill agriculturists, a large part of their needs is met from the produce of their fields, such as the food grains, and vegetables; fuel is available in the jungles and wool from the sheep. It becomes very difficult, if not impossible, to evaluate the different items of consumption in terms of money. The items of the family budget are food grains — wheat, rice, barley, *manduwa*, *jhanjhora* and other food cereals; pulses — *moong*, *urd*, *masoor*, and unspecified pulses; milk and fats — ghee, mustard oil, milk, butter, curd, whey; vegetables and fruits — green fruits and dry fruits; animal food — meat, fish, egg, pig and fowl; salt and spices — pickles; miscellaneous items — sugar, gur and tea. Clothing implies expenditure of three types — apparel, bedding and miscellaneous. A woman needs at least two *ghagras*, two *kurtis* and two *dhantu* per year, in addition to a woollen *jhoga* every third or fourth year. Fuel and light are not an expensive item, because most of the fuel needed for the family consumption is fetched from the jungles. It is only on kerosene oil and match-boxes that one has to spend money. They generally use small lamps and for only a few hours in the night, say from 7–30 to 9–00 P.M. Furniture and equipment are costly items, because they involve lots of labour to produce them. Although the *deodar* slippers are available to them from the jungles, the cost of transporting them up to the village, and then the wages of the carpenter become too much, and once a man resolves to build a house, it is usually seen that for the time being the family economy is completely upset. Utensils and pots are either purchased from Chakrata or from the

TABLE 6
PRODUCTION OF MAIN CROPS IN BAILA (1956-57)

<i>Caste</i>	<i>No. of Families</i>	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>Barley</i>	<i>Rice</i>	<i>Maize</i>	<i>Manduwa</i>	<i>Cholai</i>	<i>Kaumi</i>
Brahmin	1	5 Bojha	6 Bojha	8 Bojha	8 Bojha	4 Bojha	3 Bojha	-
Rajput	29	106 Bojha	159 Bojha	222 Bojha	180 Bojha	109 Bojha	4 Bojha	3 Bojha & 3 Patha
206 Sunar Badi	2	1 Doon	2 Doon	2 Doon	2 Doon	1½ Doon	-	-
	8	21 Bojha & 15 Patha	22 Bojha & 3 Patha	21 Bojha	13 Bojha & 3 Patha	9 Bojha	5 Patha	4 Patha
Bajgi Kolta	7	9 Bojha	21 Bojha	26 Bojha	32 Bojha	15 Bojha	2 Doon	4 Patha
	13	9 Bojha & 30 Patha	20 Bojha & 3 Patha	17 Bojha	31 Bojha	20 Bojha	22 Patha	6 Patha
Total	60	150 Bojha & 53 Patha	228 Bojha & 3 Patha	294 Bojha & 22 Patha	264 Bojha & 19 Patha	157 Bojha & 12 Patha	7 Bojha & 43 Patha	3 Bojha & 17 Patha

Approximate weights: 1 Bojha = 1½ maunds; 1 Doon = 8 Patha; 1 Patha = 1½ seers; 1 seer = 2.2 lb.

traders who often visit the villages. Tobacco is used in large quantities by everybody, except by small children, no matter whether male or female. Tobacco is grown by the villagers themselves; only molasses, one or two tins, are purchased from the market. People have developed a taste for cigarettes. Because cigarettes and *bidis* are easier to carry than tobacco, *chillum* and *agchyar*. They are widely used, at least on the fields and during festivals. Other sources of expenditure are recreation, festivals and social ceremonies, and drinks.

Table 6 gives the production of most important grains consumed by the villagers at Baila; the quantity is shown in local measures.

It is only the Rajputs and the Brahmins who actually produce some surplus. Other castes produce only meagre quantities. The Rajputs produced 106 *bojhas* of wheat, while the Sunars, the Badis, the Bajgis and the Koltas together produced only 40 *bojhas*. Similar is the case with respect to the other grains; barley, rice, maize, *manduwa*, *cholai* and *kauni*. Naturally, when it is only the Rajputs who produce most of the grain of the village, they acquire a superior position. The miserable Koltas hardly possess any land and have to slave for those who have the land and the produce. The two Sunar families in the village do not produce much, because they earn their livelihood not through agriculture, but through goldsmithy. They own just two or three fields adjoining the village. The Badi and the Bajgi also get a major share of their cereal needs from those whom they serve.

The Rajputs of the village say that they find it difficult to meet the requirements of other castes who depend on them for support. Besides this, on an average, a middle class family needs at least 40 maunds of grain (*manduwa* or barley) for distilling.

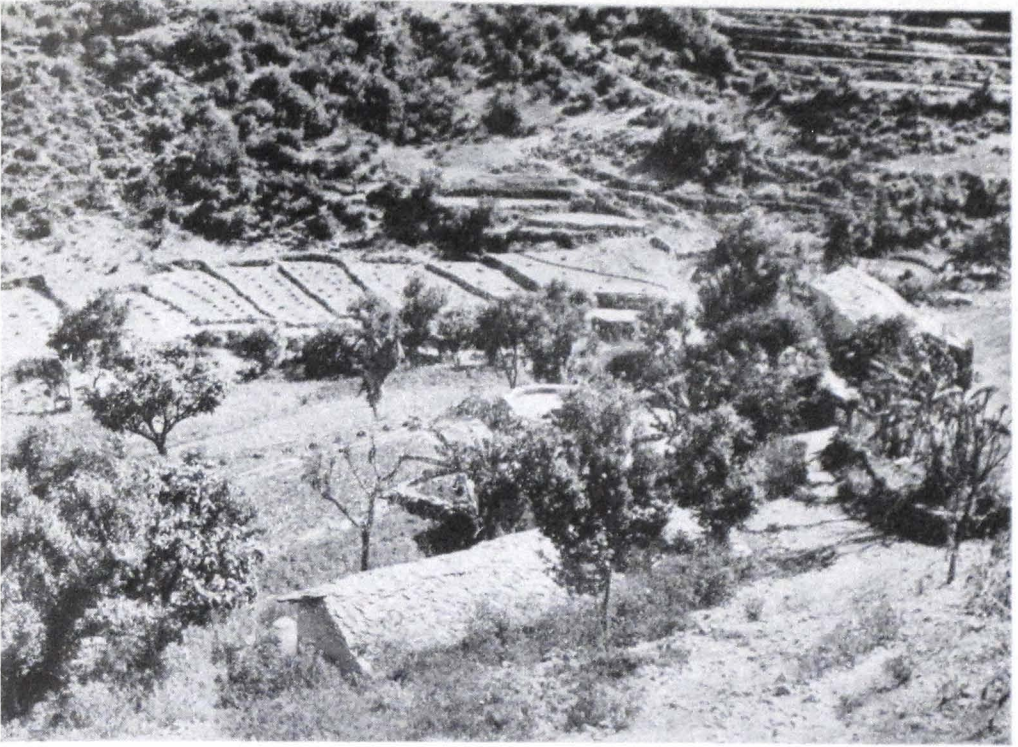
The zamindars have to keep the grain reserved for festivals and social ceremonies. All this becomes too heavy a burden for the land to support, and the people have to depend on purchases from outside. Besides the grains, there are many other things which the villagers consume but do not produce; neither are these things available locally. Table 7 shows the purchases from outside either from Chakrata or from the village shops.

Table 7 shows the items of daily needs for which the villagers have to depend on Chakrata or local traders. Other items of imported goods are clothes, utensils, and other miscellaneous things. A very significant fact emerges when we compare the purchasing power of the Koltas with that of other castes. The Koltas are divided into 13 families, but their purchasing power is very low. Both the Bajgi and Badi who altogether constitute 15 families consume 13 tins of molasses while the Koltas (13 families) take only one-third of it, i.e. 4 tins. The heaviest consumption of the various things bought from outside is by Rajputs;

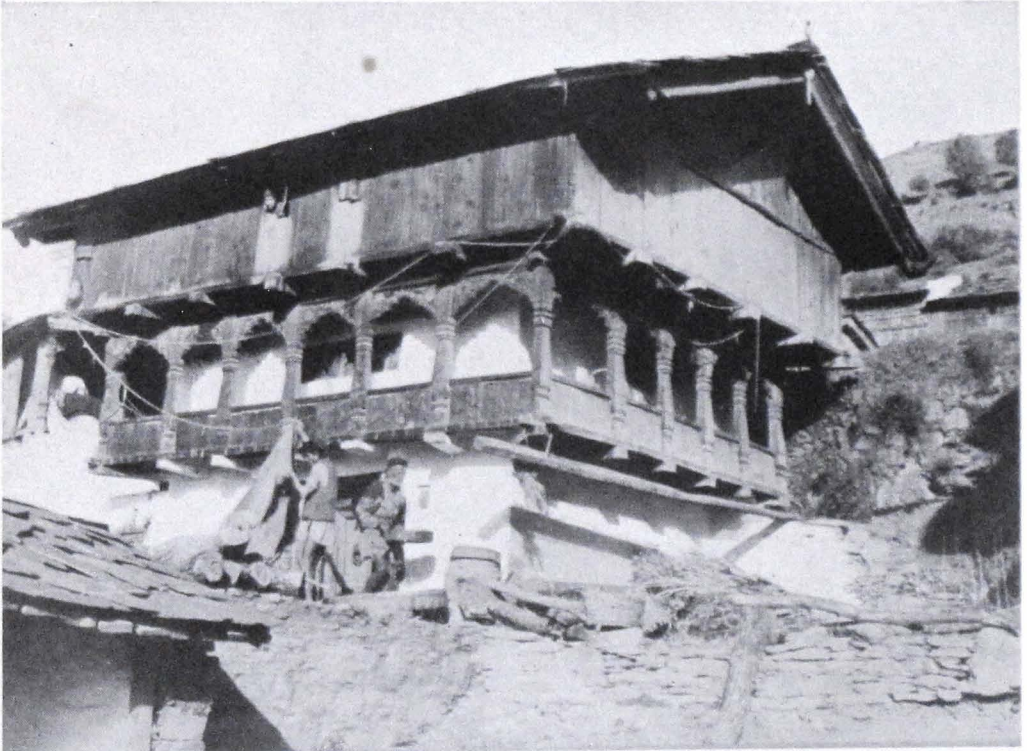
TABLE 7

A ROUGH ESTIMATE OF VILLAGERS' PURCHASES FROM OUTSIDE (BAILA: 1956-57)

<i>Caste</i>	<i>No. of Families</i>	<i>Salt (mds.)</i>	<i>Gur (mds.)</i>	<i>Mustard oil (tin)</i>	<i>Kerosene oil (tin)</i>	<i>Molasses (tin)</i>	<i>Tea (lb.)</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Rajput	29	45	15 mds.	9	3	29	3	Some other items of purchases are spices, cigarettes, matches, sweets, etc.
Brahmin	1	2	10 srs.	$\frac{1}{2}$	—	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	
Badi	8	$7\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$ mds.	3	—	7	$2\frac{1}{4}$	
Sunar	2	3	16 srs.	1	—	1	$\frac{1}{4}$	
Bajgi	7	6	$2\frac{1}{2}$ mds.	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	6	$\frac{1}{2}$	
Kolta	13	7	3 mds.	$2\frac{1}{2}$	1	4	$\frac{1}{2}$	
Total	60	$70\frac{1}{2}$	24 mds. 26 srs.	$17\frac{1}{2}$	$5\frac{1}{2}$	48	7	



A village settlement (Note the slates covering the roofs).



A typical Jaunsari house (Lohari village).



A Polygynandrous Khasa family.



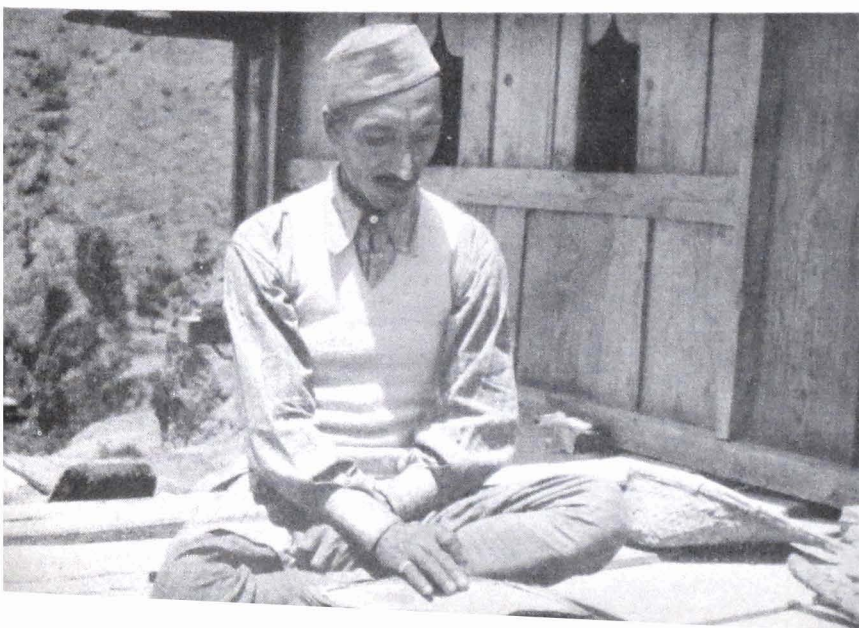
A Jaunsari belle.



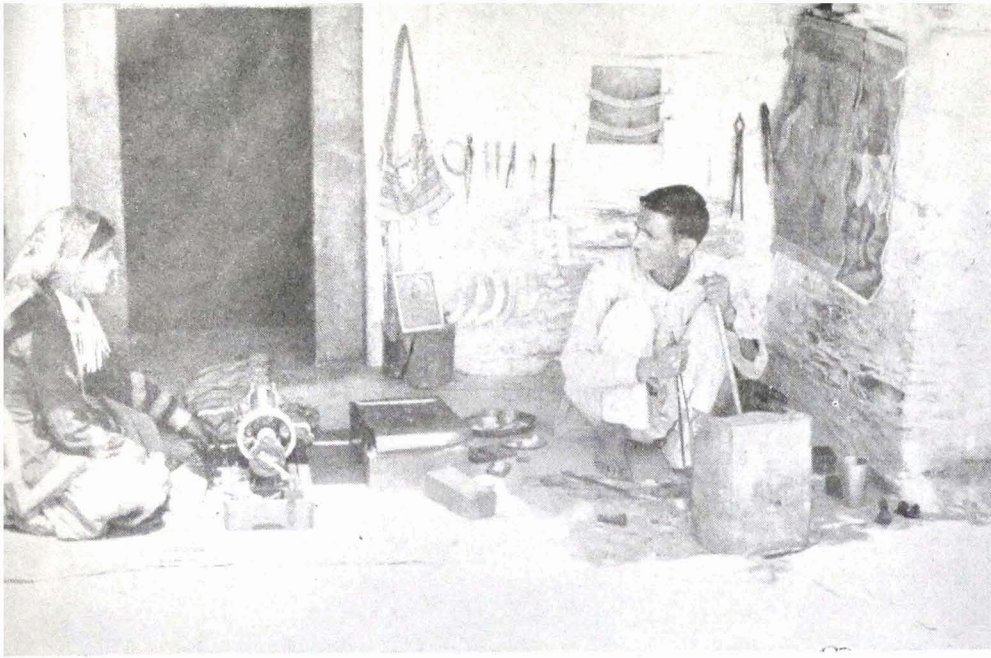
Distilling apparatus
(Lohari village).



Human as the best
means of transport.



Madho Nath of Lohari
looking into the book called
Sanskrit for divination.



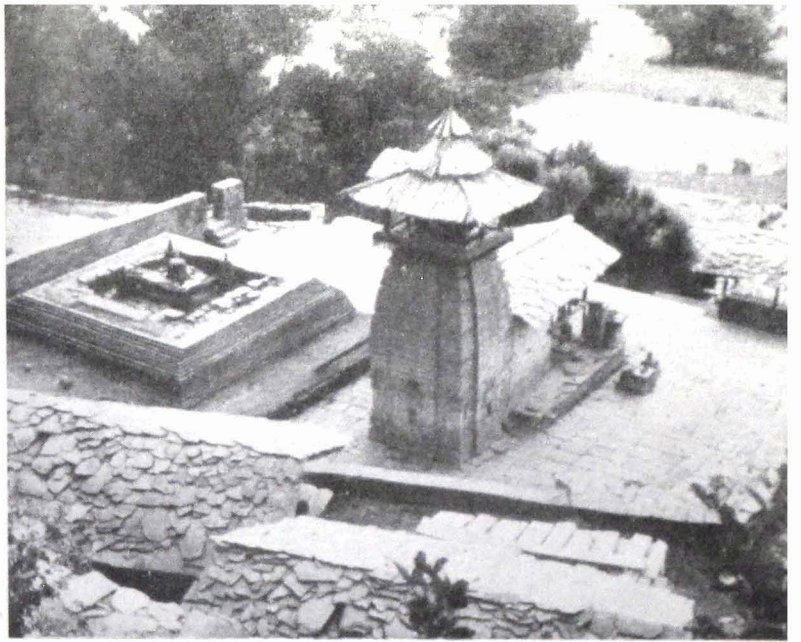
Workshop of a Sunar (goldsmith) (Lakhmandal village).



In the expert hands of a Badai (carpenter) (Lohari village).

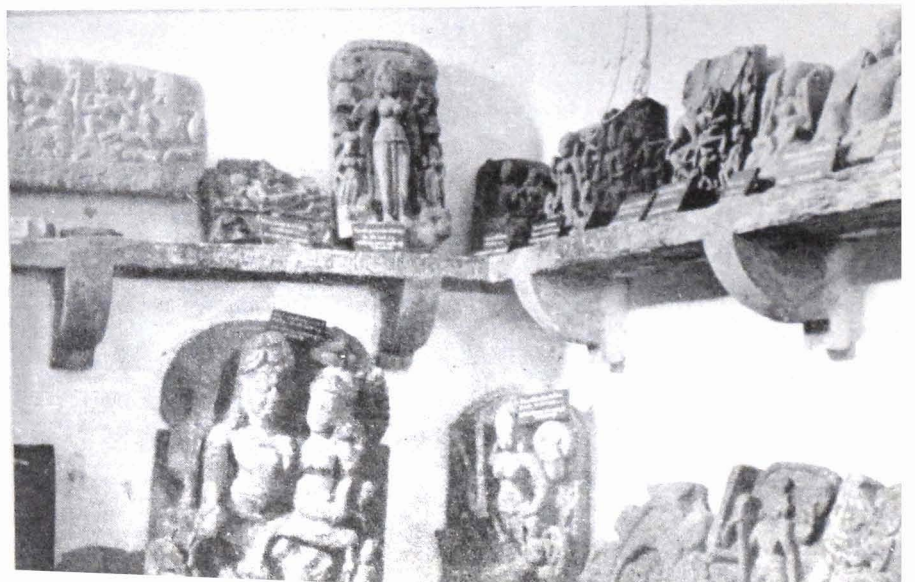


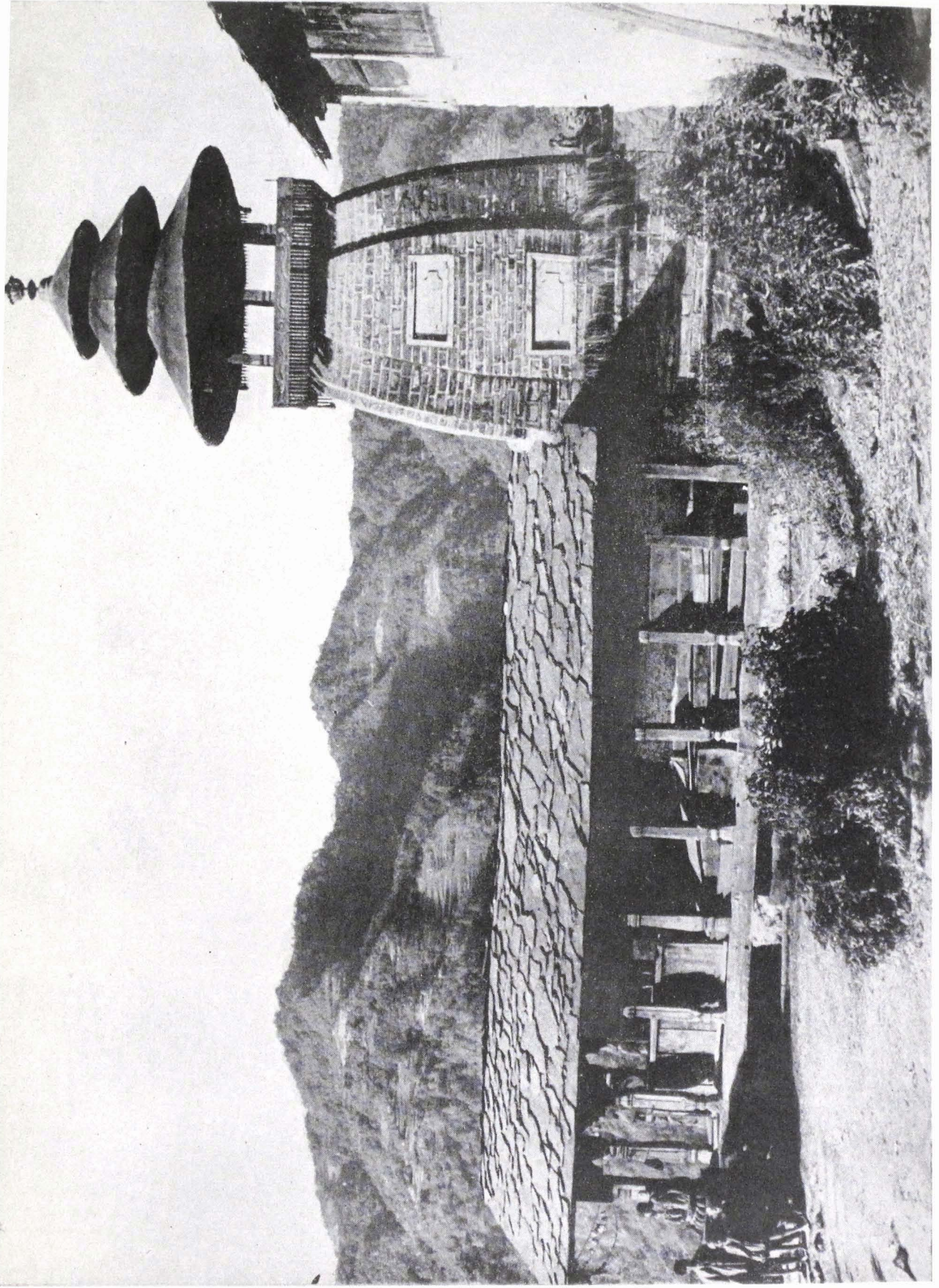
The Lakhamandal temple and its surroundings.



Some local finds kept in the archaeological Museum of Lakhamandal.

Some local finds kept in the archaeological Museum of Lakhamandal.





The Lakhmandal temple.



Men, women and children dressed for a holiday.



Ornaments are essential for women.



Feeding before parting.



Starting on a journey.



they make more than the total purchases of all castes taken together as far as the consumption of salt is concerned. As salt is needed for the cattle, it is purchased in large quantities.

Daloo gave a rough idea about the salt needed per month for the cattle and sheep: 5 seers per 50 sheep; 5 seers per 12 cattle; 5 seers per 50 goats.

Thus for 100 sheep and goats and 12 cattle, one needs at least 15 seers of salt per month. The Rajputs own a major part of the 735 sheep, 800 goats and 540 cattle in the village. The heavy consumption of salt is due to cattle and sheep.

MATERIAL CULTURE

MULTI-STOREYED HOUSES

The first and second storeys of the houses are invariably made partly of stone and partly of *deodar* (cedar) wood, while the uppermost storey is exclusively made of wood. A typical Jaunsari multi-storeyed house (Sayana Dev Ram's residence, Baila) is shown on Plate 1. The various storeys and apartments are described below.

(a) '*Dobra*' or '*Dobri*'. This is the underground apartment (basement) of the house and is used for storing grains, cereals and valuable possessions like guns, cartridges and swords. It is made of stone slabs. The inner walls of a *dobri* are usually white-washed with clay lime.

(b) '*Obra*'. Above the basement (*dobra*) is *obra*, often referred to as *obru*. Its walls are made of stones while the roof is wooden. This is because just above it is the uppermost or next wooden storey on the top. The height of *obra* is hardly more than 6 feet. Very often, but not necessarily, the people construct a gallery supported by carved wooden pillars around the *obra*. The breadth of this gallery is never more than 3 or 4 feet.

Obra is utilized for keeping *giltas* and *topra* (kinds of basket), *supa*, fishing net (if the family has any), ropes, bags, *parat*, *bantas* (water vessels), other extra utensils and pots, boxes, and other things not needed in day-to-day life. It is a sort of general store. A portion of the *obra* is meant to keep such corns and provisions as are to be used currently. This portion of the *obra* is called *kuthar*. The rich people have their *kuthar* (store-room) separate from the main dwelling. In Lakhmandal, however, there is no such separate *kuthar*. When the *obra* is not used for storing grains and provisions, it is usual to keep goats and sheep there. A circular hole, usually one and a half feet in diameter on the roof of the *obra* in the corner just opposite the kitchen, serves as entrance to the top storey. It is through the *obra* and this

hole that the lower caste people, such as Badi, Bajgi and Nath, who are allowed to enter the house but not the kitchen, can go up.

(c) *Manjia*. The next storey is called the *manjia*. It is made partly of wood and partly of stone. The walls are made of thin slates, while the roof is wooden. It is not usual to have *manjia* except when one has large property, and many members in the family. This portion of the house is also utilized for storing grains and keeping family property. In the *manjia* are kept the beddings and extra clothes.

(d) *Baur*. It is the topmost apartment in a Jaunsar house. It is made exclusively of *deodar* wood. The walls are one and a half feet wide and kept hollow and partitioned for keeping the family property, beddings, clothes and other necessary things not meant to be shown to others. The *baur* is accessible through a wooden ladder from the attached courtyard (*angan*) of the house.

The inside of the *baur* is well decorated because it is here in the *baur* that guests and friends are seated and entertained. As a rule, the kitchen is always in the uppermost storey projecting outside. The kitchen occupies a corner known as *rasora* or *chauka*. On the two sides of the *baur* are about a yard wide galleries called *ataris*. The *atari* at the back of the house is partitioned in two: one part is utilized for keeping the sacrificial goat in a closed apartment, as also the water vessels, and the other half of the *atari* is used as a bathroom. The front *atari* is reached by a ladder. If the family is large, this may be utilized for sleeping purposes. This front gallery is decorated with carved images painted with different colours. It is in the *baur* that all the spices, ghee, and other edibles are kept. The beddings are also kept there. Parallel to each other, there are two raised platforms about 6 inches high on the remaining two wall-sides. They are utilized for seating and sleeping purposes. Whenever any guest or relative comes, he is seated on these platforms called *tekri*. The *baur* is a drawing, sleeping and dining room, all rolled into one.

There are two fixed wooden brackets in two of the walls of the *baur* on top of the doors. These are called *kedaru* where the idols of the family gods are kept. The walls and roof have small openings called *sindhai* or *tira* which serve the purpose of windows. They let in the light and allow the smoke to go out of the house. It is usual to refer to the roof-openings as *sindhai* and to the wall-openings as *tira*.

With the square wooden structure, the roof of a Jaunsari house is always two-sloped, made of wooden slippers. The slippers are shouldered on very long bars of pine wood. These wooden slippers are covered with slate slabs, when they are available. In Baila, and Lohari, most of the houses except those of the richer people are not covered with slate-tiles, whereas in Lakhamandal, all the houses are covered with

stone slabs. At Lakhamandal, slates of very big sizes are available just in the vicinity, hardly a furlong away from the village.

All the entrances and doors in the houses are very narrow and small. One has to stoop down before he can enter the apartment. Usually the dimensions of the entrances are 1 foot 9 inches by 3 feet 1 inch.

EXPENSIVE RESIDENCE

The Jaunsar *kura* is quite costly for an average man. The wooden slippers are brought from the jungles far off, sometimes not less than ten or twelve miles from the villages. The Badis do the carpentry work. The day the Badi starts work, he gets his meals at the employer's house. An idea about the heavy expenditure involved may be formed by the following account of a ('Darduna') cooperative labour which was needed for executing a formidable task with the help of villagers. Daya Ram Sayana of Baila needed some flat slate stones for the roof of his newly built house. He first asked a few Koltas to go to Chila top, prepare the stones required, and then pile them up. Finding the task beyond himself and his family members, he arranged for a 'Darduna'. Accordingly, the villagers were invited to cooperate. Those who did, belonged to the villages Baila, Bulad, Bagi and Didakheda. One man could make in a whole day only two rounds from Chila, a hilltop, up to the village; 26 members cooperated in this task.

5 from the village Bulad, 1 Brahmin and 4 Rajputs
 2 from the village Bagi, both Brahmins
 4 from the village Didakheda, all Koltas
 15 from the village Baila, 9 Rajputs, 4 Badis, one
 Kolta and one Gurkha

Throughout the day the men were busy fetching slate slabs from the hilltop, while the women were occupied in the preparation of the dinner that was to be served to the 'Darduniya' — those who cooperated.

A GRAND DINNER

The participants were given a dinner the same day, after which they danced and sang in the courtyard of the village temple. The dinner cost about Rs. 200.

All the Darduniya were served with two large spoonfuls of ghee. Those who did not take liquor were provided with one extra spoon of ghee. Meat was prepared in ghee, and served with ghee, rice and bread. All through the dinner drink was supplied lavishly. In all,

about 36 bottles of wine were consumed. The total cost worked out as follows :

Liquor 36 bottles	Rs. 72 at the rate of Rs. 2 per bottle
Ghee 8 seers	Rs. 32 at the rate of Rs. 4 per seer
Goats 2	Rs. 75
Rice and Flour	Rs. 21
	<hr/> Rs. 200

Thus the cost of covering the roof with the slates was Rs. 200. All the requisites for the construction had to be managed, partly by cooperative labour, and partly by the family. It is a difficult job to arrange for the stones and wooden slippers to be strong enough to support the storeys. The walls are usually one and a half feet in width. Daya Ram said that from its inception to the day when the first feast was given to the villagers after the completion of the house, it cost several thousand rupees.

RECENT CHANGES : A KOLTA CAN OWN A HOUSE NOW

Up to quite recent times, only the higher castes, and a few of the artisan castes who were well-to-do, could afford to own houses. Many rich Brahmins and Rajputs have two or more houses, but the Kolta could not afford to build any. Since the inception of the C.D.P., the Koltas have been given loans for construction of houses. They were granted 50 per cent of the total cost of the house, but the plan of the house had to be passed by the District Board, Dehra Dun.

SCHOOL BUILDINGS

A change in the design of construction has been brought about by the school buildings, Panchayat Ghar and Seed Stores, built by the District Board, C.D.P. and other Departments. The doors are bigger than the traditional Jaunsar doors. Even their design, windows, and roofs are different. In many cases the villagers have adopted these new styles. Permanand of Lakhmandal built his house very recently with long apartments, unlike the usual Jaunsari pattern, and kept big entrances, about 6 feet high and $1\frac{1}{4}$ yards in width.

DRESS, ORNAMENTS AND BODY DECORATION

Jaunsaris are fond of good clothes. They are among the best dressed people in the Himalayas. The males and the females of course dress differently. The dresses for festivals and for daily use also differ. The altitude of the village counts for much. In the villages situated at comparatively higher altitudes, for example Lohari, Kandi, Kandoi, Chultad, Ghanta, Kuna, most of the clothes needed are woollen, as

cotton clothes may only be used for two or three months in a year. On the other hand, the people of the villages situated on the lower reaches wear mostly cotton clothes, while woollen clothes are used only in the few months of cold winters. The male and female dresses are given below.

Men's Dress

(a) *Winter Dress.* (1) *Chola.* Also called *thalka* or *loiya*. A very big sized coat made by stitching together the narrow strips of woollen cloth woven from homespun wool. It is tailored by local tailors. Quite loose, without buttons, it is worn like a double-breasted coat, tied to which around the waist is another very long piece of cloth.

(2) *Jhangel.* Made from homespun wool and stitched at home. It looks like the *chooridar pyjama* of the plains.

(3) *Safa.* Above the loose coat they tie around the waist a cotton or woollen strip.

(4) *Snow Shoes.* On the higher altitudes it is usual to wear a special type of shoe called *khursa*. Its sole is made of leather while the uppers are woven by the villagers themselves with woollen thread.

(b) *Summer Dress.* During the summer months, on the lower altitudes villagers usually wear the following.

(1) *Shirt.* This is quite long reaching down to the thighs. It is stitched by the village tailor and is similar in design to the shirt of the plains. It is called *jhoga*.

(2) *Jhangel.* Cotton *jhangel* is put on during the hot weather, or when one goes to one's relations or to markets. While working in the fields, the *jhangel* is removed, and instead a small knicker or loincloth is used.

(c) *Other Accessories.* (1) '*Digwa*' or *Cap.* *Digwa* is the traditional Jaunsari headwear made of woollen cloth. It is round and its edges are folded. Long hairs and *digwa* have been the tradition, but now because of their contacts with outsiders, Jaunsaris have started wearing Gandhi cap.

(2) *Shoes.* Shoes, either the *chamraudha*, or boot, are put on only when one goes to market or to other villages or to attend some social function, say a *mela* or a marriage.

(3) Whether winter or summer, a typical Jaunsari will always be found with his *chola* either on his shoulders when not wearing it, or put on in a decent manner.

Women's Dress

(1) *Ghagra:* A very loose skirt bordered with lace and *tul* cloth, resembling the petticoat, but it is not an under-garment.

(2) *Kurti*: Shirt.

(3) *Dhantu*: Net (*jali*) handkerchief used as headwear.

(4) *Khilka* or *Mekhra*: A woollen coat.

It is usual to have the *ghagra* of blue cotton drill and black *dhantu*, although the latter may be very often found in gay colours. For daily use, the *kurti* and *ghagra* are patched at many places but the ladies always keep one reserved for festivals and *melas*. Thus a woman needs two *ghagras* and two *kurtis* per year. *Ghagra* needs 7 yards of cloth while the *kurti* can be made from three yards. *Mekhra* is made of homespun wool.

(5) Women also put on shoes made by the local cobblers. But these are used only when one goes to, or comes from one's husbands' village.

Children's Dress

Children wear only a shirt and *chora* in the summer and a woollen *jhangal* during the winter. It is usually seen that a child above ten years of age wears a cap.

Special Dresses

At religious and social ceremonies people wear a special dancing dress called *joda*. It is white and covers the whole of the body from neck to the heel and opens in front to be tied with laces after wearing. Similarly, the women folk have special dresses which they put on while dancing.

Time for New Dresses

Men, women and children prefer to get the new dresses tailored on the eve of Bissu, Dewali or Manr festivals. Mostly the tailors belong to the village.

Ornaments

The Jaunsari women have great fascination for ornaments. They are attracted by the ornaments so irresistibly that very often divorce is resorted to on the ground of the inability of a husband to provide ornaments for his wife. In Baila, Supa's daughter-in-law was not ready to come to her *shasurari*, parent-in-law's village, only because she was not given a golden nose-ring. It was only after she got it that she agreed to do so. Kammo (of Baila) is married in the village Buraila but refuses to go there because they are not providing her with the desired ornaments. Bardei of Lakhamandal also gave a similar excuse for not going to her husbands' village.

In most cases the money earned by a Jaunsari is spent either in getting a divorce or in buying ornaments for his wife or wives.

Men do not like ornaments but sometimes one may find a man wearing an earring. Nowadays this is not favoured, although men still get their earlobes perforated. They believe that if this is not done, ghosts and other evil spirits are likely to perforate the ear after they die. Table 8 gives a list of ornaments worn by women.

TABLE 8
ORNAMENTS WORN BY WOMEN

S. No.	Local Name of the Ornament	English Equivalent	Metal of Which It Is Made	Approximate Weight
1.	Sanutia	A number of hair-pins joined together	Gold or silver	4-5 tolas
2.	Utraya	Ear Studs	Gold or silver	5-6 tolas
3.	Labia or Mukri	Earrings	Gold	2 tolas
4.	Nath	Nose ring	Gold	3-4 tolas
5.	Bulak*	Nose pendant	Gold	1 tola
6.	Pulli	A kind of nose ornament	Gold	3 As. to 4 As.
7.	Kanduri	Neck ornament	Silver	12 tolas
8.	Kanthi	Neck ornament	Silver	12 to 16 tolas
9.	Tabil or Tait	Necklace	Silver	40-60 tolas
10.	Bid	Locket	Silver	4-6 tolas
11.	Kangutye or Dhagutye	Bracelet	Silver	30-40 tolas
12.	Chura	Wristlet	Silver	30-40 tolas
13.	Churiya†	Bangles	Silver	20 tolas
14.	Pali	An ornamental ring worn on toes	Silver	½ tola

* In Bawar Pargana, women do not appreciate wearing 'Bulak'. Most of the ladies were observed not to have asked their husbands or fathers to get it. But in the lower Jaunsar region, it is as common as other ornaments are, and goes hand-in-hand with 'Nath' (No. 4).

† Another point of note is that it is a custom to wear glass or plastic bangles with the golden or silver *chura* or *churiya*.

It is said that about two or three decades ago men also used to wear certain ornaments, but the fashion has now disappeared. The ornaments which men used to wear were :

- (a) *Kantha* — Ornament for the neck, made of silver
- (b) *Murkiya* — Gold earrings
- (c) *Kanguta* — Silver bracelets
- (d) Gold chains fitted in *digwa* cap

But men are now very rarely seen wearing any ornaments. Rather, they feel embarrassed if they are asked to put on one.

The Koltas could not wear gold ornaments. They had to get silver ornaments even if they were in a position to afford gold ones. But now there is no restriction to their wearing gold, although in the Bawar region the people still stick to the convention. Invariably, the higher castes deprecate this practice on the part of the untouchables. The Koltas in Lakhamandal area who carry on the Chakla business wear golden ornaments. At first, the higher castes protested against this but no one listened to them.

Sri Chand, Pradhan of Gram Sabha of Nada, is quite intelligent. Realizing the social evil and looking up of money involved in the use of ornaments, he moved a resolution that people should stop wearing them. He argued that if the money blocked in ornaments was released for developmental purposes by purchasing capital goods for agriculture or cattle, it would add to their material prosperity. He was successful in his attempts at least in his village Nada, and most of the families abandoned the practice, but the effect was temporary only.

FOOD, DRINK AND SMOKE

Food

Rice and wheat are the chief food crops, supplemented by coarse grains like *manduwa*, *jhanjora* and *kauni*. As a matter of fact, the Jaunsaris have a custom of taking coarse-grain preparation in the morning and bread of wheat flour in the evening.

The normal food items are about the same for all classes — rich, middle or poor, with the difference that the poor cannot afford milk, curd and butter, nor superior grains. Actually the preparations vary according to the seasonal crops. Since the people live a self-sufficient economy, they have to change the menu according to the availability of the grain and other cereals.

The rich and middle classes take wheat and rice preparations daily, at least once a day, while the poor take them only on festival

days and on special occasions. Meat is not commonly taken except at festivals or when a goat is sacrificed at the instance of the Pandit or diviner for the propitiation of some angry deity, or when some goat has died of an accident.

Dietary Routine

Three meals a day is the rule found among the villagers of Lohari and Baila, both in winter and in summer, whereas at Lakhamandal people often take four meals daily. The meals are known by local names, as shown below, together with their timings.

- (a) *Kaliyari* (Morning Meal). It is taken early in the morning, or at about 7 or 8 A.M.
- (b) *Dopahri* (Midday Meal). It is taken at noon, and is usually served in the field where one is working.
- (c) *Tinoli* (Afternoon Meal). It is taken at about 4 P.M., when one comes back from the field or jungles.
- (d) *Byai* or *Biao* (Supper). It is the dinner or the main meal of the day, and is the only meal in which all family members participate. It is served at about 8 P.M.

In the case of a three-meal routine, there are no separate meals as *dopahri* and *kaliyari*, but a morning meal served at 8 or 9 a.m., though those who go out for grazing or field work may eat earlier. The timings may vary slightly according to individual convenience as well as according to seasons. Children may be given food at an earlier hour, and they may also take more meals in a day.

It is a local convention that the 'Nahani', namely one who had a sacred bath in the Ganga at Hardwar, and who is usually the eldest member of the house, takes only two meals—the *kaliyari* and the *biao*. If he, because of mistake or unavoidable circumstances, eats more than twice a day, he has to purify himself and to offer some *atta* (flour) or *roti* (bread of big size) to the village god.

It is thus clear that people do not stick to any set pattern in matters of the number and timing of their meals. During the season for field work, they have to take four or even five meals in a day, otherwise they may be satisfied with three meals. Generally speaking, the *kaliyari* and *biao* are essential meals to all people and at all times, the *dopahri* is mainly meant for field workers, and the *tinoli* is usually a light refreshment. Not only the season in the year, but also the situation of the village calls for a change or modification in the schedule of the meals. The contents of the meals change as well, according to the varying altitudes and seasons, which affect the agricultural produce.

Food Items and Variations

A sample survey of daily food revealed that cereals form the main and indispensable item in the menu for every meal, and next come the vegetables and pulses, besides certain sauces (*chatni*) and pickles. Among the protein foods, ghee (clarified butter) and meat are the most desirable but not readily available delicacies. Instead of milk, whey (*mattha*) is frequently served at the table.

Among cereals, rice and wheat are the superior stuff which are much less frequently used than coarse grains like barley (*sattoo*), maize and *manduwa*. The last named is the coarsest and most frequently used grain. Thick bread (*roti*) made of *manduwa* is found in all meals during all seasons; it is carried to the field for the *dopahri*, and taken with some sauce or vegetable. Wheat *roti* is occasionally prepared and often used at supper (*biao*). Rice is usually served at home in the *kaliyari* and *biao*, and is preferably taken together with ghee or meat, whichever is available. *Chura* (flattened rice) is also frequently used for the *dopahri* and *tinoli*.

There are various kinds of *roti*, such as :

- (a) *Chiltra* — very thin bread made of wheat flour.
- (b) *Dharoti* — paste made of *masoor* pulse and barley flour.
- (c) *Sidi* — steamed wheat bread filled with *masoor*.
- (d) *Karao* — fried wheat bread filled with some pulse.
- (e) *Misiyar Kadwa* — bread made of maize or *manduwa* and stuffed with pulse, potato, etc.

Vegetables may be either collected from jungles, such as the scorpion grass (*kushka*) or procured from fields, such as *chaulai* and pumpkin. Potato may be used either as vegetable or as cereal. Onion is occasionally found at the table as a delicacy, but it is only available from the market and not from the fields. As a rule, a vegetable dish is prepared for the meal only when it is available. A *dal* (pulse) may be its substitute, and some sauces (*chatni*) or pickles are often used in the absence of both *dal* and vegetable.

As already mentioned, there is no categorical difference in the dietary routine between the upper and lower classes. A palatable meal may also be expected by a Kolta, as his due share from the high-caste master, whom he serves and from whom he gets his daily meals. Like other villagers, he may also supplement his diet with such items as game, liquor, fruits and some sort of jungle herbs. He is, unlike his social superiors, in an advantageous position in having for variety the flesh of pig and hen, which are often domesticated in his household.

Special Preparations

For a change for the palate, there are various ceremonial occasions in the family, and many festivals in the village. Every seventh day or so, and at the end of every month, when they celebrate the ' Sankrant ', the villagers prepare special rice dishes and cook many types of *roti*, like the *ulwa*, *aska*, *maskuria*, *dhindka*, *chilra* and *khir*. The same things are also prepared whenever a new crop is sown or reaped, just as an offer to the gods. A meal thus prepared in the name of God is known as Nithai.

During the month-long festival of Magh (January-February) it is a custom in Jaunsar-Bawar to visit one's relatives. For the purpose of entertaining the season's guests, every family sacrifices at least one goat, which is cut into small pieces and hung on a rope in the uppermost storey of the house. It dries there without the use of salt on it. There are other occasions like Bissu, Manr, Dewali, etc., on which goats are sacrificed and used along with other special dishes by the members of the family and the guests together. Marriage is another grand occasion for the Jaunsaris to enjoy their best dishes.

Education and Training

THE people of Jaunsar-Bawar have a cultural heritage of their own, built on the basis of their traditional type of education, which, in a broad sense of the term, means the method or means whereby the traditions and customary ways of life are handed down from one generation to another, and are transmitted from one individual or group to another individual or group. For a proper understanding of the present situation of education and training in Jaunsar-Bawar, a knowledge of the traditional pattern of education and training of children in the context of their traditional ways of life is indispensable. The present study, therefore, starts with a brief survey of the concepts and methods of education that prevail among the various groups of population in this region.

Needless to say, education, as a means of ensuring the intellectual development of the younger generation, has an important role to play. It makes the village masses more receptive, cooperative and competent to accept the innovations introduced from outside. Hence, a thorough study of the main features and current situation of local education and training is an indispensable part of an evaluation study such as ours. Education has not been included in the Community Development Programmes, yet the Development Project has spent much time and money for strengthening and developing the village schools, which are normally financed and administered by the District Board.

The present analysis is made mainly on the basis of the field data gathered from our village centres, Baila, Lohari and Lakhamandal, but the facts described below represent the sample situation found in the various parts of Jaunsar-Bawar.

An interim report was brought out by us in 1956 on the 'Functioning of School System' among the people under our study. There we have dealt at length with the situation of enrolment and attendance at the schools, the wastage in education, as well as the problems of working out the school curriculum and reorganization of vacations,

besides certain diagnostic suggestions for improvement of the school system.*

TRADITIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING

CONCEPTS AND METHODS

An observer is often surprised to find that, on the one hand, the villagers show much enthusiasm in getting a school opened in the village, but, on the other hand, very few of them send their wards to it. Answer to this question may be deduced from the views held by villagers on the importance and value of formal system of schooling, in comparison with the traditional system of education and training.

‘When we are unable to understand the benefits which may be derived from the education our children get in the school, how can we feel any attraction for sending our wards there’, said Sabla of Lakhamandal. ‘Whenever we sent our children to the school, it was only because we heard many people exhorting us to do so.’

Generally speaking, the villagers’ fundamental consideration has been that the education or training which is given to their children should make the latter more capable and useful in terms of their daily life, pursuits, and the addition they could make to the family income in some way or the other. In this regard, the village school is never so good as the traditional form of education, which, as a kind of professional training, answers the immediate needs of the family. The indigenous system of education and training had a caste and economic basis in which every child was taught by his elders what suited his traditional calling and the economic status of his family. This has been generally a matter of coaching in an informal way, except in the case of the learning of ‘Kashmiri Vidya’, which may be described here in detail.

‘KASHMIRI VIDYA’: A TRADITIONAL TRAINING

The ‘Kashmiri Vidya’ is a native school of magico-religious practice, which claims to train one in the art of foretelling the future, as well as of discovering and exorcising evil spirits. This profession is a monopoly of Brahmins, and, as the name indicates, is said to have been imported to Jaunsar-Bawar by some expert Brahmins from Kashmir.

This magico-religious art readily flourished among the villagers of Jaunsar-Bawar who have strong beliefs in such mysterious beings as the *dankani* (witches) and *matri* (heavenly goddess); they are supposed

* D. N. Majumdar and S. K. Anand: “The Functioning of the School System in Jaunsar-Bawar”, *Eastern Anthropologist*.

to possess extraordinary powers either to help or to ruin a man according to their pleasure or displeasure. The 'Kashmiri Vidya' is, therefore, meant to safeguard the people from supernatural trials and tribulations.

Lakhamandal, being a Brahmin village, had two teachers of this art, whose fame as masters extended beyond the frontiers of their village. 'Kashmiri Vidya' has been jealously guarded as a professional secret; it is called 'Gupta Gyan' (secret knowledge). It was not known to all the Brahmins, but only to a few who were secretly trained. The students of this art used to be taught in the morning only, and the timing changed according to the season in order to suit their leisure. Thus, Sabla maintained, this local system of education had the advantage that the pupils were left free to perform their daily field work and other family obligations. That is why the villagers liked it better than formal education.

The curriculum of the 'Kashmiri Vidya' includes :

- (a) Methods of detecting and determining the activities of the evil spirits and supernatural powers like *dankani*, *bhut*, etc. ;
- (b) The knowledge of prescribing ways to get rid of the influence of the evil spirits and supernatural powers; and
- (c) Astrology, which is supposed to foretell events and the fate of a person, from the indications given by the positions of stars and heavenly bodies.

A prerequisite of this learning is the knowledge of a set of 'Kashmiri Vidya' alphabets. A wooden tablet inscribed with the 'Kashmiri Vidya' script was kept in the village Guthar, adjacent to Lakhamandal. It was carefully placed on a *chauri* (platform), by the side of the village temple, along with some weapons which were believed to have been used by the Pandava brothers. Nobody was allowed to touch it without washing his hands and feet. The villagers explained that this tablet belonged to the time when the Pandava brothers were roaming in this region. These scripts differ in shape from the Devanagari letters, and can be read only by one who has learned the art of 'Kashmiri Vidya'.

OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING IN GENERAL

Although 'Kashmiri Vidya' has its prescribed curriculum and a special type of script, the training is not so formal as that of a school education. In reality, 'Kashmiri Vidya' is not more than a sort of vocational training which, being magico-religious in nature, is meant only for a few initiates.

Further, the children of all castes, including the general body of Brahmins who are agriculturists, are invariably imparted a vocational training according to the occupation practised by their parents. Thus a Bajgi boy starts beating the drum and playing other instruments from an early age, the son of a Badi or Badhai learns the art of carpentry, etc., and the children of the zamindars, who are generally from high castes, as well as the sons of the labourers, including the traditional serfs, the Koltas, are taught agricultural or pastoral operations.

The modes of teaching or training are invariably on an individual basis and through practical demonstrations and verbal instructions; the taught gets his professional competency by way of imitation and practice. Such education and training are acceptable to the villagers if they are carried out without any extra expenses or waste of time. Above all, it moulds the children for the very requirements of the family. This way of education made the villagers stick to their old ways of life and resist the innovations or changes in occupational activities as might be introduced from outside. The fact that the villagers had good reasons to believe in their own way of life may be indicated by the old Sayana's words quoted below :

We are able to derive some benefit from the traditional 'Kashmiri Vidya', because it furnishes us with an immediate solution of our problems by means of the magico-religious performance known as 'Guna'. Whenever our family members, cattle or fields are affected through the agency of some evil spirit or *dankani*, 'Kashmiri Vidya' readily detects it, and prescribes the recipe for getting rid of it. Naturally, we believe more in 'Kashmiri Vidya' than in the training imparted in the schools. Even when we send our wards to the school, we like them to learn 'Kashmiri Vidya' as well.

The primary school imparts education only up to Class V. We don't deny its virtues or values, but as far as our environment and life are concerned, it is not of much use to us. Of course, the child learns something there: he is able to read and write, he knows simple addition and subtraction etc. But this is not so useful or important to us. In fact, we sent our wards to the school either because of the insistence of the school-master, the Patwari and other officials, or because we hoped for some source of income after the ward had passed the fifth standard.

THE SCHOOL OR FORMAL EDUCATION

GENERAL SITUATION

Though no definite date is known regarding the establishment of the first school in Jaunsar-Bawar, school education in this area must have been started nearly a hundred years ago, as may be seen from the following report from the *District Gazetteer* of Dehra Dun (1910, p. 157) :

Mr. Williams, writing in 1874, refers to education as being practically non-existent, but praises the efforts of the missionaries in the cause of propagating knowledge. He mentions what would now be called middle school at Dehra and Kalsi,

village schools at . . . Bastil, Naranjan, Nagtu, Updalta, Bhawari, Mandhani, Khadi and Laori in Jaunsar-Bawar The school at Kalsi has, agreeably with the general decay of that town, now sunk to the primary or village standard.

From the above, we may gather that, as early as 1874 or even before that, there was a middle school at Kalsi, and there were 8 primary schools at other villages in Jaunsar-Bawar. It is interesting to note that no reference was made to Chakrata, which was 'a range of grass-clad hills' with dense forests until 1866. In that year it was chosen as the site for a military station for the British troops, which came to stay there since 1869. It also mentions 'the decaying town of Kalsi', and its school. There was only a primary school at Kalsi, with a few others at other villages in Jaunsar-Bawar, during the time when the *District Gazetteer* was compiled.

According to official records, till 1947, the year of Indian independence, there was under the District Board only one Junior High School (at Kalsi) and 21 primary schools in the whole of Jaunsar-Bawar, excluding the town of Chakrata where there was a cantonment High School besides a girls' school. By the next year (1948), however, the District Board had opened 50 new schools in the interior of Jaunsar-Bawar, under the expansion scheme (1947-48) of the U.P. Government. This was followed by another 25 schools in 1949-50, making a total of 96 primary schools in this area. In addition to these, 3 girls' primary schools were also opened in 1949, one each at Sahiya, Lakhwar and Bisoi.

During the same period, the District Board opened new Junior High Schools one each at Lakhwar, Kothi (Tiuni) and Maletha, and still another at Sahiya in 1956. Table 1 gives the number of schools and students attending them in various years.

TABLE I
NUMBER OF SCHOOLS AND STUDENTS ON ROLL IN
JAUNSAR-BAWAR

Grade	No. of Schools			No. of Students		
	1947	1950	1956 (March)	1947	1950	1956
Junior High School	1	4	5	66	106	203
Primary School	21	94	85	722	2,504	2,204

Table 1 shows a great decrease in the number both of primary schools and of students from 1950 to 1956. The highest total number

of primary schools was found in 1949, namely 99, including 3 for girls. Some of the schools, including two of the girls' primary schools, were closed down shortly afterwards owing to scarcity of students and very poor attendance at certain places. The numbers both of Junior High Schools and of students were, however, on the increase.

The number of students as given above may not represent the regular attendance at the schools. Many of the students were found to be on the rolls in name only; they did not attend the school for any considerable period of time. Often they dropped out from school shortly after it opened. This may be seen from Table 2 which gives the numbers both of teachers and of students in the schools.

TABLE 2
PROGRESS OF EDUCATION IN JAUN SAR-BAWAR

Grade	No. of Schools	No. of Students			No. of Teachers*		
		1956	1957	1958	1956	1957	1958
Junior High School	5	129	169	205	19	19	19
Primary School	82	1,747	1,935	1,985	90	92	101
Girls' Primary School	1	24	29	34	2	2	2

* Generally a primary school has only one teacher when the number of students is below 25. Beyond this it will have two teachers (one headmaster, and one assistant teacher). Each Junior High School has 3 to 5 teachers, according to the strength of the students.

Block-wise, in 1958, the Community Development Block of Chakrata had 2 Junior High Schools (at Kothi and Maletha) and 42 primary schools, and the Kalsi Block had 3 Junior High Schools (at Sahiya, Kalsi and Lakhwar) and 41 primary schools. Besides, there was a High School in the Chakrata cantonment and another at Choharpur, 5 miles from Kalsi (outside Jaunsar-Bawar), to both of which students coming out of the Junior High Schools of Jaunsar-Bawar were admitted. Students had to go to the district town of Dehra Dun for further studies.

HISTORY AND SCOPE OF THE VILLAGE SCHOOLS

Although the villagers favour traditional ways of education and training, yet, time and again, they have shown considerable interest and enthusiasm in the modern schools and formal education. The

rapid increase in the number of schools in Jaunsar-Bawar during the years between 1947 and 1950, as mentioned above, was not the result of a unilateral effort on the part of the government, but was to a great extent inspired by a desire on the part of the villagers for better educational opportunities for the younger generations. This is corroborated by the history of the establishment of schools in the villages of Baila, Lohari and Lakhamandal.

The school at Baila was among those opened under the government's Education Expansion Scheme of 1947-48. But even before this, there was in existence a private coaching class maintained by the villagers in Baila. The credit of starting this coaching class goes to the enlightened and enthusiastic Gaon Sayana, Daya Ram. It is said to have been started about five years earlier than the District Board school. A Garhwali teacher named Jodh Singh happened to pass through Meenus, a marketing centre five miles below Baila, on his way to Sirmur. There he met Daya Ram who invited him to come to Baila. He was to receive one rupee per month from each student, or failing that, a sum of Rs 5 per month from Daya Ram himself for coaching the latter's children, in addition to the usual free lodging and board. This was the beginning of formal education in Baila, which ran satisfactorily for about a year and a half, with 10 to 12 students. The teacher was lodged in the house of Punru and he taught either in the open or under some shady tree near the site of the present school, and at his residence during the rains. The students belonged to different castes in the village, except the Koltas, and all paid the teacher his fees.

A dispute, however, arose between the teacher and some villagers on account of the former's alleged use of spurious coins in his business dealings with the latter. This ended the first teacher's term. The next teacher was Shiv Ram of Simla District, who remained in Baila for eight months only. He was given the same residence as his predecessor, but later on he moved over to another house. The number of students remained the same.

The third teacher was Shridhar from Pauri-Garhwal. He remained in the village for about two years, and worked on similar terms. He lived in the house of the Sadar Sayana and usually taught there. He was more enthusiastic than the previous teacher, and was liked by the villagers. After his departure from the village, the coaching class closed down. During the whole period of five years of private teaching, no girl was admitted to the classes. The regular students were from the higher caste, and included 6 Rajputs, 1 Brahmin, 2 Badhai and 1 Bajgi.

In the meantime, Daya Ram was making efforts for the opening of a District Board school. An application was sent to the District Board

by a few prominent villagers, including Daya Ram, Sadar Sayana Birbal Singh, Kishan Singh and Punoo, with the request that a school might be opened at Baila where the villagers were prepared to contribute 'Shramdan' for the construction of the school building. After a visit of the Sub-Deputy Inspector of Schools, a teacher was appointed to the school at Baila, and the construction of the school building was sanctioned. The building, however, could not be constructed at that time. The new teacher, Mahipal Singh, took charge of the school on 15 February 1949. He admitted 27 students, including 3 girls. He taught at his residence or in the Sadar Sayana's house, but he could not get the school building constructed till the end of his two years' stay in the village.

It was after more than two years' delay that the construction of the school building was taken up, with the villagers' contribution of labour and an amount of Rs. 1,000 sanctioned by the District Board for the purpose. A piece of land was given by Punoo for Rs. 100. The land was situated at the junction of two major settlements of the village and opposite the village temple. Formerly, the house of a Mulaick family stood on this land, but all members of this unfortunate family were dead and Punoo had inherited the property. It was believed that the old house was under a curse, and unfit for residential purposes.

The school building was completed in 1951. It consisted of a small hall for teaching and an attached cell for accommodating the teacher or teachers, besides a verandah which provided the space for the classes to be conducted in the sunshine. Adjacent to the school building was a sizable piece of flat land, which was subsequently utilized as a playground for the children.

The school was established as an upper primary school, with classes from the first standard to the fifth. The first teacher, Mahipal Singh, was removed as he was not trained. In 1951, two teachers were sent to Baila, as there was the prospect of enrolling many students after the completion of the new building. Govind Singh came as the headmaster and Kundan Singh as his assistant. Kundan Singh was, however, transferred in 1952, when the Board discovered that the number of students had fallen. Govind Singh was also transferred in 1953. He was succeeded by Bharat Ram, who remained till 1958. For most part of the last few years, the strength of students in this school has remained under a dozen. It was only 8 in 1957, but increased to 13 in the next session. This number accounted for less than a third of the total number of children of the school-going age group (6-15 years) in the village, which was more than 40. However, most of the students on the roll showed good attendance. The upper classes used to have only one or two students every year. After finishing the upper

primary classes, the students could go to Maletha, about 13 miles from Baila, to join the Junior High School, which has so far received four boys from Baila. Two sons of Bir Singh Basrand of this village remained there till 1958, while two sons of Daya Ram had finished their Junior High School studies at Maletha and proceeded further to join the High School of Choharpur. Among all the three field centres, it was students from Baila only who could boast of having gone outside the village for middle and high school education. During recent years, some villagers of Baila and Kandoi, the two Khag headquarters of the Bharam Khat, have expressed their desire to establish a Junior High School at Kandoi, for the convenience of students of their Khat as well as of the neighbouring Khats. But nothing has so far materialized.

Both the schools of Lohari and Lakhamandal were taken up by the District Board and included in the batch of schools for Jaunsar-Bawar, during the year 1949-50.

Previously, there was no school at Lohari. It was at the request of the villagers that a primary school was opened there in 1950. The villagers formed a committee which requested the secretary of the District Board to open a school in their village. The Sub-Deputy Inspector of Schools was sent to the village for inspection and he recommended the opening of the school. A grant of Rs. 1,000 was sanctioned for the construction of the building and the villagers were asked to contribute an equal amount. This was done in the form of labour and subscription.

Ram Prasad was appointed as the first teacher, and the school started functioning from 6 February 1950 in the house of Dei Ram. The school building was constructed within the next two months by the enterprising young school master with the help of the villagers' School Managing Committee, which had Dallu as its president. The school building with a single hall, besides a kitchen, is situated at one end of the village *angan*, opposite to the temple of Mahasu. This was the only space which the rugged and congested village of Lohari could spare for any public purpose, but it is centrally located, lying at the junction of several paths leading to the few clusters of houses in all directions.

The primary school of Lohari was started with 39 students, all of whom were enrolled in Class I. Despite an order from the District Board forbidding the admission of boys above 12 years of age, which compelled about a dozen students of the first batch to discontinue their studies in 1951, the roll was maintained above two dozens for three years up to 1953, during which period there was only a single teacher in the school.

In 1953, Purnanand Uniyal came to Lohari as the headmaster of the school, and Ram Prasad, who was not trained, became his assistant. Soon afterwards, in May 1953, Prasad was transferred. The next assistant teacher was Murli Dhar Uniyal who came in July 1953 but left the school for his training after about eight months. Since then Purnanand was the only teacher with the headmaster's rank remaining at Lohari. Meanwhile, there was a steady decrease in the number of students which went down to 16 in 1954, and to only 8 in 1955. The actual attendance was still lower, and sometimes it was practically nil. The District Board transferred Purnanand and sent back Ram Prasad, who had just completed a teacher's training course, as the headmaster in charge of the Lohari school.

With Ram Prasad as the headmaster the number of students increased in all the five classes, reaching a total of 20. However, this time he remained in the village for only one session; he was transferred again in July 1956. He was succeeded by Kesar Singh, who remained at Lohari till 1958. The roll of students in the last two or three years was kept above a dozen. In 1958, the number was 14, which was less than 30 per cent of the school-going age group in the village. The attendance often fell below half the roll. Evidently, the affairs of the school were neglected by the villagers, so much so that when a part of the wall of the main hall collapsed during the rains in 1957, it was left unrepaired for a whole year. At any rate, the school remained an important meeting place and the only community centre in the village of Lohari.

At Lakhamandal, there was also a private coaching class maintained by the villagers before the opening of the Board school in 1949. The tutor of the private class was Bhagat Singh, who had himself studied only up to the 6th class. But he proved very successful in the village both in teaching and in arousing the villagers' enthusiasm for education. There was then no school building in the village and the classes were held either in the spacious house of the Chaprasians or in the open. Yet the number of the pupils was on the increase.

In 1948, when some official of the District Board came on tour, the villagers of Lakhamandal requested him to open a primary school on the basis of the existing coaching class in the village. Consequently, the Board school was opened in 1949, and Bhagat Singh was its first teacher. The villagers offered the 'Chabutra' shed adjacent to the Shiva temple for holding the classes, pending the construction of a building for the school.

In 1950, the District Board sanctioned an amount of Rs. 1,000 for the Lakhamandal school and the villagers were asked to contribute 'Shramdan' to construct the school building. The villagers, however,

thought that the sanction was insufficient for the purpose. The construction was not started for quite a long time, in spite of the Board's threat to close down the school. This threat was not put into effect. In 1953, the villagers approached the Board again for further sanction. They were directed to present their request before the C.D.P., but the latter also had no funds to spare.

It was in 1954 that the District Board took up the matter again. The school teacher with the assistance of the Board and the sum of Rs. 1,000 at his disposal succeeded in persuading the villagers to start the construction of the school building. The villagers of Lakhamandal contributed a plot of land adjacent to the village as a gift to the school. Villagers of the adjoining villages of Dhaura, Puria, Pankhet and Guthar, who used to send their wards to the school, also participated in the 'Shramdan'. However, the work was again suspended when hardly half of the building had been erected. This was due to many reasons.

Some of the villagers questioned why they should work when they had no children and had no wards in the school. Some others who had children argued that the school education was not important to them. The Sayana of Lakhamandal, who was also the Gram Sabhapati, complained that the District Board and other officials did not realize that the villagers needed more substantial help than mere propaganda, that no further work could be done if no more funds were granted by the government, and that the villagers had so much to do in their own fields that they could not undertake all sorts of 'Shramdan'. On the other hand, some people from the neighbouring villages had their doubts also about the competence of the Lakhamandal Sayana.

In October 1956, the District Board increased the sanction to a total sum of Rs. 4,000, believing that another Rs. 2,000 would be contributed by the villagers to complete the school building. The schoolmaster was instructed to take up the matter again with the villagers. An inter-village *khumri* of all the five villages and settlements concerned was called on 23rd October 1956 in which it was decided that the school building should be completed within four months, and that the villagers of Lakhamandal and Guthar would build one room each of the building, while those from Dhaura, Puria and Pankhet would build the verandah and office for the school.

After some more delay, which was somehow unavoidable, the school building was completed finally just after another year. It thus took about seven years in all for the village Lakhamandal to have a building for its school. There were several transfers of school masters during the same period. The first teacher Bhagat Singh, being without the requisite

qualifications, had to leave in July 1950. Next came two teachers, Lilanand as the headmaster and Abala Singh as the assistant teacher, who worked up to August 1952 and February 1954 respectively. After the transfer of Lilanand, Abala Singh was the only teacher of the school. He was teaching well and as he belonged to the village Phoon in Tehri-Garhwal, which is only five miles from Lakhamandal, he was much favoured by the villagers. But he could not improve the student roll and hence he was transferred. His successor was Kedar Singh, an enthusiastic young teacher, who did much to organize the villagers for the construction of the school building. Unfortunately, he somehow got involved in a village conflict against the Sayana who accused him of theft. Consequently, he left the village in 1956, before he could even see the completion of the school building. He was succeeded by Sampuran Singh who remained there till 1958.

The students' roll was about 15 in 1949-50, and around 20 in 1950-51. Since 1951-52, it used to remain over 20, but the actual attendance was much lower. There was a sudden rise in the roll to more than 30 in 1957-58, after the completion of the school building.

THE STUDENTS

As we have pointed out in our interim report on the 'Functioning of the School System', schools can never serve any useful purpose unless the village children join the school, attend classes and unless they stay in the school long enough to imbibe something of permanent value from the school. In this connection, we have already diagnostically analyzed the situation of the attendance at schools and have pointed out the close correlation between the villagers' busy sessions in the field and the students' absence from the school.

What calls for serious consideration by the planners is the usefulness of children for the villagers' family economy and the indispensable participation of the boys and girls in occupational activities at an early age. Life in Jaunsar-Bawar is so hard, and the need of hands to cope with the voluminous work both in and outside the household so great, that even children of five or six years of age have to be actively engaged. In an agricultural-cum-pastoral family, both small boys and girls go to graze cattle, sheep and goats, specially in summer and rainy seasons, when the elders have more to do in the field. Some of the older children have to give a hand in the season's agricultural operations as well. Girls of all families and classes too are taught to become helpful in the household. The boys of the artisan families as well as of the professional specialists like the Bajgis (drummers) start their training in traditional skills at a very young age, and many of them have

also to take the cattle for grazing. Under these circumstances, villagers have to think twice before sending their wards to the schools.

Certain typical instances gathered from our field villages may be of interest in this connection. At Lohari, the late Jas Ram Sayana's eldest son was about nine years old in 1956, and he had not received any school education. 'The children become worthless after education', explained the Sayana. 'Then they would not like to work in the field and would hesitate to go with sheep or cattle. My son has to become a Sayana after me. I want him only to know arithmetic thoroughly well. Arithmetic is the only thing worth learning. Other things are not of practical use. Hence, I am not sending my son to the school. He has not to become a "Babu", but has to become a Sayana.' Thus Jas Ram wished his son to have private tuitions in arithmetic only, but the poor boy did not get even that opportunity.

Dev Ram has only one son and one brother, both of whom are illiterate. 'I can't afford to send my son to school in the day, but he goes to the night school', said Dev Ram. 'I want him to study, but he is a fool. I was the first man who passed the second standard some forty years ago. These villagers are fools. They do not take advantage of the school', he concluded.

Dallu's wife lamented the early death of her son and expressed the wish that, had he been alive and grown up, she would have educated him as much as she could. Her husband was literate. He studied in the night school and learnt reading, writing and arithmetic. But her husband was not interested in his younger brothers' education. 'We have to work in the field and to graze cattle and sheep. A little arithmetic is enough for us. Bahadur Singh has passed the fifth standard, but I don't see how this education is going to benefit him', said Dallu, who was the President of the School Managing Committee.

Bahadur, the eldest son of the well-to-do family of Ran Singh Khakta, and the first person in Lohari to have passed the fifth standard, had returned to his old job of grazing in company of both of his younger brothers, who were uneducated. Ran Singh did not send the younger children to school, saying that they would not like to go. But one of the young boys said, 'I want to go to school, but my father does not allow me, because if I go to the school, he will have to pay *bora* to the schoolmaster.' The *bora*, a conventional contribution made to the teacher by the pupil's guardian, had certainly much adverse effect on the students' roll, a fact which we shall discuss in further detail later.

Ran Singh Sitlan, who sent his youngest son Bahadur to school, up to the fifth standard, remarked with much feeling, 'We are just like animals. The Baniyas, like the cloth dealers of Chakrata, used to cheat us because we did not know reading, writing and accounting.'

Once I bought three yards of cloth from Chakrata. When I showed it to the school-teacher, it was found to be only two yards. This is the way these people cheat us. I want my son to study as much as possible. I am prepared to send him out of the village for further studies, although I am not quite well-off.' As matters turned out, however, Bahadur did not go beyond the primary school, as Ran Singh was unable to arrange for his stay outside. He was also the only literate member of his family.

More instances were found among the better-off Rajputs of Lohari; in each family only one boy was sent for schooling, while all the other children remained illiterate. Similar cases were found in Baila also, except in the unusually better-off families like those of Daya Ram and Bir Singh. We have seen that the basic type of family among the majority of villagers of Jaunsar-Bawar is what may be termed as the 'polygynandrous' family, which is the most tenacious kind of 'joint family', and is much more effective than the 'Hindu' type of joint family in safeguarding and maintaining the family unity. As such, the elder or head of a Jaunsari family used to be satisfied with the presence of a single 'literate' in his family, who could handle all matters of literary concern for the whole family. It was, therefore, this structural feature of the family, in addition to the children's busy engagements in the household and field, which accounted for the slow progress of the village primary schools in Jaunsar-Bawar in general.

Besides, there were other reasons which contributed to the small roll and low attendance of students in the village schools. What Jas Ram Sayana of Lohari remarked on the children's becoming 'useless' after education was not without some basis. Similar remarks were heard from Baila too. Sibbu sent his youngest brother Ajab Singh to school for five years and he found that after coming out of the school, the boy could do no more than what other boys of his age were doing. Ajab also did not want that he should be made to do physical labour. Likewise, Nag Chand, son of Birbal Sayana, was also ridiculed by his elder brother Dat Ram, who said that education could not even make him good for grazing sheep and goats. Villagers think that spending money and losing a hand for schooling are sheer waste. After a few years a boy forgets whatever he learnt in school. In Lakhmandal, Raja Ram who passed the fifth class from the school forgot even simple addition and subtraction. Worse than that, there was the risk of the boy developing a sort of disdain for his family members and his village life in general. With his little education, he develops a sort of apathy towards his traditional customs. He feels shy before strangers, and becomes ill-adjusted or a misfit in his own community. Hav Singh of Puria, a settlement near Lakhmandal, sent his son Bhajan

Singh to Chakrata for education. But Bhajan began to show disrespect to his parents and refused to lend a hand in any sort of household work. Similar cases were also found at Bular village, near Baila, where the well-to-do Fateh Singh sent his son, who had passed the High School, to Dehra Dun for higher education. The latter did not devote his time to studies. Rather, he was all the time roaming in a nearby town with some of his friends, and wasting money, which he used to get from his parents on false pretences. Now after returning to the village without having received further education, he has reverted to the same old life he had lived earlier. Education has not brought any economic gain for the family, a fact worthy of serious consideration by the villagers. It makes them hesitate to educate their children.

Obviously, the economic condition of the family has been one of the most important factors in determining the schooling of children, but an equally important point governing children's education is the number of working members available in the family. It was only in the prosperous and wealthy families, like those of Bhav Singh of Pankhet, Fateh Singh of Bular and Daya Ram of Baila, that many children could be sent for further education beyond the village primary school. It all depends on the size of the family, such as Bhav Singh's having three brothers and four sons and Daya Ram's having four brothers and four of their sons, whether or not the children can be spared for education. In the case of Ajab Singh of Baila, although his family condition was below the average, he was spared for upper primary school education because he was the sixth among his brothers. Shibu, his eldest brother, however, could not afford to send Ajab Singh out of the village for further education, even though he wished to do so. Birbal Sayana could not educate his second son Nag Chand up to the fifth standard, and was unable to send him to Maletha Junior High School. Birbal had only two adolescent sons and no brother, and his family condition was not good either. Swanru, a Rajput of Baila, had only one son, one brother and two wives, and his was a poor family. So he vehemently opposed the idea of sending his son to school. His seven-year-old boy worked at grazing the cattle and could not be spared at any cost.

Harijan Students

The village Baila was universally regarded as lagging behind other villages in terms of general advancement or cultural change. A visible proof of this was the state of Harijan education here. It was rather surprising that since the opening of a school at Baila in 1949, in spite of the encouragement and facilities provided by the District Board for the Harijan students, there was not a single Kolta boy who

had ever taken admission in the school. When an inquiry was made from the village elders as to what was the reason for this state of affairs, they simply replied that when they, the Rajputs, were not educating their children, it was ridiculous to think that the Kolta children should have been educated in the school ! The students, not only the Rajputs but also the few from Badi and Bajgi families, also disliked sharing the same mat in the school with a Kolta boy, whom they despised because of his caste. Everyone in the village thought that the education of Koltas was impracticable. It might be added here that among Koltas themselves there was a kind of inferiority complex. Thus one of the Koltas of Baila contended, ' Why should we send our children, when our parents and grandparents remained uneducated all their lives? '

Needless to say, the interest of the school teacher counts a lot in this matter. Not only that he being a Brahmin or a high caste may not have much sympathy with the down-trodden Koltas, there is also the consideration of economic gain, which makes the schoolmaster less enthusiastic in having Kolta students on the roll. The fact is that the teacher gets periodic gifts (*bora*) in grains and other provisions from each student's family as a local convention, but the offering from a Kolta household is of no use to him. Thus a Kolta student, if any, could only bring for him some fuel ; he could not even wash his utensils or fetch water.

The cases found in Baila, however, should be treated as unique, for Kolta boys do take admission in schools at both Lohari and Lakhamandal. The strength of Kolta students at Lohari has not been satisfactory. At one time, among the 20 students coming to school when the popular teacher, Ram Prasad, had resumed his teaching at Lohari in October 1955, there were a few Kolta boys also in the lower classes. Their number accounted for 35 per cent of the total number of students on the roll, whereas the Koltas formed below 30 per cent of the total population of the village. Besides, there were 6 Koltas among the 16 students at the night school during that session. Some Koltas asserted, ' We want to study and better our position. We do not want to remain subservient to the Rajputs, and we cannot rise until we are educated.' Meanwhile, they also complained that the Rajputs did not like this spirit of the Koltas. One of the Koltas attending the night school said, ' We have come stealthily because we do not want that the Rajputs should see us coming to the school. They do not like us to read.'

With the decline in number of students on the rolls, the number of Kolta students at Lohari was reduced to nil in 1958. But the reason was the busy engagements they had in the field. The teacher at the beginning did his best to bring, even forced, some Kolta boys to

attend the school, but they left after a few days. The Rajputs of the village did not like the efforts of the teacher in this direction, so he had to give up.

At Lakhamandal, where the Koltas had better economic standing and were less dependent on the high-caste zamindars, the education of their children received more attention than it did at Baila and Lohari. Taking the average of the last few years, Kolta students formed about a quarter of the total on the rolls at school; this percentage was about the same as that of the Koltas in the total population of the village. Although most of the Kolta children did not go beyond the lower standards, there were a few exceptions. Sajanu Kolta of Pankhet, who owned some land and had two brothers and three sons, sent his son Gullu up to Class V. Similarly, Vanshi of Dhaura had a son who passed the fifth class.

The education of children of other lower castes, including Badi, Bajgi and Nath, was somehow better than that of the Koltas at Baila and Lohari, but their family condition usually did not allow them to go beyond the primary classes. A few Badi and Bajgi students were found every year in the school at Baila, and one girl each of Bajgi and Sunar had also come to the school in 1949. However, both the girls left the school after a couple of months. The boys could not keep regular attendance as they had to receive their training in their traditional professions at home. Dhumi, a Bajgi boy of the Lohari school, had attended classes for more than three years. He had no father, but two mothers and a sister. When he came to the school in 1955, at the age of about ten years, his elder sister had expressed the wish, 'I want my brother to study. We are poor, and Dhumi is the only male member in our family. If he is educated he will be able to live decently.' Dhumi, however, had also to do his traditional duty in the village, even at that tender age, as he became the elder among the only two male Bajgis in the village when Bhajan Bajgi left Lohari in 1957. He had to go to villagers' houses on ceremonial occasions with his pipe and drum. His was, besides, the daily duty to play the 'Nau-bat' before the village temple. In spite of all this, Dhumi was interested in receiving education and tried to be regular in attendance. The schoolmaster was also eager to help him. But the villagers did not like the idea very much. They thought that if Dhumi got educated, he would not like to do his traditional job as a Bajgi. They did not like to lose his service, since he was now the only elder Bajgi in the village.

There was also a Nath boy in the school at Lohari. His father, Madho Nath, was literate and was the village Chowkidar. Madho was well versed in his traditional art of sorcery (*vidya*) and he wanted to get his son educated so that he could also learn this traditional art. In Lakha-

mandal, out of 3 Jalpi (Nath) boys, two had joined the school and studied in lower classes.

All the facts indicate that the absence of boys from the school was mostly marked during the busy season, and this was true of all students. The artisan castes had their traditional jobs all the year round, and hence it was more difficult for them to send their wards to the school regularly. Government had made provisions for stipends, exemption of fees, and free supply of books and stationery for Harijan students, which gave much encouragement to them, but very few of them could really take advantage of this. Now that, since 1957-58, primary education has been made free for children of all classes in the village, it is hoped that every family would receive the benefit, including many of the poor among the high castes in every village.

Girl Students

Very few girls were found among the students in schools. This was natural, as the people disfavoured girls' education. There were many reasons for this, but the one that was most cited was that the literary training imparted to students in schools had nothing to do with a girl's or woman's traditional duty in the family and society of Jaunsar-Bawar.

A married woman or a mistress of the house had to do all kinds of household jobs. The training and practice for these had to be given to a girl from an early age in her parental house, by her mother and other elder women. She became a working member of the family and a very essential helping hand, busy with all sorts of daily routine in her parental house. She could not be easily spared from the household for her education. Also it would not be advisable to let her ignore the traditional duty in order to get literary and other knowledge which would never be of any practical use in life. Many villagers argued that as they did not even educate their sons the question of educating their daughters could not arise. A girl was also of much less value than a boy. And in Jaunsar-Bawar there are still more reasons for the parents to overlook the education of their daughters, who become 'other's property' and are generally married off at an early age.

After a girl's marriage, all matters concerning her future are determined by her parents-in-law, who prefer to let her be better conversant with household jobs than have a school education. Many elders also believe that after education a girl becomes sophisticated; she would no more do as much of household work as she usually does. On the other hand, her parents become indifferent to her, although she stays with them till her puberty.

In Baila, for instance, only once did three girls get enrolled in the school. That was when the Board school started in 1949. Daya Ram

took a bold step in sending his daughter Garo to the school. With her went two more girls, one a Bajgi and the other a Sunar. Both the latter girls stopped going to school after only a couple of months, while Garo stayed on up to Class II. She could not continue after that as she got married.

In Lohari, Rati Singh sent his daughter Uma to school and she completed her education up to the fifth standard. She was one of the first batch of students of the Lohari school and passed the final examination in 1955. She was herself interested in studies and was not married either. She was thus singled out not only for attending school, but also for the knowledge which she gained through several years' study. But then after the completion of the primary school, she was confronted with a great difficulty about her future.

Both she and her father wanted that she should go out of the village for further studies, but they had no means of arranging for her stay either at Chakrata or elsewhere. Nor could facilities be secured for her to go for some vocational training, like tailoring. The school teacher suggested that she should get training in midwifery but her father did not like the idea, nor had Uma sufficient education for it. The last problem was her marriage. Her parents, considering that so much money and time had been spent on her education, wanted to arrange the marriage with an educated boy, and wanted that she should be the first wife so that she could be respected as the 'Sayani' of the family. This was, however, made difficult due to the local custom of child marriage. The villagers began to suspect that, as a girl remaining unmarried till her puberty, Uma might be the victim of some *dosh* or curse of the deity or spirit. Her marriage was delayed but finally settled, though not very satisfactorily. This was why villagers generally avoided educating their daughters.

In Lakhmandal, however, there was a more encouraging picture of girls' education. Since 1950-51, there used to be 3 or more girls out of a total of more than 20 students on rolls. Except one or two girls coming occasionally from Guthar, a village about one mile from Lakhmandal, beyond the rivulet, all of them were from the Brahmin families of Lakhmandal. Some of the girls were regular in their attendance and one of them reached the fourth standard after six years of continuous studies. Others left their studies within a year or two.

ROLE OF THE TEACHER

The importance of the role of a teacher in the success of school education need not be emphasized, but there are certain facts related to his special position in the Jaunsar-Bawar villages which are significant, and deserve mention.

Each primary school in the village may have classes from the first to fifth, though sometimes a school may not have students in any of them. A school having 25 or more students is usually provided with a headmaster and an assistant teacher, while schools with less students are provided with only one teacher whose rank may be either that of a headmaster or an assistant. The headmaster must have a teacher's training certificate. An assistant teacher gets a pay starting from Rs. 35 per month, while the headmaster gets about Rs. 50 per month, plus a dearness allowance of Rs. 7 and an annual increment of Re.1 provided that his work for the year is satisfactory. They are under the control and supervision of the District Board, the Deputy Inspector and the Sub-Deputy Inspector of Schools of the district.

Staying in the village, singled out by his education and general knowledge, a school teacher in Jaunsar-Bawar occupies a very high position which exceeds that of the primary school headmaster of the plains. Besides, he has also a bigger responsibility towards the school, which is put under his absolute charge with regard to daily routine and adjustment of work in the school. Although the syllabus, holidays, admissions, and the keeping of attendance are regulated by the District Board, local adjustments are usually made by the teacher or teachers concerned. It is the teacher who also prepares the time-table which, in fact, cannot be strictly followed. In short, he is the man in whose hands is the future of the school as well as of the children.

The teacher's work and his merit are under the vigilance of the Sub-Deputy Inspector of Schools of the district. Usually the teachers are attentive towards their duty and remain in their respective village centres. There was a case of an ex-teacher of the Jadi school, who remained idle and kept on wandering in and out of the village for nearly six years until his removal from the education service in 1958. Normally, a teacher is entitled, besides the vacations and holidays, to fifteen days' casual leave on full pay, and three months' medical leave on half pay every year.

Besides the school routine, the teacher is also expected to carry out a few side jobs. He may take extra classes for all or certain specified students, on certain particular occasions or appointed time, for which service he has his claim to a special remuneration from the students and their guardians. Similarly, he may be from time to time asked by the villagers to read some letter or to write applications and other documents. Among his other engagements, one is to maintain a kitchen garden with the help of his pupils who assist him as part of their practical work in the prescribed training in agriculture. He may be busy with spinning in his spare time during the season. Besides, when he feels like it, he can go round the village to chat with the

villagers and enjoy his leisure hours with some of his friends, if any, in and outside the village.

It happened that in Baila, as in Lakhamandal, there was a Branch Post Office which also provided a part-time side-job for the schoolmaster for which he was paid Rs. 20 per month. The postmastership of the Lakhamandal Branch Post Office was formerly held by the schoolmaster, but was later transferred to a literate villager. At Baila, this job was held by the schoolmaster since the opening of the Branch Post Office in 1956. Being the postmaster, he had a big responsibility. He was kept busy with the mail, official documents, reports and balance sheets, especially during the arrival of mails at lunch hour. However, it is interesting to find that this busy round of engagement proved helpful to the school in the sense that the teacher seldom took any leave.

The school teachers often complained of the meagre pay they drew from the Board, which was not adequate for meeting their personal and family needs. Consequently, they had to supplement it with some extra jobs. The teacher of Baila was lucky to get a Branch Postmastership. The headmaster of Lohari, even after ten years of service in the Department as a trained teacher, got a mere Rs. 60 as his pay. His predecessor was fortunate enough to have had an extra income of Rs. 20 per month as the teacher of the Night School, under the Social Education Scheme of the C.D.P. This was, however, discontinued after a few months. An extra source of income in cash is from the fees which a teacher may charge for writing applications and letters for the villagers, but this is uncertain. The only substantial and reliable extra income which a schoolmaster can get is the *bora*, which is offered to him in kind by the students' guardians as a sort of a traditional honour to the 'Guru'.

A *bora* consists of some flour, rice, pulse, ghee and salt, which is sent to the teacher weekly as his ration. Such ration was necessary for the teacher in the old days, when he was engaged by the villagers as a private tutor. But the student's family still offers *bora* to him though he is now a government servant getting salary from the Board. In fact, the practice of bringing periodically some gifts to the teacher is found practically in every school. This is a cause of worry to the villagers who have their wards in the school.

It was in Baila that the teacher's demands became a more serious problem for the students' guardians. It became a convention that a student of the final (5th) year should sleep at the school and remain there most of the time for extra lessons. The teacher gave extra coaching for an hour or so, twice a day, both morning and evening. Reciprocally, the teacher expected a substantial gift from the guardian whose ward

passed the final examination. Earlier, Daya Ram had presented a nice woollen blanket to the teacher, after his son's completion of studies. So did Shibu when his younger brother passed the final class in 1954, although Shibu's family was not at all well-to-do. Later, it became a problem for the poor Sadar Sayana Birbal, when his son finished his examination in 1955. It was beyond his means to procure something like a blanket, but he entertained the schoolmaster to a feast. This did not satisfy the teacher. The teacher declined to repay the cost of some wheat which he had taken on credit from Birbal earlier, saying that the wheat was given free as a gift to him for the extra coaching of his boy and that he had given some books to the boy as well. Birbal, though he did not like to part with a sum which amounted to Rs. 20, had to concede to the teacher's claim.

As a more or less permanent resident in the village, the school teacher is in very close contact with the villagers. The villagers respect the teacher for his learning and capability, but their relations are not always cordial. The demand for *bora*, especially when it is excessive, often causes a rift. Also the teacher's personal behaviour counts for a lot. Instances were found of some teacher or the other becoming unpopular because of his demands upon the students and their guardians for extra consideration.

Some villagers prefer to have elderly teachers in the school, because a smart young man may one day entangle himself with the village damsels and become a rival to the village youths. There was an outstanding teacher in Lohari who was very much liked by the old folk for his good manners and competence and loved by the students for his learning and good teaching. He became intimate with the *dhyantis* of the village and so became an undesirable person in the eyes of many of the young men; he had, therefore, to quit the village. Another smart, young and enthusiastic teacher in Lakhmandal also met with a similar fate when he came into conflict with the village Sayana and was accused by the latter of being the accomplice of a thief caught from a neighbouring village.

Sober and cautious teachers, however, succeed in building a good reputation for themselves. Some discrimination between the teachers coming from Jaunsar-Bawar and those from outside does exist, but it is the teacher who is often responsible for such prejudices. Some teacher had called the Jaunsaries 'Janglis' and ridiculed the students for their 'inferior' brain. Such remarks do a lot of damage to the cause of education in a backward community.

It may be added here that the C.D.P. has so far neglected the most potent force of some one hundred teachers in the villages of Jaunsar-Bawar who had been in the closest contact with, and had the clearest

knowledge of, the local people's life and needs. A few of the teachers were once trained and employed as part-time staff to run night schools under the scheme of Social Education, but this scheme was abandoned. The teachers have time and again rendered useful service to the V.L.W.s and Panchayat organizations, but no recognition has been given to them on this account.

ROUTINE OF THE VILLAGE SCHOOL AS A MULTI-CLASS INSTITUTION

The daily routine of the village school, as a rule, starts from ten o'clock in the morning and ends at four or half-past four in the evening, with an interval or recess for half an hour or one hour in the midday. Thus the normal working hours last $5\frac{1}{2}$ hours daily, and come to 33 hours per week. The classes are conducted in periods of 40 minutes each. The routine is decided by the teacher himself but is not very easy to follow. It has to be adjusted from time to time in order to suit the convenience of the students.

The school buildings are generally small and contain only one classroom where all the classes are conducted by a single teacher. Only in exceptional cases such as in Dassu, there are two teachers who teach the students in batches separately. Students of different standards are seated side by side, though the teacher allots a particular place to each class so that all students of the same standard are taught together.

Different assignments of work are given simultaneously to different classes of students. The students of Class I, who do not have much serious work to do, copy the alphabets, write down the numerals and work out simple calculations. Students of Class II spend much time in reading and learning multiplication while those of Classes III, IV and V learn subjects as prescribed for them according to the district or state standard. They are taught Hindi (vernacular), Arithmetic, History, Geography, General Science, Civics and Drawing. Besides, they are given instructions in handicrafts, spinning and weaving, and agricultural practices.

It is unhealthy for the village children, to have to learn so many subjects at one time but the main emphasis is laid on language and arithmetic. The teacher also gives the students dictations and lessons in handwriting. Training in spinning and weaving, however, is never taken up by the teacher seriously, nor are the students interested in them. But they have to carry on somehow in order to do the minimum amount of work prescribed by the Education Department. Instructions in agriculture do not appeal to the students either. If a little land is available near the school, the teacher manages to grow some vegetables for himself, and the school boys help him in his gardening. At

such places as Lohari, however, there is no space suitable for the purpose of training the students in agricultural operations. Some village elders wanted that there should be no training in agriculture, weaving and spinning, etc. They think that the boys know much of farming and learn spinning as a traditional pastime. What is most urgent is to provide for separate classes. As one of the teachers of Lakhamandal admitted, the time-table made in accordance with the new curriculum was never meant to be followed. 'How is it possible for one teacher to look after five classes and a dozen subjects, and also to keep to this time-table?' he argued. In fact, most of the subjects were not taught at all. The 40-minute periods are never followed, but the classes continue without the division of time into periods.

The same teacher demonstrated the way in which he managed to teach all the classes :

Suppose I start with language teaching in Class V, it takes about 15 minutes. In the meantime, the rest of the students do writing work, revise arithmetical lessons or memorize history and geography. Next I take up language reading in Class IV. It takes longer time, say, 25 minutes. During this time the students of Class V revise their lessons. Then I take up language reading in Class III, which also takes about 25 minutes. During this time the students of Class IV revise their lessons and that of Class V copy a specimen of good handwriting, write letters, or prepare their next lesson. Up to this time, the students of Classes I and II continue their work of writing alphabets and simple words, and sentences or numbers. They take much more time than the senior students in copying out things from the book. The language reading in Class II takes about 30 minutes. During this time the students of Classes IV and V are given arithmetical work, those of Class II revise their reading lessons and those of Class I practise counting up to 100, etc. The language reading in Class I takes the maximum amount of time, about 40 minutes, because I have to make the small students understand the alphabet and simple words fully well. Whereas the work assigned in the higher classes is more or less uniform, I have to devote greater individual attention to the students of Class I according to the progress each has made. During this time the students of the higher classes do different subjects such as art, handwriting and arithmetic. The estimated time as mentioned above may not be accurate, but the work given above lasts approximately for 3 hours, from 10 A.M. to 1 P.M., and then there is a recess for one hour.

During the hour of recess, the boys play in the temple courtyard and have a happy time. Some go home to eat. Boys from Guthar and Dhaura bring their food with them and eat during the recess. I also eat at this hour and I have also to look after my postal duty. Often I have to make adjustments of time if the postal runner comes earlier. After the recess I teach the students for about two hours. I teach arithmetic in all the classes during this time. Often history, geography, civics and art are also taught in the various classes. Subjects overlap but it cannot be helped. Before the pupils are set free, I send them to collect some firewood. Normally, the school closes at about 4.30 P.M.

Thus language and arithmetic are taught in all the classes on all the days. Next, I try to devote some time to history, geography, civics, general science, and drawing, each once a week. I hardly teach spinning and weaving. A lesson in practical craft, such as cardboard work, is given once a month in the higher classes. There is no

regular teaching of agricultural theory or its practice as land is not available and it is not necessary. Physical exercise is usually not conducted by me, but the students manage it themselves during the recess.

Here is what we may truly call a multipurpose teacher. This situation is found to be not only true with Lakhamandal, but applicable to the majority of Jaunsar-Bawar village schools in each of which a teacher, single-handed, has to manage four or five classes with a dozen or so subjects simultaneously. It is beyond doubt that one cannot expect a full course to be given to any student in such a multi-class institution, nor can one expect good results. The remedy, one would like to suggest, is that either the strength of the teaching staff should be increased or the number of subjects should be decreased.

A much more profitable solution may be the cutting down of the number of classes provided in each and every village school, from five to three. In other words, it should be a 'lower' primary school only in such villages where there have not been more than one or two students in either or both of the upper classes (i.e. Classes IV and V) for the last two or three years — and this is true of the majority of the schools in existence in this area. By doing so, the teacher will be in a position to handle classes in a better and more efficient way, and also it would be good in the interest of the students.

CURRICULUM AND VACATIONS

In our interim report, we have discussed at length the school curriculum and vacations. A few remarks may be added here.

Contrary to what one would expect, that the school syllabus for Khasas may profitably revolve round the hilly agricultural pursuits and problems, and that the curriculum should be reoriented towards more handicraft and practical skills, many village elders of Baila and elsewhere maintain that the instructions so far incorporated in the school lessons on technical training in agriculture, spinning and weaving as well as in other handicrafts should be stopped. Either the villager disfavours technical training on the ground that it is of no practical significance or that the instructions so far given by the teachers on the relevant topics have not benefited the villagers. It may be suggested here, therefore, that an expert team should be sent to the villages to investigate the real situation and to discuss with the villagers their real problems, so that a better orientation of the curriculum could be evolved.

The schools of Jaunsar-Bawar have long vacations and other holidays. This is a little more than that for the schools in the plains. The reason is that there are special holidays for the Jaunsari festivals, besides all the national holidays sanctioned for all the schools in Dehra Dun

district. These 16 special holidays include 4 days each for the festivals of Magh (January), Bissu (April), Jagra (August), and Jaunsari-Diwal (November or December). It needs to be considered whether some of the holidays which have no concern with the villagers here should be continued.

The schools are under the control of the District Board. The Board, considering the differences in geographical and climatic conditions, divided the schools within the district into five categories for the purpose of long vacations :

- A. One month in January for a majority of schools in the plains. Accordingly, both the schools of Lakhmandal and Baila were in the Category *D* while that of Lohari was in Category *E* ;
- B. One month in August for the schools in the plains, where there are rivulets which overflow during heavy rains ;
- C. One and a half months from August 15 to September 30 for schools in malarial places ;
- D. One month in January for the schools in areas where there is excessive cold in winter ; and
- E. One and a half months from January 1 to February 15 for the schools in areas of extreme cold and snow.

Some of the villages of Jaunsar-Bawar could not be accorded their proper place in this scheme. Lakhmandal, for instance, which is never severely cold, need not close for a month in the winter. Instead of the winter, the period of July-August, when there are heavy agricultural operations and the monsoon bursts flood the rivulets, should be the most suitable period for a long vacation in Lakhmandal. We have already presented in our interim report a more detailed scheme (that the long winter vacation should be split up in three parts—*(i)* 3 weeks from the last week of July to mid-August, *(ii)* one week in mid-January and *(iii)* one week after the annual examination in June) for reorganizing the vacations at Lakhmandal. A similar analysis will help improve the functioning of schools elsewhere also.

THE STUDENTS' PART OF WORK AND THEIR DISCIPLINE

Generally, the class work of the students is done in the school only. Few of the students would take lessons to be done at home. This is especially so in the case of students who are also obliged to do some household or field work for their families. Often, they also have to graze cattle and goats in the morning and evening. It is only under a special arrangement, such as for the students of Class V who have to

prepare for the final examination, that they can be completely spared from the household jobs and may be asked to come and stay at the school.

Students are sometimes found to be interested not so much in the class as in their field activities, in which they feel happy and free. They avoid school, whenever they find any excuse.

As a rule, however, students are disciplined, well behaved and fear and respect the teacher. Without his permission, they do not leave the school room. They usually remain inside the class room during the teacher's occasional absences, though they may be playful and noisy. Often the teacher is seen holding a cane in his hand, and corporal punishment is sometimes administered to students who fail to do class work or are otherwise guilty. The teachers are of the opinion that if they do not apply these rough methods, the boys would never care to learn their lessons.

When a student is too much afraid of the teacher, he may try to leave the school forever. Dair Singh of Baila, after passing Class IV, refused to join the fifth and final class, only for the aforesaid reason. He joined the class finally after the teacher's persuasion. There were other cases also. Dhan Singh and Dhoon Singh gave up their studies, blaming the teacher's lack of interest in them.

The students' interest in the school is also influenced by the attitude of their guardians and other elders in their families and in the villages. Not that they were merely sent away for grazing or field work, but sometimes they were openly advised not to pay too much attention to school. It was heard in Lakhamandal from Mangat Ram, a student of Class III, that his parents told him that his going with the cattle was more important than his going to school.

All of these, therefore, have posed a further problem for the system of schooling: how to make the students more attached to and more interested in the school and the teacher.

ROLE OF THE DISTRICT BOARD IN VILLAGE EDUCATION

We have mentioned that every teacher was obliged to secure a certain number of students, lest the Board order the school to close down on the principle of 'no student no school'. This could be the worst record in his service book. He has also to try to keep in Class V at least one student, and see to his passing the examination. Otherwise, the annual increment of Re. 1 in his salary would be stopped.

Text-books for the primary classes are published by the government and are supplied free by the District Board, according to the

number of students in each class. So also are the maps and charts, agricultural implements, spinning wheels, etc. Some time ago, a teacher, instead of distributing the books free, did charge the price of the books from the students who did not know that they were entitled to the books free of charge.

Tuition fees are charged from the students, except from those of the scheduled castes and girls. Though the fee is rather nominal, such as one anna for Class I, one and a half annas for Classes II and III, and three and a half annas for Classes IV and V, with a small admission fee, the villagers always offered the excuse that they could not afford it.

The Board also provides monetary help to girl students and scheduled caste boys at Re. 1 or Rs. 2 per session. One out of every ten students on rolls is also provided with a scholarship of the same amount (Rs. 2 for Classes IV and V, and Re. 1 for the lower classes). The grant of scholarship, however, is in the hands of the teacher. As we have mentioned before, the poor among the high caste villagers have their grievance for not getting financial aid on grounds of their so-called better social status. There are yet more problems of village education which need attention. The Sub-Deputy Inspector and other departmental officials should frequently visit the schools and discuss with the villagers their problems and suggestions. The teacher should be given more initiative and his experience should be utilized in planning education for the rural communities.

C.D.P. AND VILLAGE EDUCATION

In contrast with the close relationship between the District Board and the village schools, the C.D.P. could hardly lay claim to any measurable contribution to the village education in Jaunsar-Bawar. The obvious reason for this is that formal education does not form a part of the Community Development Programme.

Mention, however, may be made of a few measures taken by the C.D.P. in the interest of village education. It has helped to equip many of the schools with maps, charts, matting, etc., and has provided agricultural and gardening implements to improve the environment of the schools. The C.D.P. has also provided some of the schools with spindles and 'Charkhas', and arranged an exhibition of the products of the students. Besides, scientific instruments worth several hundred rupees have been given by the C.D.P. to the Cantonment High School of Chakrata.

Another contribution made by the C.D.P. was its grant of one-third of the total cost of construction of the school building of the

newly opened Sahiya Junior High School (which received an amount of Rs. 2,000), and several primary schools. Interest and zeal were also aroused among the villagers at several places toward 'Bhumidan' or Bhoodan for schools. At some places as many as five acres of land were donated by the villagers to the school to help students to start vegetable gardens and fruit farming.

The V.L.W.s have helped to recruit students for the village schools. The Panchayats in the villages have also done their share. At many places resolutions were passed in Gram Sabha meetings to impose fines on families which did not send their wards to school. In Baila, for instance, several families belonging to different castes (including Rajputs, Badis and Bajgis) were fined a rupee or two each, but the punitive effects of these were temporary.

Above all, in 1955-56 night schools were organized in several villages under the Social Education scheme. Special arrangement was made to train a number of selected teachers for the purpose of conducting literary-cum-social training classes. There was one such school at Lohari, where 16 adults including 6 Kolta and 10 Rajput young men took training in Personal Hygiene, Animal Husbandry, Cooperation, Panchayat, etc. In running such night classes, teachers were expected to be helped by both the V.L.W. of the Circle and the A.D.O. for Social Education. These classes, however, were soon stopped due to shortage of funds, and no more attempt was made to revive them. There were occasional training camps of village leaders instead.

It may be added here that there were also several vocational training classes opened at various villages by the Industries Department and the C.D.P. But these classes had been connected with the village school. Generally speaking, there was an obvious lack of cooperation and coordination between the formal system of schools and the special training classes in vocational or social education.

In our interim report on the functioning of schools we had suggested a system of integration of the school teacher and the V.L.W. Considering all relevant facts such as qualification and personal qualities, technical training as well as the administrative mechanism and pay scales, we thought that the existing school teachers should be put on par with the V.L.W.s after their vocational training. Such a trained teacher, if given additional duties of helping the existing V.L.W.s in matters of the C.D. Programme concerning his very village or villages, could render substantial help to it.

Religion—The Wonder World of Khasas

THE culture of the Khasas of Jaunsar-Bawar has been deeply impressed by their contacts with the Doms, the aboriginal element in the population. The Doms belong mostly to the 'Austic' race and their cultural life greatly resembles that of the various tribes of pre-Dravidian or Australoid origin. While the Khasas claim to be Hindus and have been recently fast adopting Hindu surnames and trying to establish connection with the Rajputs and Brahmins of the plains (their contacts with outsiders have taught them the importance of their claims), their social life as well as their beliefs and practices connected with their religion do not identify them with the Hindus of the plains. They remarry widows, practise levirate, sorrorate and polyandry, recognize divorce as legal, and as against the Hindus of the plains intermarriage between the various Khasa groups is not tabooed and children born of such marriages do not suffer any social stigma. While they worship Hindu gods and goddesses, they have a partiality for ancestor spirits, queer and fantastic demons and gods and for the worship of stones, weapons, dyed rags and symbols. On the other hand, their customary rites in the temples, the manner and mode of offering sacrifices, the daily religious performances in the temples, 'the dim lighting, the burning of incense, the mysterious incantations and sing-song monologues', all indicate Hindu origin, and tradition in ritual and temple worship.

The sun, the moon and the constellations are their gods. The sun is male and the moon female. The moon's pride on account of her greater beauty and her insulting behaviour towards the sun on that score, provoked the latter's wrath; his curse had the effect of disfiguring the moon's face resulting in spots which are said to be marks of leprosy to which the people are often victims. The Hindu belief that the earth rests on the head of a snake, 'Sheshnag', finds its counterpart in Jaunsar-Bawar and earthquakes are believed to be caused by the

periodical movements of the giant snake. The Mundas of Bihar believe that eclipses of the sun or moon occur when their creditors surround the sun or moon for the debts of the Mundas; this represents the typical belief about eclipse among all the Austric-speaking tribes in India. Among the Khasas, the sun and moon are said to have borrowed money from a Dom, but the interest swelled to such an amount that it could not be paid and the debt was repudiated. The Dom on that account worries them often by throwing a skin on their face. Though the average Khasa is always in debts, the stigma attaching to persons of higher castes who borrow from the Dom is great in Jaunsar-Bawar, and the elders belonging to the higher castes do not tolerate such practices in the village. The customary raising of *menhirs* and other stone memorials among the Khasas appears to be a relic of a megalithic cult which is an important feature of Austric culture. The Khasas appear to have, in all probability, borrowed this custom from the aboriginal element in these parts. It is customary to construct a terraced platform near a public thoroughfare on which they place a single upright stone to commemorate the dead.

The belief in the transmigration of souls and in the doctrine of metempsychosis is an important feature of their religious life. They believe that the soul has to pass through as many as eighty-four lakhs of forms, including animals and insects. The activities of man on earth are carefully recorded by Yama whose messengers have to present the souls before him. As Dharmraj, Yama determines the form which a particular soul should pass into, in accordance with its activities on earth.

Their religion is a curious blend of Hindu and tribal beliefs and practices, and a functional analysis of these is sure to provide interesting material. Nowhere perhaps are magic and religion so closely interlaced and interwoven as in Jaunsar-Bawar. Magic plays an important role in the life of the hill people, by giving them confidence in danger and crisis, and by providing the incentive to organized undertakings. Not only in the main occupations of the people like agriculture and lumbering, in ordinary day-to-day life also magic is potent and effective. The importance of the evil eye and of the evil tongue is recognized by the hill people and oaths and ordeals have a significance hardly paralleled in savage society. It is possible to effect injury to person or to cattle or both by magical practices, to cause death in a family by mere swearing, and to cause houses to be burnt by magic. The courts of justice recognize the importance of oaths and ordeals, and when the necessary evidence in a civil case is not forthcoming the parties are allowed to decide the issue by means of oaths and ordeals. In some cases, the defendant in a money suit keeps the sum of money before

the image of the goddess Kali, or in any temple dedicated to Mahasu, their great god, and the plaintiff is asked to take the money. Should the defendant want to prove that the money he owes has been paid by him, he drinks the water in which the feet of the *deota* are dipped, and this is taken as conclusive evidence that the money has been paid by the defendant. In other cases, the plaintiff will light a lamp in a temple and the defendant has to put it out proving thereby that he has paid the amount due from him. If a villager bears a grudge against his neighbour and he wants to harm him or his effects, he takes a clod from his field, lays it on the altar of Mahasu, and prays for an immediate judgment. Should this neighbour meet with any accident or domestic trouble, he must leave his field, as otherwise the god invoked by his enemy may cause greater calamity to befall on him. The consequences of dishonesty and false statement on oath are terrible as the person is sure to be affected with insanity or leprosy, or some great calamity may befall his family, or he may die an unnatural death within a short period from the commission of the offence.

People who are notorious for their wickedness are supposed to possess some power either inherent in them or derivatively acquired. For example, they are known to abuse people and swear against them on the slightest or no pretext and the belief is that such persons can do harm as their *ghat* (swearing) is usually very effective. There are certain gods whom wicked and anti-social people usually invoke for help in their nefarious designs on others. One such evil spirit is Narsin who is extremely mischievous and is readily invoked to harm or destroy cattle and crops and to afflict people with diseases. The *baki* (diviner) has to get in touch with this spirit and propitiate it whenever it is suspected of evil. Though it is a criminal offence in Jaunsar-Bawar to call any person a 'witch', it is commonly believed in these parts that witches exist, and whenever any person meets with a misfortune or contracts any serious illness, the members of his family may suspect any woman, young or old, to be responsible for it and she is dubbed a witch. Thenceforward, she becomes an object of close attention in the village and her family is branded as anti-social and consequently segregated from other families in the village.*

The incidence of infant mortality is pretty high in Jaunsar-Bawar. It is traced to the influence of certain evil spirits. These are always after children and pregnant women and their attention is followed by disease and death of their victims. There are people specially versed in spirit lore who utter magic words and blow ashes over the child or woman believed to be affected by spirits and this is considered potent

* See Chapter One.

enough to cure the affliction. When a pregnant woman falls ill, it is believed to be due to the mischief caused by certain evil spirits and the woman has to undergo a course of treatment prescribed by the *baki* or *ghadiala* (witch-doctor). With her hair dishevelled and forehead painted lavishly with vermilion she is made to sit near the witch-doctor. The latter takes a bell-metal plate in his hand and starts beating it to tune, uttering simultaneously a number of incantations in a peculiar singsong tone. After half an hour or so, the woman feels heavy, starts shivering, indicating thereby that the spirit has entered her person. The woman shows signs of greater animation and moves her limbs to and fro, attempting to rise on her toes and eventually starts dancing to the tune of bell-metal music. Soon she forgets herself, her husbands and relations, and is metamorphosed as it were into the spirit which has taken possession of her. The *ghadiala* addresses the spirit in the woman and the latter answers on behalf of the spirit. The source of the attack, the name of the spirit, the necessary offerings and sacrifices that would appease it and any particular direction as to the manner and mode of disposal of the offerings are mentioned by the possessed woman and it is believed that as soon as these are offered as directed, the woman gets rid of the spirit possessing her. The spirit, however, leaves the victim in a spectacular manner. The woman shrieks, or strikes herself with some stick, or makes a violent attempt at escape and is often forcibly brought to rest by the people present. This and similar practices show the extent of the influence of tribal beliefs and practices on the cultural life of the Khasas.

When epidemics invade a village, the resources of the village are freely requisitioned by the headman concerned and custom prescribes an *astabali* (sacrifice of eight lives) to appease the godling of disease. Five different approaches of the village are selected for the purpose and at each approach an improvised of bamboo gate is erected. At the centre of each gate is fixed the wooden effigy of a monkey and a vertical slab of stone (*menhir*) is firmly fixed in the earth. The *menhir* is crowned with a large round stone and two pieces of wood with flattened ends are tied on either side of the upright slab, the whole thing resembling a human figure from a distance. Five different sacrifices are offered at the five approaches to the village. At one, a goat is killed and buried near the *menhir*, at the second place a sheep is similarly sacrificed and buried. A hen and a pig are sacrificed at the third and fourth approaches respectively, while at the fifth, they cut a pumpkin into halves and bury the parts. After the sacrifices at the selected places, all the villagers assemble in the yard of the temple where a sheep and a vegetable (*gindoro*) are offered as sacrifice. The *gindoro* is cut into pieces and the sheep is killed and given to the Doms. A goat is sacrificed

in the name of the village and the meat is distributed among the villagers. The elaborate rites of *astabali* are performed only when a major calamity is feared and the efficacy of this prescription is seldom questioned by the villagers. The village priest is in charge of this ritual and he recites hymns and prayers as well as magical incantations to invoke the aid of the gods.

They do not appear to be much concerned with rewards and punishments in the world to come, but they observe a code of conduct which, if followed, is believed to pave the way to a prosperous life in this world and uninterrupted bliss in the next. These refer to their food, sheep and sacrifice. They must not drink pure milk and they should abstain if possible from butter; butter is better burnt in the temple of the gods. It is on ceremonial occasions and festivals that they may eat butter after it is offered to the gods, and they should not sleep on beds with four legs; the usual practice in Jaunsar-Bawar is to sleep on the wooden floor.

The principal occupations are safeguarded against interference by the forces of evil by a system of protective and productive magic. It is true that the efficacy of these magical rites is being trusted less by the people, but this has not caused any serious challenge to the traditional code of conduct so far as it relates to the observance of rites of protective magic. Magic embraces practically all spheres of activity. When they build a new house, they have to protect it from destruction by fire, or from calamities that may fall on the inmates; the usual practice is to sacrifice a goat or sheep to the evil spirits and the blood is sprinkled round the house. When the bridegroom returns home with the bride, before the couple is allowed to enter the house, some relative, usually the maternal uncle, throws down from the roof of the house a live sheep in front of the couple below. The relatives and friends of the couple tear pieces of flesh and bone from the animal and there is a scramble among them for the heart and liver of the sheep, which when eaten raw ensures good luck to the eater. The bride and the bridegroom are then allowed to get inside the house.

When the harvests are brought home or the first sowing takes place, the evil spirits are propitiated by individual families. Also a common sacrifice is made by the village to undo the evils of magic. Human sacrifice is non-existent, but the efficacy of it in theory is not denied by the Khasas. The custom of rope-dancing, which formed an important annual festival in these parts, has become obsolete as it has been forbidden by the administration on account of the risk to life involved in the process. But in times of agricultural calamities occasioned by the vagaries of rainfall or by insect pests and diseases to crops and cattle, they remember the olden days when the annual *bedwart* (rope-

dancing) provided the necessary safeguards against such supernatural visitations. Even a few years ago, in Rawain, *bedwart* was allowed to be practised under police surveillance, as the people had made repeated representations to the authorities not to interfere with the age-old magico-religious practice. The failure of rains and harvest was attributed to the non-observance of these practices and the government had to yield to their persistent demands. The *bedwart*, as it was practised in earlier days, was a cruel custom. It subjected the *beda* (dancer) to physical violence. Originally, a lengthy piece of rope, stoutly made, was tied to two peaks of unequal height and the rope was greased for days and weeks to allow the *beda* to slide smoothly from the higher to the lower end of the rope. The *beda*, after a ceremonial bath, was seated at the highest end of the rope and then given a push; the greasy rope did the rest. The *beda* glided down the rope at a terrible speed, somehow clinging to it, and the vast crowd gathered to watch the ceremony would break into loud cheers as the *beda* approached the end of the lower peak. If he accidentally missed his hold of the rope, it was fatal for him, for he would certainly dash against the ravines hundreds of feet below and be shattered into fragments. If he succeeded, as he usually did, because it was undertaken after long preparation and practice, he released his hold of the rope immediately before he reached the other end, and dropped down into the arms of a receptive crowd. They carried him on their shoulders and moved him through the crowd. The piece of cloth or rag he had on would be torn to shreds and each man collected a thread or two from this as protection against natural calamities and as a sign of good luck and prosperity. In the scuffle that would ensue to secure the token, the *beda* might lose not only his cloth but even a few tufts of hair from his head and receive other serious injuries. Other magico-religious rites include naked dances before sowing, during the growth of the crops and after harvests. Playing with red hot iron rods, swallowing burning charcoal and such other ordeals are some of the other precautions designed to safeguard their material prosperity and domestic bliss.

The centre of religious life of the people of Jaunsar-Bawar is at Hanol, where the Mahasu temple is situated. The Hanolians are not orthodox Hindus, neither do they practise orthodox Hinduism. Mahasu Deota is their chief deity and a large majority of their beliefs and rituals centre round Mahasu. Like the Hindus, in general, the villagers believe in a supreme god, Mahasu in their case, but they also worship Ram and Sri Krishna. The Sayana of Hanol says, 'Mahasu is our real *deota*', and for all practical purposes, he is their real *deota*. Every morning grown up men stand with folded hands in front of the door in the temple quadrangle where an idol of Mahasu

is kept and pray to him. In the evening, women of the village request the priest to give them a little of the ghee from *artipatra* with which they smear the forehead of each member of the family when retiring time draws near. It is Mahasu Deota who possesses the 'seers' and *bakis* and tells the people how to overcome diseases and the natural calamities. Mahasu is a powerful god, for it is he who sanctions the order of social precedence in Jaunsar-Bawar and controls the behaviour of the castes. The Bajgi do not till the land as it may incur the displeasure of Mahasu. At Dangutha, a village on the Upper Simla Road in the Bawar range, a Kolta woman said, 'We cannot wear gold ornaments, only because our *deota* does not permit it.'

An incident in the same village brings out in bold relief the important place assigned to Mahasu Deota, as the traditional witness to oaths, and *chhinga* or *barjan*, the customary methods of expressing tension and social disapproval. A majority of the population of this newly settled village consists of Koltas and other immigrants. Traditionally, the rights of granting trees and timber to the inhabitants of Dangutha and Aithan were vested in the Sayana of Aithan. But sometime back, the Koltas of Dangutha approached the Sub-Divisional Magistrate of Bawar to allot them separate trees in the jungle which should be exclusively for the inhabitants of Dangutha. Their request was granted and an intimation of this was sent to the Sayana of Aithan. It happened that some inhabitants of Aithan were dissatisfied with their Sayana. The Koltas of Dangutha were also antagonized by this Sayana as he did not inform them, which he was asked to, that their request had been granted. Thus, an alliance was effected between the dissatisfied sections of the two villages on the basis of *lota-pani*. Each of them took a *lota* of water, put a little of salt in it and took a vow, 'By making Mahasu Deota a witness, we promise, if we betray each other in our understanding, we should perish as salt gradually dissolves in water. We promise that we will not accept timber through the present Sayana of Aithan.' They proposed another man's name as the Sayana of Dangutha.

On the other hand, some inhabitants of Dangutha went on the side of the Sayana of Aithan and thus complicated the problem. The forest ranger was ready to accept another Sayana to distribute the timber among the inhabitants of Dangutha, but the unwillingness of a section of the population of Aithan, bound by oath not to accept anything from the old Sayana, came as a hurdle. The ranger had no other alternative but to hand over the job of distribution for both the villages to the old Sayana. Ultimately, both the parties realized that it would be better if both the villages had separate Sayanas who could effect the distribution of the annual grant for their respective villages. But

the *lota-pani* oath stood in the way, and its breach was feared to bring about the wrath of Mahasu Deota. The only remedy, therefore, was to go to Hanol, sacrifice a goat there, and request the *deota* to excuse them for going back on their promise.

THE LEGEND OF MAHASU DEOTA

Originally Mahasu Deota belonged to the valley of Kulu. An interesting legend is told regarding the establishment of the temple and the arrival of Mahasu Deota in Hanol from his original habitat. It is said that Bhimsen, with his mother Kunti and the other four Pandava brothers, came from the east and established the present temple and installed the god Vishnu in it. Afterwards they moved to Mahendrath where a demon by the name of Baghadanava had been troubling a local Brahmin woman. Having devoured six of her sons, he lay in wait for the seventh. The woman was weeping over the doom which awaited her seventh son when Bhimsen's mother Kunti asked the cause of her misery. The woman offered a gift of gold worth the weight of her deceased sons if somehow her seventh son could be saved. Bhimsen accepted the challenge at his mother's bidding. He ate up all the rice which the harassed mother had kept at six places in memory of each of her dead sons, and drank all the water. The demon appeared in due course of time and got infuriated at seeing that there was no food left for him. He declared that he would devour the whole of the village. All this time Bhimsen doubled up his body. He killed the demon in a duel that followed. Bhimsen then left for Bairat where he began to live in disguise.

This legend abruptly ends here and another begins. There lived at Mahendrath a Brahmin by the name of Oonrhan Bhat who married a Brahmini from Chatra, situated one mile above Hanol. Again there appeared a demon who devoured all the children born to the Brahmini. Once she had a dream that Mahasu Deota of Kulu and Kashmir could kill the demon and relieve her of the trouble. She persuaded her husband to seek the help of Mahasu Deota, whereupon the Brahmin set out on the errand and reached Ranrhin Thik. Despite the forebodings of the widowed queen of this village, the Brahmin proceeded on his journey undeterred. The way to Kashmir was told him by a Brahmin at Hat Koti. On reaching Kulu valley, Oonrhan Bhat settled down in one of the temples and started penance. After some time Mahasu Deota came out with Chalda Mahasu. Oonrhan Bhat had earlier been informed by Kailu, the chief attendant of Mahasu Deota, that it was possible for a Brahmin to take Chalda Mahasu in his grip and make him go wherever it was intended. The

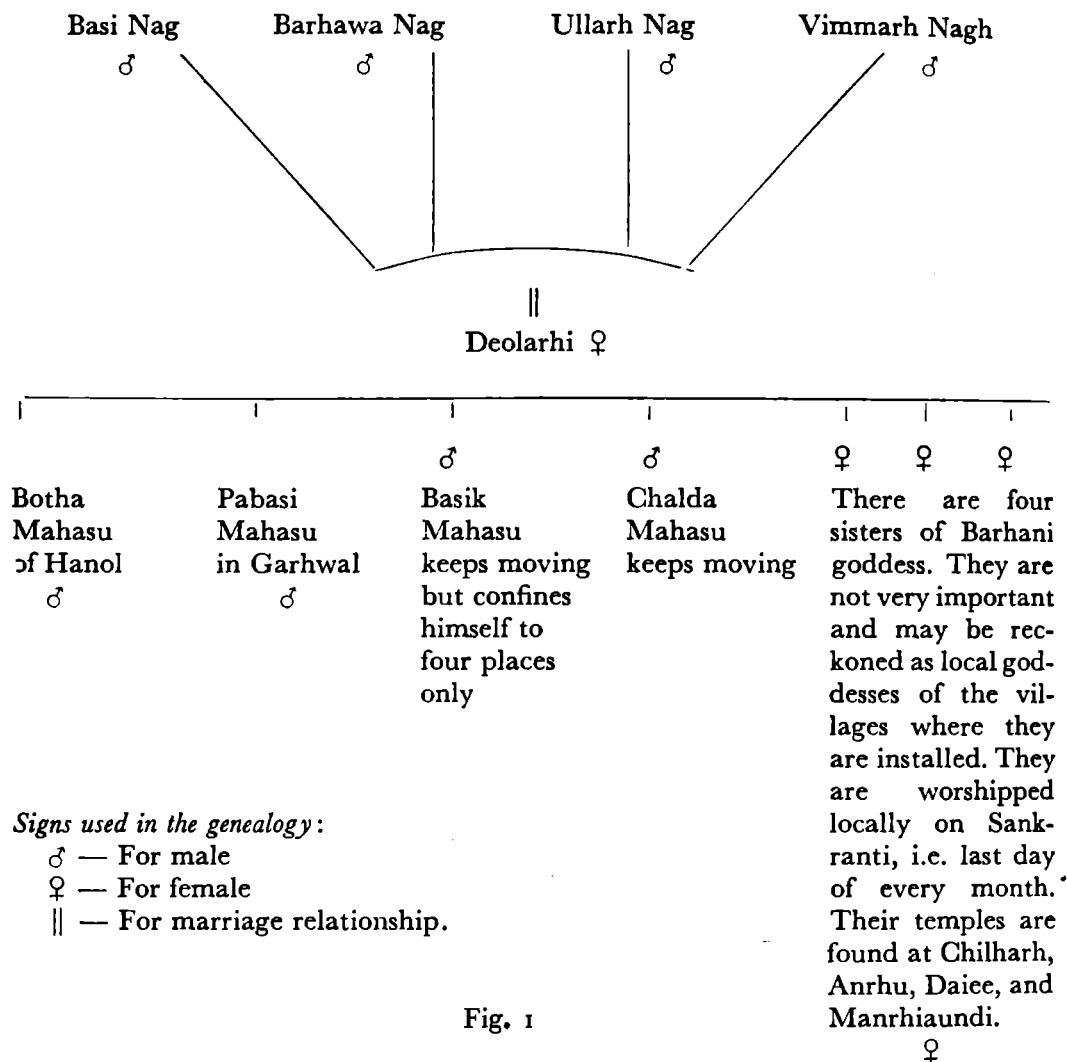
Brahmin got hold of Chalda Mahasu and when asked to reveal the cause of detention he said, 'At Mahendrath we are troubled by a demon. Please come there, kill him and establish your kingdom.'

Chalda Mahasu instructed Oonrhan Bhat to get a field ploughed by seven boys and calves who had been on fast for seven days. The boys on fast, however, could not go beyond the fifth day, and they ploughed the land with the help of the calves. Out of this ploughing the first to spring up was goddess Deolarhi who is said to be the mother of all gods. The Botha, Pabasi and Chalda Mahasus sprang up one after the other. The demon was caught at Kataeejan, a place in Jubbal state, and slain on a stone which is still there and is said to contain signs of weapons with which the demon was done to death. From there the gods started on a victory march, vanquishing the Ranas of Arakot in Garhwal, Hunredi Rani and Rana Arjun of Majhog in Bamar and a Rajput chieftain at Rayagi. They came back to Mahendrath. A temple for Kailu was built at Majhog and for Shirhkwihya at Rayagi. The gods then decided to march to Hanol for dividing the conquered kingdom. There they sat on the pavement which still stands in the southeast corner of the temple quadrangle. After a protracted wordy duel between the followers of Vishnu and Mahasu and a contest for display of wealth, Vishnu was defeated. He had to vacate the local temple, but Botha Mahasu took pity on him and gave him a little space outside the temple.

The temple referred to in the legend above has a long tunnel-like structure just at the entrance of the main gate. It has four apartments. Musical instruments and various other belongings of the temple are kept in the first and the second apartments respectively. Pilgrims are usually received in the second apartment. The third and the fourth being the darkest, they are visited but on rare occasions. Botha Mahasu is installed in the fourth and only the Pujagi (priest) can enter it. The flash of torch light is not allowed. At the time of *arati*, when the silver plates shine, something seems to be written on them. Besides, there is a large collection of coins donated by different kings and officials. If these coins are studied, and the writings on silver plates are deciphered and the style of sculpture is examined in the light of comparative archaeology, it is likely to throw light on the cultural traits diffused from outside and assimilated in the local culture, and also on the antiquity of the temple.

In the temple quadrangle, various small round and elongated godly attendants and gods and goddesses of lower order have been installed in miniature temples. They are worshipped with *rot*, reference to which has already been made. The names of these gods and goddesses are given in Fig. 1.

Bhairon, Chharna, Mandanna, Lorha and Rangî and Tangi Birs are the attendants. An idol of Kali and other small elongated stones representing phallic symbols, like the Shivaling, are to be found. Fig. 1 represents the genealogy of the main gods and goddesses.



Signs used in the genealogy:

♂ — For male

♀ — For female

|| — For marriage relationship.

Fig. 1

The temple at Hanol in which Botha Mahasu is installed is a centre of pilgrimage for visitors from Jaunsar, Bawar, Jubbal, Utroch, Bishar, Sirmur, Garhwal and other places in Himachal Pradesh. The expenses of the temple were shared by all the states which owed allegiance to Mahasu Deota of Hanol. One or two fields in every village are kept reserved for Mahasu, and their produce is collected by the temple managers. Final authority regarding temple affairs rests in an official known as Wazir. The Pujagi (the priest), Thani and orderly are three more servants of the temple. The orderly is a Rajput by caste and he acts as a menial and an attendant. The Thani too is a Rajput and is

a helper of the priest. Every pilgrim who comes to Hanol is entitled to one meal from the temple storehouse and it is the duty of the Thani to provide them. Representatives of the Wazir, Thani and the Village Kolta often go out once a month to collect *kert*, the grain given in the name of god. The measure which is used for weighing grain is a silver cup known as *sorha*. This is the equivalent of one *patha* and contains more or less one seer of grain. Pujagis are supplied from the Brahmin families of Chatra, Pultarh and Nenus. Each family is entitled to share the priesthood. Each family is allotted certain days in a year during which it has to send one person of the family who comes and resides in the temple and lives on only one meal a day. This meal is provided from the temple storehouse. The Pujagi is usually the eldest brother of the family for whom learning of the three R's is forbidden. The Pujagi learns the methods of worship from his predecessors. Whenever a priest family splits up, the days allotted to it are also divided amongst the separating members. Like the Pujagi, the office of Thani rests in certain Rajput families, each of which sends its representative for a specific tenure of office. Out of every rupee donated by a pilgrim eight annas go to the Wazir, and two annas each to the Bajgi, Nath, Thani and Pujagi.

Chalda Mahasu keeps moving or touring with his train of hierachical managers and servants. He lives for twelve years, alternately, in Garhwal and Jaunsar-Bawar. While in Jaunsar-Bawar he moves from village to village according to a traditional schedule. He is installed in tents in every village. He is in the charge of local Bajgis who take him from village to village and every village that falls in the itinerary has to provide for the maintenance of the whole party. The Wazir of Chalda Mahasu resides in Garhwal. Grains for this Mahasu also are collected from villages and all the donations are distributed in the usual way.

Basik is also a roving deity. But he keeps moving within the four villages of Rarhu, Kunrhan, Bagi and Hanol. He stays in each village for a year and comes to Hanol only during the leap year.

Pabasi is the Mahasu god of Tehri Garhwal. He comes to Hanol every year for a day and is worshipped like the other Mahasu gods.

The goddesses are mostly worshipped as local goddesses wherever they are installed.

Older people of the village tend to surround local gods with an aura of mystery and superstition. In their system of beliefs gods do not allow Bajgis to till the land. When land was cultivated for the first time, the tradition goes, people suffered from fever. There was no harvest as land was left uncultivated for a long time. The instance of the death of Shibu's elder son has already been mentioned. Another story refers

to the forcible entrance of an Englishman inside the temple and his great astonishment when the stony idol came to life and climbed the *peepul* tree under which the temple stands. It is also held that on the fifth of the last fortnight of the month of Bhadon or Bhadrapad, the stony idol comes to life and takes bath in silver and gold plates which are placed beside him filled with water. There is a good element of drama in the proceedings which were described to me by a Pujagi of Hanol. At the dead of night on the aforesaid day, the Pujagi enters the temple, closes the door behind him, implores the idol to take bath in water-filled plates of silver and gold, and, as a last resort, takes out the dagger praying, rather threatening, 'O God ! Take bath today or I will kill myself.' He now turns his back towards the god and hears the splashing of water indicating that his prayer has been granted. And the prayer is always granted, for, he must never turn his back to see the reality.

ATTENDANTS OF BOTHA MAHASU (BIRS)

There are a number of spirits who are worshipped as gods of inferior order or spirits of superior order, such as Kailu and Shirhkwiya, who have already been mentioned. These are the attendants and closest associates of the god. Kailu is of black complexion, and resembles Kalu or Kalna Bir of the plains. These Birs usually occupy the outskirts of the villages and are worshipped by the local people. Lankura Bir is of fair complexion and beautiful in appearance. The features of other Birs, such as Chhaoni Ka Bir, Tangi Bir and Bhangi Bir, could not be recalled by the informants. The Birs are worshipped in the form of elongated, rounded, large or small stones which are found in the temple quadrangle. There are two large lead balls in the same quadrangle with which they are believed to play at times. They are worshipped with offerings of *rot*, a reference to which has been made in connection with the life cycle of the individual. Usual sacrifice to which they are entitled is either a cockerel or hen.

Goddess Kali also has her seat in a small temple in one of the corners of the temple quadrangle. She, in no way, differs from the Kali of the plains and is worshipped on the occasion of Durga Puja.

SOME GODS OF THE LOWER ORDER

There are gods higher than Birs in that they do not attend and serve Mahasu. The role and duties of Kalu Bir show him to be a bit mischievous in nature and this seems to be a general characteristic of all Birs. These gods are not so important nor so high as Mahasu Deota is, but still they are feared.

One such deity is Narsingh, whom the Hindus worship as an incarnation. He is regarded as the saviour of Prahlad and slayer of Hiranyakashyap. But whereas in the plains he is considered to have the head of a lion, in Jaunsar-Bawar he is imagined as a 'Sadhu' who is ferocious because he wraps himself in a lion's skin and rides on a lion's back. Ordinarily, he does no harm, but he becomes furious if leather articles are taken to his small temple, situated by the side of the big temple, inside the quadrangle. He may possess the violator and cause his death. He is appeased by an offering of milk.

Bhairon, the next important among the gods of the lower order, rides on the back of a black dog like his counterpart in the plains. Both are supposed to render valuable help if invoked and propitiated. For both of them black dog stands as a symbol and, therefore, a black dog is never killed but regarded with due reverence. In Jaunsar-Bawar, worship of Bhairon is usually accompanied by the sacrifice of an ewe.*

Local Bajgis cherish a queer belief that centres round the god Bhairon. In the main temple, in a niche in one of the walls, an earthen lamp containing milk and ghee is lighted every night. The smoke causes a substance like black ochre to collect in the niche. According to them if a mixture of this ochre and ghee from the lamp is painted on the elongated stone representing Bhairon, a pilgrim is sure to arrive and offer a goat or sheep for sacrifice either on the same day or within a week. Whenever, as they say, they do not get meat for a sufficiently long time, they resort to this trick. When I suggested that they should perform it before me, they hesitated. Moreover, during my stay, it so happened, that after every two or three days there was a sacrifice. The point which struck me was the strong faith they possessed in its efficacy which no amount of discussion could shake.

THE INSTITUTION OF BAKI

A common sight inside the temple quadrangle in one corner is that of a person sitting with half closed eyes and shaking his body. The man is said to be possessed by the *deota* and is in complete trance. His words are not usually intelligible to an outsider. He is the *baki*, or the seer. He is consulted whenever there is a theft in someone's family or someone suffers from a prolonged disease, or on any other family trouble or quarrel. The local seer of Hanol belongs to a neighbouring village, Chatra, and is a Rajput by caste. Very often pilgrims move to his residence if he is not available in the temple. The *baki's* fee varies from 10 annas to Rs. 1-4-0 and more. After offering the fee, the pilgrim

* She-goat and ewe are never sacrificed for the god Mahasu.

sits quietly among others sitting or standing nearby. The *baki* folds his hands, closes his eyes and in a moment starts shaking his body, jerking it violently. His eyes become red and the voice hoarse. This is an indication that the *deota* has possessed him. And then he says to the questioner, 'I know why you are here. Perhaps you want to put this question.' He starts answering the question, or if it be some malady, he begins suggesting prescriptions and remedies. It is remarkable how the *baki* is sometimes able to anticipate the questions or prescribe for maladies without even being told about them beforehand.

A *baki* is always from the Rajput or Brahmin caste, never from the Bajgis or Koltas. No one thinks of becoming a *baki*, unless through intuition, dream or visions, he becomes sure of the *deota's* favour. Once he becomes sure of it, he starts persuading the *deota* through feasts and sacrifices until one day he finds that his 'tongue is opened' (*jibh khul gae*). Henceforth he is regarded as a seer or diviner.

THE SPIRIT WORLD

Of all the spirits of the unknown and intangible world the *bhut* and the *harh* are the commonest and most mischievous. *Bhut* is dark in complexion with long hair and two front teeth interlocked, one going up and the other coming down. People dying of sudden death are believed to pass on into *pret yoni* (sphere of spirits) in popular Hinduism and a similar belief exists among the inhabitants of Jaunsar-Bawar. Such individuals go neither to Hell nor to Heaven, but to the spirit world and become *bhut* if male and *harh* if female.

Harh may be regarded as the Khasa counterpart of *churel* of the plains.* This feminine spirit is also ugly but capable of changing herself into a beautiful damsel to lure able-bodied young men. No specific story of a particular young man being thus entranced by a *harh* could be obtained, nor was there any young man or old man in the living generation who had come across such an exotic adventure.

Suggestibility of the environment is at the base of such beliefs. High hills covered with dense jungles standing around the village, dark and stormy nights and continuously roaring falls are constantly reinforcing such beliefs.

Bhut and *harh* are malevolent spirits who may possess a child, a pregnant woman or any other person. A person thus possessed is diagnosed by the *baki* who also suggests remedies for appeasing them.

Pirs are spirits of a higher order, approaching gods and goddesses but not quite the same. Like all others of a higher order, they are

* Among the Hos of Singhbhum, Bihar, *churail*, which is the disembodied soul of a pregnant woman who died at child birth, is a maleficent and mischievous spirit.

not malevolent and do not harm anyone unless offended. The word *pir* suggests a Mohammedan origin. In the plains, usually Mohammedan 'Sadhus' rising to divinity while alive are believed to transform themselves into *pirs*. Such spirits are believed to dwell on their graves or in old buildings lying desolate.

Pir is not an important member of the Khasa pantheon of gods and spirits. It is a local phenomenon cherished by one Bajgi Dhan Singh who has spent some years of his life in Sirmur state, now in Himachal Pradesh. Once a year in the month of Bhadon (September), he invites his relatives as well as villagers to his residence. All village folk eat, drink and dance at his expense but Dhan Singh is possessed by the intoxication of 'Sur' on the one hand and the *pir* on the other. After much hopping and jumping he settles down and is able to answer such questions as the villagers may wish to ask about their family affairs, quarrels, diseases, etc. He says that the *pir* has been propitiated in his family since three generations, and it is in keeping with his family tradition that he holds the yearly feast for taming the *pir*.

Worship of trees and animals is not so extensive and common. *Peepul* is held to be sacred, for the first head-shaving ceremony is performed under its shade. Whenever a cow gives birth to a calf, no member of the family is allowed to drink milk until a little of it has been poured on the roots of the *peepul* or *bhikkhal* tree. Like the Hindus in general these people also consider the cow as sacred and abstain from killing it.

OMENS

It is a bad omen to meet a person with an empty pot (*ghilati*) while one is on his way home, or on some errand or work. It is an indication of obstruction in the successful accomplishment of the work. Similarly, the face of a barren woman is highly inauspicious and should be avoided on all important occasions. The carcass of a cow should not be looked at, and nobody in the village will take meals until it is removed. The same holds true for a human dead body. Until the corpse has been taken away beyond the village boundary for burial or cremation, no villager eats.

OATHS AND ORDEALS

It has been seen earlier how alliances are formed by way of *lota pani* by swearing by the *deota*. In the courts of the plains people swear either by the holy river Ganga or by a religious book like the Gita or Koran. But as our informants told us, people of Jaunsar-Bawar in the S.D.M.

Court at Chakrata have to swear by the god Mahasu. A small stone representing Mahasu Deota is put in the hands of those who present themselves as witnesses. Usually people swear by touching the *chauhkat* of the temple door.

Among ordeals designed to test a person's truthfulness the following two are usually mentioned :

- (a) A man, if he is innocent, will be able to take out a rupee coin from a pan containing boiling water without being injured.
- (b) An innocent person will remain unhurt if a red hot iron piece is placed in his hand.

In usual practice these methods of ordeal are not common. Shibu, who is about sixty years, told me of an old case to which he himself was not an eye-witness but had heard from someone. According to him Karn, a zamindar of Fanar, was accused of having illicit relations with a Kolta woman. To prove his innocence he took a red hot iron piece in his hands, walked five spaces forward and backward, and was unhurt and unburnt. These days the usual way is to swear by god.

FESTIVALS

Festivals form an important part of the Khasa cultural life. They serve to mitigate, and more positively, to sweeten the otherwise severe round-the-year struggle with the elements, provide an occasion for the display of their gay, jovial nature, and for the periodic release of emotions, and help in renewing social contacts and in strengthening community relations. Most of the Khasa festivals are either inter-village or inter-Khat affairs. Apart from providing fun and frolic, these festivals help in maintaining social solidarity. Besides, as the following detailed structural studies of some of these festivals show, they are the crucibles of a mutually dependent economic life, serving to highlight the matrix of social relations and their intricate web.

Notwithstanding, even in defiance of, the hard lot that their inhospitable environment enjoins upon them, and the acute, competitive struggle for existence that it forces upon them, the Jaunsaris have, by means of social cooperation, evolved a net-work of festivals which aid them in sharing their hardships and fortunes. Social co-operation here helps in outdoing nature's niggardliness, and, if not overcoming it completely, it devises cultural means for circumventing it.

Though by religion the Khasas are Hindus, their presiding deity, Mahasu, is not one of the Hindu pantheon. Worship of and around

Mahasu, with its attendant local beliefs and faiths, rites and rituals, are all seen in these festivals. All these festivals indicate the need of social cooperation not for just economic sustenance but for cultural survival itself.

MAGH

Of the four most important festivals of Jaunsar-Bawar, Magh, named after the winter month of January-February when the festival takes place, is of special significance. It is more than an ordinary festival: it is a season of festivities, extending well over a whole month, when after the Rabi crop has been fully and finally sown, villagers enjoy temporary relief from the hard agricultural activities, feast and celebrate, and avail of the time to meet their relatives from far and near. The fun and frolic not only helps in emotional release, but also in maintaining social solidarity. Like most of the other festivals, Magh is also connected with the local occupational pattern, being inter-linked with the cycle of agricultural operations. After sowing the winter crop people have little to do in the fields for some time. Because of the snow and the extreme cold at this time of the year, it becomes almost impossible to carry out any kind of outdoor work. It is a time for rest, merry-making and enjoyment, symbolising victory over the most unfavourable natural environment.

Early Preparations

Some of the preparations for this festival start as early as a year in advance. For, it is on this day during the previous festival that a special goat or sheep may have been set aside and been specially fed for the coming season. At least one goat is killed in every house. A person who has a large family or expects many guests may kill more than one goat. As the current year's lot is killed another for the next year is separated and allotted for this purpose. Thus a goat, a sheep, or a pig in the case of Koltas, is kept inside every house to be fed properly throughout the year, and to be killed on the occasion of Magh. Those who cannot afford it so soon, try to secure one some months before the actual day of killing the animal.

For keeping the animal special arrangements are made in the building. The animal is kept on the ground floor, and an opening is made through the floor of the upper storey so that it can be well looked after by the inmates, and after the family has taken meals, the left-over is passed on to the animal. Thus in addition to the ordinary fodder, these animals are also able to get some bread-pieces and other rich material to eat. The animal has also to be provided with fresh green leaves regularly. For this some person in the family is made

in charge. Provision for keeping the animal inside the house for the Magh festival is thought out and made even while constructing a house. Often, green leaves and branches are hung from the opening through the floor of the upper storey in such manner that they look like live-plant and the animal has the feeling that it is eating from a plant in the forest.

Similarly, arrangements for the preparation of liquor are made well in advance of the festival. On the occasion of 'Kimond', a large number of barley breads is baked, to be used for preparing liquor throughout the year. Also, loaves are made of coarse grain like *manduwa*, which along with 'Kima' loaves are used for distillation. Just before the Magh festival, liquor is made in large quantities. Except for the Brahmins, who, as a rule, do not drink, all castes get the liquor distilled and stored for the festival. In every house, it is generally a lady who is in charge of the distilling process. She alone, unless absent or otherwise unable, will distribute liquor to the inmates and the guests. In her absence, the duty may devolve upon another lady. This charge is generally in the hands of the oldest woman or Sayani. 'Moodi', made of rice and wheat grains, is also prepared and stored in advance for the occasion. Ghee, flour and other necessary food materials are purchased or procured and reserved for the festival. Salt is specially got from the market.

Besides the food material, fuel, fodder and fresh leaves are brought and stored for the ensuing winter. Roofs of the houses are repaired and long green leaves placed in between the wooden sleepers to prevent leakage of water inside the building. The wooden roofs are tied together afresh by means of long plant roots, specially brought for the purpose from the jungle. Woollen clothes are so washed that they become thicker and stronger than before. All these preparations, some having started as early as the previous Magh, having been made, the stage is set for the season's celebrations.

'Lagada'

The actual celebrations for the Magh festival begin a few days before the beginning of the month. The first day is known as 'Lagada', meaning the approach of the festival. This day, early in the morning, all the village Bajgis go together to the village deity's temple to play the musical instruments. They have to play the musical instruments at the residence of the village Sayana(s) also, where they receive *dan*, often up to a rupee, and are offered drinks. This is to herald the day and announce the onset of the festival season.

'Masoj' or 'Maroj'

On the day after 'Lagada', the Bajgis celebrate the Magh. The day is called 'Masoj' or 'Maroj'. All the Bajgis get their sheep or goat slaughtered by the Rajputs. These animals are not taken to the village *angan*. The Bajgis ask some Rajputs, usually from their *bera*, from whom they receive food every day, to slaughter these animals at their house. Sometimes, if they have so promised the deity, they may take the animal to the temple. A Bajgi has to provide a portion of the slaughtered animal to every Rajput of his *bera*. But this is only if a goat or a ram is killed. Everybody else who helps in skinning the animal must also be provided with a share of the meat. In case a sheep has to be killed, the job is done entirely by the Bajgis themselves, without any help from the Rajputs or the Badhais, as the latter neither eat sheep's meat nor even kill it. They do not even give any help in skinning a sheep. 'Bedhi' or the sheep is considered sacred among the Khasas and the Rajputs and the Badhais will neither eat its flesh nor help in slaughtering it or even skinning it. Nor is a pig eaten by any one of the upper castes. The Koltas alone eat pork. Except for Brahmins, however, all other castes eat the wild boar's flesh, which whenever killed provides an occasion for rejoicing. Its flesh is distributed among the non-Brahmins.

'Bhatioj'

During the next two days, called 'Bhatioj' and 'Adaka', the locale of the celebration changes for the Koltas, who take their animals outside the village. Accompanied by their women, they take the animals of all other castes to the jungle for grazing, returning on the third day of 'Sankrant'. All other castes, except the Koltas, celebrate the festival in the village.

According to the custom, the Rajputs, the Brahmins, the Badhais, and the Sunars, all get their animals slaughtered by those whose animals they will slaughter in turn. Among the Rajputs, there is a traditionally fixed system as to who should slaughter whose animal, all on a sort of reciprocal, inter-linked and in-caste basis. Since the Brahmin does not take any other meat than that of a goat, he will not slaughter any other animal. As in the case of goats, there is no distinction between a sheep and a ram. The explanation put forward as to why these people get their animals slaughtered by others is that having fed the animal the year round, and having taken so much care to bring it up, it becomes too dear to them and they, therefore, cannot kill it with their own hands. They have therefore established a system of mutual help and assistance. Other castes too have a similar system of getting their animals killed, but, unlike Rajputs and Badhais, not by

men of their own caste. Thus all the Bajgis and Koltas get their animals killed by someone outside their castes. The Brahmin gets his goat slaughtered by a Rajput, whose animal he, in turn, undertakes to kill. The Brahmins, as a rule, do not take ram's meat, but probably because of his close contacts and associations with Rajputs, Dei Singh of Baila has started eating it. His son Dharam Singh, however, does not do so. Even Dei Singh does not kill a ram in his own house. These Rajputs generally kill two goats per family. One more may be killed later at the time of 'Mendaura', when the relatives and friends visit a particular Rajput house.

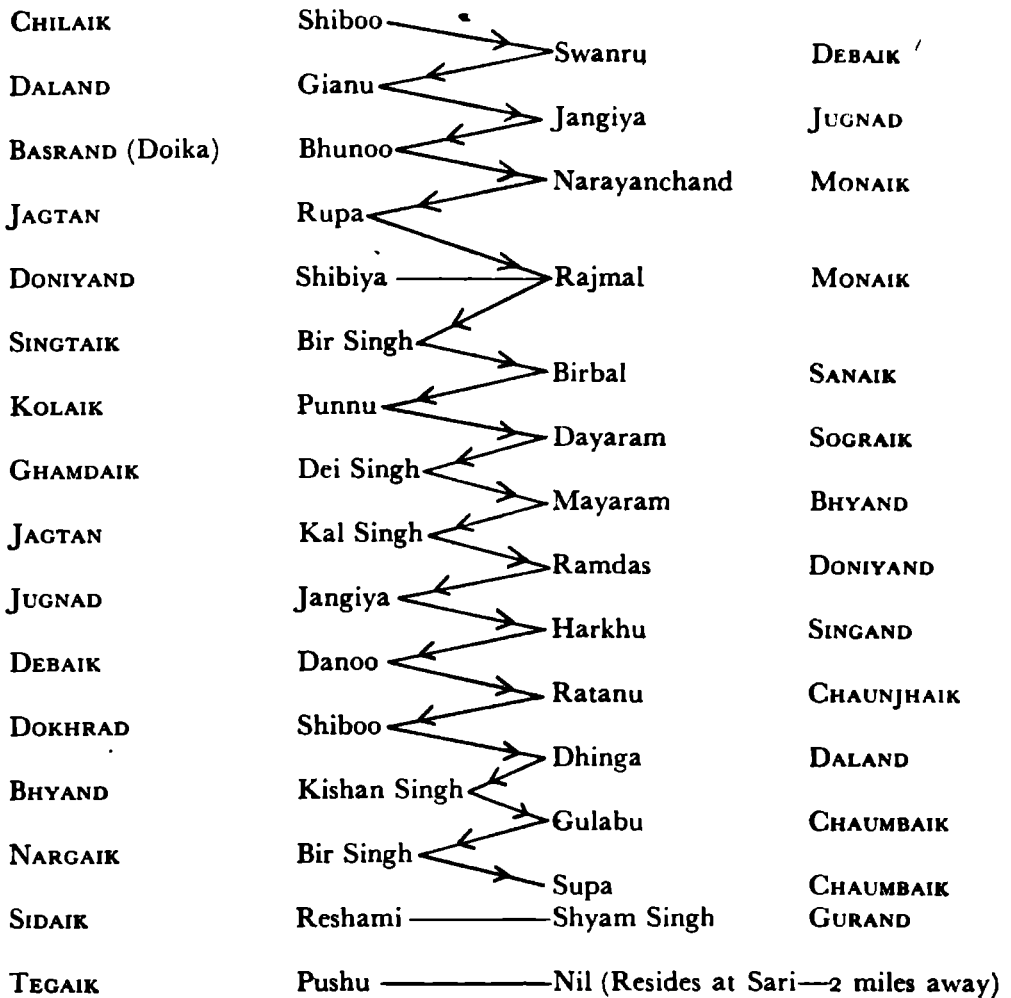
For killing the animals, the Rajputs of Baila have a fixed chain of interrelationships among themselves. This chain has, sometimes, on account of a variety of reasons like poverty, serious illness, absence or lack of a grown-up male member in the family or his long stay away from the village, tended to break up. Thus, the Tegaik group due to its continuous absence from the village has almost completely disconnected itself from the village life. Again, Shibiya Doniyand suffers from 'Korh' and is therefore not able to participate in these celebrations. Danoo Debaik and Shiboo Chilaik are too poor to be able to continue their relationship of mutually killing the animals for the Magh festival. The Sidaik family has no male member to keep the continuity of these relationships, while in the Gurand family the two surviving members are too old to participate in these celebrations. The traditional chain of mutual assistance among the Rajputs of Baila in the killing of animals during the Magh season is represented in the chart on page 269.

The Badhais too have a similar kind of mutual partnership chain for slaughtering their goats and rams, but the Bajgis and Koltas are required to get their animals killed by the Rajputs. Except for the pigs, which, if the Rajputs may not like to kill, may be killed by the Koltas themselves, all other animals must be killed by the Rajputs. They do not, however, kill a sheep, nor ever eat its flesh, this being a strict dietary taboo.

This inter-caste pattern of killing the animals is accompanied in some villages by another inter-kin arrangement in the distribution of animal flesh. In Lakhamandal, for example, the *jikuri* or the *kaleji* is reserved for the maternal uncle and other male members of his family. This is the best part of the animal and is given to the maternal uncle, emphasizing his special position in the Khasa kinship set-up. The *bukyan* attached to the *kaleji* is considered the next best part and is often reserved for the son-in-law. The *siri* is used on the eighth day after the 'Sankrant', which falls two days after the 'Maroj' or 'Masoj'. During the Magh season, a small portion of meat is prepared

BARI (GAND) AT MAGH

Chain of Assistance among the Rajputs (Brahmins Included) to Get Their Goats and Sheep (Male Only) Slaughtered on the Occasion of 'Magh'



every day, particularly when the fellow villagers are invited for 'Bidaj'.

'Adaka'

Every day begins with people, particularly the Rajputs and the Brahmins, paying social visits or returning these visits to each other's houses, where they are offered liquor to drink. While on the previous day they had to get their animals killed and skinned, on this day, known as 'Adaka', they start preparing bags out of these skins. Two kinds of bags are generally made, one for filling the corn and the other for filling water. For the first type, after filling some corn, they insert some sticks in it to enlarge it to its full capacity. For the water bags,

animal skins are filled with a jungle root powder so that the skin is thickened and becomes stronger. While the ordinary corn bag is ready in a day or two, the water bag takes several days to prepare. All the persons who help both in skinning and in making the bag are entitled to a share of the animal's meat. Help from the Bajgi is particularly sought in cleaning the intestines.

‘ Pheeta ’

On the first three days of the Magh festival, people in some villages play a game, locally called ‘ Pheeta ’. In Hindi, the term means a tape, but in village Lakhamandal the word is used for a crude football-shaped hard animal skin containing waste cloth pieces. Two parties of the *jethingya* (elders) and the *nanchhingya* (youngsters) are formed. It is an all-caste sport, wherein the old and the young male members of all the village groups are included. If there are, say, three brothers in a family, *A* (say, aged 70), *B* (say, aged 65) and *C* (say, 55 years old), then, according to the local rules of the game, *A* and *C* will join the *jethingya* party and *B* the other one. If, however, *A* is dead, *B* (65) will still be regarded as younger, and *C* (55) older for the purpose of the game. If *A* has no brothers, then he will invariably join the *jethingya* group. His or their sons will be similarly divided into two groups. All the village males thus get divided into two parties. In this way one may collide against one's own father while playing the game. The players may use both hands and feet but as the skin of the ball is hard, they generally use their hands only. The *jethingya* are allotted one side and the *kanchhingya* the other, distance between the two parties being about 300 yards. The two parties defend their sides against the ball being thrown into their respective ‘ goal ’, which not infrequently is limitless. The field is uneven, and often consists of plots at different levels, covering even big stones and bushes. To start the game, the ball is dropped from a place of worship, and then the two parties run to catch and carry it. No specific rules are observed. One may snatch the ball from another by using any means or tactics, and, this often causes serious wounds and bruises. The game is said to end when one party scores a goal against the other, but this is not so strictly observed as the game is to be played for three days. The third day's game is more important because the hitherto intra-village sport becomes an inter-village contest, with the neighbouring villages also participating in it.

‘ Pheeta ’ is not played in the neighbouring Garhwal, and is an exclusive game of the Jaunsaris. Rati Ram of village Lakhamandal is emphatic that the game has not been imported but is of an indigenous origin.

The day following 'Maroj' or 'Masoj', when 'Pheeta' starts, is called 'Sajha'.

'Sankrant'

The fourth day after the festival has begun is called 'Sankrant'. The Koltas now return to the village, after giving charge of the cattle to their respective owners. Early in the morning, after having rejoiced and indulged in merry-making for two days, the Rajputs, the Badhais and the Bajgis go to look after their cattle and sheep. All the Koltas who had been with the cattle and sheep are given meals at their respective caste families. On their return these Koltas are expected to bring fuel for the Rajputs from the jungle. The Koltas, on return, get not only meals and liquor at the houses of Rajputs and other caste families, but they are also given some cooked meat and loaves to be taken for their evening meals. Having taken their meals and drunk the liquor, the Koltas bring their pigs and goats or sheep to their own *angan* and get them killed by the Rajputs. On all the four main festivals, namely Magh, Bissu, Mond and Dewali, the Bajgis are paid one loaf from every family other than the Koltas, who pay *bora* (uncooked food material) to the Bajgis. Those animals which are not killed by the Rajputs are later killed by Koltas themselves, but ram and goat must always be killed by the Rajputs. If the Koltas have a goat or a ram killed, then they must provide the Rajputs of their *bera* a small quantity of meat.

The Badhais and the Sunars too, like the Koltas and Bajgis, have to provide the Rajputs with a small quantity of meat whenever a goat or a ram is killed. This portion of meat given to the Rajputs is called *guthadi*. The Rajputs, thus, get *guthadi* from the members of all castes if they have a goat or a ram killed. The Rajputs in return give the other caste people liquor and cooked food. They are also invited at the time of 'Mendaura'.

'Khoda'

'Khoda' is the eighth day after 'Bhatioj'. The *siri* of the animal killed is taken out and cooked on this day. The Rajputs and the Brahmins provide the evening meals to all other caste people. Families more intimately related to the Rajputs get cooked meat, bread, rice and liquor, while the rest, who are not so intimately related, are given uncooked rice only. All the different caste people share the meat cooked out of the *siri*. Badhais and Sunars have to provide the same articles in a similar manner to all the lower caste people, namely Bajgis and Koltas. Likewise, Bajgis are required to provide material to Koltas only, who, however, are not required to give anything to any one on this

occasion. Thus, the Rajputs are the universal donors and Koltas the universal receivers on this occasion.

From this day onward the 'Mendauras' are arranged in different houses. People do not like to arrange these 'Mendauras' before the 'Khoda'.

'Mendaura'

The term 'Mendaura' literally means 'a small fair', in which all those who are closely related to each other are invited for dinner at the residence of one of them. This is called arranging a 'Menda' or a *mela*. All through the Magh season, 'Mendauras' are arranged at different places in the village. There may be several 'Mendauras' at different places in one night. Not a day passes in this season when these celebrations are not arranged somewhere or the other. The feast given at a particular person's house is followed by a singing and dancing programme, lasting beyond midnight. This programme of singing and dancing continues as long as the people do not feel tired or sleepy. While only those who are close to a particular family are invited for the dinner, anybody may participate in the programme after dinner. Men and women from all castes, other than the Koltas, usually go to attend these programmes. The Koltas have to confine their merry-making and enjoyments to themselves, because people from no other caste enter their houses. Their programmes are therefore limited to their caste only.

There are three kinds of 'Mendauras', which may be arranged separately by anyone. Firstly, there is a 'Mendaura' for one's own caste or *aal* people, where one or more than one male member from each family of his caste or *aal* only may be invited. In case there are only a few people in a particular *aal*, as among the Lakhtate of village Baila, all the male members of that *aal* are invited. In all such matters as inviting, there is a relationship of reciprocity. A family invites as many people from other families of the same caste or *aal* as it would like or expect to be invited, when somebody else extends a similar invitation. Usually a person does like and try to invite more than one male member from other families, but if the number is reduced it is a sign of lack of means to do so. The Gurand family among the Horiyand Rajputs of Baila is not in a position to invite even one person from each family of the *aal*. Similarly, Dhyanoo Badhai of the same village neither invites anybody to attend the 'Mendaura' nor does he join the festivity at anyone's place.

The second type of 'Mendaura' is that for the 'Kamins', in which only those amongst the lower castes who are closely related to a particular higher caste family are invited for dinner. The information

about a particular 'Mendaura' is given in advance to enable all invitees to reach in time. Whenever there are several 'Mendauras' in the village, the family members distribute themselves among the different ones. Very often all caste people, except the Rajputs, combine the two 'Mendauras' for convenience and economy.

Lastly, there is the 'Mendaura' for the *dhyantis*, in which they alone can participate. Usually all the *dhyantis* of a particular *aal* are invited to attend this special 'Mendaura'. While sometimes *dhyantis* from another *aal*, related to the family, may also be invited to participate in this 'Mendaura', in no case is a *dhyanti* of another caste invited on this occasion. It is thus an intra or inter-*aal* social function, but always an intra-caste and never an inter-caste celebration. If a *dhyanti* of one *aal* is married in the same village and in the same family in which the *dhyanti* of another *aal* is married, then the two *dhyantis* of different *aals* are expected to invite one another. A significant point about this 'Mendaura' is that while men of those families who have *chhinga* with one another are not invited to attend the party, *dhyantis* do get invited everywhere. But the unmarried *dhyantis* are not invited at those families of their *aal* or caste with whom their family has a *chhinga*. 'Mendaura' for *dhyantis*, unlike that for men and that for Kamins, is seldom combined with other 'Mendaura'. As in the case of 'Mendaura' for Kamins, that arranged for *dhyantis* is never followed by dancing and singing. In a number of 'Mendauras', *dhyantis* do not sing or dance; they simply watch these programmes from a distance.

When there happens to be a small number of Brahmin families in a village, they generally get associated with the Rajputs for these 'Mendauras'. Their *dhyantis* are reciprocally invited at the other's 'Mendaura' function. The Brahmins also invite the Rajput male members for dinner on the day of 'Bhatioj'.

Among Rajputs of Baila, members of different *aals* are often invited at this function. For example, members of the Sograik family of the Lakhtate *aal* invite and are invited by the Dokrand family of the Ravaik *aal* and members of the Bhyand family among Horiyand Rajputs invite and are reciprocally invited by those of the Ravaik *aal*. It seems that inter-*aal* relations were formerly stronger, but now they are showing signs of breaking down. Members from the Sograik *aal*, for example, are not invited now at the 'Mendaura' of Chaumbaik and Gurand *aals*. The apparent cause of these breakdowns is the *chhinga*, but it is more the form rather than the cause of these intra-*aal* relations breakdown.

The Sunars are included among the Badhais, for they have to invite the latter for 'Mendaura'. The Badhais and the Sunars generally

combine the first two types of 'Mendauras', as do the Bajgis, who have to invite one or two Koltas, besides members of their own caste.

In case of death in a family, the 'Mendaura' must take place there first. No other family would arrange a 'Mendaura' before the one in the deceased's family is finished.

Dance Programmes

While the term 'Mendaura' is applied to the evening dinner party during the Magh festival, this party is not accompanied by dances or songs, which are arranged separately, and are a special feature of the festivities all through this season. Every evening after the 'Khoda' day, there are dance performances in the village *angan*. These evening dances are either followed or preceded by 'Mendauras'. Except for the Koltas, all other castes participate in these evening celebrations. Not only the male members from all the *aals* and different castes, but also the *dhyantis* join these dances. These dances in fact are the main attraction for the village young men and women, and all through the year, Magh festival is eagerly awaited by them. Older people also participate in these dances with as much gusto as do the young folks. As soon as they return from their work, people gather in the village *angan* and the programme starts. *Ryantis* are not expected to join these celebrations; if at all they come to the *angan*, they sit at a distance and just watch.

These evening programmes begin with 'Lamads'. The Badhais have specialized in these types of long songs. Children and *ryantis* do not participate in these songs. There is a sort of competition of wit here, and anybody may reply to a particular 'Lamad' sung by another. One by one, people come forward and sing these songs, which describe some old legends or narrate deeds of old disputes and fights. These 'Lamads' often relate to the work of old people and their relationships with outsiders. The first 'Lamad' with which the evening function starts is called 'Seva Ka Lamad' or 'Lamad of Service'. While these 'Lamads' are sung, the dances stop. The dances and the singing of these 'Lamads' alternate. These songs serve as an interval between the dances for the serving of liquor. 'Lamads' are not easy to understand, and few people understand their meanings or their methods of recital. Singing 'Lamads' is in fact the right and the privilege of the elderly people.

For the dance, one person offers himself for the performance, while others sing or play on the musical instruments. Almost all the dances are of the same type, one person moving round and round, with his hands spread open, fingers making slow gestures. Gradually, the speed and tempo of the dance increases. The general pattern of move-

ments remains the same, though the speed may vary from person to person.

BISSU

Bissu, the spring festival, falls in the month of April. This five-day festival is, unlike Mond and Jogra, a village affair, though at some places it takes the shape of a big inter-Khat meet. While the Magh festival is a season of rest and merry-making, Bissu, celebrated near about the Sankrant of 'Baisakh' comes to restore vigour, vitality and strength, and to set the villagers ready for the ensuing harvesting season. This is the bloom of spring, and lusty trees of red rhododendrons against the background of white snows provide a joyful scene for the celebrations. The festival is celebrated in the name of Mahasu, and 'Shilguru', the god of sheep, is worshipped.

The preparations for this festival begin long before the start of the day. General cleaning of houses takes place, and fresh stocks of liquor are brewed which should last up to the next festival of Mond. The festive occasion serves to replenish their stock of domestic goods and household materials. People either purchase cloth, or, sometimes, ready-made clothing from the nearby market. For all these purchases, villagers start in groups to the market. It helps them to undertake the long journey without bothering much about shelter, for, in a group, they can lie anywhere on the way in a forest or on the roadside. At the time of these purchases, consideration is given to women's clothes and sweets for the children. The cigarette stock is filled up for the *ryantis* and the *dhyantis*. At this time various articles like household utensils, earthen pots for smoking, gold or silver ornaments, and iron implements for work may be included in the purchasing list.

Women get busy washing clothes and cleaning utensils many days before the festival. This job of cleaning and washing is the exclusive concern of the women of the house. They have also to store sufficient water for the festival days. It is a hard time for women who have to fetch water from distant sources, clean everything and prepare liquor, etc. Men look after the outside marketing and other organizational work.

'Bow and Arrow'

Men have also to make strong bows and arrows, required for the mock fights which are an essential part of this festival. Old socks, woollen pads for the legs, and other materials for this purpose are taken out, and repairs made. Men try to keep their old weapons intact, year to year, but these have to be made anew for the younger people. The Koltas do not always have all these sets of huge and strong lower garments, 'Jangel', and shoes, and so they have either to use whatever

they have, turn by turn, or borrow some from those of other castes. The Bajgis do not play with bows and arrows as they have to be busy all the time with their musical instruments. These bow-and-arrow mock fights are played *aal*-wise. In village Baila, Bajgis do not play for the further reason that they are all from one *aal*. If some Bajgis from other villages not belonging to the same *aal* turn up on the occasion, the local Bajgis may play with them. The Koltas, if they be more than one *aal* in the village, play among themselves, or with their guests from outside, but they never play with the Rajputs or with those belonging to the higher castes. As a rule, playmates for these bow-and-arrow mock fights are pre-arranged and no attempt is made to change them. All the partners are selected by mutual consent and arrangement.

‘ *Lagada* ’

‘ *Lagada* ’, meaning beginning, is announced by the Bajgis early in the morning. This is done by beating drums. They take a round from the deity’s temple to ‘ *Shiran* ’. No particular ceremony is observed on this day, except that the drinking of liquor starts, and good food is taken. This is a busy agricultural season, as potato growing is in full swing about this time. Also, fields are prepared for sowing ‘ *Chauli* ’, which is never sown until the festival is over.

‘ *Bisauri* ’

Early in the morning, after the ‘ *Lagada* ’, young boys and men go out to the nearby jungle to pluck ‘ *Buras* ’. As the procession reaches the outskirts of the village, all the members start shouting and dancing. Women and old people who do not go with the procession watch it from their houses. ‘ *Buras* ’ flowers are plucked from the jungle, some of them are hidden there, and the rest brought back to the village. On return to the village, some flowers are offered to the deity in the temple, and some placed on the roof there. In the evening every Rajput has a goat slaughtered, before offering it ceremonially to Mahasu. The goat is brought to the village temple, and some water is sprinkled on it. If it shivers, it is believed that god Mahasu has accepted the offering, after which it is killed.

‘ *Bagia Ka Bissu* ’

The same evening of ‘ *Burasani* ’ when ‘ *Buras* ’ flowers are plucked from the jungle, ‘ *Bagia Ka Bissu* ’ is celebrated by young children. They go to ‘ *Jubbad* ’, a nearby hillock having some open space, to play with bow and arrow. The play is on a small scale but conforming to the prescribed rites and rituals. The deity Shilguru is taken to the place of the mock fights to watch the spectacle. It is done through the

Brahmin priest who holds a silver staff in his hands and leads the procession. This silver staff with a red piece of cloth tied round its neck is considered very sacred. People consider themselves quite safe from any calamity when in the presence of the staff, which is taken to the scene of bow-and-arrow fights to the accompaniment of music played by the Bajgis. All through the way the music goes on, and on reaching the spot, the silver staff is placed on a high stone and the Brahmin sits by its side. The play begins and the young boys start their mock bow-and-arrow fight. The boys play in their everyday clothes, unlike their elders.

‘ Sankrant ’

This day, the first of the month, has some special significance. Early in the morning the Bajgi announces the day by the beat of drums. Young boys go to the jungle to bring ‘ Buras ’ flowers they had plucked the previous day and hidden there. These boys return in the afternoon. They make garlands of the ‘ Buras ’ flowers, and place them at the doors of their houses. In the evening special non-vegetarian meals are cooked. Members of the higher castes offer food to those of the lower castes. The Bajgis do not have to give anything to anybody, but all the other castes have to give either cooked meals or *bora*, which is a raw food material, to members of the lower castes. The Rajputs give gifts to all other castes but do not receive anything in return. For beating the drum in the morning, the Bajgis get some special kind of bread. Some goats and sheep are killed on the occasion. One sheep is killed and offered to the deity. This is done by the Rajputs in accordance with their turn. Those who have taken a vow of making some offering to Mahasu at Asoi may do so while looking towards Asoi from their village itself. Offerings are also made to the Dlusta, who are regarded as evil spirits. These offerings are meant to drive away the influence of evil spirits from the village. A broken ‘ Tumba ’ containing some meat and kneaded flour is placed by the side of a footpath. It is believed that the evil spirits after taking the offerings will take shelter in the flour and go away from the village. Priests come from outside to collect their share of gifts from the village. They go from door to door and collect their due. All the functionaries of the village also collect their due.

In the village, after the garlands made of ‘ Buras ’ flowers have been placed at the doors of all the houses, the entire village gathers in the *angan* to dance. First, the men dance the ‘ Jooda ’ to the accompaniment of the beat of the drum. Every male member of the family has his ‘ Jooda ’ dress, which when he dies is cremated with him. Afterwards the villagers play the ‘ Toda ’, in which one person, who is

standing, keeps lifting his feet alternately in quick succession, while the other tries to shoot at his feet. If the aim succeeds, he wins. This shooting is done turn by turn. The 'Toda' play continues for some time. This is called 'Chhota Bissu'. Throughout the day the villagers continue drinking wine at each other's place. A day after the 'Sankrant', young boys and girls of the village go in a procession for the 'Shilguru' *yatra*. The procession, accompanied by Bajgis playing on drums, goes dancing to the 'Shilguru Tibba', where dances continue for some hours. This is entirely a show of the young people, as the elders are busy in the fields. Their show, however, takes place next day.

'Bada Bissu'

The main day of celebrations is called the 'Bada Bissu', when almost the entire village goes out in a procession to some previously settled open spot, where similar processions from other villages also gather. Women form a conspicuous part of these processions, their new, bright garments adding colour to the spectacle. The deity's silver staff and the Bajgis' band head the procession, followed by men, with the *dhyantis* forming the rear. On the way they all sing different songs. Reaching the festival spot, men get ready for their 'Toda' play, which is a mock performance of bow-and-arrow fight. Women sit around in groups, at a safe distance from the scene of the fight. Relatives from outside the village act as rivals. With their legs well shielded with thick woollen pads, the bow-and-arrow fights are a good training and test of marksmanship. Mock duels are fought alternately. Shooting above the legs is not permitted, violation of the rule often leading to serious fights. Women, *dhyantis* and *ryantis* both sit around and watch and enjoy the show. To break the monotony, *dhyantis* sometimes start dancing, but the *ryantis* are not expected to participate in the dance. When this 'Toda' play is over, the people return in a procession, shouting and rejoicing, eagerly looking forward to the next item in the evening, when the villagers gather in the *angan* to dance. Men and women join two teams for different dances. The most important dance of the evening is the 'Jooda' dance, performed by men alone, with their naked, shining swords waving in the air, making fighting gestures. The scene is symbolic of a battlefield. In solo performance, men follow their own movements and directions, but when together, forming a chain, performing 'Ras Lagana', they follow the leader who is towards one end of the chain. He gives all the directions with whistles and through movements. Save this, ladies join in all the other dances. Sometimes young boys of the village form a separate chain, without any swords, and dance.

The day after 'Bada Bissu', there is again the children's 'Bissu'. On this day men, who have not gone back to the fields, spend their time drinking, and returning drinking calls.

MOND

In importance, 'Mond' is considered a major festival of Jaunsar-Bawar. While 'Bissu' is an important spring festival, 'Mond' is a bigger one still, organized on a large scale, crossing the Khat boundaries, unlike Bissu which is only an intra-Khat festival. At all places, 'Mond' attracts people even from outside Jaunsar-Bawar. The 'Mond' at Dunghiara is said to attract the largest number of participants. Dunghiara is about five miles south-east of Chakrata, on Lakhmandal road, one mile ahead of Kharakhota. At Dunghiara there is no habitation except for two or three shops. In the month of 'Asadha', after a gap of many years, 'Mond' is held here.

It is a social festival with an economic background. It is inseparably associated with fishing and, therefore, always takes place by the side of a stream. Fishing is so important an aspect of it that people call it 'a festival of fishing'. There is no fixed date for the festival. Different places celebrate it at different times. It has, however, a definite relation with the agricultural cycle. It is an occasion for, and manifestation of, the temporary relief these hard-working people enjoy after harvesting the wheat-barley crop. It is the time for recreation and festivity. The religious aspect is provided by god Mahasu who has to be propitiated on several occasions.

'Asadha' (May-June) is the time when the monsoon sets in. Rain water accumulates in 'Khadass', hollows in the earth, where the fish spawn. And 'Mond' is organized at important places in Jaunsar-Bawar such as (1) Dunghiara; (2) Manjghaon; (3) Masak; (4) Lakhmandal; (5) Kandoi; (6) Matiana; (7) Mohana; and (8) Menus. Out of these, the first is held once in eight years; the third, fifth, sixth and eighth after every two or three years, and the second, fourth and seventh, every year. 'Mond' is not a festival of a village, nor even of a Khat, but of several Khats, often extending to as many as five Khats officially participating. 'Mond' at Dunghiara, celebrated every eighth year, invites people from all over Jaunsar-Bawar. 'Mond' at Masak, held every two years, officially invites people from three adjoining Khats, namely Masau, Dhaneu and Tineu. But this 'official' invitation to these three Khats does not restrict people from other places from attending the festival. They may come and attend the festival, and, if there is otherwise nothing against them, may even fish there. But generally people from Khats which are 'officially invited' come at the instance of their relations in the Khat, which is organizing

the festival and acting as the host. These people come only one day before the actual festival.

'Mond' at Menus is organized annually by four villages in rotation: (1) Bhutnad, Tehsil Rinka, District Sirmur, Himachal Pradesh. It is about ten miles from Menus. The people of this village are known as Chandu. (2) Thukando, Tehsil Rinka, District Sirmur, Himachal Pradesh. It is about five miles from Menus. The people of this village are known as Thaktia. (3) Bhigrauli, Tehsil Jubbal, District Mahasu, Himachal Pradesh. It is about two and a half miles from Menus. The people of this village are known as Bigreu. (4) Baila, Tehsil Chakrata, District Dehra Dun, U.P. It is about five miles from Menus. The people of this village are known as Teneu.

Among these four groups, there are two straight alignments: Thukando and Baila in one, and Bhutnad and Bhigrauli in the other. Though Thukando and Bhutnad are neighbours and belong to one district, they are in opposite camps. Bhutnad and Bhigrauli are from two different districts, but form one group. Despite these differences, however, these different groups have worked out regulations for the celebration of 'Mond'. Each Khat gets a chance to lead every fourth year, thus all the four units get equal importance. The leading Khat enjoys certain rights and has certain obligations. For example, it becomes the sole organizer of the festival. It decides the date of the festival. It leads the procession on that day, and finally takes lead in throwing 'Timur' in the 'Khad'. No other Khat may reach the spot prior to the leading Khat. In case such a thing happens, it may lead to serious fights. On the other hand, the leading Khat has certain obligations too. It has to provide 'Timur' powder for the festival. It has to collect 'Timur' bark from the participating villages, and to see that it is properly ground and powdered, and that it reaches the 'Khad' before the arrival of the procession. It has to get the date for the festival fixed by the 'Pandit', and then to have this information conveyed to the other Khats, whose Sayanas, in turn, have it further spread in their own villages. It has to arrange for the animals to be sacrificed during 'Mond'. It has also to meet all the expenses during the festival.

The organizers of the 'Mond' are the Rajputs and the Sadar Sayana, or, in his absence, the Sayana of the village which has the privilege of organizing the festival in a particular year. He is supposed to be responsible for the whole affair. No discrimination is, however, made among the Sayanas of the four groups during 'Mond'.

The first rite of this festival, which is inseparably connected with fishing and with 'Timur', is the cutting of the latter (Timur) in the month of 'Baisakh'. The host villagers' priest fixes a date for this

and names the person who should strike the first axe at the tree. This rite is the first sign of the approaching festival. The villagers go out from the village and bring a twig of Timur tree, which is kept in the Mahasu's temple. The bark of the tree is crushed in *gutu* with *musso* and sent to the *ghrat* for grinding it into fine powder. This powder is used for fishing at the time of 'Mond'. It is suffocating and blinding for the fish, whose movement in water is stopped when this powder is thrown in the stream. Since this first cutting of 'Timur' bark, people in all the villages of the leading Khat of the year start cutting this bark, which has to be contributed to the common pool. This contribution is confined only to the Rajputs, for whom it is obligatory.

Part Three

The Impact of Community Development Programmes and Culture Change

WELFARE MEASURES AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

IN THE foregoing chapters, we have tried to paint a general picture of the culture pattern of Jaunsar-Bawar, in terms of the socio-economic structure as well as the ways of life and concepts of values. However, we have observed that certain differences exist between various parts of the region, and between various castes in the society. We have also noticed certain significant changes taking place from time to time, especially during the recent years, due to increased contacts of the local people with outsiders, and the increased scope and intensity of the welfare measures introduced into this area.

As mentioned before, the present study of Jaunsar-Bawar culture, and culture changes occurring there, has been made for assessing the role played by the Community Development Programmes, as also for suggesting, on the basis of the field data, steps that would assist in levelling up and stabilizing this change. Special attention has, therefore, been paid to those facts which may be regarded as additions to, modifications of, or deviations from what may be presumed to be the traditional pattern among the people — social, economic and cultural.

The investigations have been carried out according to a plan, through the method of participant observation, and, in the final stage, through a series of structured but flexible schedules used in order to find out what have been the ameliorative measures so far applied to the villages concerned, how they were implemented, how the local people responded to them and to what extent the programmes have succeeded, as also what have been the factors that have helped or

hindered the progress of the programmes and what are the real needs felt by the villagers concerned.

The collection of data has been mainly confined to three selected field centres, as mentioned before, though occasional references have been made to other places also whenever these have been possible. The investigations were mostly conducted through on-the-spot inquiries, but the investigators were advised to remain, as far as possible, impersonal and unbiased. Although information from official sources and interviews with official personnel were availed of for general reference and for control and checking purposes, this report emphasizes mainly the field finds. What we may have lost in the extensive coverage of wide areas and large number of villages appears to have been compensated by the comparatively intensive study and the reliability of the data collected.

WELFARE MEASURES BEFORE THE INCEPTION OF C. D. P.

Certain welfare measures of a routine nature were already being carried out among the villagers of Jaunsar-Bawar for quite some time, before the inception of the Community Development Programmes in 1954. Those measures were taken up both by the governmental departments and by the local self-governing bodies and reform agencies.

Social workers of various affiliations and levels have been working in Jaunsar-Bawar and adjacent hilly areas, their assignments varying from reform to economic uplift, medical aid and religious awakening. Their efforts, however, have been generally limited in scope as well as in their application. It is certain that some changes have occurred due to these influences but the more significant and permanent changes can be traceable to governmental measures, especially those of very recent date, applied to this area on a wider and larger scale.

The governmental measures have been undertaken by various departments at various levels, and have been initiated from time to time for different purposes. The District Board played the most prominent and important role in all of these welfare measures, including general and adult education, construction and maintenance of roads, sanitation and medical care, veterinary aid and the cooperative and Panchayat reforms. Many of these departmental programmes have been connected with various Directorates and Departments of the State Government of Uttar Pradesh.

In matters of communications, for example, the maintenance of the motor road, the M.E.S. (Military Engineering Service) has an important part to play, as two Regiments are stationed at the Chakrata Cantonment. The M.E.S. office at Chakrata cares for the maintenance

of the road from Chakrata down to Herbertpur, which is 36 miles from Chakrata; from there the road is looked after by the P.W.D. of the State Government. The local roads are maintained partly by the District Board and partly by the Forest Department. The latter has also established a special branch at Chakrata to carry out research work on forests and plants with a view to discovering and introducing suitable plants for supplementing the villagers' cash crops, especially for substituting poppy cultivation which had proved an important cash crop for many villagers in Bawar but which has now been banned.

All of these welfare measures, except that of the Forest and Plant Research have been connected with the C.D.P. We have already given a detailed account on Education and the Panchayats, and occasionally referred to other topics. In this chapter, we shall discuss all these measures, as also the activities of the C.D.P. at some length.

DEVELOPMENT BLOCKS: THEIR HISTORY AND JURISDICTION

The Community Development Programmes were extended to Jaunsar-Bawar on 2 October 1953, when a Community Development Block was inaugurated at Chakrata. But, as a six-month training course of the Village Level Workers had started only two months earlier, the initiation of development work in the villages could be possible only after February 1954.

The jurisdiction of the C.D. Block of Chakrata, at the beginning, covered the whole of the Chakrata Tehsil, including both Jaunsar and Bawar areas. Since March 1956, a separate N.E.S. Block was established at Kalsi to cover the lower half of the Tehsil, namely the Jaunsar area. The Chakrata Block was thus reduced in area to half its original size, but it continued to be a C.D. Block. Subsequently, in October 1956, the Chakrata Block was normalized, whereas the Kalsi Block remained an N.E.S. Block.

It seems that there has been some misunderstanding with regard to the status of the two Blocks, Kalsi and Chakrata. Both were, since the inception of the C.D.P. in Jaunsar-Bawar, brought simultaneously under the project and within the same C.D. Block of Chakrata. In March 1956, the Blocks were separated. Obviously, therefore, there was no ground to treat the two Blocks differently.

In fact, among the two major parts of this region, Jaunsar and Bawar, it is the latter which has been remote and underdeveloped, and hence needs more of developmental facilities. Instead the comparatively better developed area of Jaunsar has been put under the Kalsi N.E.S. Block, and therefore has been getting more financial support than the

backward Block. It has now become a matter of anxiety for the people of the Bawar Block, and they are pleading for more consideration from the Planning authorities to bring their Block to the level of the more advanced Kalsi Block.

Numerically, the two Blocks in Jaunsar-Bawar are not different, as shown by the population figures given in Table 1.

TABLE 1
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT BLOCKS
OF CHAKRATA AND KALSI (October 1956)

	<i>Chakrata Normal Block</i>	<i>Kalsi N.E.S. Block</i>	<i>Total</i>
Total population	30,458	28,885	59,343
Number of villages	168	215	383
Number of Khats	22	17	39
Number of V.L.W. Circles	10	10	20
Number of Adalti Panchayats	7	6	13
Number of Gram Sabhas	31	23	54

EXECUTIVE STAFF

When the C.D. Block of Chakrata was established in October 1953, the office was headed by the Dy. Collector and S.D.M. (Sub-Divisional Magistrate) of Chakrata, with the title of Dy. P.E.O. (Deputy Project Executive Officer), while there was no B.D.O. (Block Development Officer) in the Block. The Block had its headquarters at Chakrata, except for the winter months (from November till March) when it had to be shifted to Kalsi, which is situated at a much lower altitude.

Since March 1956, when this Block was divided into two, the Kalsi Block has a new B.D.O. with his headquarters at Kalsi, while the Chakrata C.D. Block, with its reduced area, had its headquarters at Chakrata and continued to be under the charge of the said Dy. P.E.O. In May 1957, however, a B.D.O. was posted at Chakrata, who took over the charge of the Normal Block, replacing the control of the Dy. P.E.O.

The assistant executive staff of the Blocks fall under two different categories. Some of them are A.D.O.s appointed to the Blocks in charge of special programmes, while others are appointed by other Departments, but work in the Blocks under the supervision of the B.D.O.s. The existing staff of each Block consists of five A.D.O.s but

only four of the branches are common for both the Blocks. These are Agriculture, Cooperatives, Social Education and the Panchayat. The fifth A.D.O. for Chakrata Block is in charge of Women's Welfare, while that for Kalsi is in charge of Animal Husbandry. The A.D.O. in charge of the Panchayat administration for both Blocks has been posted to the Block only since September 1957. Earlier, there was a Panchayat Inspector posted in the Block area by the Panchayat Directorate, who belonged to the District Panchayat Office, but worked in the Block under the supervision of the B.D.O.

Since the opening of the Blocks, there is in each Block a Sanitary Inspector, who has been posted by the Medical and Health Directorate and is under the administrative control of the D.M.O.H. (District Medical Officer of Health). He works in the Block area under the supervision of the B.D.O. in the capacity of A.D.O., Public Health. Towards the latter part of 1957, a Health Visitor (woman) has been posted here by the Health Office to look after all the six Maternity Centres in both the Blocks of Kalsi and Chakrata. The Centres were earlier looked after by the Sanitary Inspectors of the respective Blocks.

There are also in each Block a Cooperative Staff, including a Secretary of the Large-Size Cooperative Society, who is also working for the Marketing Society, and a Field Supervisor. Both belong to the District Cooperative Office but work in the Block under the supervision of the A.D.O., Cooperatives.

V.L.W. CIRCLES

During the period from the inception of the C.D. Block at Chakrata till March 1956, there were 24 V.L.W. Circles in the whole of the unified Block. When the N.E.S. Block of Kalsi was opened in March 1956, new staff was recruited. The Chakrata Block, with its reduced jurisdiction, expanded by the setting up of 19 V.L.W. Circles. This was later reduced to 15, and since October 1956, when the Block was normalized, the number of V.L.W. Circles has been further reduced to 10. The N.E.S. Block of Kalsi at present contains 10 V.L.W. Circles.

PANCHAYAT CIRCLES AND GRAM SABHAS

The Panchayat Raj Act came into force in this region in December 1953. Under this legislation, the whole area of Jaunsar-Bawar has been divided into 54 Gram Sabhas and 13 Adalti Panchayats (or Nyay Panchayats). There is in each Adalti Panchayat a Panchayat Secretary, who belongs to the District Panchayat Office. He used to work under the Panchayat Inspector, but now works under the A.D.O., Panchayat of the Block office.

The total number of Adalti Panchayats and that of the Gram Sabhas in Jaunsar-Bawar was not affected by the changes taking place in the two Blocks, but 6 Adalti Panchayats and 23 Gram Sabhas have gone to the Kalsi Block, while the remaining 7 Adalti Panchayats and 31 Gram Sabhas are included in the now diminished Chakrata Block.

C.D.P. IN ACTION

It has already been pointed out that this report is based mainly on the field data collected from the three villages under our investigation. Neither could much of the official figures be incorporated, nor the details about other villages be included. Nevertheless, it is hoped that whatever data have been gathered from the particular villages under our investigations will produce a relevant picture, more or less representative of an area much larger than the area covered by the inquiry.

The main purpose of our study, as stated earlier, is to make a general review of the traditional pattern of culture of this region, and to indicate the lines on which changes have taken place in recent years among the polyandrous hill agriculturists and the artisan groups. We have already explained the reasons and aims for the selection of the three field centres. Here, we have to point out that none of these centres had fallen in the area of the N.E.S. Block of Kalsi, which was opened about a year later than our research project, and which comprised a comparatively more advanced area of Jaunsar. It is, therefore, necessary to bear in mind that the facts presented in this chapter would reflect the situation of a comparatively less developed phase of Jaunsar-Bawar economy, but this is, naturally, more important for the purpose of our research project, which aims at unravelling the innate capacity and the consequential conditions of the hill-agricultural region in the light of the developmental measures.

PROGRAMMES, PROGRESS, AND VILLAGERS' RESPONSES

The welfare measures taken up by the C.D.P. have been of diverse kinds and wide in range. The major activities may be grouped conveniently under the following heads :

- (a) Agriculture and horticulture
- (b) Animal husbandry
- (c) Cottage industry
- (d) Public health
- (e) Education and social education

- (f) Women's welfare
- (g) Harijan welfare
- (h) Communication
- (i) Cooperative, and
- (j) Panchayat

The subjects listed above do not coincide with the sections of the development offices. Here we have also included the relevant branches of welfare work, to which the C.D.P. has been contributing financial, material, as well as technical aid in various forms. Brief accounts are given below, topic-wise, with special reference to the local response of the people and the progress and achievements of the targets.

It may be added here that the method of investigation followed by us has been different from that adopted by the P.E.O., but it is hoped that our data may also be useful for judging the 'Social Changes', or the 'changes in attitude and ways of thinking of the people'. According to the *Fourth Evaluation Report* (Vol. I, P.E.O. Publication No. 19, 1957, p. 54), the following may be adopted as the criteria for evaluation :

- (1) Awareness among the rural people of possibilities of improvement through adoption of scientific methods in various fields of activity—agriculture, animal husbandry, health and sanitation, cottage industries, etc. ;
- (2) Confidence in their own ability to adopt these practices ;
- (3) Realization of advantages of cooperative action ;
- (4) Community life ;
- (5) Understanding and cooperation between the officials and non-officials ; and
- (6) Awareness of possibilities of economic and social improvement through the development programmes, and a feeling of participation in these, among the under-privileged groups.

In the said Report (*ibid*, p. 55), the following five stages of 'Social Change' have also been suggested :

- (a) awareness of the existence of an improvement or facility ;
- (b) passive acceptance by availing of the facility or improvement offered without any particular efforts ;
- (c) preparedness to put in some effort, for availing of the facility or improvement ;
- (d) active acceptance, i.e. preparedness to make the efforts needed for continuation of the improvement or facility ; and
- (e) getting into an attitude of progress, e.g. trying new practices, making adaptations from recommended practices on own initiative.

As regards the general attitude of the rural people, the same Report says (*ibid*, p. 56) :

In any community at any time different individuals are in different stages of change. In stagnant communities, the bulk of the population has obviously not even reached

stage one. But, frequently it will be found that even in such communities there are some people who are eager to change and might even have made some experiment on their own.

It would be of interest to note that many of the people of Jaunsar-Bawar were at the stage of a 'stagnant community', as described above, even a couple of years back, say, in 1955-56, nearly two years after the inception of the C.D. Programmes in the villages. However, after another two years, that is in 1958, they were in many cases showing progress towards 'stage' three or four, if not the final stage, as described above. This very high speed of progress in terms of the 'stages', in some cases at least, must be understood in the context of the social background and the changing attitudes of the people.

AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE

Some details of the local conditions and of the developmental work with regard to agriculture and fruit-farming have already been given in connection with our discussions on the people's economic activities. It has been remarked that agriculture had been given the top-most priority in the developmental programmes, and the measures taken included the following:

- (a) New methods of cultivation of paddy and wheat
- (b) Manure and fertilizers
- (c) Canals and water-pipes for irrigation
- (d) Improved seeds
- (e) New implements
- (f) Reclamation and repairs of fields
- (g) Fruit plants and vegetables
- (h) Pesticides, and
- (i) Crop competitions and exhibitions

The Community Development Programmes received a cold reception from the farmers of Jaunsar-Bawar for quite some time and the sceptical attitudes of the villagers towards the programmes continued till about 1956. This was but natural, as no technical aid in farming had ever been extended to this area earlier. Naturally, there were more reasons for the villagers to be hesitant in their responses to the innovations introduced during the earlier years of C.D.P. than in the succeeding years.

For instance, neither the Japanese method of cultivating paddy nor the use of chemical fertilizers met with any acceptance in the upper parts of Jaunsar-Bawar, the reason being lack of water and other facilities. Villagers of Baila did not like to accept the improved seeds

because they heard that the people of Kuwanu had failed to get good results in the previous season. The Rajputs of Lohari declined to take more fruit plants without concessions, as they had suffered loss due to the early withering of saplings that they had received the year before. Similarly, some of the villagers of Lakhamandal, who started fruit farming, met with a similar fate, as most of the plants of mango and guava desiccated due to the inhospitable soil and the rigours of the climate.

Evidently, it is necessary to make sure of the utility and suitability of any innovation before it is formally introduced in a particular region. Instances may also be cited with regard to the new implements. The modernized ploughs with strong shares of large sizes and with multiple blades were found to be useless in the stony and tiny fields of Jaunsar-Bawar. The maize corn-cellar too was not appreciated by the villagers as it caused damage to the maize crop, which they could have saved while working with hands at leisure.

However, there is no point in denying the readiness of the villagers to adopt new practices and appliances, provided they were sure of the advantages and efficacy of the innovations. It was seen that some farmers did take great interest in the new implements as the seed-dresser, and the villagers were anxious to have Gamexine and D.D.T. for protecting their crops from pests. Despite the general hesitation of the villagers, there were such people as Nain Singh of Bulad of Khag Baila who purchased 100 saplings of different kinds of fruits, and Sish Ram of Lakhamandal who grew a sizable orchard and nursery. Sish Ram was much discouraged by his co-villagers when he took a loan of Rs. 200 from the Project for the purpose of establishing his farm, and many persons expected the worst to happen when they witnessed the early withering of some of Sish Ram's plants. However, Sish Ram made good use of the loan to establish his garden and fence it with a free grant of 3 maunds of barbed wire. Nowadays, seeing the healthy growth of the plants, many villagers have become eager to take the saplings.

It need not be emphasized that caution has to be exercised in selecting suitable varieties of plants and crops; and soil, climate, irrigation facilities, etc. have to be thoroughly explored. A general reference may be made to the villages in the lower parts of Jaunsar-Bawar, in the N.E.S. Block of Kalsi, where much improvement in yield has been made through the general adoption of pesticides and fertilizers. Just one example may suffice to indicate the utility of suitable application of new techniques. Table 2 shows the rapid increase of production of potato in the village Birmau, just a few miles south of Chakrata.

TABLE 2
POTATO PRODUCTION (IN KYARI) AT BIRMAU

<i>Year of Cultivation</i>	<i>No. of Cultivators (families)</i>	<i>Amount of Seeds (mds.)</i>	<i>Amount of Produce (mds.)</i>
1955	5	6	38
1956	9	15	118
1957	12	40	432
1958	14	60	about 900 (estimated)

Many cultivators of the upper reaches of the region have expressed their willingness to use fertilizers, but they must also need to solve the problem of irrigation. In this hilly region, the cultivators also need better means of communication to export their surplus produce, if any. It is also necessary to provide facilities to the local producers and cultivators to send their products for exhibition and disposal at crop competitions and annual agricultural shows.

At Baila and other parts of Bawar, the cultivators have suffered a great loss of income due to the prohibition of opium cultivation, and hence a substitute is essential. Some villagers also need guns to protect their crops from wild animals.

As regards 'community life', a usual comment of the villagers of Baila, regarding the community orchard, may be quoted: '*Panchayat to kya hamen saajhe ka kutta bhi nahin chahiye*', which means that they would not like to have even a dog in common. And their argument is that 'everybody will regard himself as competent to pluck fruits and so the orchard will be ruined'. This may be one of the reasons for the failure of the villagers of Lakhmandal in establishing a garden, though they had also the wrath of the Devi (goddess) to contend with. The belief is that only the cowherds can encroach into the fertile lands by the side of Jamuna, where she has her shrine built, and none else.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

The importance of animal husbandry for the agriculturists of the hill region of Jaunsar-Bawar has been shown in their agricultural-cum-pastoral economy, as well as in their kinship terminology which makes a senior man 'Chhani Baba' (the 'father who is with the sheep') to the children. Evidently, animal husbandry is important for the people of higher altitudes who own sheep, though people elsewhere also attach great importance to their cattle and goats and sheep.

We have noted that only in the Kalsi Block there is a specialist (A.D.O.) in charge of animal husbandry, whereas for the Chakrata Block, facilities can be had from the Veterinary Hospital, Chakrata. However, in both the Blocks, the routine care of the animals of the villagers is generally the responsibility of the V.L.W., who is the multi-purpose agent of the Block. The following are the welfare programmes under this heading :

- (a) Supply of breed cattle, sheep and goats
- (b) Supply of pedigreed fowls (usually to lower castes only)
- (c) Artificial insemination
- (d) Castration
- (e) Vaccination
- (f) Treatment of diseases of animals
- (g) Distribution of instruments
- (h) Improved cattle sheds, and
- (i) Exhibition and competition

The Veterinary Hospital of Chakrata started work before the inception of the C.D.P. in this region, but it was confined to routine activities, and only when an epidemic broke out, in some village or the other, would all the sheep and cattle of that area be inoculated. General and constant care for the villagers' livestock became the special responsibility of the C.D.P.

The villagers have developed a sceptical attitude towards the C.D.P. aid to their animals for quite some time. It was heard at Lohari in 1955 from the villagers who declined to accept the breed sheep offered by the C.D.P., ' We have a large number of sheep of our own, and if we take sheep from the government, we will be put to great trouble.' Sher Singh narrated the villagers' bitter experience: ' When the sheep falls ill, one has to report to the office at Chakrata. If it dies, he has to give explanations. In every exhibition, one has to bring all these animals there, and one can never get a prize in those contests because they are never fair.' On the same subject, another villager, who was better informed, commented, ' How can we get a prize? What does the big officer know about sheep and sheep-breeding? All is decided beforehand, as to who is going to get the prize. To get a prize, one has to beg the favour of the employees of the Stud-Ram Centres. In the sheep show, the Shepherd Master takes a sheep and shows it to the big officer and tells him how good the sheep is, and the big officer declares that sheep the best.' He concluded by ridiculing the meagre knowledge of the ' big ' officers on the subject of sheep and sheep-breeding.

The villagers had also other reasons for believing that the government would not care for their real difficulties. Once or twice, they were asked by the V.L.W. to come to the exhibition and compete with the other breeders. They took great trouble to go miles in the rains to reach the camp but they found that the officials had failed to turn up, and the exhibition naturally had to be postponed.

Pedigreed sheep and goats were generously distributed among the Harijans, while the upper castes had to purchase them, though at reasonable rates. Up to May 1956, 64 sheep were given to the Koltas of Lohari and other villages of the Khat Dhanau. Some shears and combs were also given to a few Koltas, and medicines were distributed freely for the treatment of more than 1,200 animals in the Khat. Till then, much enthusiasm and confidence was created among all the classes of villagers who came to the V.L.W. frequently for veterinary aid. The same situation was also found among the villagers of other Khats and other areas.

For breeding of sheep, two centres have been established, one at Kunian and the other at Masak. These are looked after by the Stockmen, Shepherd Masters and Shepherds. From these centres breed sheep are distributed to various villages. The villagers receive them on the condition that after four years they will return one and a quarter times the number of the sheep raised. At the beginning, there was much reluctance against receiving sheep from these centres, but when the villagers realized the benefits of the new breed, they became more cooperative. It was noticed, however, that the villagers refused to take the Australian sheep because they have long tails and according to the villagers they resemble cows.

After the last four years' work on the herds, the general atmosphere is now pretty healthy. Villagers are confident about the improvement in their sheep as a result of the adoption of new breeds. Inoculation has been done on a large scale. Castration and medical treatment by the V.L.W. have become popular. Artificial insemination, however, has in many cases failed to instil confidence. Almost all the villagers of Lohari had sent some of their sheep to the insemination centres at Deoban and Budher, but many of the sheep failed to conceive and the breed produced by some other sheep was very ordinary. This raised doubts in the mind of the villagers and complaints in abundance were received against both the quality and the quantity of the semen administered.

At Lakhmandal, where the low altitude does not suit the sheep, there has been a great need to improve the cattle, including cows, bulls and buffaloes. The improvement needed is not merely related to the breed and the treatment of diseases, but also to the supply of fodder.

Often it was found that some villagers kept a greater number of cattle than the availability of fodder would justify. As a result, the cattle were weak and inefficient for field work. Fodder has been a constant problem for the local residents. Castration of goats has been successfully performed by the V.L.W., but the villagers are more anxious about their cattle, for which more veterinary aid is required.

The attitude of the villagers towards cattle could be gauged from the instance of the villagers of Lohari who refused to purchase an Australian bull offered by the C.D.P. at a nominal price. According to the villagers, the following reasons had weighed against the acceptance of the offer :

- (a) The bull was offered to the whole village. It required raising money from different persons, each of whom would like to have priority of use. The persons who have more cattle would have to retain the bull for more time, while others would not like it. Arrangements for housing the bull would also be difficult and may lead to bickerings.
- (b) Feeding the bull was another serious problem. The maintenance account would be big, and raising funds for it would be difficult.
- (c) The villagers were not sure whether the bull could stand the cold climate of the village.

All the problems presented above point to the need for improving the livestock of the villagers. The latter are prepared and even anxious to settle the problems with the assistance of C.D.P.

As regards poultry, it is a matter of tradition that the fowls are usually reared and eaten only by the lower castes, mostly the Bajgis and Koltas. The latter rear pigs and eat pork. Of late, the C.D.P. has come to supply some fowls of standard breed to those villagers who used to rear them, but not much of poultry farming is done nor is there much demand for it from the people.

COTTAGE INDUSTRY

There has been no specialist in charge of cottage industries in either of the Blocks at Chakrata or Kalsi, but certain kinds of material assistance to the villagers have been provided through the V.L.W.s. Besides, there are vocational training-cum-production centres for various trades established and maintained by both the C.D.P. and the Industries Department.

The welfare measures with regard to cottage industry have been introduced in Jaunsar-Bawar only very recently. The District Industries Office had been running several training-cum-production centres in

this Tehsil, and the Development Block added a few more centres. A Divisional Superintendent of Industries has been posted at Chakrata who supervises the work of the centres financed by the C.D.P.

Training-cum-production centres have been opened at various places which suit particular trades, and which impart technical training to the village youths coming from different places. The main centre is located at the Brewery, about 6 miles from Chakrata, but for some time the Industries Department has been thinking of shifting the centre to Chakrata proper to popularize the departmental work. Various sub-centres have been established at several places in Jaunsar-Bawar. The assignments of the Department include carpentry, wool-weaving, trailoring, brassware, paper-making, leather work, as well as tailoring (the last one is meant for women).

Each of the centres takes in some ten or more apprentices who come not only from the villages in Jaunsar-Bawar, but also from the neighbouring areas of Tehri-Garhwal. They are given stipends of Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 per month, for different periods; this may be adjusted according to the stage of advancement in the particular training. Besides learning the professional skills, the trainees also produce, with the help of their instructors, various sorts of handicrafts which are sold, the profits being spent on maintenance. The centres also accept orders from the public for particular products.

It has been observed that many villagers hesitate to send their children for the training as they are not sure about the possibility of their getting proper employment after the completion of the training. It is also felt by the villagers that the stipend for the trainee is, in some cases, too meagre, and so they are unable to maintain themselves. Thus, there is yet much to be done not only with regard to the popularization of the trainings but also the facilities for the trainees.

There has been a Sericulture Scheme, which started work in 1954, with a centre at Sahiya, having two workers on the staff. The work was started in ten villages. The production season is from April to July, when the required temperature for the industry — 60 to 90 degrees Fahrenheit — is available. This scheme has helped many a villager in improving his traditional technique as well as his subsidiary income, and it is expected that this industry will be further developed. There has also been a scheme for bee-keeping, which may be developed in certain areas. Recently, the C.D.P. has also been supplying bee-hive boxes to the village schools. Both these industries appear to have prospects for the future.

The C.D.P. has distributed some improved implements for cottage industries to the villagers through the V.L.W. The Harijans may get the spindles and spinning wheels (Charkha) free of charge, and also

the costly sewing machines on loan, whereas the high castes may purchase them at moderate prices. Enthusiasm has been on the increase among many villagers for these technical aids, and the Koltas, some of whom are traditional experts at weaving wool, are anxious to improve their trade by the new handlooms and other apparatus which may be had. Improved techniques and other facilities are also needed to be extended to such indigenous industries as basketry and rope-making which are mostly the occupations of the under-privileged groups in the village population.

PUBLIC HEALTH AND SANITATION

Public health and sanitation have no doubt to be given top priority in planning for village welfare. The problems connected with them should be brought in sharp focus and solved before any progress is possible. Many of the relevant problems among the residents in Jaunsar-Bawar had been tackled long before the inception of C.D.P. in this area, and had been taken up both by the government departments and by the public, but more intensive and extensive programmes have been initiated by the C.D.P. only since its inception. An analytical account of the major programmes and important achievements and lacunae may be given here in some detail, under the following heads :

- (a) General sanitation
- (b) Drinking water schemes
- (c) Housing facilities, public latrine and community bathrooms
- (d) Personal hygiene
- (e) Traditional conception of disease and ways of treatment
- (f) Dispensary and general medical aid
- (g) Epidemics and vaccination, and
- (h) Special diseases and medical teams

General Sanitation

The land in Jaunsar-Bawar is so rugged that there is nowhere a flat ground of sufficient size for building a number of houses, hence no village settlement is found on one level. It is the topography which makes most of the villages untidy in appearance, and the lack of sense of cleanliness among the people makes the surroundings even more insanitary.

All sorts of rubbish used to be thrown just in front of the houses and strewn over all the village paths. Water was allowed to stagnate here and there; consequently, flies and mosquitoes bred in abundance. Rotten garbage and cattle excreta were heaped up before every byre, while night-soil lay scattered inside the village settlement. This night-

soil dried up during summer, and its particles were freely blown about fouling the atmosphere. During the rains, all this dirt became a thick paste, covering the lanes and alleys. This was the village scene which one used to notice till a couple of years ago.

The V.L.W.s and the Panchayat Secretaries had a very hard time initiating Sanitary Drives, which were often held on some festival occasions, so as to improve the general cleanliness, as well as to construct soakage pits and drains. But it was a very difficult job to persuade the villagers to reform their age-old habits. The Panchayat Secretary often had to carry out the decision of the Panchayati Adalat of imposing a fine of a rupee or two on the household which was found dirtier than others. At Baila, for instance, seven of the villagers were even summoned to the S.D.M.'s court at Chakrata, owing to the non-payment of such fines. All these measures have, however, brought to the villages a realization of environmental sanitation and medical aid.

The rugged topography has remained as it was before, and the limited village site and the narrow gaps between the untidy huts cannot be widened. To keep a clean and tidy appearance of the settlements would require constant care and labour and would be an addition to the already too busy routine of their daily life. Many of the lower castes say they do not know where to keep their fowls, when they are asked by the V.L.W. not to allow the birds to peck in the village yards. They think that the birds would die if they were all the time confined to pens.

The most serious and difficult part of the problem of general sanitation is connected with the heaps of filth accumulated on footpaths just outside the village, and also the night-soil scattered over the place. A night traveller in this region could easily choke with the stink of a village from a distance of half a mile. These are the practical problems which the villagers of Jaunsar-Bawar have yet to solve.

Drinking Water Schemes

The C.D.P. has claimed its greatest success in its schemes of providing drinking water to the villagers. This has been achieved through financial assistance and methods of persuasion. It has taken no less than four years and more than a lakh of rupees for the water-pipes and reservoirs (*diggi*) to be constructed in over a hundred needy villages of the two Development Blocks in Jaunsar-Bawar.

Water scarcity has been, in fact, a problem generally felt by the villagers in Jaunsar-Bawar, and it was more serious in some villages than in others. This problem had been tackled by the local government in a small way since decades, but it was not tackled on a large scale until the opening of the C.D. Block in Chakrata. The final solution

of the problem has yet to be achieved. The difficulty lies in the fact that the problem is not only one of material requirement, but is complicated in many ways by social, economic and religious considerations.

Often water has to be tapped by pipes from a source located two or three miles away from the village site. The C.D.P. has been supplying pipes of 1 inch, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch diameters in large numbers, and it also usually provides one-third of the total cost of the construction of the pipe-line and reservoir. But the problem is not an easy one. We have already seen that the water supply may even be connected with kinship and lineage organization of the villagers, such as was the case in Baila, where the construction of the reservoir was delayed for more than a year due to the unwillingness to cooperate of the families belonging to the *Daland aal* (lineage), who were the hereditary owners of the water-source.

For the villagers of Lohari, the solution of the problem of drinking water has been sought for since earlier than the last generation, but the problem is not satisfactorily settled even now. It is said that some forty years ago the villagers had a wooden drain which carried water from the source to the storage tank or well. Both the source and the well are still there and are used by the villagers at present. The wooden drain was frequently found to leak and the villagers had to make repairs and replace the damaged parts. During the early twenties of this century, government extended help to the people of Jaunsar-Bawar for the supply of adequate drinking water. Thereupon, the Tehsildar visited the village and made a grant for the construction of a pipe-line. The material was provided by the government, and the pipe-line was constructed by the villagers to replace the old wooden drain. This pipe-line worked well for about two decades, with minor repairs from time to time, a major leakage occurred in the pipes in 1940, and the pipe-line finally became useless in 1948.

After that, the villagers had to fetch water right from the source far up the hillock above the villages. It was in 1950, when the S.D.M. of Chakrata visited Lohari, that he found the old pipes lying idle and asked the villagers to reconstruct the pipe-line, or else he would give them to some other village. Meanwhile, a grant of material worth Rs. 600 was made to them, the villagers contributing its equivalent, and the pipe-line was reconstructed in 1951 by a mechanic from Jaunsar. The water tank was shifted to a higher level, and the new pipe was $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter while the old one was one inch. This new pipe-line worked well for only a few months, for soon afterwards the supply of water decreased as a result of leakage in the reservoir. The villagers were in great trouble again for the next four or five years, until the pipe-line was repaired and the tank lowered down again to

the previous level, with the help of C.D.P. in 1955-56. Even then, the villagers chose to stick to the tank, a shallow well, instead of a reservoir with a tap. The Koltas of Lohari are even now not free to draw water from the well by themselves with their own vessels, but have to wait daily for some kind-hearted Rajput lady to pour water into their bags. Even some Rajputs have been complaining that it was a tax on them to have to draw water for the Koltas. All this was mainly due to a lack of leadership in the village, as the traditional Sayana of Lohari has been very unpopular among the villagers.

At Lakhmandal, the villagers used to have two separate water sources for the high and low castes, but the water supply often fell short of the requirement. With the C.D.P. assistance, a pipe-line was constructed there in 1955-56. The water was taken from a source near the village Bhatar at a distance of two and a half miles away from Lakhmandal, and it took more than a year for the pipe-line to reach the village. Due to the non-cooperation of the villagers, construction of a reservoir in the village could not be carried out for another two years after the completion of the pipe-line, despite the fact that its usefulness was well known.

The most serious shortage of drinking water was in a village near Baila, known as Asoi, where people had to depend on the thick muddy water of a ditch for drinking purposes. After the inception of C.D.P., Asoi was given top priority for the supply of drinking water but surprisingly enough the offer of pipes with a grant of thousands of rupees was not accepted by the villagers until the end of 1957. The reason for this was the unwillingness of a few Rajput families to share water from the same source with their Kolta co-villagers. The difficulty was overcome only after a strict order had been issued by the District Magistrate following his visit to the village in December 1957, and the construction was carried out under the supervision of the Sanitary Inspector-cum-A.D.O., Public Health, of the Chakrata Block.

Housing, Public Latrines, and Community Bathrooms

Certain facilities for housing and innovations such as model houses, public latrines and community bathrooms have also been provided by the C.D.P., but the villagers generally prefer to stick to their traditional arrangements.

Model houses have been introduced in a few villages only, but grants were made to villagers in general to get cement and tin-sheets to build better houses, storage and cattle sheds. Initially, a number of villagers came forward to avail of the facilities for cement and tin-sheets for their new constructions but the main houses remain as they

were. The old wooden structures, they feel, are better for the purpose of keeping warm in the severe winters, and also good for allowing ample space for storage of goods inside the wide wooden walls.

Experiments and proposals for public latrines and community bathrooms were also made by the C.D.P. at certain villages. It was, however, seen that few of the villagers of Bulad, near Baila, had shown any enthusiasm towards the public latrine provided for them by the Project Office with a grant of Rs. 125. Generally they are accustomed to using the open field as latrines, which they find more convenient. The community bathrooms also are not very popular with them; they rarely take bath. When they do bathe, they have their own arrangement at home, and it is found to be very convenient and suitable in the cold winter. It has been seen among the Rajputs of Lohari that the mistress of the house has a duty to bathe the family members by rotation, one person daily in the winter months. A bucket full of boiling water is used for the purpose. The person taking bath is seated on a verandah on the rear side of the living room in the upper storey or 'Baur', where there is an outlet for water. The water, while it is still hot, is poured on his back by the mistress. She also rubs his body. After the bath, he is seated inside the room near the hearth, is given a bowl of wine and oil is applied to his head and body, which are massaged thoroughly. The bath in this way is very refreshing and one who has experienced it would never appreciate any other kind.

Personal Hygiene

In this hilly region people do not care much for their personal hygiene. It starts right from their living habits. In a hut where all the family members stay, all persons, old and young, male and female, even if they are ten or more in number, sleep in the single room, 'Baur', which is hardly 15 feet by 18 feet in area. The doors and windows are small. These are kept shut at night when all the family members are sleeping inside. Nobody seems to care if the air is foul and choking. In fact it is especially suffocating during the winter when a fire is kept burning all the time in the room.

Taking a bath is a rare habit among the villagers, who do not even wash their mouths frequently. They wear thick woollen coats and other garments continuously for very long periods. The wearer hardly ever washes his clothes, which are dirtied by careless use and by squatting on the ground.

Of late, a change has been visible in the daily life of the people, especially of those who have been more in contact with the outsiders and those who are better off. Family bathrooms have been added to some of the households and bathing has become a more frequent

routine for some persons. A general change in the attitude towards personal hygiene has also been noticed in the desire of the villagers for modern medical treatments.

Traditional Conception of Diseases and Treatments

Although modern medicines have reached the people of Jaunsar-Bawar, the traditional theory of disease and the indigenous ways of treatment are still current among them. It has been seen clearly among the villagers of Baila and Lohari, as well as elsewhere, that superstition still plays a big part in their life.

The villagers, in most cases, believe that illness is due to the wrath of deities or spirits, or due to somebody's curse and witchcraft. Except in cases of venereal diseases, for which they will try to get injections from a hospital, whenever they suffer from any malady they will first go to the village temple and pray before Lord Mahasu. Where modern medicines have been accepted, the usual practice is that both the medicines and magico-religious practices are taken recourse to, even in such simple mishaps as cuts, wounds or even the slightest bruise. Supa, a poor Rajput of Baila, once had his index finger injured, for which he was given some ointment after a Dettol application. He had no objection to this treatment, yet he invited a Bajgi of the same village to perform some magical rites. When asked about this, Supa smiled and averred that some sort of *pap* (sin) was the cause of his trouble.

Headaches and stomach troubles, which are common ailments in the village, are treated in a similar way. When asked as to why they go in for modern medicines at all, the reply inevitably is that magico-religious rites may have a curative effect, and as they are not sure, why not try them as well.

Very recently, Dhinga's daughter-in-law fell ill after delivery, and her condition became serious soon afterwards. The doctor of the ayurvedic dispensary of Kuwanu, nine miles from Baila, was called in when the usual magico-religious performances with the sacrifice of a goat failed to improve her condition. The doctor wanted to give her a few injections, but nobody agreed to this. Dhinga said that they would wait till next morning, and only if she did not improve the injections should be given. The fact was they had just offered a goat to the deity in order to remove the *dosh* (curse), and they wanted to see the effect. But the condition of the woman was so serious that she became unconscious, and the doctor insisted that injections should be given immediately. After much persuasion and discussion, he was allowed to give her one injection, but was prevented from giving any other. The doctor went away fuming and fretting, cursing the people

for their superstitious minds. The patient died one and a half hours later.

Some Pandits from Sirmur also come to find out by divination the cause of the diseases. It was seen at Lohari, when Amar Singh was ill, that a Khoju Pandit was called from Kudkiyan in Sirmur. The Pandit had a big book which was hand-written and bound in leather. To open the book, a Kasturi deer's tooth, having an eye or slit on one end through which a thread was tied, was used. The other end of the thread was tied to the book. He also carried a rectangular piece of the deer's tooth on which numbers were marked. All members of the family of Amar Singh asked the Pandit various questions. The Pandit shook the rectangular piece in his hand and after reciting some *mantras*, he threw it on the book. Then he read the numbers and opened the book to read out the corresponding verse. The family asked more questions, and the Pandit performed the act again and again, but he stuck to the same verse. He declared, 'Your illness is due to a curse of the goddess Pori. She must be propitiated. You have to offer a *tika* of gold with vermilion and cloth to the Devi.' The family agreed to it and all were happy. In the evening Amar Singh came out of his house and said that he felt somewhat better.

Various kinds of indigenous herbs have been known and some of the villagers, like Madho Nath of Lohari, are known experts of such medicines. But villagers may also administer the medicines themselves. Once Dallu Singh found blood in his urine. When advised to go to Chakrata for treatment at the government dispensary, he said he would first try to cure himself. After a few days, when he became all right, he came to tell the investigator, 'You see, I am now all right. Had I been to Chakrata, I would have spent at least ten rupees.'

Dispensaries and General Medical Aid

Facilities of modern medical aid, and also for medicines, though not as yet sufficient, have been generally provided for the villagers. Nine dispensaries have been functioning in various parts of Jaunsar-Bawar, but many villages are even now fifteen miles or more from the nearest dispensary. This is a great distance in view of the precipitous climb on rocky hills and the deep chasms they have to negotiate.

The general dispensaries are run by the Department of Medical and Health Services and use both allopathic and ayurvedic medicines. Besides, there are the mobile teams sent by the Medical Department for the eradication of venereal diseases and leprosy. There are also the leprosy clinics maintained by the Ashok Ashram of Kalsi. Arrangements have been made by the C.D.P. to equip these dispensaries with some medicines and appliances.

Six maternity centres operate, three each in the two Blocks of Kalsi and Chakrata. These have been established by the District Medical and Health Unit, and the work of these centres was formerly under the supervision of a Sanitary Inspector, who worked as the A.D.O., Public Health, of the respective Blocks, but is now under the woman Health Visitor, who has been appointed to look after all the maternity centres of the two Blocks, since 1957. The centres are under the charge of trained midwives, who work for the villages lying within a five-mile radius of the respective centres. They also distribute general medicines to the villagers, and impart training in midwifery to some village women. Their services have become popular.

Modern medicines have also been made widely available for the villagers through the V.L.W. Each V.L.W. is given a First-Aid Box and he distributes medicines for ordinary ailments among the villagers in his Circle. In fact, it is only the villagers of the V.L.W. headquarters who can avail of his services, as he cannot be present at all the other villages in his Circle. Hence, the distribution of medicines has also been entrusted to Panchayat Secretaries and the schoolmasters. At Lohari, for instance, there is neither a V.L.W. nor a Panchayat Secretary, but the ordinary medicines for the villagers' daily needs have been available with the village school teacher, who seems to take a good deal of interest in the work, as is obvious from the daily attendance at his place.

It is true that modern medicines are becoming popular in the villages nowadays. But the insufficiency of medical aid in the villages and the need of further propaganda for scientific treatments should by no means be overlooked. An example or two may be cited here to illustrate the actual situation and the changing attitude and practices of the villagers. Jasram, the late Sayana of Lohari, who died in December 1957, was a case in point. He was suffering from asthma for quite some time, and he insisted on the traditional treatment until the case deteriorated. The schoolmaster's medicine box could do nothing. Then he came to the government dispensary for a day, and went back without taking a full treatment. He died in a few days, after using some more doses of native prescriptions. His case is only one of the numerous ones, in which village patients are deprived of proper treatment due to the distance of the village from the dispensary. The case mentioned before about the woman who died in Baila is another example.

Baila has in many ways been judged as one of the most 'backward' villages in Jaunsar-Bawar, mainly due to its inaccessibility. There is not much difference in the condition of the other villages in Khat Bharam. It is only for the last few years that, with slight improvement in communications, contacts with outsiders have begun, and the

villagers of Baila, as also people of other villages in the same Khat, have started to realize the efficacy of modern medicines. Complaints have come from the villagers of Baila that no medicine has been kept in the village, as the V.L.W. and the Panchayat Secretary are residing nine miles away at Kandoi. They are anxious that a hospital should be opened at Kandoi for the benefit of all the villages of the Khat, as also those of the neighbouring Khats. All these point to the fact that villagers even from the remotest parts of the country have responded to modern medical aid, but the existing facilities are yet too insufficient for their needs.

Epidemics and Preventive Measures

Epidemics of the common kind, such as small-pox and measles, are not infrequent in this region. Often the villagers are found not to have taken proper precautions against such diseases, or else they were helpless. It was seen that children suffering from small-pox were not segregated, and that the usual food was served to the patient despite his running a high temperature. At Baila, it was seen that the daughter of the well-to-do Village Sayana was not kept in isolation but was allowed to move freely while she had measles. On the other hand, when there was an epidemic of measles in the same village in the winter of 1955, the villagers requested the C.D.P. for medical help, but in vain, and, as a result, two of the children died of this disease.

Vaccination against small-pox has been given to villagers by both the V.L.W. and the staff of the Medical and Health Department. Recently, villagers have shown a good response to vaccination, so much so that sometimes the stock of vaccine runs short and, due to the poor communication and transport, a number of villagers are left uninoculated. Occasionally cholera inoculations are also given, particularly through annual camps organized at a few selected places in Jaunsar-Bawar, and during the summer doctors and attendants from the Gandhi Eye Hospital of Aligarh visit the area with their mobile eye hospital.

Disinfectants have also been used when needed. At Lohari, for instance, drinking water comes from a shallow well which is open all the time and therefore is often found to be dirty. At present, care is taken to disinfect the water with potassium permanganate every three months. This is the job of the schoolmaster. Disinfection of houses has also been carried out in some villages. The V.L.W. has been given D.D.T. and Gamexine as well as the spray pumps. The pump is, however, so heavy that it cannot always be brought by the V.L.W. to the villages from his headquarters, where he keeps it, and the villagers have to spray the powders themselves.

Special Diseases and Medical Teams

The incidence of venereal diseases and leprosy has been pretty high in Jaunsar-Bawar, for which the Health Department has provided two special mobile teams for general treatment and eradication. Both teams are working under competent doctors. The V.D. Team started work in 1953, with one doctor and one compounder. The Leprosy Team consists of three Class I doctors with accessory personnel, and has been functioning in this region since 1955 with the aid of a special grant from the Central Government.

Both the teams have their headquarters at Dehra Dun, and they usually go on tour according to the programmes arranged by the District Civil Surgeon. They tour all over the area of Jaunsar-Bawar and set up their camps at various places for a month or so at a time. The doctors have been taking pains to visit the villages in the interior and to persuade the villagers to come for treatment. They are handicapped, no doubt, as no census has yet been conducted on the actual incidence of these diseases, and as they are not equipped with the necessary apparatus for blood tests to ascertain the percentage of those suffering from such diseases. There has not been much propaganda on the right lines.

Generally speaking, while the work of the Leprosy Team has been very encouraging, that of the V.D. Team has failed. The reason is both technical and cultural. Leprosy may be endemic, and the Team, which usually sets up camps annually at a few selected places where the disease is more prevalent than elsewhere, has been able to treat the few known patients and to arrest its spread. Hence, the disease has not spread to other villages. There are also the leprosy clinics run by the Ashok Ashram. The villagers also have been cooperating with the administration, in getting the leprosy cases localized by isolating them.

The case of V.D. is, however, different and the failure of the Team should be traced to local customs, and the lack of social awareness.

Both the types of V.D. are found in Jaunsar-Bawar, namely syphilis and gonorrhoea. Gonorrhoea has been so widespread that the local people do not regard it as a disease, and therefore are callous about it. Syphilis is not so regarded, and the villagers are anxious to get rid of it. The annual roll of V.D. patients coming to the mobile team for treatment was said to be between four and five hundred. Most likely there are also many patients who go to the general dispensaries at various places. Many, however, do not receive any treatment or ask for it. It has further been noticed that most of the patients of V.D. have secondary and even tertiary infections.

It is difficult to trace the origin of V.D., but the villagers of Baila believe that it first came from the Lohari side just a few decades back.

Villagers generally are aware of the prevalence of the disease among them, and some of them have realized that its prevalence was mainly due to their customary polyandrous family system, and the customary latitude in the behaviour of *dhyantis*. Once a man gets V.D., he infects his brothers through their common wives. Further, due to the laxity of sexual mixing with the *dhyantis*, the village youths are affected, and they infect the *dhyantis* of their own village, besides their own wives, and these *dhyantis* and wives carry the disease to other villages.

So long as the customs do not change, it will remain difficult for the doctors to cure the V.D. patients. Often the people do not take the disease seriously, and it is only when the disease takes a serious turn that they come to the camps for injections and treatment. Further difficulty lies in the fact that a full course of treatment takes three months or more, whereas the patients usually leave the camp before they are completely cured, and they are infected again through their indulgence with those who suffer from the disease. This is why V.D. has been so widely spread and so difficult to eliminate.

It is clear that unless the local customs change, through the general awakening of the people, the eradication of V.D. from the region will not be possible. The traditional attitude of the local people towards the matter may be clearly seen from the term they use for the disease, which is known as 'Devi ka Prasad', which means 'the gift of the goddess'. They are not worried about such a 'gift'. Thus the solution of the problem of eradication of V.D. from this area is more cultural than therapeutical, and it can only succeed if all the people of the entire region of Jaunsar-Bawar, and certain neighbouring districts as well, become socially conscious, and offer organized resistance to the disease. The customs that prevent and prejudice the measures adopted to eradicate the disease must be understood in their relevant contexts and medical administration must begin with a frontal attack on the customary sexual latitude, with the cooperation of the Panchayat and the traditional *khumri*.

Sponsored Change and Community Response

THE formal system of school education was introduced in Jaunsar-Bawar about a century ago and the schools depended for their maintenance mostly upon the District Board. The majority of the schools were, as mentioned earlier, opened only recently in two batches, in 1947-48 and 1949. Till 1956, there were 84 primary schools, 5 Junior High Schools, and one Upper Middle School, with a total number of nearly 2,500 students on the rolls. These figures are impressive in view of the small size of the population in the area (which is less than 60,000). However, the real problems here lie in the villagers' attitude towards the schools, and the actual help which the existing system of education can offer to the village community.

As a matter of fact, what the villagers need is an effective institution which may turn their children into more useful persons so as to benefit the family. With this purpose in view, the villagers had been taking part in the School Managing Committee and had been contributing much time and labour in building up the schools. Afterwards, however, they were disappointed to find that the schools could not produce more capable students. Most of the villagers could not afford to educate their wards beyond the classes of the primary school in the village, and the boys, after finishing the fifth standard, had no other choice but to return to their usual work of grazing the cattle or helping in agricultural operations, which they could do as well without having studied in the school. Here, therefore, lie the villagers' grievance and complaint that they had lost the children's useful services for several years without getting any benefit, and hence their hesitation in sending their children to school.

It is certain that school education cannot be very useful unless the curriculum is properly modified and adjusted to the rural conditions and local needs. Nevertheless, there are other important reasons for the poor results of school education. It was seen that the number of

students varied greatly from place to place, and that it also fluctuated a great deal in the same school from time to time, due to the change of teachers or the condition of the school building. For instance, the number of students on the roll of the same school at Lohari fluctuated considerably according as the schoolmasters were changed, whereas that at Lakhamandal jumped suddenly from a dozen or so to more than 30, as soon as the school building was constructed. The same reasons have also operated elsewhere to determine the number of students, which varies from less than half a dozen in certain cases to more than 40 in others.

The formal system of education is outside the scope of the C.D.P. But the Community Development Project has contributed liberally in matters of the construction and repairs of school buildings, supply of additional equipments to the schools, including maps, charts and scientific instruments, as well as improvement in the school environment. Their V.L.W.s have made efforts to enroll more students for the schools and to collect donations of land for gardens for some schools. The Panchayats in the villages have also been empowered to levy fines, in certain cases, on those villagers who fail to send their wards to school.

We have already discussed some of the achievements of the C.D.P. in this connection, and we have also suggested some practical means of improving the position of the school teacher in the village community through his active participation in certain routine C.D.P. works in the villages, and in propaganda work for the C.D.P.

SOCIAL EDUCATION

Social Education has been a specialized branch of Community Development Programmes, and there is in both of the Blocks of Chakrata and Kalsi an A.D.O. in charge of this. Social Education or 'Samajik Shiksha' is meant for training the villagers to cooperate with government in the implementation of the development schemes. Through the Social Education 'drive', the villagers are made socially aware, so that they may become more receptive to the innovations planned and introduced by the government.

With this aim in view, emphasis has been put on the following items:

- (a) Adult education and literacy drive
- (b) Library and community meeting centre ('Samajik Milan Kendra')
- (c) Cultural programmes and recreation

- (d) Improvement in celebrations of community festivals
- (e) Training camps for basic teachers, and
- (f) Training camps for village leaders

For adult literacy, the Community Project planned to open night schools in villages. In 1954-55, 19 adult literacy schools were opened in different villages, and after a six-month training course, 194 students were awarded certificates of merit. In the next year, the C.D.P. planned to open 46 adult schools. For this, 24 primary school teachers, 10 women and 14 men, were recruited from different villages. They were given a special course of training in Social Education for a period of five weeks in August-September 1955. The training comprised the following subjects: personal hygiene, animal husbandry, cooperatives and the panchayat system, adult education, agriculture, horticulture, silk industry, and social work and *shramdan*.

After the training, the trainees had to appear for a test. Those who succeeded were sent back to their respective villages to start work in social education. They were also expected to help the V.L.W. and other Project staff in the Project work. The teacher of Lohari had been one of these trainees in 1955-56. He opened a night school at Lohari in October 1955, in order to give training to the villagers in the relevant subjects and also to propagate the mission of the C.D.P.

Sixteen adult villagers (all male) joined the said night school. Six of them were Koltas while the rest were Rajputs. At that time the C. D. Block of Chakrata had one A.D.O. in charge of social education and two field teachers, who were expected to help in the training course, and the V.L.W. of the Circle who was expected to supervise the work of the village teachers in adult education. During the six-month training period, one of the field teachers came once to inspect the school while the V.L.W. came twice, but the A.D.O. Social Education did not come at all. Although the teacher was expected to give training to the adults in all the eight subjects mentioned above, the actual lessons given were only in the use of the alphabets and in simple arithmetic, addition, subtraction, multiplication and division.

In March 1956, the terminal examination was to be held under the A.D.O. or the field teachers, but none of them came for it. The V.L.W. asked the teacher to take the examination, which he did accordingly. Eight persons including three Kolta candidates passed the examination and the result sheet was handed over to the V.L.W.

The attendance of these 16 adult students was very irregular throughout the period of training. There was no enthusiasm among the villagers; a common excuse was the pressure of work in the field. Those who joined the adult school felt that they did not derive the benefits they

had expected. The teacher told them that if they secured pass marks in the examination they would be given certificates by the collector. The certificate was the only attraction for the people to attend the school occasionally. The aims and purposes of the school were never properly explained to the students or the villagers by the teacher, nor was general enthusiasm aroused by the Project officials whose visits to the village were rare and brief. Even the V.L.W. during that period could not spare time to look after the arrangements.

During the same period, when the V.L.W. asked the villagers of Baila to start an adult night school, the villagers declined to come forward and instead gave excuses. Firstly, they said that after the day's hard work they were too tired and exhausted to come to the school for training. Some villagers said that they did not think they were fit for studies as they had become old. Some others just did not understand the utility of literacy in old age. It seemed that what the villagers required was constant goading and repeated persuasion; a single talk on the subject by the Village Level Worker had little effect.

Community Meeting Centres were opened at certain key villages, most of which were the V.L.W. Circle headquarters. In 1956, 19 reading rooms and 24 libraries were opened at different villages in addition to a central library at Chakrata. The reading rooms and libraries were also supplied with certain periodicals like *Sewagram*, *Nirman*, *Himalaya*, *Krishi aur Pashu Palan*, *Dharti ke Lal*, *Mandir*, etc. At certain places the reading rooms and libraries had to be made permanent, so that a membership subscription of Re. 1 per individual was charged. Institutional membership was fixed at Rs. 5. In the first two years, 48 persons and 6 organizations were enrolled.

Cultural programmes and recreational activities were arranged according to the local conditions by the V.L.W.s concerned. These included dramas, folk songs and dances, sports and games. Youth clubs were also organized in certain villages whenever it was possible. At Lakhamandal, for instance, the village youths often get together, with or without the presence of the V.L.W., to play volley-ball on the spacious village *angan* near the Shiva temple. But the villagers of Lohari, though they have shown much interest in contributing money for the establishment of the Community Meeting Centre, youth club and children's playground, could not secure any suitable space in the village for the purpose. At Baila, the V.L.W. had been successful in securing a playground. The school teacher, with the help of children, had already taken an initiative in this direction, but they were unable to finish the work. The V.L.W. got the work completed with the help of the villagers and the ground was soon turned into a village *angan*, where the villagers could meet and play in the evenings.

Radio sets have been supplied by the C.D.P. to some villages at a concessional rate of Rs. 75, but the scheme has not yet been extended to many villages, nor have the radio programmes been popularized among the masses in those villages where there are radio sets. The persons connected with the Panchayat organization used to monopolize the use of the radio, while the ordinary villagers could seldom enjoy or understand the programmes broadcast. It is just likely that the villagers are unaware of the existence of the Community Centre in the village. At Baila, a radio set was purchased in 1956 due to the personal interest taken in community welfare by the well-to-do Village Sayana, who is also the Sarpanch of the Panchayati-Adalat of that area. As there is no Panchayat Ghar in the village, the radio set is installed in his own house which is located in the central part of the village. A loudspeaker is fixed on the roof of the house to broadcast the radio programmes for all villagers, but very few people took any interest in it. Some women even complained against the noise made by the music and film songs which they were unable to follow. At Lohari, in 1957, a few enthusiastic villagers, with the help of the school teacher and the V.L.W., raised the required sum of money and deposited it with the Project office for a radio, but the radio was not issued as the usual formalities were not completed, and also due to the absence of the A.D.O. Social Education who went to Ranchi for a two-month training. As a result, much of the enthusiasm of the villagers died down, and many of them even lost all interest in the activities of the Project.

Other programmes of propaganda have been organized on certain occasions, like the national and local festivals, when social gatherings were arranged by the V.L.W. or the school teacher. Often *shramdan* for the repair of village tracks or for cleanliness was organized, besides some games or sports competitions among the villagers, and lectures on the significance of the National Day etc. as may be given by the school teacher. At Lohari, the villagers showed much enthusiasm in celebrating the Independence Day on 15 August 1957. They cooperated with the school teacher in the special programmes arranged at the school, and contributed *shramdan* to repair a two-furlong path leading down from the Lower Simla Road towards the village Lohari. At Block level, annual 'Kisan Melas' have attracted many villagers, some of whom send their agricultural product and sheep for exhibition as well as some woollen handicrafts for sale. Film shows have also been arranged at exhibitions and festivals with the active participation of the District Information Office and the Information Department of U.P.

The result of these activities was that some of the more progressive villagers from various places grew eager to invite distinguished outsiders and officials to participate in their local festivals. For instance,

the District Information Officer and some others attended the Diwali at village Kuwanu in Chakrata Block on the invitation of a youthful village leader, Ratan Singh, who arranged special dancing programmes, besides the usual performances, and also requested the Information Office to give the villagers a film show, which, however, proved impossible due to transport difficulties. That very year in November, for the first time, a folk dance party of Jaunsar-Bawar participated in a state-wide competition at Lucknow and was adjudged the best and chosen to represent Uttar Pradesh in the folk dance forum at New Delhi on 26 January 1958. On both occasions, some two dozen expert dancers, both male and female, came from various parts of Jaunsar-Bawar, and were led by the youthful organizer Ratan Singh of Kuwanu. They were also helped by the District Information Office in matters of their trips. These trips have added much to their personal contacts with outsiders, and the knowledge of the outer world they have thus gained has enhanced their zeal for more knowledge about the outsiders as well as for change.

These changes, though limited in scope and in the number of persons affected, are worth notice. It may also be recalled that some years ago, no one from Jaunsar-Bawar, including most of the well-to-do villagers and influential Sayanas, were inclined to go out to visit outside places. For instance, in December 1955, the C.D.P. offered facilities to the Jaunsaris for visiting the Indian Industries Fair in Delhi. The villagers were asked to pay only Rs. 5 and to provide for their own meals, while they were to be provided with transport by the C.D.P. But none of the villagers showed enthusiasm for the trip. The villagers also showed a total lack of interest in another programme conducted by the C.D.P., namely, a one-month tour of all important centres of Development Projects in the country for which a villager had to pay a sum of Rs. 200 to cover all expenses of travelling, food and lodging. However, the villagers, showed greater enthusiasm in participating in the sight-seeing programmes related to the development, cottage, and industrial centres at shorter distances, like Almora, Ranikhet, Bareilly, Rishikesh, etc. There were more than 100 persons, including both elderly Sayanas and enthusiastic youths, who took part in the trips arranged on several occasions.

Training of various kinds have been arranged at different places from time to time. Earlier, there were training camps for adult education teachers which included both men and women. The adult education scheme was, however, stopped in 1956 due to a lack of enthusiasm among the villagers. There were also occasional camps to train village leaders, but such camps were not always successful. For instance, a village leaders' camp was organized in September 1957 at

Jadi, the headquarters of both the Khat and the Gram Sabha to which the village Lohari belongs. The main purpose of the camp was to train enthusiastic village youths in the different items of C.D.P. so that they may be of help to their people. Regular classes were held in which the B.D.O. and various A.D.Os. gave lectures on specialized topics, besides certain lectures given by some officers of District level. However, the camp did not prove successful due to several reasons. Firstly, it was held in the month of September, when most of the villagers were busy in their fields. The attendance at the camp was low and most of the participants from other villages were not active agricultural workers. From Lohari, which is only $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Jadi, there was only one adolescent boy. Secondly, lectures were given in the Hindi of the plains, which the majority of villagers could not understand properly. Besides, the lectures had not been well prepared to overcome the difficulties anticipated in the camp. Trainees coming to Jadi from other villages had their relatives in the village, and many of them remained with their relatives for chatting or drinking and were absent from the camp most of the time during the three-day period of training.

On the other hand, several camps held in the summer of 1958 at Lakhamandal and other places for demonstrating better methods of cultivation received more enthusiastic response from the villagers. It is thus clear that the villagers have generally shown interest in the Project activities, but there is a lack of proper planning and foresight on the requirements of the villagers. The many-sided Social Education programmes need systematic efforts for making them more effective.

WOMEN'S WELFARE

'Women's Welfare' has been one of the most widely felt needs but the most neglected among the developmental programmes in Jaunsar-Bawar. There are certain specific reasons for this. Obviously, women's position in a polyandrous society in this region is likely to be very different from that in other societies elsewhere. Thus the problem of women's welfare in Jaunsar-Bawar must be regarded as one of a special nature and different from the usual pattern of the plains. Further, this problem cannot be tackled properly without a thorough knowledge and competent understanding of the affairs connected with the womenfolk in this area.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES

Enquiries made at our field centres reveal certain characteristic features of women's welfare in the Jaunsari society which may be stated briefly as follows.

1. Discrimination on the Basis of the Sex of Children

Traditionally, a male child among the Jaunsaris is a boon, a female child a curse. A strict discrimination between the children of the two sexes starts right from or even before the time of their births. Old people, especially, prefer to have male children only in the family, though younger men might prefer a girl among two or three boys. It was stated by some that some fathers loved their daughters more than the mothers did. The reason for this is perhaps the fact that women in Jaunsar know how hard is the married life of a girl, as a *ryanti* at her husband's house. That is why a woman does not want a daughter to be born to her.

Ceremonially, there is an explicit difference in the behaviour towards male and female babies. When a son is born all the relatives are informed and they come to the village with some gifts. On the third day, Bajgis of the village come to beat drums at the house of the newborn, and some villagers are also invited for a drink or a dinner. In short, the birth of a son is celebrated on a grand scale. But when a female child is born, nobody in the family rejoices; everyone blames his or her bad luck. The event is not celebrated and even the news of the birth may not be known to the co-villagers for quite a few days. The greatest curse is when several daughters have been born in the family.

Kal Singh of Baila had five daughters but unfortunately no son. After the birth of the last child he was extremely disappointed and he started searching for a second wife for himself and his brother, as their economic condition is quite good. The Sayana's daughter, who had become pregnant in her father's village, after the divorce from her husband, was willingly taken by him as his additional wife. It is often remarked by the villagers on the birth of a female baby who has a few elder sisters preceding her that 'she would have been buried alive, had she been born some 25 years ago'. It is not certain whether the practice of female infanticide was prevalent till the last generation, but such a custom was reported in the *District Gazetteer* some fifty years ago as not in existence though it is admitted on page 88 that 'the practice of female infanticide is abundantly established from Mr. Shore's earliest reports', that is, during the eighteen-twenties. At any rate, all informants have agreed that such practice has been discontinued for the last several years.

Whatever prejudice might have existed in the past against the birth of females, those who survive are now treated well and receive the same parental love and affection as the male children do.

The reason for this sex discrimination is that the people think of a girl as a liability, and of a boy as an asset. Boys are supposed to relieve

their parents from their burden in the long run and to support them during their old age, whereas a girl would go away to her husband's as soon as she is able to work. It is not a profitable investment to bring up a daughter. Some informants remarked that a girl is a serious burden to the family as the latter has to provide ornaments and clothes on her marriage, to offer food and gifts on her visits, and also to send *banda* or the 'dhyanti's share' of meat, grains, *muri*, and wine, on occasions like Kartik Ashtami annually. Besides, men are certainly more capable of manual labour than women. Hence, from the point of view of family economy, male members are more important than females. In a polyandrous society where all the brothers are living jointly, it becomes obvious that the larger the number of brothers, the better will be their economic position. Although the females are actively taking part in the field as well as in the domestic work, they are not the determinants of the family conditions. Sometimes, a single man may keep two or more wives for economic reasons, but his family position is never better than that of two or more brothers with one wife.

2. *Dhyanti and Ryanti*

Before we compare the positions of men and women in the family, it is necessary to recognize the significant differentiation in the status of a woman according to the place of her residence, that is whether she remains at her father's house or at her husband's. In the former case she is known as a *dhyanti* and in the latter a *ryanti*.

As a *dhyanti*, a girl or a woman, married or unmarried, or when she comes back from her husband's to her father's village, has a very easy and free life. She may help her mother or sister-in-law in the routine work of the family, but she is more entitled to enjoy a gay and unrestricted life. She moves about in the village and takes part in all rejoicings, dancing and singing on the festivals. She may amuse herself with her old friends and lovers according to her choice without any formality or restrictions. On the other hand, when the woman goes to her husband's village, she is a *ryanti* and she is bound to work hard for her husband's household and has to observe all restrictions and chastity. The younger *ryantis* are especially sober and reserved in the presence of their husbands' village people. They do not visit other houses, or mix with the village youth, or participate in dancing and singing on festival occasions. Adultery with a *ryanti* is regarded as a serious crime and a guilty wife may be beaten by her husbands. This double standard of morality of women is a special feature of the Jaunsari society, and the frivolous behaviour of the *dhyanti* as regards sexual affairs has been the main reason why outsiders have considered the Jaunsaries as immoral. But all this is a cultural tradition of the

society. A common explanation of the ' *Dhyanti System* ' consists of two arguments. On the one hand, it is supposed that women in their husbands' house have to work very hard, so they are allowed to have a spell of relief at their father's place. On the other hand, the married *dhyanti* is not a member of her natal family, hence, she is not under the control of her father nor is she a member of his *aal*. She would not even observe the restriction put on the family members by the *chhinga* or hereditary enmity between families. In a word, a girl after marriage is a guest in her father's family. And it is all due to the unlimited freedom enjoyed by the *dhyanti* that the village life is made lively during the festivals. On the part of women, they frequently go back to the ' Mait ' as *dhyantis* until after the birth of one or two children, and even then they would crave to go to their fathers' village on festive occasions. A *dhyanti* of the village is always a *dhyanti*, no matter what her age and seniority are.

The distinction made between a *dhyanti* and a *ryanti* forms an important basis of the family economy and it also determines the traditional concepts and practices in matters of education and training of women. What the society wants for its households is a group of competent and hardworking housewives, who should be experts both in domestic and in field activities. They need not have any literary or worldly knowledge. On the other hand, the *dhyantis*, who as a result of child marriage become guests in their father's houses, are often neglected in their education as this will involve extra expenditure in the houses of their fathers. Others believe that educated girls would become useless in domestic work which they may grow to dislike.

3. *Divorce and Remarriage*

There is a great incidence of divorce, which can be initiated by either side. The great frequency of divorce and remarriages, without any social stigma, is a matter of significance with regard to the position of women in the society. In an ordinary Hindu community, remarriage of a widow or divorce is something unthinkable, and a wife is inseparable from her husband throughout her life. But the case is totally different in Jaunsar-Bawar, even among the high castes such as Brahmins and Rajputs (Khasas). Women, as well as men, are free to divorce their spouses and they can remarry without much difficulty. A woman can change several husbands without losing her prestige. All that she has to do is to get a man who is willing to marry her by giving her first husband a compensation known as *chhoot* money, or *kheet*.

When a woman wants a divorce from her husband, she goes to her ' Mait ' or father's house and refuses to return to her husband's village. When several requests from her husband's people for her return

have been refused, it is supposed that the girl will not come back. In the meantime some prospective husband may come to the woman's father and the latter goes to her first husband's house to negotiate the divorce. Her husband or father-in-law will tell his terms (*kheet*), which usually amounts to anything up to 1,500 rupees. If the prospective husband is willing to pay the amount the divorce is settled. Thereupon, the woman is free to take a second husband and all relations with the family of her previous husband are severed. A case of divorce may not need any serious or bitter relationships as its ground. A girl who is tired of the onerous burden of the family or is not satisfied with the ornaments she demanded may leave her husband. Instances have also been found in which a beautiful woman when ill-treated by her mother-in-law has sought divorce from her beloved husband. Some villagers of Baila had their wives from Sirmur, who refused to come back to Baila on account of the difficult condition of communication and some differences in the dialect. What forms the main element to encourage divorce is the fact that people do not mind marrying a divorcee who may be notorious for her laxity, but is otherwise a help in his domestic work and bears him children. A woman credited with a large number of divorces may even fetch more *chhoot* money, especially if she has proved her fecundity. In fact, people of this society are in general anxious to get children to add to the strength of labour in the family and thus would not mind the extra-marital laxity of their wives, who are considered as a kind of transferable property of the family. Widows are rarely found in the polyandrous society, as a woman has more than one husband. If per chance there is a widow who has not reached her menopause, she may remarry and there is no stigma attached to such a marriage.

4. *Men and Women in the Society*

All castes of Jaunsar-Bawar as a whole are strictly patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal societies, while the system of paternal polyandry is just a means of consolidating the holdings of their patrilineal joint family. Women have absolutely no right of property in the family as they are dependent on either their fathers or their husbands. They are at a very early age given away by their fathers to their husbands in marriage, which is symbolized by the payment of a milk-money, whereas after their puberty, they are very often passed on from one husband to another under easy terms of *kheet*, with or without the women's fathers as the intermediaries. Conventions like these have adversely affected the position of women, and they have become no better than a transferable commodity on which the husbands have absolute ownership.

As we have mentioned before, the wives in the house, or the *ryantis*, have to work all the time for their husbands' households. The Sayani or the mistress, who is usually the seniormost woman in the family, has the duty and the right to direct the household affairs and to control all women in the house, but she is not an owner of property, only a domestic manager. The *ryanti* has no right to control the family property of her husband; she herself is regarded as her husband's property. The *dhyanti* too has absolutely no property rights in the family of her father as she is no more a member of her father's family since her first marriage, while an unmarried *dhyanti* is entitled to the arrangement of her marriage by her fathers or brothers.

Besides the economic considerations which made the women dependent upon the men, women have also been inferior in social and ritual status. Women have no place in matters of religion and ritual performances, except at Lakhmandal where the spirit of the Pandavas is invoked by women. At Lohari people talk about an ancient convention by which, in the performance of 'Naura', a ceremony to bring rains, small girls are made to sit on a specially prepared *chowki* of thongs and to sing ritual verses for the occasion. Not only all the *pujaris* and other priests who attend on the local deities are males, but even the expert magicians (*baki*) are men. Some women, however, are reputed to be *dak* or *dakani* (witches), performing only black magic, and are usually under the control of the priests or *bakis*.

Socially, a woman has to respect all men of her family. Customarily, a daughter has to bow down to touch the feet of all male members of the family when she leaves for her husband's house, and she has to do the same to the males of her husband's house before she comes back to her father's place.

RECENT CHANGES

Certain changes have taken place in the women's position, due to both the villagers' spontaneous awakening, and the outsiders' influence. (a) Prejudice against female children is slowly disappearing as a result of increased contacts with civilization and imitation of the ways of life of the plains people. The villagers now like to enlarge the area of relationship by the marriage of their daughters. (b) Some of the more progressive villagers have appreciated the need for the education of girls, on the ground that as the means of communication improve the circle of marital relationship is enlarged, and a girl who is literate may write letters when she is staying at a great distance from her home village. (c) There is also a feeling in favour of adult marriage for girls, but most of the villagers stick to the old way of infant or child marriage, fearing that a grown up girl may not be able to get a good match;

she is also likely to lose the opportunity of becoming a Sayani of the house, to which only the senior wife is entitled. A special instance was that of the only educated girl, Uma of Lohari, who passed the fifth class of the village school in 1956 at the age of fourteen. Her fathers were eager to send her for further education, but no facilities were available for the purpose, nor could they send her for vocational training, like tailoring, at Lagabogri near Chakrata as there were no boarding arrangements for girls. Her marriage was consequently delayed. The negotiations became doubly difficult as the prospective groom or grooms were not only not educated but also not ready to take her as a senior wife. Meanwhile, the villagers began to gossip that perhaps the girl's marriage was delayed by the deity's curse. It was after another two years' delay that her marriage was settled at a distant village though her fathers were not satisfied with her prospective husband. (d) It is said that till about a decade or so ago bed-mates were provided for distinguished visitors. Even just a few years back, outsiders like school teachers could have easy access to the *dhyanti* who came to them freely at any time. But the situation now is changed to a great extent. Not only that villagers, especially the youths, do not like intimate relations between the outsiders and the *dhyantis*, but also many of them have raised objections against the free movement and sexual indulgence of the *dhyanti* on social, moral, as well as medical and hygienic grounds, as a result of the spreading of education, the impact of increased contacts with outsiders, visits to the city and through governmental agents. (e) At times, there are also movements against the use of ornaments by the womenfolk. In 1955, when the Hon. Pandit Mahabir Tyagi addressed several meetings in Jaunsar-Bawar, he explained to the villagers the great miseries brought to them by the habit of wearing ornaments, and emphasized that they should try to reduce the use of such ornaments as the *nath* (nose-ring). Taking this advice, the *khumri* of many villages decided to prohibit the wearing of *nath* from then onwards, and to punish the defaulters. The people of Baila took the same step, but their decision could not be enforced for long owing to strong resistance from their womenfolk. The decision had to be suspended as the *ryantis* left for their homes and refused to come back to their husbands; the *dhyantis* too refused to participate in the village functions and festivals.

WOMEN'S WELFARE NEEDED

Progressive villagers are generally agreed that child-marriage should be stopped, girls' education should be encouraged and some vocational training, like tailoring, should be imparted to women. Some of the village leaders have emphasized that a regular check on the health of

women should be made in order to prevent the spread of V.D., for which the women are more responsible than men. They also feel that the village organizations should take proper steps to stop the extra-marital sexual laxity of *dhyantis*.

WOMEN'S WELFARE SO FAR

Generally speaking, women's welfare has been the least tackled of topics among all the C.D. programmes designed for the people of Jaunsar-Bawar. In the two Blocks, there is only one post of A.D.O. in charge of Women's Welfare at Chakrata, and this post has for the most part remained vacant. However, certain efforts have been made by the C.D.P. on the women's welfare scheme, with the basic aim of helping women to make general progress towards becoming good housewives, ideal mothers and successful wives. The scheme was prepared on the basis of a few elementary principles, such as literacy, elementary knowledge of hygiene, entertainment, development of culture and art, knowledge of democratic principles, and the raising of women's economic status through cottage industries. Emphasis was also laid on child welfare and maternity care.

Actual work in this field was started from the second year of the inception of the C.D.P. in this area, when a camp was held at Kalsi in August-September 1955 for training Adult Education teachers, including 'women workers' who were selected from different parts of this region. They were imparted multi-occupation training and were later taken to Dehra Dun, Delhi, Mathura and Agra for sight-seeing and exchanging views with women from other parts of the country. This was the first time when the village women saw the plains.

Consequent to this training, 14 centres of Adult Women's Education were started which began work in 1955. Besides literacy, instruction in preparing the soil, beneficial effects of balanced diet and ill-effects of unbalanced diet, as well as of embroidery, tailoring, knitting, etc. were also given. It was, however, found very difficult to gather the women-folk for learning, as they were busy all day long with their daily routine. These training centres were discontinued later on when the Adult Literacy Drive under the Social Education Scheme was dropped in the later part of 1956.

As a whole, there has been little progress made in general with regard to women's welfare in this area. The difficulties are many and obvious. Not only that the peculiar condition of women in Jaunsar-Bawar was not properly known to the welfare planners and the development staff, there was also a lack of personnel to deal with the specific problems. The V.L.W. was too much occupied with his other

engagements of the C.D. Programmes, and he was not in a proper position to deal with the village women either. The women A.D.O.s had been making trips to the village for inspection of the general conditions, but the discontinuation of their tenure of office made the progress of work impossible. It is promising that a new A.D.O. Women's Welfare has come to Chakrata in 1957-58, and adult women's education and tailoring classes have been started in the town. It is hoped that further progress will be made to steadily solve certain urgent problems as have been indicated by the analysis we have made above.

HARIJAN WELFARE

Harijan Welfare has not formed a specific branch among the C.D. Programmes but the Harijans have been given special concessions in all the programmes concerning them. Since 1957, a District Harijan Officer has been posted at Dehra Dun and certain programmes relating to Jaunsar-Bawar have been actively taken up.

The problem of Harijans in this region is of a peculiar type as compared to that of the rest of the country. We have already, in our analysis of social stratification, pointed out that in the local caste hierarchy, there is at the bottom a down-trodden caste known generally as Kolta, who were the traditional serfs and who also performed leather-work and other 'unclean' jobs. The high castes of this area are the Khasa or Rajputs and the Brahmins. There are a number of stereotyped artisan and service castes in the village including Badi, Sunar, Lohar, Nath and Jagra, and Bajgi, who form the intermediate stratum of the local caste system. Here it may be pointed out that under the term 'Harijan' practically all the local castes, except the Brahmins and Khasas, are included. The socio-ritual status of the various castes in the intermediate group vary much in terms of local conventions, and their economic conditions may be different from one another as well. The emphasis of the problem of Harijans is on the Koltas who are 12,000 in number out of a total population of 59,000. The total population of the intermediate castes is around 5,000, out of which a majority are Bajgi, the traditional drummers. The figures given above are in round numbers, as no reliable data are available regarding the details and the last census (1951) has, as we mentioned earlier, made certain mistakes in the counting of Scheduled Castes. Among all the local castes, only the names of Badi and Bajgi were included in the list of Scheduled Castes in the census statistics, whereas Badi is, in fact, the better-off among the intermediate castes in Jaunsar-Bawar. Thus, the District Population Statistics of Dehra Dun (1951) mentioned two different figures for Scheduled Castes in Jaunsar-Bawar, namely 16,673

and 4,378. The latter was admitted to have been a mistake due to the omission of the Kolta and some other castes.

The welfare measures taken by the C.D.P. for the Harijans have so far included the grant for building model houses in certain villages, concession for buying pedigreed sheep and fruit plants, distribution of improved seeds, pedigreed goats, and fowls and some industrial instruments as scissors and brushes for shearing, *charkhas* for spinning, etc. The C.D.P. has also undertaken to bear, in the community works for Harijans, from half to two-thirds of the total expenses instead of one-third as in the case of the high castes.

The crux of the problem of Harijan welfare in Jaunsar-Bāwar, however, lies in certain traditional conventions. The foremost problem is that of land tenure. According to the tradition, no Koltas could own land. Such restrictions have been openly mentioned in the 'Dastur-ul-Amal' and in the 'Wazib-ul-Arz' and admitted by the local authorities of the last century. In fact, the traditional landowners have been the high castes, Brahmins and Rajputs, while all other castes had very little land of their own. The situation has, as we mentioned before, changed recently. The traditional restrictions are no more in force. Some of the lower caste families, even the Koltas, have been allowed to own land, though, until now, few of them enjoy ownership of the land they cultivate. The completion of the new settlement made in 1957-58 will benefit all those who have been cultivating the land for a considerable period.

The possession of land is doubly important for the lower castes as agriculturists, due to the fact that the C.D.P. has provided great concessions for the Koltas to get fruit plants, but they have not been able to benefit by this offer as they have no land on which to carry on fruit farming. For the same reason, the lower castes remain deprived of other facilities in agricultural development, like improved seed and manure, all of which goes to the benefit of high castes who are 'zamindars'.

Reference has been made to certain disabilities and caste formalities suffered by the lower castes in general, and to the bar on the Koltas to draw water from the well or the water source used by high castes, in particular. This restriction on water sources was practically nullified in most cases when water-pipes and taps were constructed in the villages. Yet the old rules are in force at places which have no water taps. We have mentioned that Koltas at Lohari, even nowadays, cannot draw water from the well with their own vessels. This is due to the flaws in constructing the water-pipes and tanks some years back. However, the villagers have applied to the Project office for the grant of more pipes and other material in order to improve the water supply,

and have also appealed to the District Harijan Welfare Officer for help in the construction of a *diggi*. Similar progress has been going on in other villages which have not yet got water reservoirs and taps. The drinking water scheme, as emphasized earlier, has been one of the greatest boons to all villagers, including the Koltas.

Hereditary indebtedness is one of the chief reasons which made the Koltas traditional serfs. This problem will be solved to a great extent after the enforcement of the new settlement, which grants them the tenancy and the proprietary rights. Yet the ancestral debts in terms of loans and interest have to be settled and terminated by legislation, for which an authentic survey and detailed census is needed. The people are very superstitious and believe that divine will has put them in their down-trodden position. This belief is responsible for maintaining caste inequality even now. Social educational work is urgently needed to root out this superstition from the minds of these people.

Along with the social awakening in general, some of the lower castes have come forward for education. Reference may be made to the figures presented in an earlier chapter of students of various castes getting education at the village schools. The general problem is that the people are not only poor, but also too busy to spare their children for schooling. Hence, hardly any among the few students attending the classes could complete the schooling up to the fifth standard. Provisions of freeships and stipends have been made by the District Board for the Scheduled Caste students, but, as we mentioned before, there are further items of expenditure on the education of children which the villagers have to meet, such as *bora*, or supply of rations to the teacher, and the cost of books, stationery, etc. Thus our tentative suggestions have been in favour of actually free education for the poor, and equal treatment of all castes and classes, with more effective and strict administrative invigilation and enforcement, no matter whether the stipends are stopped or not. To a certain extent, consideration should be given to family engagements of the children according to their respective occupational and seasonal requirements, such as may be necessitated in different ways among the Bajgi, Kolta and other castes. Besides, a general atmosphere should be created to facilitate the education of lower caste children side by side with those of higher castes.

The Koltas being a multi-professional caste need much material as well as technical aid for their industries. We have already mentioned the position of the Koltas in the Adult Education classes. More attention and proper guidance should be given to them in this regard since, as in Lohari, many of them showed much enthusiasm for learning, but were handicapped by their busy engagements and were in fear of the jealousy of the high castes. However, attention may be drawn to the

fact that despite the lowly position and economic slavery of the Koltas, as well as of other lower castes, as a matter of tradition, there is no general enmity between the higher and lower castes in the village. We have seen that even the Koltas may sometimes joke with the Rajputs, and many of the Brahmins of Lakhamandal or the Rajputs of Lohari have had their favourite Koltas whom they treated as their family members. These healthy relations should be encouraged, and enhanced for the benefit of the Harijans in particular, and for all the village community in general.

It is also worth mentioning that the inclusion of Koltas in the new Panchayat organization is of significance with regard to the actual position of the castes in the village community in general, although their influence may escape notice at the initial stage. What is yet needed is, therefore, a better plan with more systematic and thorough consideration of all the relevant facts known at the present stage in order to coordinate all the various departmental measures for the welfare of Harijans, as well as for others.

COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORT

Communication and transport in Jaunsar-Bawar constitutes another problem of specific nature, and is very much different from that on the plains. On the plains, the construction and repairs of roads are usually meant for improving the system of communication by modern techniques and conveyances, so as to facilitate the easy flow of increased traffic in that area. In the interior of Jaunsar-Bawar, on the other hand, the repairs of a village path often amounted to a virtual creation for the first time of communication between the city people and the village folk. As a matter of fact, most villages of this area are situated on small hillocks or spurs amidst rugged and precipitous mountains and ravines. There was no regular path serving as an approach to these villages, but sometimes there was a track, hardly traceable, passing through the slopes, valleys and forests, and often hanging narrowly above a steep gorge along the edges of uneven rocks — too dangerous and absolutely impossible for an average townsman to attempt to traverse. Under such circumstances, all officials and other outsiders were naturally discouraged from visiting most of the villages in the interior till just a few years back.

It was only during the period of the C.D.P. activities, in the last few years, that a number of village paths of varying lengths have been repaired or reconstructed so that the visits of Project officers and others to the villages in the interior have become possible. The village Baila, for instance, was one of the villages which was practically cut off from

outside, as all paths leading to the village were extremely difficult and dangerous. This situation was changed when the main road from Sainj to Baila was reconstructed and widened a few years back, with substantial aid from the government. This path, consisting of a four-mile difficult and often steep climb, has offered safe passage to Baila from Sainj. Here it joins the trading route on the eastern bank of the river Tons, which runs from Himachal Pradesh along the western border of Jaunsar-Bawar down to the Dun plains. Besides, the nine-mile inter-Khag main path from Baila to Kandoi (of the same Khat Bharam) was repaired, and a three-mile path from Baila dun to Asoi was reconstructed. All of these have made Baila much more accessible than before, though the shortest route to Chakrata via Udawan, which includes a five-mile hazardous track, is yet to be reconstructed.

Similarly, at Lohari, the road construction has played a major role in changing the life of the people. The village Lohari was not accessible from Chakrata until the construction of the Lower Simla Road. The road now helps the villagers of Lohari to come to Chakrata frequently for purchasing all things needed by them and their families. The villagers have contributed *shramdan* to construct the feeder paths from the village up to the main road, and they are now eagerly awaiting the construction of the proposed Chakrata-Tiuni Road.

Good efforts have been made by the C.D.P. in the last four or five years in the improvement of country paths in the interior, although much of the work has yet to be systematized and strengthened. The efforts include both schemes of financial aid to the road constructions and repairs, and the villagers' contribution of labour in the form of *shramdan*. Many of the repairs of feeder paths inside the village have been carried out without government aid, and the villagers have generally realized the importance of a better communication system as well as the benefit they could receive by their own cooperative efforts in *shramdan*. In the large undertakings of constructions and repairs of road, the C.D.P. usually gives financial aid to the extent of one-third of the total expenses, in addition to the dynamite needed for blowing up the rocks. As a whole, there have so far been about 160 miles of roads constructed, and another four to five hundred miles of roads repaired. Nowadays, the V.L.W.s can go round the villages in their Circles without much difficulty, and the Block staff have also taken up regular visits to many villages in the interior.

The traditional means of transport in Jaunsar-Bawar is human power and mules. Vehicles are useless in the rugged hilly region. In the whole of Jaunsar-Bawar, there is only one motor road coming from Dehra Dun which enters this area at Kalsi and ends at the Forest (Janglat) Chowki of Chakrata. This is the main passage by which

Chakrata is connected with the outside country, and it is maintained by the M.E.S. of Chakrata. In the countryside, there are a few main roads, including the Upper and Lower Simla Road and the trade route of Chakrata-Naugaon on the east and that of Sahiya-Tiuni along the Tons river, on the western border. These country roads and some other forest roads, which are maintained partly by the District Board and partly by the Forest Office, are the main means of communication in Jaunsar-Bawar. Government has now proposed to construct the Chakrata-Tiuni and Chakrata-Mussoorie motor roads. The former will be in addition to the existing Lower and Upper Simla Road and will run for more than 40 miles; the latter will go from Chakrata via Nagthad and Lakhwar to Mussoorie running for some 35 miles.

It is hoped that after the completion of these roads, Chakrata will acquire a key position, connecting together two of India's biggest hill stations, Simla and Mussoorie, and the entire region of Jaunsar-Bawar will also gain on account of the busy traffic and the facilities made possible due to these roads. In May 1955, the State P.W.D. and the Project authorities decided to start work on the Chakrata-Mussoorie Road, and a section of a jeepable road of 11 miles from Chakrata southward up to Churani was completed by the efforts of villagers' *shramdan* and government's financial grant and engineering supervision. However, further construction was stopped soon afterwards due to financial and technical difficulties. In 1957, the local public and the M.L.A. of this region revived the question, and a proposal was also made to connect Mussoorie with Chakrata via Lakhwar and Kalsi, which would minimize the technical and financial difficulties. In 1958, new hope was raised for the construction of the Chakrata-Tiuni Road with a special grant of Rs. 80 lakhs from the government. The construction and completion of these new roads will certainly bring prosperity to the people of Jaunsar-Bawar.

COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The cooperative movement has been recognized as one of the most important measures for the development of the rural community. It started working in Jaunsar-Bawar under state sponsorship more than ten years before the inception of the C.D.P. In the C.D. Block of Chakrata an A.D.O. in charge of cooperatives was posted since it was started and later on, when a separate Block of Kalsi was formed, another A.D.O. was appointed for that Block. The cooperative work in these two Blocks has been mainly directed towards the enrolment of members for the cooperative credit societies in the villages, towards

advancing loans to them, besides the functioning, from a later date, of marketing societies at a few selected places.

A general study of the methods of functioning the cooperatives showed that there was a wide disparity between the impressive number of registered societies and members, and the actual amount of work done in the villages. According to an official report on the first two years' progress of the C.D. Programme, there were 77 primary cooperative societies in Jaunsar-Bawar prior to the execution of the C.D. Project. At the end of the second year of the Project period, that is in 1956, the number of cooperative societies increased to 130, covering 315 out of 383 villages in the whole Block and Tehsil of Chakrata, with a total strength of about 4,000 members. What seemed to be the actual fact, however, was that most of the societies did not begin their regular and normal function, and many of the enlisted members deposited either only a part of their share money or none at all. Most of the villagers were not at all aware of the existence of the cooperative society in the village, neither were they clear about its nature and purpose.

The cooperative society of Lohari, for instance, was registered on 28 May 1952, when a few of the better-off villagers, including the Rajputs such as Jas Ram Sayana, Dalloo (a member of the Panchayati Adalat), Madan Singh, Dev Ram and Bhoswa, and a Kolta, Samsu, applied for membership. However, none of them deposited their share money, nor did any of the villagers take a loan from the cooperative. The amount of a share was fixed at Rs. 20 and a person who had bought one share could take a loan of Rs. 100, five times the value of the share. This loan was to be paid back in instalments, and the annual interest charged by the society was 8 per cent of the loan.

One reason for the hesitation on the part of the villagers to take loans was a rumour that the government would come to know their exact economic position through their buying of shares and would levy more taxes. Bhoswa wanted to take a loan but he feared that if he failed to repay even a single instalment of the loan he would be summoned by the court, whereas if he took a loan from some villager he could repay it whenever it was convenient for him to do so. Some Koltas also wanted the society's help, but they neither had the money to buy shares, nor did they like to take the initiative, fearing that their action would annoy the Rajputs. The V.L.W. convened a meeting of villagers at Lohari in March 1956, but his brief statement and explanation could not persuade the villagers to join the society. It was then obvious that there was a lack of proper propaganda about the meaning of the cooperative scheme. It was also too tedious a job for the V.L.W., who had to look after some 20 villages in his Circle, to take up the

cooperative activities which belonged to another department. Similar conditions were found at Baila, where the V.L.W. succeeded in collecting Rs. 50 from 5 villagers who bought shares and formed a cooperative society on 24 May 1956. The amount, however, was collected rather under some sort of compulsion, over which the villagers did not feel happy. These conditions were found in many other villages as well. Thus it was clear that the figures given in the reports did not reveal the real nature of the problem.

In 1956, the cooperatives were reorganized. All existing Primary Cooperative Societies were amalgamated into two Large-Sized Societies, one each in the Blocks of Chakrata and Kalsi. A Large-Sized Society (L.S.S.) was entitled to draw from the District Cooperative Bank a 'Normal Credit' up to Rs. 1,50,000, or more, and it was put under the charge of a Secretary-cum-Manager, assisted by one or more Field Supervisors, all of whom were trained and posted by the P.C.U. (Pradesh Cooperative Union) of U.P. The cooperative staff worked in the Development Blocks under the supervision of the A.D.O. Cooperatives, but they were subordinate to the P.C.U. through the District Cooperative Officer. The number of Field Supervisors depended on the amount of work in the L.S.S. and they dealt with the members of the Society in the villages, in matters of membership, shares and loans, which had formerly been the work of the V.L.W. A Field Supervisor may be assigned to a specified Circle or village where a good amount of work is to be done. In Chakrata Block, there was only one Field Supervisor, besides the Secretary-cum-Manager, L.S.S., who was also a Supervisor during the period from 1956 to 1957, while in 1958, there were four Supervisors in this Block, including one who was also the Secretary-cum-Manager, two Field Supervisors stationed at Barontha and Dasau, and one at Chakrata in charge of the cooperative shop. In the Kalsi Block, there were in 1958 six Field Supervisors besides the Secretary-cum-Manager of the L.S.S. For the purpose of assisting in the work, there were also a number of Directors of Cooperatives in the villages in each Block, who were selected from the members among the villagers. In Chakrata Block in 1958, there were 20 Directors in the villages, besides the 2 Marketing Directors, all of whom constituted a Board of Directors as the final authority to determine the matters within the L.S.S. With the cooperation of the specified staff in the field, the work of the cooperatives came into a more systematized and stabilized state since 1957. The villagers were kept in close touch with the staff, and all those who were registered as members of the L.S.S. became real and active participants in the Society. Till June 1958, there were about 1,170 members of the L.S.S. of Chakrata, and about 1,400 in that of Kalsi. Most of the members

had only one share, the amount of which was Rs. 10, but they were allowed to buy more shares each, and two members from Jadi had 50 shares each in 1958.

The total amount of loans advanced to the members of L.S.S. came to about one lakh of rupees at Chakrata and about two lakhs at Kalsi by June 1958. The interest which the Society charged on the loans was at the rate of 8.75 per cent, while that given by the Society to the Cooperative Bank was 5.5 per cent. The loans were normally to be repayed in two years, but a special loan was given for three years.

It was seen earlier that the villagers hesitated to take the loan as they feared the consequences of the strict rules of repayment. But gradually they became eager to get loans, which were advanced at a much lower interest than the village rates. In fact, most of the villagers who became members of the Cooperative Society came for the purpose of taking loans, as they could get a loan of Rs. 100 by buying a share of Rs. 10 only. At Lohari, for instance, by the end of 1957, out of the 17 members (including a few Koltas) only two did not take any loan from the Society. Often the new members were found to submit their applications for loans along with their membership forms.

Besides the credit societies, there were also cooperative activities in marketing at certain places. Prior to the execution of the Development Block, two 'Cooperative Sanghs' were operating at Sahiya and Kalsi. Afterwards, a few more Cooperative Sanghs were organized at Chakrata, Nahthat, Barontha, etc. These Cooperative Sanghs functioned as the consumers' as well as producers' cooperative stores, and were meant to serve the people by providing their requirements at reasonable prices. Besides, some of the Primary Cooperative Societies were also sometimes engaged in trade. In 1955, the Jadi Cooperative Society earned for the villagers a profit of over two thousand rupees by selling potatoes. In 1955-56, efforts were made to serve the people in the development of their subsidiary occupations through cooperatives such as the Leather Cooperative Society at Kharkota and the Tomato-juice Cooperative Society at Sahiya. However, these programmes did not succeed, due to organizational and technical defects.

In 1957-58, fresh plans were made for the marketing societies. Cooperative shops were opened at selected places, such as Janglat Chowki and Sadar Bazar of Chakrata, to supply grains, vegetables, etc. to the people at fair prices. These works were concurrently under the charge of the Secretary-cum-Manager of the L.S.S., who was to work with the help of a Field Supervisor and two Marketing Directors elected from among the members of the societies. The cooperative shops also undertook to purchase potatoes from villagers at market rates. Information was sent to the villages by the V.L.W., and villagers

were asked to cooperate with the Society. At Lohari, for instance, a five-man committee was formed in November 1957 for this purpose. However, the Munim of the shop at Jadi, who had made an extensive tour of the area, made contracts with the villagers to purchase their potatoes at a price higher than that offered by the cooperative shop. As a result, only two Koltas of the village sold their yield to the cooperative shop. This incident, therefore, shows that the Cooperative Movement was not well popularized, and much propaganda was required to explain its purpose to the villagers. Meanwhile, more attention should be given to improve the management and the design of work.

PANCHAYAT

From the point of view of permanent measures for rural development, Panchayats and Cooperatives form the two basic issues. From the administrative point of view especially, the Panchayat system is designed to help the villagers themselves to take part in village welfare. In Jaunsar-Bawar, the situation is complicated by the existence of a traditional village organization, in terms of Sayana and *khumri*, which has functioned efficiently and exclusively in matters of local affairs with both administrative and judicial powers since time immemorial. The establishment of a new system of Panchayat in this region should, therefore, be made in a way fully adjusted to the necessary pattern to fit the local conditions, so that the new system can effectively, smoothly and permanently take the place of the old system of Sayana and *khumri* and meet all the needs and purposes of the local people.

The U.P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947, came into force in December 1953, at about the same time as the inception of the C.D.P. However, the Panchayat system was, since its inception, independent of the C.D.P. Fifty-four Gram Sabhas and 13 Adalati Panchayats (or Nyay Panchayats) were organized in the whole of Jaunsar-Bawar. The first elections for them were held amongst the villagers in 1954, when the Panchayat started functioning with the help of the Panchayat Secretaries, appointed for the respective Adalti Panchayats by the Panchayat Department. This system was working under Panchayat Inspectors, who were subordinate to the District Panchayat Officer, until in the latter part of 1957 an A.D.O. Panchayat was posted in each of the two Development Blocks to replace the Panchayat Inspectors. We have already mentioned the differences between the settings of V.L.W. and Panchayat Circles as well as the consequent inconvenience in matters of developmental administration, which are still in existence.

Suggestions for certain adjustments between the two systems and between the work of the V.L.W. and Panchayat Secretaries will be further considered in detail in a subsequent chapter.

The main purpose of the Village Panchayats is to lead the villagers to organize themselves to function as units of self-government, with certain powers and authority which may be given by the State Government. The situation of the Panchayat in Jaunsar-Bawar, however, has been complicated and often confused by the existence of the traditional village organizations on the one hand, and the simultaneous application of the C.D.P. and functioning of the V.L.W. in the villages on the other. Proper functioning of the Panchayats has, therefore, greatly suffered.

Prior to the formation of the Panchayats, the villagers used to have their village affairs and disputes discussed and decided by the *khumri*, which was inspired by the Sayana and other respected elders in the village. Now, it is the same batch of important personnel who hold the key positions in Gram Sabhas and Adalti Panchayats. It is thus found difficult to differentiate between the *khumri* and the Panchayat of a village; the villagers have also not cared to distinguish the duties and functions of the Gram Sabha and the Adalti Panchayat, both of which have been kept in name. The usual practice was found to be that, for official purposes, all the meetings of village *khumris* were entered as those of the Gram Sabha, but the proceedings prescribed for the latter were never followed nor had they been clearly known to the Sayana or Pradhan (President) who presided over the meetings. This is what happened in Baila, and so it must have happened frequently in other villages in Jaunsar-Bawar also. When the Sadar Sayana, who was the Pradhan of the Baila Gram Sabha, was asked as to why no record of the meetings was kept, he answered promptly that he did not know how to read and write; whereas the Up-Pradhan (Vice-President), who was literate, explained that he remembered the proceedings of practically all the meetings. It was also found that instead of sending a case of dispute to Adalti Panchayat, the villagers decided it among themselves in the *khumri* meetings.

Though anxious for participation in the *khumri*, which may take a couple of days to settle a case of suspected witchcraft or the like, the villagers showed no interest in the routine meetings of the Gram Sabha. It happened during the earlier years that sometimes a V.L.W. or a Panchayat Secretary had to impose fines or to adopt such other coercive measures in order to get good attendance of the members in Gram Sabha meetings. It was also said that one of the villagers of Lakhamandal came to the Panchayat Secretary with such request as, 'I gave Rs. 6 to become a member. Please take another 6 rupees

to dismiss me.' Such bitter experiences, of both the development staff and the village personnel, gradually faded away in the last few years, when the Panchayat staff gained better understanding of the local conditions and adjusted the programmes of the meetings to suit the convenience of the villagers. Yet the general feeling is that the new Panchayats are symbolized and motivated only by the Panchayat Secretary, and not the Sarpanch or the Pradhan and the members concerned. In certain cases, as the one in Nada mentioned before, the new Panchayats had been linked with the factionalism in the village.

As regards the work so far carried out by the Panchayat, the achievements are of a general nature. A foothold has more or less been secured for the governmental staff to come and confer with the villagers on their welfare matters. Panchayat Ghars which have been constructed in many villages have offered good facilities for assembling the villagers as well as for providing shelter to the visiting officials. The Panchayat Secretary has in general been recognized by the villagers as a local administrator in civil and developmental fields. He has control over such matters as village sanitation and general law and order, besides the power to impose fines and taxes, though such powers are entrusted not to him in person but to the Panchayats. Further achievements in this field are, therefore, dependent on effective measures to encourage and to strengthen the villagers' participation in the Panchayats as well as to coordinate the Panchayat and the V.L.W. systems.

FRUIT-FARMING

Although the villagers of Jaunsar-Bawar are mostly agriculturists, very few of them have paid any attention to fruit-farming. As far as the soil and climate are concerned, this region could possibly be very favourable for the growth of fruit trees of various kinds, and fruit-farming may be developed very profitably as a secondary source of income to supplement the family economy of the village.

The Community Development Project has popularized the growth of fruit trees such as lichi, guava, mango, malta, orange, lemon, *papita* and plantain in areas lying on the lower altitudes of Lower Jaunsar, Kuwanu, Lakhmandal, etc. The higher altitudes, such as at Baila and Lohari, could also be utilized, and they indicate good prospects for growing walnuts (*akrot*), chestnuts and certain other fruits, including apple, peach, pear, apricot, mulberry (*shahtoot*) and *chulu*. However, before fruit-farming can become a thriving industry, many practical problems have to be carefully considered.

Basically, the problem starts from the dearth of land for cultivation. There are also difficulties in obtaining water for irrigation, spare time of the villagers for planting and looking after the plants, ignorance of scientific methods for improving and ensuring the growth of the trees and fruits, as well as the lack of transportation facilities. Examples may be cited from what has happened in the villages during recent years.

Generally, the meagre produce of fruits is consumed by the villagers themselves, except that the walnut (*akrot*) may be sold for cash. It is seen that in Baila-Lohari area, as well as in the villages near the town of Chakrata itself, large quantities of walnuts, including those of superior quality, are available at the maximum rate of Rs. 10 per thousand. Lakhmandal, on the other hand, has only an inferior quality and that too is produced in small quantity. In fact, only two families in the village have spare *akrot* for sale, often at the rate of Rs. 5 to Rs. 7 per thousand, to the traders who transport them on mules to Chakrata and other places. The *akrot* also serves the villagers another purpose. It is a much appreciated gift to a daughter (*dhyanti*) when she leaves for her husband's house.

There are three kinds of *akrot*, known respectively as *kagzi*, *mamuli* and *katha*. The *kagzi akrot* is the best in the area; its kernel is large in size, while the shell is soft and brittle. *Katha* is the inferior variety, and all the trees in Lakhmandal are of this type. The yield of a tree is between 50 and 100 seers of *akrot*. The bark of a tree can be utilized for making medicine and tooth-powder, and it may be scraped out without doing any harm to the tree if only one-third of the bark is taken off at a time. The villagers, however, do not appreciate the idea of scraping the bark, for they feel that this would injure the trees.

There are in all only 32 *akrot* trees in Lakhmandal, out of which 30 belong to 15 Brahmin families, one to a Rajput and another to a Kolta. Sish Ram (Brahmin) owns the largest number, i.e. 5 trees. Most of the trees were planted by their forefathers, and it has been found that the number is on the decline. Sometimes it happens that a villager sells his tree to a trader, who takes away all the fruits and scrapes off the bark and thus damages the tree. Consequently, the tree is cut down and the wood sold to the villagers.

The villagers are not at all interested in planting new trees, as it takes six or seven years for a tree to bear fruit and during this period no crops can be grown on the same land. Moreover, they say, they have no time to take care of it. This attitude is shown towards growing other fruit trees as well. Table 1 shows the position of fruit-farming in Lakhmandal as a result of the strenuous efforts of the Village Level Worker since 1956.

TABLE I
FRUIT TREES GROWN AT LAKHAMANDAL (1956)

Caste	No. of Families	No. of Plants Taken														
		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
Brahmin	12	5	20	5	3	2	8	13	11	1	4	1	-	28	11	112
Rajput	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	10	7	18
Jagdi	1	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Kolta	2	-	4	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9

Note: A—Akrot B—Mango C—Guava D—Orange
 E—Banana F—Khubani G—Pear H—Lemon
 I—Vine J—Aru K—Shahtoot L—Papita
 M—Chulu N—Pomegrate O—Total

The figures indicate clearly that it is only the Brahmin landowners who took the largest number of plants, but even they did not accept many. Out of 21 Brahmin families, 12 took part in fruit-farming, the rest did not take part either because of want of men or of land; some showed no interest in the programme. One of the two Rajput families took interest in the plants of *chulu*, *aru* and pomegranate; the other had no land. Among the lower castes, only one of the two Jagdis took 2 plants each of mango and guava, and 2 out of the 15 families of Koltas took 9 plants in all.

The cold response shown by the villagers in general was due to the lack of foresight and of knowledge of the benefits of the innovation, and they were afraid of wasting their precious time, labour and money on an uncertain prospect. The worst part of the programme was that, as the villagers foresaw, most of the mango and guava plants died shortly after they were planted. Shyam Chand, who had 2 or 3 plants each of mango, guava, lemon and pomegranate, found that only one lemon plant survived.

SISH RAM'S ORCHARD AND NURSERY

Among all the villagers of Lakhamandal, Sish Ram, the well-to-do Thok Sayana of Luman lineage, was the only man who took real interest in fruit-farming. He has taken the maximum assistance from the C.D.P. and is the most successful fruit grower in the programme, though he also suffered from the loss of some plants. He has established an orchard and a nursery. Initially, he was very much discouraged by the villagers who, due to ignorance mingled with jealousy, never

cared to visit his nursery when the trees were being planted with the help of the V.L.W. Even now they often look scornfully at Sish Ram or pass the remark that he is a fool to waste so much time, labour and money for nothing, and even if his venture is successful, the profit will come so late that he probably will not live long enough to enjoy it.

Despite the apathy of the villagers, Sish Ram started his orchard and nursery with the fruit plants he had received from the C.D.P. The number of plants in his orchard and nursery is given in Table 2.

TABLE 2
NUMBER OF PLANTS IN SISH RAM'S POSSESSION

<i>Name of Plant</i>	<i>Number of Plants</i>		<i>Remarks</i>
	<i>In Orchard</i>	<i>In Nursery</i>	
1. Akrot (walnut)	5	61	
2. Mango	9	—	7 died, 2 alive
3. Guava	2	—	Both died
4. Khubani	6	—	
5. Pear	5	—	
6. Lemon	5	—	
7. Vine	1	—	
8. Aru	—	63	
9. Shahtoot	1	—	
10. Chulu	2	11	
11. Pomegranate	3	—	
12. Moru (Kamth)	—	30	
Total	39	165	

The plants, both in the orchard and in the nursery, have been flourishing, except that 7 out of the 9 mango plants and both the guava plants withered soon after planting due to want of water. Sish Ram was not ignorant about the problem of obtaining water when he planted his orchard. He explained that he was entitled to the water of a canal which passed through the field which he chose for the orchard. The canal in question is the 'Ratu ki gul', a disputed one. Only on the hope of being allowed to use the canal water did Sish Ram plant his gardens. In spite of the objection of the villagers of Guthar, he did manage to utilize some water from the canal for his orchard, but as soon as the Gutharians knew of it they immediately cut off the supply. When asked why he did not take the matter to the Sadar Sayana or the Panchayat, Sish Ram said that he was afraid that his

own village people were so jealous of his having an orchard that they would not sympathize with him in the case.

Sish Ram had been granted 6 maunds of barbed wire by the C.D.P. for fencing the gardens, but he took only 3 maunds of it. The wire was given free of charge. In usual cases, barbed wire is given only if the orchard is over 3 acres in area. Sish Ram's gardens are under-size, but concession was given on the recommendation of the V.L.W. considering that his was the only instance in this area where a villager took up gardening.

C.D.P. AND FRUIT FARMING

The C.D.P. has much to do to promote fruit-farming in this area, though so far little progress has been made. The C.D.P.'s plan for putting new life in this sphere was extensive in its scope, and the work was taken up in all seriousness. The 'Van Mahotsav' is organized every year in July. Community gardens are contemplated to be established in various V.L.W. circles, especially in villages situated at the lower altitudes. The income from the gardens is proposed to be utilized for the development of the villages, under the control of the Panchayats, with the help of the V.L.W.

Seedlings of better varieties are made available to all the villagers individually, through the C.D.P., and proper techniques of fruit-farming are taught to the farmers by the V.L.W., with regard to the selection of site, specifications and methods of pit-digging, and of alignment and spacing of plants, as well as other details of planting, fencing, manuring, watering and pruning. Further steps have been taken to prevent and check plant diseases, and the V.L.W.s undertake to arrange for sprinkling and spraying of insecticides of various kinds. All sorts of necessary assistance and facilities are considered and provided by the C.D.P. through the V.L.W. The plan has, however, not been much of a success, partly because the people do not appreciate the utility of the innovations and partly because of some local problems preventing the implementation of the programmes.

The Proposed Community Garden at Lakhmandal

The proposal to have a community garden, when put forward by the V.L.W. (in 1956), was generally welcomed by the villagers of the Lakhmandal Circle. The garden was to be under the care of the Gram Sabha and the profit that would have accrued from it would have been used for development works in the villages within the Lakhmandal Gram Sabha, namely Lakhmandal, Dhaura, Lauri, Guthad, Chutar and Bhatar. Supply of seeds, plants and barbed wire for fencing was arranged, and a grant of Rs. 25 was sanctioned for the upkeep of the

garden. The Panchayat meeting passed a resolution to select a piece of land for the garden, where irrigation facilities were available from the newly constructed pipe-line which came through the land. But trouble arose when that land, lying on the boundary between Lakhamandal and Chutar, was claimed as his property by Bhuwan Singh of Chutar and he would not give it up for the community garden.

At the next meeting the Panchayat resolved to select a portion of the fallow land lying near the Jamuna. This is a very fertile area. This resolution was, again, objected to by the people on religious grounds. A temple dedicated to Bhuwan Devi is situated on this land and the villagers said that they would never allow the land in question to be used for any purpose other than grazing cattle. Positive proofs of the Devi's anger on those who trespassed on the land are allegedly known in the village.

No other spot was available for the community garden, and thus it never came into existence. Actually the land near the river, if used for the garden, would be in danger of being flooded in the rainy season. This, however, can be prevented by raising a bund, but only if the villagers could be persuaded to listen to reason.

People's Reaction and Their Apprehensions

At times, it seems as if the villagers turn a deaf ear to whatever the C.D.P. or the V.L.W. has to say in trying to plan for improved living standards by introducing innovations. But this cold reaction does not mean that there is no reason in the villagers' logic. What the failure of the V.L.W. to provide a community garden to the villagers of Lakhamandal shows is a deep rooted cultural pattern in terms of village solidarity and socio-religious belief—factors which have directed the people to live and to strive as did their forefathers. A change may take place only if it is well planned, so that both the material and spiritual needs of the villagers find fulfilment. It may not be too difficult to predict that the villagers of Lakhamandal will be more enthusiastic for the community garden if they are convinced that it is sure to bring them benefits and that the garden could eventually be started either on the disputed land of Bhuwan Singh or on the Devi's land, by means of a compromise or religious propitiation.

A realistic and sympathetic approach may also be adopted to deal with other grievances, difficulties and apprehensions of the villagers in connection with the implementation of the innovations. Reasons advanced earlier—such as scarcity of land, lack of time and shortage of water—which prevent the villagers from developing an interest in fruit-farming, are all worth careful consideration, but it is not impossible to solve the problem.

It was seen that when the V.L.W., under instructions from the Project Office, approached the villagers to find out the number of plants they wanted, their response was cold because, firstly, they did not have an idea of what fruit trees they would like to grow, as their forefathers had chosen agriculture as the best occupation for them; secondly, they found the prices of the plants too much for their lean purses; and thirdly, they were afraid that the plants may wither or not bear good fruits and that they would have to wait for six or seven years before the trees bore any fruit. The first reason shows that extensive propaganda is needed for explaining to the people the utility of the programme and that encouragement should be given to those who pioneered the new programmes. Secondly, prices of the plants may be reduced to the minimum; this the C.D.P. can do, so that the benefit of the programme would not only go to the better-off villagers but also to those who are poor and yet would like to participate in the programme. It is true that great concessions in the rates have been provided for the Koltas, but it would help if other poor villagers are also treated accordingly. The more important and effective means are, of course, to let the villagers be convinced of the real profit which one can derive from fruit-farming. In this connection, a good beginning is most essential. The withering of a few mango and guava plants is a point which should be studied carefully. Perhaps, it was due to lack of water, or due to the fact that such tropical plants are not suitable to local conditions, but such failures certainly increase the villagers' scepticism and hesitation.

A realistic approach would be to admit the fact of the failure of the programme and find out the possible reasons for it, and take effective and necessary action to guard against it in future. In order to ensure a perfect growth of the plants, the project must consult a horticulture expert, and ascertain the suitability of the plants for the local soil and climate. The V.L.W. must take more pains to explain and also to demonstrate the proper processes and methods, from the time of planting, and then keep watch that no grave mistake is committed by the villagers during pit-digging, planting, manuring, irrigation, etc.

The problem of time lag between planting and fruit-bearing needs proper consideration, in view of the general dearth of land in the area. For instance, *akrot* trees take six to seven years to bear fruit but mixed farming, of *akrot* with a quick fruit-bearing plant as *papita*, may prove more acceptable. This is possible as the *papita* bears fruit within three or four years, when the *akrot* tree has not yet grown to maturity, and after giving fruit, the *papita* plant dries up. It may be utilized as manure for the *akrot*.

As regards scarcity of land, measures may be taken to encourage the villagers to reclaim land and to make use of all the cultivable land, such as the Devi's land of Lakhamandal. This, of course, should be done with all necessary precautions and adjustments to fulfil the socio-religious requirements, in accordance with tradition and custom. In short, the unsophisticated and ignorant must be constantly informed about correct methods. A little more care and perseverance may bring in success.

Fruit-Farming at Baila and Lohari

Although the growth of dry fruits, as walnuts (*akrot*) and chestnuts, at Baila and Lohari has better prospects than at Lakhamandal, nothing substantial has been done with regard to fruit-farming here also. Recently, villagers of Baila were given some saplings, including apricot, plums, walnuts and lemon, at the rate of 8 annas each. A few of the villagers took five or six saplings each, some of the more enterprising ones intending to plant an orchard. In Bulhar, a nearby village, Nain Singh purchased 100 saplings of different fruit trees.

At Lohari, fruit plants were also given to some villagers at nominal cost, but last year's results were disappointing. Most of the plants withered soon after planting, while those which did grow produced a small and sour variety of fruit. Consequently, the villagers hesitated to take any more plants, and it was after much persuasion that some saplings were distributed with the V.L.W.'s assurance that he would supervise the planting personally and would also see to the constant care of the plants. The general problem is the scarcity of land, so much so that the villagers have to go miles from the village to find a piece of land for the orchard. The Koltas have no spare land at all and, therefore, the benefit of fruit-farming goes only to the high castes.

PASTORAL ACTIVITIES

Pastoral activities claim the next largest share of attention of the people of Jaunsar-Bawar. Invariably, pastoral operations form an indispensable subsidiary pursuit of the majority of villagers.

It is important to notice that pastoral operations among the Jaunsaris are combined with agricultural operations on the basis of the family unit. The most important animals reared by the hill agriculturists are cattle, sheep and goats. These serve certain kinds of definite purposes in terms of family economy.

Cattle are used for two major purposes in the agricultural operations. They are not only meant for ploughing, but also for the supply of manure. The cattle excreta, mixed with green leaves, has been

of great importance in fertilizing the fields. It is for this purpose that the cattle sheds (*channi*) are built at suitable places in the fields, often miles away from the village settlements. Quantities of milk are taken from the cows and used for making clarified butter or 'ghee'. Usually, only a little fresh milk is kept for drinking.

Sheep are of great importance for the supply of wool and homespun blankets and woollen clothes which are indispensable as winter garments, especially in the areas at higher altitudes. The figures given in the chapter on Family Economy of the number of sheep, goats and cattle give a general idea as to the importance of the various livestock to the village life. Sheep are the important suppliers of both wool and meat. But goats and sheep also serve socio-religious purposes. Skins of the animals are used for making leather goods for domestic use.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE

One member of the family is assigned permanently to look after cattle and sheep. He usually stays with the animals in the *channi*, and is referred to by the children born of the polyandrous union as the 'Chhani ka Baba' or 'Bherwa Baba'.

The most difficult and important problem in connection with animals is the supply of fodder to them. This compels some people to live a nomadic life. The herdsmen have to move from place to place according to the change of seasons. They have to climb up and down the precipitous hills and gorges in search of pastures. To evade the cold, they have to go far down the foot-hills for winter shelter and remain there for months.

SEASONAL MIGRATION

The herdsmen and their animals have to pass their days in seasonal migrations. There is an interesting year cycle for them and the following is an example of the migratory life that is led by the villagers of Lohari.

1. From the End of Baisakh (May) to the 15th of Sawan (August)

The shepherds remain with their sheep in the jungles of Budhyar, which is a dense forest two or three miles away from the village of Lohari. Their morning meal is sent from home, while they cook the evening meal themselves. They take only two meals a day. During this time, it rains very heavily. So they keep big umbrellas made of the *ringal* (bamboo grown near *kyaris*) and *maul* leaves. The shepherds of the same village live in groups and keep watch at night by turns to protect the sheep from being attacked by panthers and other wild animals.

2. *From the 15th of Sawan till the Month of Mangshir (November-December)*
The sheep are brought to the *channis* near the village. They are taken out for grazing after the shepherds have taken their morning meals at home. In the evening, they return to the *channi*. They prepare their evening meal and stay there in the night.

3. *From Mangshir to the Beginning or Middle of Phagun (February-March)*
In Mangshir, before the snow falls, the sheep are taken to the *neud*. *Neud* are the places on the foot of the hills, where there is no snowfall in winter. There they make thatched huts. They cook both meals and stay there till the beginning or middle of Phagun. Sheep are taken out very early in the morning and are allowed to rest in the day. The shepherds do not eat in the morning. Instead, they cook at noon when the sheep rest.

4. *From Phagun till the End of Baisakh or the Beginning of Asarh (May-June)*
The sheep are kept in the *udar*. *Udar* are the caves or rock shelters on the hill side. They remain there till the rains come.

SHEPHERDS AND THE SHEPHERD-CULT

It is of much interest to notice the occupational specialization of the group of villagers as shepherds, and the socio-religious cult connected with this occupation.

However, it has to be remarked here that sheep are not very common at lower altitudes, such as in lower Jaunsar or on Lakhamandal side, though the villagers there also keep goats and cattle and have their *channis* at places far away from the village. They do not have such seasonal migration as described above, but as a rule one of the family members has to take the job of herdsman and remain at the *channi* with the cattle and goats.

It is in the areas of higher altitude, where the sheep and shepherds play a more prominent role, that the 'shepherd-cult' is seen fully. The shepherds of the village form a separate community of their own, and they are easily distinguished from others by their dress and ornaments. A typical shepherd puts on a *chora*, a very loose coat (which may be tied at the waist by a long strip of woollen cloth) made of narrow strips of thick woollen cloth, on which is tied with black wool a brass idol of Shilguru, the god of sheep and shepherds.

Shilguru is believed to be a powerful and responsible protector of the shepherds and their herds. Near each village, there is the Shilguru temple built on a hill top. Near Baila, for instance, there is a peak known as 'Choad ka Tibba', where people of the surrounding area lead their sheep on the occasion of the annual festival, to receive the

blessings from the sheep-god. At Lohari, there is the ' Shilguru Tibba ', on which is situated a temple dedicated to Shilguru.

Annual Festivals

An annual festival in honour of the god of sheep is held at the temple in the month of Sawan (August). This festival is generally known as ' Nunai ', such as is held at Baila and Jadi, the Khat headquarters of Dhaneu to which the village Lohari belongs, as well as at Manthad near Lakhamandal. At Lohari, the festival is known as ' Shemiati ', and it is held on the first day of Sawan, usually just a few days before the Nunai is held in Jadi.

This festival not only has its economic importance in connection with the shearing of the sheep, but it also has great significance from both social and religious points of view. Sacrifice of a ram is offered to Shilguru by each family in the morning, and dancing and singing continue throughout the day and night.

What is more interesting is that when the sheep have been brought back from the jungles, where they remain during the season, all the sheep of the village are kept on the hill-top, on which is situated the Shilguru temple, and are left there for the night without anybody to watch over them. It is the firm belief of the villagers that ' nothing can happen to them as they are protected by Shilguru '. Rati of Lohari cited an example that, ' the brother of Jalpoo Singh Sayana of Mendal once pitched a tent and kept watch over his sheep with a lantern. Next day he found that fifty of his sheep were missing. The god was offended ', he said.

PROBLEMS OF ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

To the villagers, the most urgent problem concerning their herds is the supply of fodder. One method they know is to set fire to the dried hay standing on the slopes, in order to enable the green grass to grow there after the rains. The main theme of the songs sung by shepherds is usually the scarcity of grass and fodder, and of the sheep dying of hunger and thirst, besides the privation caused to shepherds when they have remained high up on the hills to look after the animals.

With the advent of the C.D.P. new knowledge and new means have been brought to the villagers to improve their cattle and sheep. These include the improving of the breed, prevention and cure of diseases and castration of animals. The scheme has been generally welcomed by all villagers, and it especially benefits the bulk of both the rich and the poor on the Baila-Lohari side, who are more dependent upon sheep for their living.

Under the sheep breeding scheme, villagers are given rams of good breed. To Koltas they are given free of charge; while the high-castes, who are interested, may purchase them. Khitu and Ganiya (Koltas) of Baila and some Koltas of Lohari were among the free recipients. Recently, in Lohari, Dev Ram and Ran Singh purchased two pedigree rams. Dev Ram's ram died, but Ran Singh's ram is still alive and Ran Singh is confident that the breed of his sheep will improve. He also serviced his ram on hire to other villagers. The Project has also arranged to send Australian goats to every village for exhibition, but none of the villagers purchased them. The villagers of Lohari have refused the offer of a bull to the whole village at a very cheap price, as they were not sure whether the bull would survive the cold of Lohari.

The villagers responded very well to the insemination scheme, when camps were held at Deoban and Budhyar, but no good results came of this, probably due to lack of proper equipment. Villagers have also welcomed medical treatment, vaccination and the castration of the animals.

POULTRY AND PIG-REARING

Poultry in the real sense of the term is non-existent in this region. Fowls are kept by lower caste families, like Koltas and Bajgis, only. Their fowls and even eggs are never taken by the high-caste men who regard them as polluted as the corn cooked in the kitchen of low castes. Only outsiders are the occasional buyers of the fowls, though the high-caste men may sometimes use the fowls for sacrificial purposes. In very rare cases, a few fowls may be reared by a Rajput woman. The cocks from the jungles may be taken by all high-caste people.

It was observed in Lakhamandal that even the Koltas hesitated to keep fowls, and they did not take any interest in the pedigreed cocks and hens supplied by the C.D.P.

Pigs are commonly reared by the Koltas, and by them only. They are also the sole eaters of pig. Consequently, pig-rearing is not profitable to them.

HUNTING AND FISHING

A word has to be said here on the activities concerning hunting and fishing, which have now no economic importance to the people, but are certainly of much social significance.

Hunting is a favourite topic of conversation among the villagers. It has been traditionally a well-organized enterprise, but is now much curbed by the forest restrictions. The villagers often spared some of their busy days during various seasons for an expedition to the jungles far away from the village. They organized themselves into small groups

of five or ten and remained in the jungle for a couple of days. On their return, they divided the game, mostly birds, bear and deer, among themselves equally. They generally used muzzle-loading guns; but some of them had licenced guns also.

At places of lower altitude like Lakhmandal, the best season for hunting is during, or just after, winter, when the bears, leopards, *kankar*, etc. come down because of the snow.

Fishing is not a popular pastime of the people, nor is fish the usual food. However, it is not uncommon for the residents in lower regions near a stream to be very fond of fishing.

The real interest of the Jaunsaris in fishing, however, seems to have its own history, as one can see from the fervent activities indulged in by the people on the day of 'Manr', the annual fishing festival which falls sometime in the month of June. It is an all Jaunsar-Bawar festival, but is held only at certain selected places in various parts of the region.

The Manr is organized on an inter-Khat basis, and is managed turn by turn among the few Khats concerned, which may go beyond the boundary of Jaunsar-Bawar. For instance, the celebrated fair at Menus on the Tons near Baila is meant for four Khats from both Bawar and Sirmur in Himachal Pradesh. At Lauri, near Lakhmandal, the Manr is organized by three Khats including two from Tehri-Garhwal, on the other bank of the Jamuna.

On the appointed day and at the particular hour, hundreds of men come in groups from their respective Khats and gather at the fixed site. In the traditional manner, the plants, especially of *timur*, are gathered in good quantities. They are then carried by the participants with ardent passion and care, and after pounding near the streams, are thrown into the water to intoxicate the fish. The participants then catch the stupefied fish amidst the boulders and rocks in the stream, with a few simple kinds of nets and traps. Though the participants show much enthusiasm and excitement, most of them are apparently no experts in fishing.

It seems quite possible that some time in the past both hunting and fishing flourished among, and was cherished by, the people in the hilly areas, but both have now become outmoded. Neither of the two has much consequence to the economic life of the people of today. The C.D.P. has not been concerned with these activities either.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

No cottage industry has been found in this area on an organized basis, nor has any of the local castes specialized exclusively in a particular

branch of cottage industry. There are, however, the traditional artisan castes, namely the Badi, Sunar and Lohar, professing carpentry, goldsmithy and ironsmithy, as well as the professional drummers, the Bajgi or Dhaki, etc.

Cottage industries, such as weaving, basketry, and rope-making as well as distilling, have been taken up by the villagers only on a subsidiary level. Most of these trades are taken up by lower castes, especially the Kolta, except spinning of wool which is the daily work of all the high-caste men, as a pastime during the season. Distilling for household purposes is a family routine done by the older women among all castes, barring the Brahmins who are teetotallers.

SPINNING AND WEAVING

Spinning and weaving of cotton and wool have their separate areas of operation according to the altitude. The spinning of cotton is confined to places at the lower altitudes, such as Lakhamandal, whereas the woollen industry prevails in the upper region.

It is, however, noticed at Lakhamandal that the cotton industry is nowadays almost non-existent. It is said that about ten years ago there was good growth of cotton in the fields and also there were a number of cotton workers in the village, though the scale of production was small, and was only meant for local purposes. Now there is not a single weaver among the villagers of Lakhamandal, and there are only very few families which do some cotton cultivation. A little spinning of cotton may be done by the villagers with their old instruments, such as *otwa* (a wooden plank on which are fixed a few rods, for the purposes of separating cotton from the seeds), *dhunai* (a bow-shaped bamboo structure for carding the cotton), *takli* (the spindle) and *charkha* (spinning wheel), but weaving, which was done in the family with the *patloon*, is now left for the Kumaware, the professional weavers coming from Himachal Pradesh, who are available at nearby villages such as Chutar, Jaikhandri and Munsogi.

The dwindling of cotton work in the village of Lakhamandal is due to many causes. In the first place, the cotton growth has greatly diminished because of scarcity of rains in the last few years, and because of the lack of facilities of irrigation, which made the cotton cultivation an impossibility for most of the people. Manure was another problem for the cotton cultivators, and diseases of cotton plants also contributed to the loss of cotton supply in the village. As a result, most of the villagers have stopped cotton cultivation, and all families are nowadays purchasing cotton cloth from Chakrata or from nearby shops.

As regards wool spinning and weaving, it is common and important in the upper regions, where wool is produced in plenty and woollen

cloth is a necessity for people of all classes. There the sheep are generally sheared thrice a year, and wool is dried and stored in all houses. Men and women are seen at home as well as in fields with the *takli* and a bundle of wool all the time. Even the village schoolmasters are often doing the same during the season. *Charkhas* are also found with the richer families, which have more wool to be spun.

Weaving of wool is usually the specialization of some of the Koltas in the village. They may work both for themselves and for their masters, and for others. The professional Kumawares may also come from outside on special assignments and work. Various kinds of woollen cloth and blankets are produced according to the villagers' needs, but very few families have a surplus for making an extra income. In Baila, for instance, it is seen that the well-to-do family of the Village Sayana, Daya Ram, as well as of others like him, had been able to produce a good number of pieces of woollen cloth and blankets for the annual exhibition at Chakrata organized by the Project Office.

BASKETRY AND ROPE-MAKING

A few among the lower castes, especially the Koltas, are experts in basketry and rope-making. Some of them, as reported from Lakhamandal, came from Garhwal. The products include various kinds of baskets (*gilta*) and other *ringal* goods, all of which are meant for the use of the villagers.

Rope-making is done by the villagers in general for their own use, but, more frequently, it is done by the Koltas who take it also as a secondary source of income, which is only occasional and meagre. The ropes are made of the fibre taken from the bark and twigs of some trees like *vimal*. Usually rope-making is practised by men in their leisure time; women help occasionally.

NATIVE DISTILLING

All families of all castes, except the Brahmin, prepare liquor, by indigenous methods and implements, for their household use. The liquor is of two or three varieties, and is used according to the season or the purpose, either on the ceremonial occasions or as daily provision for the guests and the family members. They say it is not only a matter of tradition, but also a necessity for the people living in the cold hilly regions and constantly subject to a rigorous and hard life.

There is an annual festival for the preparation of *kim* (which is the fermenting cake used for the liquor). The festival known as 'Kimona' falls in the month of September, and is held in all but the Brahmin villages. The *kim* is then prepared by all families in the village in large

quantities and the cakes are stored in the house for use at any time of the year.

The *kim* is made of grains, herbs and *gur* or *sira*. The grains used are usually *jhangora*, *manduwa*, *chaulai* and barley (*jau*). Herbs are of many kinds and all the herbs are gathered from jungles, in large quantities for many days before the festival. On the day of the festival the herbs are cut into small pieces and dried, crushed into powder, and then mixed with the flour of the prescribed grains, *gur*, etc. Very thick cakes, known as 'rot', are made out of this mixture. The *rot* is pressed between the leaves of *bhang*, which is very intoxicating, and kept in a dark and closed place for fifteen or twenty days. Then it is taken out and dried in the sun. This is known as *kim*.

When liquor is needed, the *kim* bread is mixed with a number of very thick breads of *manduwa*, *jhangora*, *makki* (maize) and *chaulai*, or *jau* (barley), and all the breads are torn into small pieces and put in a vessel with water. This vessel is covered in order to allow the ingredients to decompose and ferment. This is known as *khamira*. After fermentation, the *khamira* is poured into another vessel and put on fire for distillation. The distillation is usually done by the seniormost woman of the family, who is in charge of the kitchen and cooking. A good amount of liquor is made and stored in the house for daily use or for festivals and ceremonies, but occasionally a little amount may be sold to outsiders, at Re. 1 or Rs. 2 per bottle.

C. D. P. AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

Good efforts have been made by the C.D.P. in this area, but the intensity and the achievements vary from place to place, and are generally meagre. Facilities provided by the C.D.P. in this connection may come under two categories: the material aid given directly to the villagers on an individual basis, and the establishment of the training-cum-production centres.

The main industry centre is run at Brewery, near Chakrata. There are sub-centres also, such as the tailoring training centre for women at Laga Bogari, near Brewery, the brassware centre at Sahiya, the paper manufacturing centre at Kalsi, the woollen weaving centre at Baranuntha, and others at Mindal, Nagthat, Tuni, etc. These centres are meant for giving professional training to the village youths in various branches of village industry as well as in carpentry and other artisan occupations. Admission to the centres for training is open to apprentices from all villages on their own initiative. Stipends are given at varying rates according to the centres and in consonance with the stage of training. However, propaganda about the training centres has not been properly done in wide areas and thus the villagers

generally do not know about these establishments or their purposes. Very few villagers like to send their children for training, as they need them to work in fields, which is of primary importance to them. Often those who know about the centres are of the opinion that the training does not bring a good job to the youngsters; others think that the meagre amount of stipend is not sufficient for the maintenance of the trainees.

Individual aid given to the villagers includes distribution of implements and loans. Spindles and spinning wheels were given to the Harijans free of charge. Madho Nath of Lohari, for instance, was a recipient. Rajputs may purchase them on application. Sher Singh purchased one for Rs. 11, and Ram Singh has submitted his application recently. Madho, being a scheduled caste man, also got a sewing machine, with a loan which he paid off within two years with an interest of 5.5 per cent. Rati Muranrh of Lohari was also interested in a sewing machine, but his application was rejected as he was a Rajput. Koltas of Lohari requested the V.L.W., as well as the District Harijan Welfare Officer personally, to arrange for the distribution of better looms for their weaving, but it was not available due to want of funds. It is certain that the needs of the villagers are many, and the aid is inadequate.

OCCUPATIONAL SPECIALIZATION AND THE PROFESSIONAL CASTES

We have seen that the high castes are, as a rule, agriculturists. They also perform a few other subsidiary jobs. Koltas, at the other end of the caste scale, are not only the traditional serfs, but also the multi-line workers in various kinds of industrial jobs, such as weaving, leather work and shoe-making, basketry and rope-making. Thus both the highest and the lowest castes are non-specialists in occupation.

On the other hand, all the other castes in the Jaunsar-Bawar society have their stereotyped specialization of occupation. Thus the Badi is the carpenter-cum-mason; Sunar, the goldsmith; and Lohar the blacksmith. Bajgis, besides being drummers, also take their subsidiary and monopolized professions in the trades of barber and tailor. Jagdis and Naths are specialists in religious and magico-medical services in the village. In rare cases, a Nath may take some other job, such as Madho Nath of Lohari who is an expert in tailoring while serving the village community as the Chowkidar.

We have discussed the important features of the occupational specialization in the village society in Jaunsar-Bawar, with particular reference to the social stratification and socio-economic groupings.

Here we need only point out that the specialization of occupation among different castes has been a matter of tradition, and it is the result of adoption and adjustment of the local environment in order to maintain the economic self-sufficiency and social security of the village community. Further, the specialized castes, as a whole, are subordinate and dependent upon the agriculturists for their subsistence, according to the local 'Jaimani' system of remuneration in force. It is also seen that all the subordinate castes have also been cultivating substantial pieces of land either on their own or on tenancy basis.

Recent happenings have, on the one hand, pointed to the zeal and struggle for land by men of all castes and classes, and, on the other, to the fact that all the castes are now moving with governmental assistance, aids and some of the legislations towards socio-economic equality and a democratic structure within the village community. The final goal is, however, yet far, and uncertain.

A General Appraisal of C. D. P.

THE foregoing chapters show that since the inception of the C.D.P. and the Panchayats in Jaunsar-Bawar in 1955, various measures of public welfare and economic development have been introduced in this area. The implementation and the effects of the measures vary greatly from item to item, from place to place, and also from time to time. A general feature was that great difficulties were faced both by the Project Staff and by the villagers in the earlier years, but substantial improvement in the situation has taken place with the passage of time. It would be too optimistic for us to believe that the C. D. Project has achieved its aim in this area to a very great extent, but it would be equally wrong to underestimate the changes that have taken place so far in the social and economic life, as well as in the intellectual aspirations of the people of Jaunsar-Bawar.

Evaluating the past is indispensable for measuring the success of the future, and for this purpose a general appraisal of the C.D.P. in Jaunsar-Bawar may be made here with special emphasis on the following :

- (a) Basic incompatibilities between the traditional culture pattern and the C.D. Programmes, which cause and may result in the further waste of energy and resources of the development project.
- (b) The local needs in the context of the area and cultural life of the people which may have great bearings on the utility and effects of the C.D. Programmes.
- (c) The rate of success of various measures and the nature and extent of resistance to different items thereof, in order to find out alternative approaches which may accelerate the progress.
- (d) An analysis of the C.D.P. mechanism and working methods in terms of the relationship of the C.D.P. with the villagers on the one hand and with other departments on the other, indicating thereby certain possible adjustments for improving the efficiency and success of the programmes.

PLACE OF C.D.P. IN JAUNSAR-BAWAR

The C.D.P. is not only a general nationwide programme for the uplift of the economic life and the prosperity of the people, but it is also a selective application of programmes according to the locality and the people concerned. It is the latter which claims our special attention here, in so far as Jaunsar-Bawar has its extraordinary type of cultural environment and the local people have their particular pattern of culture built and developed round the unique system of a polyandrous family.

As the area is so rough and rugged, closed and under-developed, and the people are so little known to and much misunderstood by the outsiders, the C.D.P. of Jaunsar-Bawar is of great significance. It should not only serve to improve the economic life of the local people, but also help them to reach a desirable standard of social life and level of living. The objects, however, should not be misunderstood as anything like suppression or elimination of the traditional way of life, but they should help to improve the local environment and enlarge the people's general knowledge and outlook in order that they may develop a genuine desire to adapt themselves to other groups of people elsewhere.

PROGRAMMES AND LOCAL FACTORS

With a view to ensuring progress, all programmes introduced in any part of the country should be those which are suitable to the local circumstances and conform to the pattern of the felt needs of the people concerned. The programmes for Jaunsar-Bawar, therefore, should be in line, but not necessarily identical, with those applied elsewhere. Needless to say, an adequate knowledge and careful study of the local conditions, which make the people of Jaunsar-Bawar unique in some sense, should be a matter of prime importance to the planners of the C.D.P. Programmes.

A. VILLAGERS' RELATIONSHIP WITH OUTSIDERS

Living, as they do, a self-supporting life, and having no facilities of communication and transport, villagers of Jaunsar-Bawar so far had little contact with the people of the plains and never took the latter into confidence. The fact was that the outsiders, who came into contact with them as occasional visitors, mostly on business purposes, used to misunderstand the Jaunsaris and to ridicule them for their quaint customs and grotesque practices. As a result, the Jaunsaris have a hostile or sceptical attitude towards outsiders in general.

This attitude was shown even by the earlier settlers to those who had immigrated in later times. In Lakhmandal, for instance, the families of the Chaprasian *thok*, which came to the village two generations ago, were still regarded by the other three Brahmin *thoks* as aliens, whereas in the other villages the newcomers even when they were admitted to the *dai chara* of the earlier settlers, were invariably discriminated against, in matters of group action. The school teacher even after having lived in the village for several years, and having had very intimate contacts and cordial relations with the villagers, was seldom taken into full confidence, even by such persons as the shopkeepers. One of the school teachers, who hailed from the plains of Dehra Dun remarked: 'We can never hide our feelings, whereas a Jaunsari will always be sweet to his worst enemies but would take a chance to harm them at the earliest opportunity.'

Instances were reported during the earlier period of the C.D.P. that a V.L.W. who hailed from Jaunsar-Bawar was more favoured by the people than the others from outside. Once a V.L.W. of the Lakhmandal area found that the villagers had great love for his Jaunsari predecessor, who was by no means an efficient worker. The new V.L.W.'s criticism against his predecessor's negligence of duty provoked nothing but aversion to the former, and the villagers began to enquire where the newcomer's home was.

A deeper probe, however, revealed that there were certain reasons for the Jaunsaris' likes and dislikes. Thus, Rati of Lohari remarked, 'No outsider has gone back from here with a good name.' He further observed, 'In the beginning they are all saints. They would not touch wine, eat meat or flirt with our *dhyantis*, but after some time they would do every thing and even worse. We don't have any respect for such people and don't want them to stay in our villages.'

Looking back into the past, it becomes clear that few of the outsiders who came to stay in the Jaunsari villages could resist the temptation of an easy life with provisions of good food, meat and wine supplied by the hospitable villagers, and to crown it all, the free intimacy with the village damsels whose favour could be secured by offering a mere packet of cheap cigarettes or brass earrings worth a few annas. In the beginning, the villagers generally overlooked and even encouraged the outsiders to drink wine and to flirt with the *dhyantis*, but later they started objecting to such behaviour, especially when the *dhyanti* with whom the outsider had an affair had already a *dost* (paramour). Trouble often came at this stage, and the outsider was beaten and defamed, no matter whether he was a business man, a schoolmaster or a government servant. The usual method was to

compose a song about the latter, which was meant as a joke but which conveyed the attitude of the people.

Recently, however, as a result of the increased contact between the outsiders and the villagers, the latter have become more sophisticated in matters of drink and women, and the amoral relations with the outsiders have been greatly curbed and discouraged. The increased awareness and knowledge of the world outside have also helped the villagers to defend themselves against exploitation by shopkeepers and other outsiders. On the other hand, they have also come to recognize certain types of outsiders as their friends and helpers.

B. TRADITIONAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS GOVERNMENT AND THE OFFICIALS

The traditional attitude of the villagers of Jaunsar-Bawar towards the government and the officials has been dictated by feelings of fearful respect and submission. They misunderstand the real functions of the government, the normal interrelation between the government and themselves, and the actual status and powers of the petty officers who occasionally come into contact with them.

In Lakhmandal, for instance, there is a new *thok* known as 'Chaprasian', named after the profession of its founder, Chanchalanand, who was a 'chaprasi' (peon) of the Tehsil office. This post meant a great honour conferred on a villager of this area, and hence it was adopted as the name of his family and the *thok* derived from it. A Patwari is even now a respected official. Two of the families among the Brahmins of Lakhmandal have been referred to as 'Patran'. In Baila, there was a Rajput who served as a Forest Guard. Although his family has not been named after his occupation, his official status was recognized by the villagers and it added to his personality.

The respect of the villagers for the officials was, however, also mixed with their worries and complaints. Any government servant was feared by the villagers. As a rule, a peon, who delivers a summons or any intimation from the Tehsil, receives some gratification from the addressee. In Baila, it was seen that a Tehsil peon was demanding several rupees from each of the families whose relatives expired some time back, for the service he had rendered by sending a notice from the Tehsil to ask the heirs of the deceased to make due claims on his property. Similarly, a Patwari, deputed to make any sort of inquiry in the village, could demand gratification from the families concerned, before he was expected to submit a favourable report. The gratification had to be paid as there was no other way for the villagers, who were illiterate, ignorant, and afraid of being asked to present themselves at the Tehsil headquarters, which would mean not only expense

but also wastage of several days' time and labour. They were never happy with the government whose agents had to be paid gratifications, taxes and money on other counts.

The villagers think of the government as the authority which extracts money from them as taxes etc. They are also bitter against the restrictions in regard to the forests, which deprived them of the wood they formerly got. As a result, they would not easily believe that the government would spend money on them for their benefit. For the officials of higher rank, the villagers do have some respect, though they do not have any clear idea of their power or position. Here again, the villagers have often to suffer financially during the officials' occasional visits, and at times they also complain against some individual officers. Once in Lakhamandal elaborate arrangements were made for the proposed visit of a District Magistrate, who, however, cancelled his long expected trip due to unforeseen reasons. Another time a Minister failed to come to open a sheep-breeding competition at Budher, where the villagers from far and near were gathered by the V.L.W. and other officials, and they came with hundreds of sheep despite the adverse weather during the worst part of the rainy season. All such incidents not only made the villagers suffer unnecessary loss of time and labour, but created among them an impression that 'our officers, unlike the British, have little regard for their programmes or for time'.

It is true that the situation is improving. Some local officials and Development Block staff pay regular visits to certain places. Yet further efforts have to be made in order to establish the Jaunsaris' confidence and faith in the government and the officials in general.

C. CASTE DIFFERENTIATION AND DISCRIMINATION

As mentioned before, the problem of caste discrimination has been a serious matter in Jaunsar-Bawar and no one who has a close contact with the villagers here can ignore the vital role it plays in interpersonal relations. The rules are important not only for the villagers themselves, but also to the outsiders, including the official personnel. It was interesting to find that a Tehsil peon, who was as clever as he was influential, but who was a Kolta, was unable to enter the house of any high-caste family, nor could he stay for the night in any house other than in that of a Kolta of the village. This rule is so rigid that exceptions are rare, even where high officials are concerned.

Caste differentiation plays a two-fold function in matters of C.D. Programmes. On the one hand, the occupational differentiation of the high and low castes, especially that connected with land-ownership, has caused the felt needs of the people to vary according to castes; and

on the other hand, it was found that different castes had different attitudes towards the C.D. Project.

The high castes watch with much envy, if not antagonism, the fact that the low castes are given 'undue' concessions in many a developmental programme, and welfare measures such as free or nearly free distribution of industrial equipment, agricultural implements, fruit plants and seeds, and also a bigger share in, and benefit of, various developmental undertakings. Many Rajputs and Brahmins fear that the government is helping the Harijans to overthrow their masters. There are also the complaints and grievances of the poor among the high castes, who live no better than the Kolta, but have no right to claim the concessions granted to the latter.

The Koltas and other lower castes also, on the other hand, are not grateful to the government, as generally they possess no cattle or land, and hence have no means to take advantage of the concessions provided for them by the government, nor can they get a loan without surety. Often they get no material assistance either, even when they need some technical aid and implements. A Badi wants carpentry equipment, a Bajgi the sewing machine, and a Kolta handlooms. These they do not get.

D. GROUPS AND LEADERSHIP AMONG THE VILLAGERS

Besides caste differentiation, there have also been other factors which have produced village groupings and factionalism. The groupings are often found to have their root in lineage, such as the *thok* in Lakhamandal or *aal* and *bhera* elsewhere. There is the conflict between the systems of the Panchayat and the *khumri*. It must be recalled here that the traditional status of the *khumri* has much to do with the unpopularity or inefficiency of the Panchayats. In matters of organization either of Panchayats or of other associations, consideration should include the factor of fixing the membership representing the various sections of the people.

Notice should be taken of the changing pattern of village leadership. It was the Sayanas, either of the village or of the Khat and Khag, who were invariably important, and who had great influence. But as time went on, many changes took place, and the Sayanas' prestige and position have been shared by many old and young rivals. Nevertheless, there have been certain bases on which leadership may be built up. These include not only the caste and lineage, but also the family status, personal competence, as well as age and experience. As a rule, the village leadership has little to do with women, as they have been exclusively confined within the sphere of family economy.

Instances have already been mentioned regarding factionalism among the villagers in matters of village organization, such as were found in Lakhmandal, Nada and other villages. Although such cases were not very frequent, they are becoming so now due to cultural changes in the Jaunsar society, under the impact of increased outside contacts and the C.D. Programmes. The rivalry that has developed between the leadership of the new system of Panchayat and the old systems of Sayana and *khumri* may stimulate further conflicts and village feuds in years to come. It is, therefore, important that the planners of community development should understand the nature of local conflicts and factionalism and plan their approaches on informed knowledge.

E. CULTURAL INCOMPATIBILITY

We have referred to the 'polygynandrous' family, or the popularly known polyandrous family, among the people of Jaunsar-Bawar. This has been a peculiar cultural feature for which the people suffer ridicule from the outsiders. Though this family system is by no means compatible with the needs of the world of today, there have been, as we have pointed out, adequate reasons for the continuance of the system. This family system may not have direct bearing on matters of C.D. Programmes, but it has an important role to play in connection with the distribution and accumulation of wealth and family property.

There are also many other factors which impede the progress of C.D.P. Illiteracy affects directly the functioning of the village Panchayat. A Gram Sabhapati or Pradhan may be illiterate and thus be unable to write down the resolutions and minutes of the meetings, or correspond directly with the officers. Lack of knowledge and education makes the villagers incapable of taking the initiative in any major programmes of the C.D. Project, especially in those involving the application or adoption of modern appliances and new techniques. Here, therefore, the planners have to think of something more than the programmes or innovations only.

Superstition constitutes another serious problem in this region. A few of the most 'conservative' people were of the opinion that if something from outside was sown in their field, it may amount to 'pollution' which would affect the yield and the crops. It is also true that the Harijans are compelled to live their miserable life without protest as they fear the displeasure of their mighty deity Mahasu. It was seen in Baila that some people had abandoned their well-built houses and fertile plots of land on the advice of medicine-men who divined that the deity was displeased with them. In Lakhmandal, the 'Devi' is believed to be against the making of a community garden on

the fertile land on which she resides. It has been customary among the people of Jaunsar-Bawar to decide cases of disputes on oath before the deity. As the villagers' beliefs are so firm, legal reform has to be carefully planned and its execution constantly watched. Certain customs should also be taken notice of. The merits and demerits of the new Panchayats as compared to the old system of *khumri* have already been discussed in great detail. The Jaunsaris, who hoard money, invariably refuse to part with it, and are reluctant to contribute towards the cost of the programmes. Jaunsaris are so used to thinking about their village as their world that they seldom take interest in joint action with other villagers. Inter-village relations are formal and contacts meagre.

F. APPLICABILITY AND SUITABILITY OF THE PROGRAMMES

Above all, the success of the programmes must depend on their suitability to the area and the cooperation of people concerned.

Villagers of Jaunsar-Bawar are often found to be quite practical. This was demonstrated in the case of Lohari villagers who declined the offer of a moderately priced Australian bull, on account of the anxiety over the cold weather, the problems of raising a fund from the whole village to meet the cost, and the difficulty of maintenance and distribution of the use of the bull among all the villagers.

It is sometimes found that the planners and the administrative personnel of the C.D.P. do not consider the minute difficulties of the people. Sometimes there is also a lack of resources or shortage of funds to run the proposed programme. As mentioned before, the Harijans, who were given fruit plants at concession price, found no land available for their orchards. Sometime back, the Gram Sabha of Baila was given a meagre amount of Rs. 250 to reconstruct the Baila-Udanwa path, which has been one of the most dangerous rocky tracks the people have to negotiate. There was also a case of the village well at Lohari, which was repaired recently with the help of the C.D.P., but has been defective and remains a problem for the whole village. All these call for consideration of local factors before any C.D. Programme is embarked upon.

VILLAGERS' RESPONSE

The villagers' response to the C.D. Programmes so far introduced in the two Blocks in Jaunsar-Bawar has been found to vary greatly from place to place and from item to item. As one would usually expect, there has indeed been a great change in the villagers' attitude towards the Programmes in recent years. There is an increasing recognition

of the role of the C.D.P. and a general awakening and genuine desire to benefit by the innovations introduced by the C.D. Project.

Living a lean life supported mainly by an agricultural-cum-pastoral economy, in the rugged hilly region, the villagers of Jaunsar-Bawar take a realistic view of living. They believe in individual security and group cooperation. These have permeated throughout the economic, social, as well as religious life of the people of Jaunsar-Bawar.

The hard struggle for survival has naturally made the people conscious of the value of their possessions and earnings, from livestock and fields to crops and other produce. Consequently, the villager here does not part easily with his possessions for whatever purpose it may be, nor would he spare any time for community work, if the latter does not appear to have a direct and immediate utility in the context of his livelihood. Consequently, many good programmes and proposals for the development of village life have not appealed to the villagers.

The people are almost all the year round pressed for time for agricultural work in the field and other economic and domestic operations, but they do try to spare many days for festivals, during which all people, old and young, male and female, try to make the best use of the opportunity to relax and enjoy themselves. The men return from their outside assignments, whereas the women go back to their parents' homes. This arrangement makes the festivals provide an excellent spell of pleasure and gaiety for every man and woman in his or her parental village. The hard work that falls to the lot of *ryantis*, or wives, would have been impossible to continue without intermittent spells of relaxation, and the amorous life that the festivals provide.

Further, the uncertainty of agriculture on high altitudes and the low productivity from the fields and frequent loss of livestock, have made the people depend on nature, and hence, they have a firm faith in their guardian deity, Mahasu, who protects, blesses, and assists them in all matters concerning their daily life and occupational activities.

On the other hand, there has been phenomenal group cooperation which is the prime need for the people for coping with the difficult natural environment. The polygynandrous family has been continued largely due to the demand of labour for the field and domestic duties at home. A further demand for cooperation between all families living in the same village has led to the strengthening of the lineage groups, in terms of *bhera*, *aal*, or *thok*, up to the *dai chara*. The multi-caste structure of the villages in Jaunsar-Bawar has also been a cooperative unit, which assigns to each and every caste in the village its duties in terms of occupational specialization. The group way of living has further led

to a stratified but powerful village organization which emphasizes cooperation within the village.

VILLAGERS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE C.D.P. ACTIVITIES

We have mentioned that the Jaunsaris are very sceptical towards the government and official activities in general. This explains their lack of faith in the C. D. Programmes. The V.L.W.s experienced much difficulty in explaining to the villagers the significance of the C.D.P. at the beginning, when the people thought that 'the whole affair was merely a stunt of the government to extract money by levying new taxes on the villagers'. Many villagers were also scared when the National Sample Survey came to enquire about the yield in their fields in 1956.

There was hardly one or two among the villagers who took any interest in the matters of the C.D.P. In Baila, for instance, the Sadar Sayana, Birbal Singh, remarked that he would be ready to lend a cooperative hand to the C.D.P. and the V.L.W. 'if they came to do something useful for the village', but it was only the Gaon Sayana, Daya Ram, who took genuine interest in the programmes from the beginning. In 1953, he came to know from some Project worker in Chakrata about the aims and objects of the proposed C.D.P. activities. He was pleased to hear that the government wanted to improve their condition and had started a new department to look after their needs and requirements. In fact, he had expected a good deal from such a government department to improve the lot of people in his village as well as in the whole of Jaunsar-Bawar. Being the elected Sarpanch of the Nyay Panchayat, he did try to exert his personal influence to see to the implementation of the C.D. Programmes, but generally the villagers did not respond readily. It was his money which fetched a radio set to the village, and when the Cooperative Society was proposed, it was he who advanced Rs. 50 in the name of five villagers as members for starting the Society. His actions were, however, supported by the Sadar Sayana, who was also the Pradhan of the Baila Gram Sabha. The villagers generally approved of what was done but seldom participated actively in the programmes. Baila is noted for its 'backwardness' and also for the villagers' indifference and reluctance towards the C.D.P. activities, in spite of the personal enthusiasm shown by Daya Ram.

In Lohari also, which is neither the headquarters of the Khat, nor of the V.L.W. circle or Nyay Panchayat, there was a lack of general interest shown by the villagers, except a few of the more progressive

members, including Dallu and Sabla, both of whom were elected to the Nyay Panchayat. They showed some enthusiasm for the C.D. Programmes. As regards the villagers of Lakhamandal, it was only Sish Ram, the well-to-do Thok Sayana of Luman, who came forward in the beginning to assist the C.D.P. He had personal reasons as well. He planted an orchard and a nursery of his own, but most of his co-villagers, including the Village Sayana who was also the Gram Sabha Pradhan, were not convinced of the utility of the C.D.P. and were critical of it.

As time went on, changes took place gradually in the general attitude of the villagers towards the C.D.P. What fear they had for the officials and what doubts they held about the government's intention appear to have been allayed. The enthusiasm of the villagers for the Project has materially increased, though there are different kinds of receptions to different items of the programme. As we have mentioned earlier, the villagers have responded to most of the measures, particularly those for improving their crops and livestock, as well as those for public health and medical aid, etc.

There was a time when the villagers of the interior parts like Baila were inclined to believe that the C.D.P. authority was interested only in the areas adjoining Chakrata. This was due to the fact that people of those places had an easy approach to the C.D. Project. There has been further improvement in the villagers' attitude towards the C.D.P. more recently as a result of the positive proofs shown to them, as well as of the more frequent visits paid by the Block staff to the interior villages.

ACCEPTANCE

A more critical point to be considered is whether the acceptance of the C.D. Programmes by the villagers was due to their spontaneous initiative or due to compulsion by the C.D.P. staff and other officials.

The cooperative society of Baila was started by the well-to-do Gaon Sayana, who paid the membership fees for five villagers including himself. Other members were not happy about the payment, thinking that it was made because of the V.L.W.'s insistence. It was interesting to see that when they were told about the utility of the Cooperative Credit Society and the benefit it may render them, they realized that it was really something beneficial, but the moment the question of making a payment of membership fees was raised, all of them withdrew. Soon they realized the utility of the Cooperative Society which could offer them loans at low rates of interest, but they did not like the tedious procedure required to obtain the loan and the strict rules regarding repayment, both of which could be avoided if they took

a loan from the moneylenders (*mahajans*), even though the latter would charge a higher rate of interest. However, the 'Large Size Society' has made more impressive progress, and, as a rule, the members are coming for nothing but loans.

The villagers' hesitation and reluctance increased when Shramdan was initiated. It was seen in Lakhamandal that many promises were made by the member villages of the Gram Sabha for constructing the village school and the Panchayat Ghar, but both were delayed for years as the villagers were always busy with their field operations which prevented them from offering Shramdan.

Sometimes the villagers are asked to accept a programme without being told how they would benefit by it. Thus in Lohari, the villagers had to contribute money to the fund for a radio set, and they also raised some money for establishing a community meeting centre, a youth club and a children's park, but they did not know what to do with them and how to organize these activities. It seemed that they were not interested in these but they were forced by the school teacher and the V.L.W. to make the contributions.

The villagers were sometimes found reluctant to come forward due to their superstitions or caste prejudices. In Baila, for instance, the construction of a water reservoir was delayed for two years, due to the objection of the families of a particular lineage who were the traditional owners of the well with a legendary claim. But the work was at last completed on the initiative of the S.D.M. More serious was the case of the water course at Asoi, where people used to drink from a muddy pool, while the construction of a water pipe was postponed for three to four years on account of the prejudice of the Rajput families against the Koltas. This programme was later completed by the order of another S.D.M. of Chakrata.

We have already pointed out the importance of village leadership as a contributing factor in developmental work. As a rule, it was found everywhere that some of the villagers were more interested than others in the innovations introduced by C.D.P. Strikingly different kinds of interest were shown by various villagers in the programmes, though only few of the villagers took real part in the activities. A few more people might be interested to know what was going on around them, while a large number of people remained ignorant about the whole matter. This situation was more critical during the early years of the C.D.P. in this area, and to a certain extent, it continues till today.

As facts indicated, most of the active participants in the programmes are the Sayanas and other well-to-do members of the community. This is partly due to the fact that the C.D.P. staff have to start work

in the villages with the cooperation of the Sayanas and other influential persons. The degree of the villagers' response is conditioned by their status, personal capability and temperament, family wealth, especially the land they possess, as well as the time and labour available.

Many of the lower castes and the poorer sections of the high castes cannot benefit by many a welfare measure, as they have no means to make use of them. They can neither adopt any new method or farm implement nor use improved seeds or plants, so long as they have no land in their possession. They have not even the right to receive a cooperative loan, as long as they fail to provide security or surety for it.

Of no less importance to the villager is the problem of the time and labour which he and his family can spare. This is because of the fact that the Jaunsaris are generally pressed for time and labour to manage their agricultural-cum-pastoral occupations. It is said by the villagers of Lohari, for instance, that Dallu could be an active and popular leader because he was spared from his family duties, which were shared by his younger brothers. Similar was the situation with Sabal Singh of Lohari, Daya Ram of Baila, Sish Ram of Lakhmandal and others. On the contrary, there are those who, working single-handed in their families, could not undertake engagements outside the household. This was also the case with the late Sayana Jas Ram and others of Lohari, as well as with the Sadar Sayana Birbal of Baila and Sayana Sri Chand of village Lakhmandal.

As regards personal competence, it depends on the intelligence, general knowledge and experience of the person concerned. Very few of the village leaders have a genuine zeal for public welfare, while others who are more ambitious often think in terms of their personal ends. If nothing else, they would certainly like to have their names entered in the good books of the officials, who may allow them various sorts of facilities or favours when they need them.

Personal ambitions sometimes lead to factionalism. As an illustration, we may mention once more the group dynamics in Nada. There was rivalry between Srichand and Maur Singh, who were related to each other as second cousins. Their common grandfather had held the village Sayanship, which was passed on to Maur Singh through his father who was born to the first wife of the common grandfather. Srichand's father, who was by the second wife, became a commoner in the village and so did Srichand. However, by virtue of his personal capability and being the most articulate among the villagers, Srichand has a greater command over the villagers than Maur Singh. There was much personal friction between the two, and two factions developed in Nada.

In the Panchayat election of 1954, Srichand succeeded in getting the Pradhanship of the Gram Sabha of Nada. He was alleged to have played a trick by purchasing the 'ticket' without the knowledge of the other villagers, whereas Maur Singh turned out to be the Up-Pradhan. While this incident widened the gulf between the two village leaders, it also strengthened the position of Srichand with the backing of the Panchayat organization and the government. Maur Singh suffered another loss of prestige when he and his family members were boycotted by the villagers, as a result of their opposition to his resolution asking women not to spend money on silver and gold ornaments. Till recently, Maur Singh's followers consisted of a single Rajput family, that of his first cousin, and a few Kolta families, while Srichand's group included the rest of the Rajputs and a majority of the Koltas. As such the village *khumri* was dominated by Srichand.

Such antagonism inevitably retards the progress of C.D. Programmes. In this village, one party would try to undo what the other wanted to achieve, even in matters which would benefit both. Factionalism was fomented a year ago, and it became most acute in connection with the problem of water supply in Nada in 1955. At the beginning, the *khumri* decided to approach the C.D.P. authorities for money and material to construct a canal of about half a mile long, which would serve the purposes both of drinking water and of irrigation. Maur Singh, however, disagreed and under his influence, many Koltas of the village refused to cooperate in Shramdan on the ground that the canal would do no good to the landless Koltas, but enhance the prosperity of the Rajput zamindars who monopolized the fields and the water mills.

At a subsequent *khumri* meeting, in which two of the A.D.O.s from Chakrata participated, it was decided that, instead of the canal, a pipeline should be constructed. The C.D.P. was duly approached and 115 pipes were sanctioned for the purpose. Shramdan for fetching the pipes from Chakrata was organized on the basis of family. Each family was asked to carry 4 pipes. In this way, 110 pipes were brought to Nada, leaving 5 more to be collected from Chakrata. A plumber was engaged and the fitting started in November 1955. After 100 pipes had already been laid, which brought the line just near the village, there was a new proposal made in the *khumri* by Srichand. He proposed that the pipeline should be brought to a point near the centre of the village, in order that the villagers may get water for drinking, and the pipeline can then be extended to the end of the village, thus providing water supply for the fields and cattle. This proposal led to a shortage of the pipes required, and further construction was postponed

till after the reaping season. Objection to this proposal, however, came from Maur Singh, who complained that the unfinished pipeline had come just near his house, and the running water had made the surrounding area a mosquito breeding pool and a nuisance spot. He was joined in his complaint by Nain Singh, his cousin and next-door neighbour. To their complaints, however, Srichand and the Gram Sabha turned a deaf ear.

Being the village Sayana, Maur Singh took his own decision and sent for the fitter. Srichand disapproved of this action and warned the villagers that none should entertain the fitter who was called by Maur Singh without the villagers' knowledge. The fitter, according to convention, called a *khumri*, but none of Srichand's people turned up. Maur Singh, on the other hand, consulted his group and resolved to resume the unfinished work on the pipeline. This was again stopped by the villagers who had fields with standing crops on the route of the pipeline. As a last step, Maur Singh filed a complaint with the Project authority in Chakrata and disclosed how Srichand and his party had stealthily buried six pipes underground. This brought a Kanungo to the village for investigation. Before his arrival, however, Srichand and his group managed to dig up the concealed pipes and fit them themselves. These pipes brought the pipeline right up to the previously fixed terminus, so that four pipes became surplus. The crude way the pipes were fitted was discovered by the Kanungo and Srichand was asked to explain. This dispute was, however, settled locally, and the fitter was summoned once again to fix the pipes properly.

The pipeline was completed after a delay of more than a year. Yet the two factions did not come to a compromise, and bickering continued over something or the other. The work of constructing a reservoir at the end of the pipeline could not be completed for the same reason.

EFFECTS OF THE WELFARE MEASURES AND THE NEEDS FELT BY THE VILLAGERS

For any plan of community development, success should depend not on its apparent and temporary effects, but on the real and permanent help which it would render to the villagers in the context of their needs. A few instances may be cited here to elucidate this point.

A. APPARENT AND REAL EFFECTS

The government has been trying hard to render help to the people of Jaunsar-Bawar in improving their life, and considerable amounts of money and material have been provided for this purpose so far.

What have been their effects on the village life and the general conditions of the village? As official records show, various developmental programmes have been introduced in each and every village in the area and a good number of villagers are said to have taken part in the activities in some way or the other. It looks as if all of the programmes have received warm response from the villagers and the villagers' lot necessarily should have improved a good deal. In fact, however, there is a big gap between official claims and reality.

Not only have some of the achievements shown in the reports been overstated, but many of the innovations introduced into this society did not yield any results, or results which the villagers expected. The latter is important for more reasons than one. It is true that there are a good number of village schools existing in Jaunsar-Bawar, but how about the attendance of students in the schools, how many students have finished their five or more years of studies, and how much use has been made of the knowledge and training the pupils received in the school to benefit and improve the lot of the villagers? There have been many new organizations like the Panchayat, cooperatives, youth clubs and the like. Are all of these really doing good to the people and improving their life or are they producing any conflicts amongst them? Similarly, when one sees the promising statistics showing amounts of money and material introduced into this region, it must be asked how far all of these have been utilized properly and what have been the results achieved.

We have mentioned earlier that the application of fertilizers and pesticides has increased the production of crops, especially of the potato, by 50 per cent and more within a couple of years in the lower Jaunsar area. But the same has not been effected elsewhere. The benefits were found generally to be due to the pipelines, medical aid, veterinary aids, as well as some technical and technological aid programmes. The main problem now is how to make use of past experience for improving the living conditions of the people in the future.

B. TEMPORARY AND PERMANENT EFFECTS

A fundamental point to be considered here is how far the villagers have learned the new techniques and innovations and whether they have become competent to use the new learning to their advantage, so that withdrawal of the C.D.P. will not lead to a relapse to backwardness. In this connection, special attention should be given to the villagers' active participation in certain basic programmes and institutions, such as the Panchayat and Cooperative organizations. Great importance is also attached to all sorts of constructional works,

including the construction of water reservoirs and pipelines, building of schools and Panchayat Ghars, as well as to repairs and constructions of roads and bridges. The last mentioned is of special importance to this extremely rugged and precipitous hilly region, which has been for long cut off from outside contacts due to a lack of transport and communications.

Permanent improvement of society must depend on the intellectual and technological advancement of the members of that society. Educational institutions and industrial training centres must be given special attention, and all arrangements should be so made that they suit local conditions.

C. FELT NEEDS

It is important for the planners to take notice of the fact that the felt needs among the people of Jaunsar-Bawar may vary greatly from place to place as well as from group to group in the same locality. This is due to two major facts, namely the great variations in the altitude of the locality, which determine the local products, and the caste structure of the society which limits social mobility, professional specialisation and the scope for other new occupations among the villagers.

If one merely enumerates the felt needs of the villagers of Jaunsar-Bawar in general terms, it should be assumed that one is ignorant of the local set-up of the population or has kept in view only the needs felt by a majority group. This happens to be the case not only with the outsiders who talk about Jaunsar-Bawar, but also with Jaunsaris themselves, who think in terms of family or caste only. The Village Sayana of Lakhmandal, for instance, opined that a special programme should be arranged by the government for the welfare of the Brahmins of his village, who being the ' worshippers of Lord Shiva ' should be taught *bhajan*, *poorja path*, and Sanskrit, and also be granted an exemption from payment of land taxes. Madho Nath of Lohari, on the other hand, emphasized the importance of village industries and pleaded for a supply of sewing machines and teaching of tailoring to the villagers.

It was in the same manner that the Koltas of Nada refused to cooperate in Shramdan for the construction of a canal, which, as they maintained, would not benefit a landless class like themselves. So also, the residents of a lower region like Lakhmandal, where they have little to do with sheep, felt much less need than the people of Baila and Lohari in the programmes concerning wool and sheep-breeding.

It is true that there are certain items which may be regarded in general terms as more important than others among the villagers' felt needs. Thus agriculture is no doubt one of utmost importance as

it not only forms the major occupation of a great bulk of the population, but also concerns the daily life and living standards of the rest of the people. However, its importance may be different according to the community concerned, and especially the various items of the agricultural programmes may carry different weights at different places, as for example, the application of chemical fertilizers in Jaunsar and Bawar respectively. Similar gaps were also found in matters of drinking water, medical aid, and transport and communications.

What should be kept in mind by the planners is, therefore, that although there may be a unified scheme and a standardized scale to control and to evaluate the programmes as applied to the whole of this area or to each of the Development Blocks, sufficient room should also be allowed for selective adjustment of the detailed items introduced in different areas. There should be no necessity for all recipes to be tried in identical manner everywhere and among every group of people. In other words, the planners have to find out, at first, the different situations pertaining to different groups of people and at different places, and then to chalk out the plan to meet the needs, both collective and individual. It may be suggested here that the Project staff at the Block level should be entrusted with the task of finding out the local situations directly from the villages and from the villagers and they should be assisted by the V.L.W.s and other personnel at the village level.

In principle, the majority group should be given more consideration than the minority group, but in many cases, particularly in the dichotomous occupation pattern of the villages in Jaunsar-Bawar and the polar social status present in the area between the zamindars and their serfs, the minority should be shown sufficient consideration. For instance, the agricultural welfare measures may be the major programme concerning the majority of Jaunsaris, but other measures should also be chalked out for the minority groups, who are landless artisans. Further, attention should be paid to the suitability of the various items of agricultural or other programmes at different places as well.

Sometimes the villagers may find the proposed programmes unnecessary, if not actually harmful to their interests. Divergent opinions may also be found on the same subject. All of these may partly be accounted for by the personal experience of the people and the amount of propaganda and explanation offered to them by the Project staff. In matters of sanitation, for instance, many villagers thought the community latrines and wells to be unnecessary items, while others were indifferent to the smokeless *chulha* (ovens), ventilators, etc. With regard to education, some villagers think that adult education classes

are necessary but some others believe them to be impractical. They generally want to improve the village school but feel no need for separate schools for girls.

The villagers also felt certain needs, which were either not included in the plan at all, or were not possible at this stage of community development activities. One popular demand was for a hospital in every Khat, while an alternative to it was periodical visits, weekly or fortnightly, by a doctor and a lady doctor to the Khat. Another demand was that medicines for minor and common ailments should be entrusted to the school teacher and educated members among the villagers, and not to the Sayanas. Some villagers thought the *dai* to be unnecessary, others liked to have doctors as well at maternity centres. Many villagers felt the need for the construction of new roads and bridges which would enable them to procure cheaper commodities from, as well as to export their surplus products to, Chakrata, Kalsi and other trading centres.

As regards social education, some progressive villagers consider it beneficial to organize schools and camps for training village leaders. They also want to have a youth organization, which, they argue, would help the youths to improve their knowledge as well as to build up character. This would, they say, help to check the corruption among young men and women, who have only folk dancing and amorous songs as their pastimes. Meanwhile, the girls should be educated so that they may hate jewels and become more faithful to their husbands. Many villagers want the village girls, and not the housewives who are busy attending to their domestic duties, to be taught useful handicrafts by lady instructors, weaving, spinning, tailoring, etc. Others think that a 'Mahila Panchayat' should be organized, so that the women's voice could be duly conveyed to the village *khumri* or Gram Sabha.

Many of the villagers also hope that the C.D.P. officials will keep close contacts with the villagers and meet all the heads and leaders of different families, in order to know their felt needs. Villagers of Baila hope that the C.D.P. would help them to find a satisfactory solution or a substitute for their opium crop, while others wish the Project to help them to get certain forest restrictions relaxed so as to enable them to get sufficient timber for house construction.

C.D.P. MECHANISM AND WORKING METHOD

A. THE STAFF STRUCTURE

The staff structures of the two Development Blocks, Chakrata and Kalsi, are a little different from each other. The latter was established

afresh in March 1956, though the entire area under its jurisdiction was included in the earlier C.D. Block of Chakrata, which covered the whole Pargana of Jaunsar-Bawar (and the Tehsil of Chakrata). Since its inception in October 1953, the C.D. Block of Chakrata did not have its Block Development Officer, but a Deputy P.E.O. who was also the Deputy Collector or Sub-Divisional Magistrate of Chakrata. Later, the Kalsi Block was established as a National Extension (N.E.) Block with its own B.D.O., while the diminished Chakrata Block remained under the same Dy. P.E.O. till after its normalization in October 1956. Its own B.D.O. came to relieve the Dy. P.E.O. only in September 1957.

Among the assistant executives, or technical staff, there were in Chakrata Block five A.D.O.s, respectively in charge of Agriculture, Cooperatives, Social Education, Women's Welfare and the Panchayat. Besides, there was a Sanitary Inspector under the District Medical Office of Health, who worked in the capacity of the A.D.O. for Public Health in the Block. In the Kalsi Block, there were the A.D.O.s in charge of Agriculture, Cooperatives, Social Education and the Panchayat, as also the Sanitary Inspector-cum-A.D.O. for Public Health. However, there was no provision for an A.D.O. for Women's Welfare in the Kalsi Block, but an additional A.D.O. for Animal Husbandry was sent there since the livestock, including cattle, goat and sheep, play a vital part in the village life of Jaunsar-Bawar. It is, however, rather difficult to explain why no specialist for the same was posted in the Block of Chakrata, where sheep raising is more important than it is at the lower altitudes.

The omission of the A.D.O. for Women's Welfare in the Kalsi Block is also difficult to understand. It is not clear whether it was due to the fact that too little work had been done in this branch in the earlier C.D. Block of Chakrata. However, it seems to be the right time now for the Planning authority to review the staff structure of both the Blocks, with regard to not only the items mentioned above, but also other relevant fields of C.D. Programmes.

Among the field staff, the all-purpose representative of the C.D.P. in the villages is the V.L.W. (Village Level Worker). In the same category, there are also the Panchayat Secretaries of the Nyay Panchayat circles, who were at one time subordinate to the District Panchayat Office, but have now to work with the C.D.P. Besides, there are other members of the departmental field staff, including the Field Supervisors of the Cooperatives and the Health Visitors, the Midwives and *dais* of the Maternity Centres, all of whom are subordinate to the District Medical Officer but are working under the supervision of the Block staff of the C.D.P. All of these, therefore, call for attention

particularly with regard to coordination between the various departmental welfare measures.

The competence of the staff is a great factor for the success of the Project. This competence should be judged not only on individual academic qualifications, professional training and service experience, but also on certain personal qualities such as physical strength, aptitude for rural work, and the ability to adjust to the local environment.

What the Project staff needs more than the other officials do, is a real understanding of the local conditions as well as of the people concerned. It is for this reason that transfers of the staff, at both the Block and the village levels, should be avoided as far as possible. It was emphasized in the P.E.O. reports that the B.D.O. should not be changed frequently, in order to ensure continuity, speed and progress of the Block programmes. This necessity should be more emphasized in the case of the field staff, whose familiarity and rapport with the villagers have immense importance for the success of the programmes. The progress at Baila in the earlier years was greatly handicapped due to the frequent transfers of the V.L.W.s (three changes in two years). Similar is the case with other villages. In the month of April 1956, consequent on the opening of the N.E.S. Block at Kalsi, all V.L.W.s working in the Chakrata Block were transferred from one place to another according to the new circles. The readjustment of 'circles' after the normalization of the Chakrata Block in October 1956 was another occasion for mass transfers.

Frequent transfers of the Assistant Executive Staff occurred in both Blocks, though the B.D.O. remained in the office for a long time. The B.D.O. of Kalsi who initiated the Block held his office from March 1956 till September 1958, when he was transferred to Chakrata. In the Chakrata Block, however, the work of the B.D.O. was carried on by the Deputy Collector with the title of Dy. P.E.O. for four years until September 1957. This frequent transfer of the Deputy Collector impeded progress.

B. THE ROLE OF THE FIELD STAFF

The V.L.W. is at the bottom in the hierarchy of the Project staff, but he holds the key position in matters of the implementation of C.D. Programmes. His position is important in several respects. First of all, among the field staff, it is he who directly doles out goods and implements supplied by the C.D.P. His job is to demonstrate and explain to the villagers and to teach them all the techniques involved in the innovation, and to help in the execution of the plans. In the second place, he lives among the villagers, and hence, he understands their problems.

He also knows how the plans work. Thus he can communicate the progress to the higher authorities. Thirdly, being the representative of the C.D.P. in the village, his behaviour and personal dealings with the villagers help or hinder responses.

Field enquiries, however, revealed certain weaknesses from which some of the V.L.W.s suffer. One of their more serious defects was lack of proper training in the techniques of interpersonal relationship. Sometimes, they were found to behave as officials who did not mix with the masses, whereas on other occasions they were very intimate with certain influential village leaders and even got involved in the power politics of the village. It was also found, especially during the earlier years, that some V.L.W.s used to absent themselves from the villages where they should stay or remain in the headquarters and other convenient places without going into the interior. It was found in Baila that in the first two or three years of the Project the V.L.W.s did not visit Baila even half a dozen times in a year, and one of them who was in charge of the circle (with headquarters at Tharta, about ten miles from Baila) paid only one visit for a couple of hours in six months.

On the other hand, there are also certain difficulties and grievances of the field staff. The V.L.W. has to handle a very heavy load of work. He has to know all the modern techniques of farming and horticulture, the methods of inoculating and castrating cattle, sheep and goats, as well as poultry farming, sheep-rearing, beekeeping, etc. Thus he is expected to be a Jack of all trades. He has not only to teach the villagers, but also to guide them. Apart from these, he has the most difficult job of persuading the villagers to cooperate with the Project administration.

The wide area which a V.L.W. has to cover in his circle is another problem. As mentioned earlier, there were until recently only 10 V.L.W. circles in each of the two Blocks. Thus it works out to an average population of nearly 3,050 and 2,890 per V.L.W. circle in Chakrata and Kalsi Blocks respectively. The corresponding numbers of villages per circle are 17 and 21. In an extremely rugged hilly area as this, the load of work is really too heavy. As a result, many of the programmes could not be carried out as they were planned.

The V.L.W.s also have their grievance against the administration for the meagre salary and allowances they get. Their travelling allowance is fixed. Whenever they make a trip, they have to carry their bag and baggage themselves. Hence they try to avoid journeys to the interior if they can. When they have to give demonstrations, there is the problem of instruments and implements, which they cannot carry unless some villagers help them.

If the V.L.W.s are aggrieved, the Panchayat Secretaries have still more to complain about. They have a lot of work to attend to. They have to look after the Nyay Panchayat and many Gram Sabhas comprising a circle which is even larger than that of a V.L.W. circle, whereas the pay they receive is even less than that of a V.L.W. It is also true that the Panchayat Secretary is on the move more frequently than the V.L.W. covering the Gram Sabhas under his charge.

The improvement of roads during recent years has somehow facilitated the work of communication, but much remains to be done to make the functionaries work efficiently.

C. THE ROLE OF THE BLOCK STAFF

During the earlier years of the functioning of the Project, there were complaints from both the villagers and the field staff that the Block officials did not visit the villages and give them on-the-spot guidance. It was true that there was a time when most of the A.D.O.s remained in the Block Office at Chakrata compiling the files without seeing the actual condition of the villages and the village life. An enthusiastic V.L.W. complained against an A.D.O. for Social Education that the latter had turned a deaf ear for a whole year while he was in office to his repeated requests for a visit to the community centres which he had organized in the Kandoi Bharam circle. Similar cases were reported from elsewhere.

The important role of the technical staff of the Block lies in their direct contact with the villagers, and the field staff in the villages. The villagers look forward to the visits of Block officers.

One of the main reasons which prevented the Block staff from visiting the villages has been the condition of roads, which were much more difficult and dangerous a few years ago than they are now. Since a couple of years, however, more frequent and regular visits have been made by both the B.D.O.s and A.D.O.s. Recently, village leaders' training camps and demonstrations of new techniques were also held in various parts of the Block.

A series of demonstrations held by the A.D.O. for Agriculture in the early months of 1958 at Lakhamandal and other places has proved much more successful than those given by the V.L.W.s in their respective circles. This was not only due to the fact that the A.D.O., being a branch specialist, had better skill in the techniques concerned, but also due to the villagers' traditional respect for the higher official, which naturally encouraged the people's response. On similar grounds, many villagers have not sent their livestock to the V.L.W. for castration, as they like to have the service of more qualified specialists.

D. THE METHOD OF WORKING

1. Propaganda and Contact with Villagers

Much propaganda is needed for initiating innovations in this area, specially because of its 'backwardness'. People must come forward and cooperate with the government in the developmental measures in their own interest. For this purpose it is necessary that the C.D.P. staff must come into close contact with the villagers. The past records, especially those of earlier years of the C.D. Project, however, show that there was lack of close contact between the villagers and the Project staff. Though improvement seems to have been made, yet much remains to be done.

We have already mentioned that in the earlier years most of the technical staff of the Block were reluctant to visit the villages, so much so that even the V.L.W.s had doubts and complaints against them. But the V.L.W.s who were expected to live with the villagers as their 'Gram Sevaks' cannot escape criticism. One V.L.W. was found to remain either at Chakrata or in the circle headquarters at Kandoi for most of the time. In one year, he made only five or six trips to Baila, which was the next important village of the circle, not to speak of other villages, many of which could hardly be visited by him at all.

The V.L.W. as also other officials, who came to visit Baila, used to stay for just a day or two in the house of the Village Sayana who was also the Sarpanch of the Kandoi Bharam Nyay Panchayat. They had no contact with the common man, except when holding a meeting of the Gram Sabha, which was usually thinly attended. It was admitted by the V.L.W. himself that even the Pradhan and Chaukidar had tried to avoid him, simply because the villagers were afraid of him, just as they used to fear other government personnel like the Patwari, Forest Guard or a Peon from the Tehsil.

The Panchayat Secretary, who is supposed to be responsible to the village Panchayat personnel in matters of arranging meetings as well as routine functions of both the Nyay Panchayat and all the Gram Sabhas within his circle, has to cover an area even larger than that of the V.L.W. circle. Although he is not burdened so much as the V.L.W. is, his contact is usually more limited, and he is known to a few Gram Sabha centres and the Panchayat members only.

It seems necessary for the planning authority to reconsider the size of the circles and the amount of work given to the working staff. The workers, both in the Block and in the field, should try to devote more time to establish contacts with the villagers in order to increase support.

2. Ways of Explanation and Persuasion

It was seen in a village during the early part of 1956 that when a V.L.W. called a village meeting for the purpose of organizing a cooperative society in the village, the villagers did not pay any heed to him and he came back to his residence within a few minutes, complaining that he was 'tired of the business'. He observed, 'the villagers don't listen to me. I am simply filling my files. The Project wants figures and I am giving them. The results obtained on the files are encouraging, but I know the truth. We are simply wasting our time and energy.' Obviously, the V.L.W. did not explain to the villagers the meaning and scope of Cooperative Societies. He might not have learnt much of it himself. He had neither sufficient time nor enough patience to get into close contact with the villagers, as he had to manage as many as twenty villages distributed all over the rugged area within his circle.

Certain weaknesses have been found in the way the field staff introduce innovations to the villagers. Once a V.L.W. came to the village with a plan containing some items chosen by the Block staff from a list of programmes, which were announced to the villagers at a meeting (*khumri*). What he did in the *khumri* was that he brought out a list from his pocket and read out the different heads of the proposed schemes, without explaining the benefits arising from them. He asked the villagers how far they were interested in the schemes and how many of them wanted to take advantage of them. Out of the nine or ten different items read out, not one proved attractive to the villagers, and they did not raise their hands in approval even once. They said that they did not think any of the items beneficial and thus did not take interest in any of them. Later, some of the villagers said that since they could not follow what the schemes were about after all, how could they be expected to say that they would be benefited.

Sometimes, the C.D.P. staff have an impression that the villagers are so much inert and stubborn that some means of coercion should be used to get them to work. It was frequently suggested by the V.L.W. and Panchayat Secretaries that a fine should be levied on the Panchayat members who failed to attend the meetings, and some of them did take such a step.

The villagers do have reasons for not responding to the innovations. In matters of village sanitation, for instance, the V.L.W. only asked the villagers to keep the village clean and not to heap dirt, but he never went on to explain to them how to keep the places clean, what cleanliness meant to them and where they should throw the dirt. The Koltas were asked not to let their fowls run freely in the village, but no alternative arrangements were suggested.

3. Demonstration and Constant Assistance

So important are time, labour and resources to the villagers, that they would never like to embark on any new experiment or innovation. It is, therefore, necessary for the Project staff to orient them to the change or innovation contemplated.

Instances have been mentioned earlier of how the early withering of plants frustrated many villagers in Lakhmandal, while the phenomenon of desiccation of land reported from Kuwanu made the villagers even of Baila and Kandoi refrain from the use of chemical fertilizers. Similarly, villagers of Lohari became reluctant to repeat the disappointing experiment of fruit-farming. The V.L.W. could only persuade some of them to purchase the new plants at reduced prices, and that on the assurance of giving personal demonstrations of planting methods and promise of constant care for the growth of the trees.

In view of the villagers' ignorance of the specific nature and the technique involved in the innovations, it is all the more important that not only careful explanation, but also practical demonstration, should always be provided by the V.L.W. and other technical staff, whenever any technical or material innovation is to be introduced. Further, the peculiarity of the land and the climate of Jaunsar-Bawar in certain respects may sometimes cause the failure of an innovation which had been a success elsewhere. As such, certain programmes should better be carried out on an experimental scale at a few selected places, either as a government undertaking, or with the participation of certain villagers who have special interest in the programmes. The personal orchard and nursery of Sish Ram of Lakhmandal may be a good example of this kind. Further programmes of this nature should be properly organized and encouraged from time to time.

4. Constant Watch and Cooperation of the Technical Staff

As a matter of convention the V.L.W. was regarded in the past as the only person responsible for introducing as well as maintaining all sorts of innovations in the villages. By becoming a Jack of all trades, he was not only kept over-busy all the time but also reached time and again the limits of personal endurance. His technical training some times proved inadequate to cope with the problems on hand.

This is why it became impossible for him to try any further, or, if at all he did try, he did not command the villagers' confidence.

On the other hand, the technical staff, who were A.D.O.s of the Block, often worked on their files in the office without paying actual visits to the fields. This affair, rather than any other factor, was responsible for the failure of many programmes in the earlier years of C.D.P. activities in this region. In fact, of late, more visits have been paid by

these staff to the villages, and many demonstration camps held by the A.D.O. for agriculture have proved great successes. It was also seen in the case of the cooperative society, which was only nominally functioning for years under the care of the V.L.W.s, but great improvements were recorded since the arrival of the new staff of Cooperative Field Supervisors in the later part of 1957.

Obviously, the technical staff, who are more qualified and more skilled than the V.L.W.s in their specialized branches, are in a better position to teach, to train, as well as to convince the villagers of the superior features of the relevant programmes and innovations. It is, therefore, necessary for the field staff and the technical staff of the Block as well as of other departments to cooperate in all the welfare measures. It is, of course, the V.L.W. who should give constant help and supervision to the villagers in general, but the specialists of Blocks and those functioning at a higher level should be responsible for special guidance and assistance to both the villagers and the field staff. Meanwhile, more frequent visits of the Block staff to the villages would further help in keeping a check on the regular work of the field staff, as well as in encouraging the villagers to take a real interest in the innovations introduced by the government.

It may be added here that the monthly meetings of all the staff at the Block headquarters which all the field personnel should attend were felt to be a great inconvenience and a handicap to the V.L.W.s who had to waste many days every month. Such meetings were unavoidable when there were no other ways to check the regular work of the field staff, but their frequency could be reduced if monthly inspections of the villages were arranged among the executive and assistant executive staff of the Block. The cooperation offered by the Block staff to the field staff as well as to the villagers should include the careful and sympathetic consideration of their applications and demands, whenever they arise, as also punctual implementation of programmes and supply of material they need.

5. Villagers' Initiative and Active Participation

It would be deemed a great step forward for the C.D.P. activities if the villagers could be induced to take to active participation on their own initiative instead of remaining passive participants under any sort of compulsion in the programmes. The field finds do provide positive evidence of this. It may be best achieved by way of cooperation between the C.D.P. staff and the village personnel in all of the existing welfare measures, centred at the Panchayat organization.

There are certain pre-requisites for the villagers to take an active part in these activities. These include, besides other things, an 'innate'

or traditional interest taken by the village leaders in the community affairs, the ability to organize the community as well as to manage its routine work, and, above all, a capacity to accept and adopt the new measures which are convincingly superior or more beneficial than the old ones.

The long history of the stable existence of the Jaunsar-Bawar village society, with its several important social systems, especially those relating to kinship, village organization and religious affairs, furnishes irrefutable evidence of the organizing power as well as the genuine interest in community activities of the people of Jaunsar-Bawar. Some years ago it was much doubted whether the local people would like to accept any change of their age-old traditions. They have shown ample proof of their willingness for a change. We have already recorded concrete instances in various fields of C.D. Programmes pointing to the fact that the people of Jaunsar-Bawar do like to have changes for their good. A crucial point here is that they would accept the change or innovation only when they have been convinced of the benefit which would come of it, whether it be a water pipe, fertilizer, pedigree sheep or medical aid. It was true that they used to be absent from the Panchayat or Gram Sabha meetings, but this absence did not mean their indifference to community affairs, but their aversion was due to the fact that the new Panchayats did not serve better purposes, but were in conflict with their traditional organization of *khumris*. Similarly, when they declined to send their wards to the school, it was not because of their reluctance to let the latter gain knowledge, but because of the fact that the schools did not turn out any student more useful than the boys not receiving education.

From the point of view of the method of working, therefore, it is essential for the C.D.P. authority as well as the C.D.P. staff to reconsider many of the important issues on which there was much discord between the government and the villagers. A case in point is the Panchayat, which should be reformed in certain respects to suit the local set-up. So also many local factors and villagers' opinions should be considered in regard to other issues. It is only when the villagers find their proper position and their own role of importance in the programme or the organization that they will take active part in it. It need not be emphasized that the final aim of the C.D. Project should be to lead the villagers to not only economic prosperity but also to social stability with self-confidence and self-restraint, which is essential for all groups of people who desire to work for a common good for the nation.

The C.D.P. staff, therefore, should not only work for the successful implementation of all the programmes on hand, but also help the

villagers in preparing a background for themselves, to handle all the establishment and programmes in the next stage, which will come in due course. All the programmes should be very clearly made known to the villagers and all techniques should be carefully taught to them. The process of transferring the responsibility from the C.D.P. staff and the government to the villagers themselves will be a long one, and this should be achieved through mutual understanding and cooperation between both the parties, and by way of a well-planned gradual shift of the role of handling the programmes and innovations. The basic principles underlying this process are to let the village officials learn by doing things themselves and to rouse their initiative by giving them ample evidence of their own competence.

The C.D.P. staff should treat the people with sympathy and with a sense of fairness, observe punctual timings in all their dealings with the people, and always behave with responsibility. At times, the field staff have also to dissuade the villagers from taking to group dynamics. The instance of factions in Nada was one pointing to a bad effect of the Panchayat organization, which was not properly handled. Meanwhile, this instance showed much of the villagers' own initiative and interest in community affairs. Such initiative and interest may be turned into right or wrong, but it is the proper guidance and insight of the C.D.P. staff which can make them work for their own good. It is the foresight, sympathy and cooperation on the part of the C.D.P. staff towards the village personnel which alone will help the villagers to build up their ability and self-confidence and also stabilize the achievements rendered possible by the C.D.P. for the village community.

Index

- ADMINISTRATION, 16-17
 under British, 5-13
- Adultery, 69, 124, 155
- Affinal relations (Sogas), 97, 98, 127, 128
 Kinship terms, 108-12, 113, 114, 117, 118, 120, 121
- Agnates, 85-6, 96, 97
 Kinship terms among, 104-5, 120
- Agriculture, 181, 182-5
 methods, 192-3
 and castes, 193-9
 and C.D.P., 292-4
 importance, 369-70
- Agriculturists, 60-2, 181
- Amitates, 128
- Animals, 22
- Animal Husbandry
 under C.D.P., 294-7
 problems, 345-6
- Animal killing, 268-9
- Artisans, 62-3
- Avunculates, 98, 128
 Kinship terms among, 105-8
- BADI (CARPENTER), 23, 34, 36, 38, 45, 48, 59, 64, 67, 78, 180-1, 182, 223
- Baila, 30-1, 33, 36, 44-6, 50, 51, 52, 78, 79, 137, 168-9, 201, 202, 292, 306, 313, 363
- Bajgis, 23, 24, 34, 36, 37, 38, 45, 48, 63, 64, 67, 68, 141, 223
 Lineages among, 87
 occupations, 179, 180, 182
- Baki, 15, 64, 135, 157, 251, 261-2, 321
- Bawar (*see also* Jaunsar-Bawar), 29
- Behaviour pattern, 119-33
 in the family, 120-3
 among siblings, 123-5
 among agnates, 126
 among affinal kin, 127-8
 among avunculates, 128-31
 standards and values, 131-33
- Bisaunta, 7, 9
- Bistava, 152-3, 156, 177
- Black magic, 41
- Brahmins, 3, 23, 35, 36, 64, 181
 lineages, 46-8, 58-9, 89, 95-6, 138
 links with Tehri-Garhwal, 49, 79, 88, 138
 comparison with Rajputs, 65-6
 inter-caste marriages among, 68-9
 marriage forms among, 78-9
- Bride price, 124, 132
- Brotherhood relationship, 53, 80, 83-6, 91
- CANALS, 183, 184, 186, 187, 366
- Castes
- Brahmins, 3, 23
- Rajputs, 3, 23
- Badis, 45
- Bajgis, 45
- Sunars, 45
- Koltas, 45-6
- economic status of, 57-60
- concept of, 65
- stereotyped, 65-8, 324
- inter-caste unity and discrimination, 68-9, 133
- leadership, 135
- disputes, 159
- high-castes, 23, 24, 50, 52, 53-4, 64, 65-6
- intermediate castes, 23, 45, 50, 52, 54, 64, 66-8
- low-castes, 23, 45-6, 50, 52, 54, 64, 68
- and agricultural system, 193-9
- professional, 351-2
- differentiation and discrimination, 357-8
- Chakrata, 6, 19
- Chautra, 7, 8, 9, 10, 137, 141, 142, 145-7, 151
- Chhani, 32, 73, 185-6
- Chhinga, 157, 255
- Chhota Sayanas, 138
- Child marriages, 15, 23, 71, 132
- Children, 127
 craving for, 124, 125, 127
 care of, 131
- Classes
 economic, 57-60
 professional, 60-4

- Climate, 20-1
- Code of Common Laws, 6, 10
- Cognates, 97
- Community Development Programmes,
25, 26-8, 188
- History and jurisdiction, 287-90
- executive staff, 288-9
- in action, 290-309
- major activities listed, 290-1
- popular response, 291
- "social changes", 291
- agriculture and horticulture, 292-4
- animal husbandry, 294-7
- villagers' attitude towards cattle, 297
- cottage industry, 297-9
- public health and sanitation, 299-309
- and formal education, 311
- and social education, 311-16
- and women's welfare, 321-4
- and Harijan welfare, 324-7
- transport and communication, 327-8
- fruit-farming, 339-42
- a general appraisal, 353-81
- the place of, 354
- programmes and local factors, 354-60
- villagers' response to, 360-2
- villagers' attitude towards activities,
362-3
- acceptance by villagers, 363-7
- effects of, 367-71
- mechanism and working method,
371-81
- staff structure, 371-3
- staff competence, 373
- role of field staff, 373-5
- role of block staff, 375
- method of working, 376-81
- propaganda and contact, 376
- explanation and persuasion, 377
- demonstration and assistance, 378
- popular initiative and participation,
379-81
- Conjugal life, 72, 76, 124, 125
- Consanguineal relationships, 83, 90, 96,
97, 104, 112, 114, 117, 118
- Contacts with outsiders, 23, 24, 70, 133,
285, 354-6
- Cooperative Movement, 329-33
- inception, 329
- functioning, 330
- popular response, 330, 333
- primary societies, 330
- large-size societies, 331
- loans, 332
- credit societies, 332
- marketing societies, 332-3
- Cottage Industry
- under C.D.P., 297-9, 350-1
- welfare measures, 297-8
- training-cum-production centres, 298
- popular response, 298
- Sericulture Scheme, 298
- improved implements, 298
- spinning and weaving, 348-9
- basketry and rope-making, 349
- native distilling, 349-50
- Crops, 21-2, 183-4, 189-92, 293
- Cultivation, Japanese method of, 292
- Culture change, 77, 160-1
- Customs, 15, 24, 70, 91, 92, 252-4
- DANCING, 272, 274-5, 277, 315
- Dancing ground, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 154,
274
- Darduna (Cooperative labour), 211
- Dastur-ul-Amal*, 6, 10, 13, 14, 142, 325
- Dhyantis*, 74, 75, 90, 123, 124, 125, 154,
241, 274, 275
- licence to, 132-3
- mendaura of, 273
- and V. D., 309
- status of, 318-19, 321
- truck with outsiders, 322, 355
- Dinners (feasts), 211-2, 272
- Disputes, 186-7
- District Gazetteer* (Dehra Dun), 4, 6, 19,
139, 142, 143
- on chauntras, 144-5
- on education, 223-4
- on female infanticide, 317
- Divorce, 72, 80, 102, 124-5, 127, 132,
158-9, 161, 249, 319-20
- Dress, 205, 212-4, 277
- Drinking water schemes, 300-2
- Drinks, 211-2, 218, 266
- EATING HABITS, 204, 205, 216-9, 267
- Education
- traditional, 220-3
- in schools, 223-31, 310

- villagers' attitude to, 231-4, 310
 among lower castes, 234-7
 among girls, 237-8
 teachers' role, 238-42
 school routine, 242-4
 school curriculum and vacations, 244-5, 310
 students' discipline, 245-6
 role of the district board, 246-7
 and C.D.P., 247-8, 311
 social, 311-16
 of lower castes, 326
- Exogamy, 88, 91-2, 97
- FACTIONALISM, 365-7
- Family
 average size, 200-2
 and land holdings, 202-4
 and livestock holdings, 204-5
 household needs, 205-9
 houses, 209-11
 dinner, 211-12
 dress, ornaments, and body decoration, 212-6
 food, drink and smoke, 216-9
- Family system, 71-80
 types in Baila, 81-2
- Fertility of women, 127
- Fertilizers, 188-9, 292, 294, 368
- Festivals, 24, 91, 142, 150, 207, 219, 264-81
 fights during, 159, 160
- Field centres
 selection criteria, 29
 Lohari, 29-30
 Baila, 30-1
 Lakhamandal, 31-2
 population composition, 50
- Fines, 152, 153, 155, 311, 334
- Fishing, 279-81, 346-7
- Forests, 21
- Fourth Evaluation Report* (Vol. I, P.E.O. Publication No. 19), 291-2
- Fruit farming, 293, 335-42
 as a source of income, 335
 some problems, 335-6
 popular response, 337-8, 340
 and C.D.P., 339-42
 community gardens, 339-40
- Furniture, 205
- GAMES, 270-1, 275-6, 277-8
- Gods and goddesses, 37, 41, 254, 255, 256-61
- Gram Sabhas, 289-90, 334
- Group cooperation, 361
- HARIJAN WELFARE, 324-7
 peculiar features, 324
 by C.D.P., 325
 land tenure, 325
 indebtedness, 326
 education, 326
- High castes and Panchayat, 167, 168, 177
- Hindi, 115-6
- Horticulture
 under C.D.P., 292-4
- Houses, 33, 209-11, 265-6
 and cooperative labour, 211-2
- Hunting, 346-7
- ILLITERACY, 359
- Incarnation, 65
- Infanticide, female, 317
- Inheritance, 75
- Intermarriages, 23, 45-6, 68-9
- Irrigation, 182, 183, 185, 186, 193
 disputes, 186-7
- JAGDIS, 179, 180, 181
- Jagra, 23
- Jaunsar-Bawar, 3, 29
 early history, 3, 5
 administration under the British, 5-13
 revenue system, 6-13
District Gazetteer of Dehra Dun on, 4, 6, 19, 27
 customary laws of, 6, 10, 12
 Enquiry Committee, 13-17
 population, 17-18, 22
 land and its products, 18-22
 people, 22-5
 administration today, 25-6
- Community Development Programmes in, 26-8
 topography, 3, 18-19
 mountain system, 19
 rivers, 19-20
 climate, 20-1

- minerals, 21
- forests, 21
- soil, 21
- crops, 21-2
- fauna and domesticated animals, 22
- castes, 23-5
- Khats and Sayanas in, 25-7
- and N.E.S. Block of Kalsi, 290
- response to C.D.P., 292
- women's welfare, 316-24
- status of men and women, 320-1
- transport and communication, 327-9
- place of C.D.P., 354
- local factors, 354-60
- Jaunsar-Bawar Enquiry Committee, 13-17, 65
- Joint family system, 71, 72, 73, 80, 104, 126, 233
 - division in, 74-5, 158, 161
 - polyandry as an aid to unity, 75-6
 - kinship terms in, 102-3
- Joking relationship, 124, 126, 129-30

- KANDMANRH, 3
- Kashmiri Vidya, 221-3
- Khags, 26, 137, 138, 139, 140
- Khasas, 3, 24
- Khats, 3, 25, 26, 27, 28, 138, 139, 140, 141
- Kheet (divorce compensation to husband), 319
- Khumri (village council), 25, 46, 136, 141, 146, 170
 - defined, 147
 - caste, 148
 - territorial types, 148, 149
 - intra-village, 149, 173
 - inter-village, 149-50
 - intra-khat and inter-khat, 150, 174
 - All-Jaunsar-Bawar, 150-51
 - functions of, 151-2
 - proceedings of meetings, 152-4
 - sanctions, 153
 - and administration of law and order, 154-5
 - sample cases, 155-60
 - and Panchayats, 164, 171, 172-8, 333-4
 - changes in, 160-3
 - and eradication of V. D., 309
- move against ornaments, 322
- conflict with Panchayats, 358
- construction of canals, 366
- Kinship structure, 70
 - fictitious kinship, 83
 - classification, 96-8
 - and society, 133
- Kinship terminology
 - in nuclear family, 98-101
 - in polygynandrous family, 101-2
 - in joint family, 102-3
 - among agnates, 104-5
 - among avunculates, 105-8
 - among sogas, 108-12
 - classificatory use of terms, 112-4
 - dichotomy of consanguineal and affinal relations, 114
 - extension to non-relations, 114-5
 - general rules of nomenclature, 115-8
 - variation and adoption of, 118-9
- "Kisan Melas", 314
- Koltas, 14, 23, 24, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39-40, 42, 45-6, 58, 59, 61-2, 63, 64, 68, 78, 155, 324
 - lineages among, 87-8
 - and Panchayats, 166, 177
 - occupations, 181, 182, 193-9
 - marriages among, 193-4
 - and ornaments, 216
 - education among, 234-7
 - land tenure, 325
 - indebtedness, 326
 - water supply to, 326

- LAKHAMANDAL, 3-4, 31-2, 33, 38, 40, 46, 48, 51, 52, 53, 54, 71, 79-80, 138, 139-40, 169-70, 200-1, 202, 293, 296, 313
 - lineage system among Brahmins, 88-9
- Land holdings, castewise, 202-4
- Land tenure, 325
- Law and order, 154, 155
- Leadership
 - bases of, 135-6
- Legitimacy of children, 124
- Leprosy Team, 308
- Lineage, 24
- Lineage system (*aal*), 35, 70, 133
 - Thok, 39-40

- Rajput, 42
 characteristic features, 80, 82
 lineage and marriage, 83
 as a segmented structure, 83-4
 territorial ties, 86
 caste differentiation in, 87-8
 characteristics of, in Lakhamandal,
 88-9
 functional analysis, 89-90, 92-3
 how organized, 90
 solidarity in, 91-2, 126
 rivalry among lineage groups, 92, 93
 and village *Khumri*, 95-6
 kinship terms on, 112-3
- Literacy
 adult, 312
- Livestock, castewise ownership of,
 204-5
- Local factors, 354-60
 relationship with outsiders, 354-6
 attitude towards government, 356-7
 caste differentiation, 357-8
 groups and leadership, 358-9
 cultural incompatibility, 359-60
- Lohar, 23
- Lohari, 29-30, 33, 34, 50, 52, 138, 168,
 201, 202, 307, 313
- MAGIC, 249, 250
- Magicians, 23, 63
- Magico-religious rites, 251-4
- Maha Brahmins, 64
- Mahasu, 37, 41, 85, 92, 93, 135, 146, 154,
 176, 254, 256-60, 304, 359
- Malba, 8
- Malzamin, 8, 145
- Manr festival, 159-60, 174, 347
- Manuring, 187-9
- Marriages, 3, 48, 71, 72, 97, 102, 125,
 162, 249
 forms of, 77-80
 customs, 91
 preferences, 113
 taboo on, 126, 128
 among serfs, 193-4
 remarriage, 319-20
- Medicinemen, 63
- Minerals, 21
- Monogamy, 200
- Morality, 77, 124, 132, 181, 320
- Mountain system, 19
- NATH (Jagdi), 23, 48, 67-8, 182
- National Extension Block (NES)
 of Kalsi, 290
- Nautor, 13, 14
- Necessaries, 205-9
- Nuclear family, 72, 77, 98, 99-100
- OATH, 154, 156, 255, 263-4
- Occupations
 distribution among castes, 179-82
 training in, 221-3
- Occupational pattern, 24
- Occupational specialization, 351-2
- Omens, 263
- Ornaments, 154, 214-6, 255, 275
- PANCHAYATS, 15, 25, 28, 94, 145, 163
 judicial and administrative units,
 163-4
 size and jurisdiction, 164-5
 composition, 165-7
 election and leadership, 167-70
 functions, 170-2
 and *Khumri*, 172-8
 circles, 289-90
 sanitary drives, 300
 U.P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947, 333
 purpose, 334
 complications, 334
 achievements, 335
 conflict with *Khumri*, 358
- Pastoral activities, 342-6
 use of cattle, 342
 socio-economic importance, 343
 seasonal migration, 343
 shepherds and their cult, 344
 problems of animal husbandry, 345
- Polyandry, 75, 78
 pockets, 76
 origin, 77
- Polygynandry, 72, 77, 78, 98, 133
 geo-economic cause, 75
 suitability of, 76
 kinship terms in, 101-3
 behaviour between father and son,
 120-2; mother and son, 122;
 parents and daughter, 123
 dislike for, 134
- Poppy cultivation, 191-2

- Population, 17, 18, 22, 50-4, 288
 Potato production, 294
 Poultry and pig-rearing, 346
 Priests, 135-6, 258
 Professionals, 62-4
 Prostitution, 158, 181, 194, 195, 196,
 197-8
 Public Health and Sanitation
 under C.D.P., 299-309
 general sanitation, 299-300
 drinking water schemes, 300-02
 housing, public latrines, and com-
 munity bathrooms, 302-3
 personal hygiene, 303-4
 conception of diseases and treat-
 ments, 304-5
 divination, 305
 indigenous herbs, 305
 dispensaries and general medical aid,
 305-7
 maternity centres, 306
 epidemics and preventive measures,
 307
 special diseases and medical teams,
 308-9
 popular attitude to V. D., 309
 Punishments, 153, 155
- RACIAL AFFILIATIONS, 24**
 Radcliffe-Brown, 115
 Rajputs, 3, 23, 24, 64, 181
 lineages, 35-9, 42, 44-5, 59, 85, 93-4,
 137-8, 161
 economic classes, 59
 compared with Brahmins, 65-6
 intercaste marriages among, 68-9
 forms of marriage, 78-9
 kinship classification among, 97-8
 Religion, 135, 249-56
 Religious servicemen, 23
 Remarriage, 319
 Revenue system, 6-13, 15-16
 Rituals, 24, 44, 136, 154, 156, 157, 249,
 252-4, 261, 276
 Rivers, 19-20
 Rope-dancing, 253-4
Ryantia, 74, 75, 90, 124, 125, 132, 154,
 155, 274, 275, 318-19, 321, 322,
 361
 Ryotwari, 12
- SADAR SAYANAS, 139-41
 Sanitation, *see* Public health and sani-
 tation
 Sayanachari system, 12, 25, 136-44, 145
 Sayanas, 6, 7, 12, 14, 15, 25, 26, 27, 28,
 72-4, 76, 95, 120, 131, 136, 149, 364
 of caste, 69
 of thok, 89, 96, 149
 of aal, 90, 94
 of gaon, 94, 137-9
 of three stages, 137-41
 chhota, 138
 functions of, 141-44
 personal influences, 143
 factors for distinction, 144
 changes in the system of, 161-3
 Sayani, 73, 76, 120, 121, 125, 131, 321
 Scheduled castes, 166
 Schools, 223-48
 adult, 312
 School system, functioning of, 220, 221
 Serfdom, 193-4
 Sericulture Scheme, 298
 Sexual offences, 155
 Shilguru, 37, 344
 Shramdan, 171, 227, 229, 312, 314, 328,
 364, 369
 Siblings, 117, 123
 Social and economic conditions, 24
 Social boycott, 153, 155, 161
 Social education, 248, 311-16
 as specialized branch of C.D.P., 311
 aims, 311-12
 adult literacy, 312-13, 315
 community meeting centres, 313
 reading rooms and libraries, 313
 cultural programmes, 313, 315
 radio, 314
 arranged tours, 315
 Soils, 21
 Songs, 274-5
 Spirits, 260, 262-3, 277
 Sunar (goldsmith), 23, 45, 62, 78, 180,
 181, 182
 Supernatural beliefs, 24
 Superstition, 359-60
- TABOOS, 90, 91-2, 126, 128**
 Tehsils, 3
 Teknonymy, 100, 112

- Terrace cultivation, 182, 183, 184
 Theft, 155, 156
 Tobacco, 207
 Transport and communication, 24, 287, 327-9
- UTENSILS, 205
- VENEREAL DISEASES, 134, 305, 308
 Village community, 48, 93
 Village leadership, 358-9
 Village Level Worker (VLW), 28, 94, 171, 172, 188, 289, 295, 296, 297, 300, 306, 307, 311, 312, 313, 323, 355, 363, 372, 373, 374, 375
 Village meetings, 25, 95, 136
 Village organisation, 23, 24
 Village settlements
 demographic structure, 32
 site and plan, 32-40
 castewise distribution of houses, 33
 lineagewise distribution of houses, 37
 history, 40-9
- population composition of castes 49-54
- Wajib-ul-Arz*, 14, 325
 Welfare measures, 286-7
 for women, 316-24
 for Harijans, 324-7
 of government, 365
 effects, 367-70
 Witchcraft, 155, 157, 251-2
 Witches, 15, 251
 Women, 74, 125, 155, 275
 disabilities, 75, 124, 132, 166
 education, 225, 231, 237-8, 247
 welfare, 316-24
 Women's Welfare, 316-24
 characteristic features, 317-21
 distinction between *Dhyanti* and *Ryanti*, 318-19
 divorce and remarriage, 319-20
 recent efforts, 321-2
 need for, 322-3
 and C.D.P., 323-4
- ZAMINDARI ABOLITION ACT, 198