

CULTURAL NORMS, HISTORY AND SOCIO-SPATIAL DYNAMICS IN ERSTWHILE PRINCELY AND COLONIAL TOWNS IN HIMACHAL PRADESH*

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ABSTRACT : A majority of urban places in India, particularly the small towns, continue to contain historically evolved socio-spatial units variously called mohalla, tola, para, pol, peth etc.. These socio-spatial units, almost invariably inhabited by specific social groups, form the basic framework for the social, morphological and functional structure of towns. The paper describes the existing pattern of distribution of social groups and the role of historical, social, cultural, economic and political influences on its evolution. The study is based on an analysis of the religion and caste wise data for four towns, Chamba and Kullu representing the capitals of former native states, and Sabathu and Kasauli representing the towns established as a part of the British colonial administrative system, in the state of Himachal Pradesh.

The existence of residential patterns formed by social groups with similar socio-economic attributes has been noted in number of studies on the social, ecological and morphological structure of Indian cities (1). However, it is surprising that the inherent diversity of Indian urban places has not been able to prompt many studies on neighbourhood morphology (Noble and Dhussa, 1982, p.81). Unlike the neighbourhood in western cities which needs to be precisely defined and spatially demarcated, the *mohalla* in Indian urban places has well recognised and perceived institutional and legal boundaries.

Spatially, the traditional neighbourhoods in North Indian urban places comprise of distinct socio-spatial units variously called mohalla, para, peth, tola, wara etc. (2). Traditionally, a

mohalla is inhabited by a homogeneous social group whose identity is founded in caste, language, religion, traditional occupation and the area of origin (3). Historically, the mohalla forms the basic spatial unit evolving through various historical periods in the morphological growth of a town, gradually embedding itself in the townscape.

Socially, the tenets for the occupation of mohallas by individual social groups, and for the composite arrangement of mohallas in a town, are derived from the needs of the society to operate within the reality of social hierarchy, its consequences and symbolic meanings. Thus in Indian urban places, the spatial arrangement of mohallas reflects the social order and social relationships operating in a regional, political and economic framework. The location of

* This is a modified version of the paper already published in *Geographie et cultures*, 2000, No. 35, pp. 47-80 (in French).

social groups in different mohallas in a town forms the basis of such social phenomena as mutual visits, personal interaction and community cohesion. It also influences the course of future urban development in large cities in general and small towns in particular.

Among the basic factors in the understanding of the existing social morphology of towns are the historical background and the social, cultural, economic and political influences that prompted different social groups to enter and settle in a particular part of the town. It is proposed that information regarding the location of different mohallas, the first settlers, the locational and socio-economic associations of the resident groups and the factors that promoted the emergence of new *mohallas* would help in understanding the present pattern of distribution of social groups in towns. Such an approach would also help in understanding the response of the traditional socio-spatial structure of a town to the emergence of new residential areas.

The paper describes the existing spatial patterns of social morphology of the towns of the state of Himachal Pradesh in an evolutionary perspective. An attempt is also made to understand the physical, historical, political and socio-economic factors that influenced the process of evolution of the existing patterns. The study is based upon the analysis of data collected for four towns of Himachal Pradesh, Chamba, Kullu, Sabathu, and Kasauli (Fig.1). The first two represent the capitals of former native states and the latter two represent the cantonment towns established by the British in Himachal Pradesh.

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES OF DATA

The methodology for the collection of data involves two steps, (a) identification of the

present distribution of *mohallas* and the social groups residing in these and (b) tracing of evolution of the present pattern of distribution of social groups residing in different *mohallas* of the study towns.

Information regarding the names, location and extent of different mohallas in the study towns was collected from post offices, police stations and municipal offices. On the basis of this information different mohallas were demarcated on the maps of Chamba, Kullu, Sabathu, and Kasauli prepared by the Town and Country Planning Department, Survey of India and the Census of India respectively. The present distribution of social groups in Chamba, the largest and the oldest of the study towns, was computed from the voter's list for municipal wards. The list, containing names and addresses of voters, was rearranged according to the already identified mohallas. Old school teachers, local community leaders, and old residents of the town were asked to indicate the caste/occupational group of persons in the list known to them. This helped in the identification of the main resident groups in different mohallas in Chamba. In other study towns, the voter's list was not used and complete reliance was placed on the information gathered through personal interviews.

Gazetteers, regional histories and travel accounts contain some information regarding the historicity of occupancy of different mohallas by different social groups. Reference to these has been made at appropriate places. However, this information is sketchy and its main utility is in suggesting a time frame. Data regarding the aggregate religious composition of study towns for late 19th and early 20th centuries and for 1971 is available. However, it pertains to broad religious groups only, viz. Hindus, Muslims etc. and not to the



Fig. 1 : Himachal Pradesh : Location Map

social composition of a religious group. This type of information is particularly basic for the Hindu community since it comprises of a

number of social groups based on caste and traditional occupations. Information regarding the movement of different social groups to the

study towns, their location in different *mohallas*, and the socio-economic associations of their location was collected and cross checked through detailed interviews with old residents of different mohallas and prominent families of the study towns. However, this information does not explain the movement of each and every individual group of family except in cases where a cross checking is possible from some other source also. This information is thus more indicative of the

aggregate pattern of evolution rather than the evolution of the pattern of settlement within different mohallas.

The religious composition of study towns, providing the broad framework, is given in Tables I, II, III and IV for Chamba, Kullu, Sabathu, and Kasauli respectively. Information regarding associations between the main social groups and mohallas of their residence is given in Tables V, VI, VII and VIII for Chamba, Kullu, Sabathu and Kasauli

Table 1

Chamba Town : Religious Composition of Popultation(1881-1911 and 1971)

Year/Population	1881	1891	1901	1911	1971
Hindus	4390 (82.2)	4653 (78.7)	4615 (76.9)	4212 (76.8)	10953 (92.7)
Sikhs	43 (0.8)	44 (0.07)	35 (0.5)	96 (1.7)	273 (2.3)
Mohammedans	730 (13.9)	1152 (19.5)	11275 (19.2)	1122 (20.3)	359 (3.0)
Christians	-	54 (1.1)	61 (1.0)	63 (1.1)	229 (1.9)
Others	55 (1.0)	2 (0.0)	32 (0.5)	-	-
Total	5218 (96.9)	5905 (100.0)	6000 (99.6)	5523 (99.9)	11814 (99.9)

Note : Figures in parenthesis denote percentage in total population

Source : Punjab States Gazetteers, Vol. XXII B, Chamba State, Statistical Tables, 1912, Table 7 and Census of India, 1971, Series 7, Himachal Pradesh, Part VI-A. Town Directory, Statement VII.

Table II

KulluTown : Religious Composition of Popultation (1971)

Population/ Year	Hindus	Sikhs	Jain	Mohammedans	Christians	Bhddhist	Total
1971	7986 (89.1)	377 (4.2)	9 (0.1)	22 (0.2)	15 (0.1)	547 (6.1)	8952 (99.8)

Note : 1. Due to teh emergence of Kullu as a town only in 1951 data for earlier decades is not available.

2. Features in parenthesis denots percentage in total population

Source : Census of India 1971, Series 7, Himachal Pradesh, Part VI-A. Town Direstory. Statement VII.

Table 1**Sabathu Town : Religious Composition of Popultation (1881-1911 and 1971)**

Year/Population	1881	1891	1901	1911	1971
Hindus	1465 (62.9)	1318 (60.7)	1307 (60.0)	1066 (57.7)	2082 (96.4)
Sikhs	-	18 (0.8)	8 (0.3)	17 (0.9)	80 (2.7)
Mohammedans	807 (34.6)	634 (29.2)	630 (28.9)	531 (28.7)	13 (0.4)
Christians	-	201 (9.2)	232 (10.6)	233 (12.6)	9 (0.3)
Others	57 (2.4)	-	-	-	-
Total	2329 (99.9)	2117 (99.9)	2177 (99.8)	1817 (99.9)	2884 (99.8)

Note : Figures in parenthesis denote percentage in total population

Source : Punjab States Gazetteers, Vol. VI part B, Simla District., Statistical Tables, 1936, Table 7 and Census of India, 1971, Series 7, Himachal Pradesh, Part VI-A. Town Directory, Statement VII.

Table 4**Kasauli Town : Religious Composition of Popultation(1881-1911 and 1971)**

Year/Population	1881	1891	1901	1911	1971
Hindus	1825 (65.0)	1347 (68.1)	1474 (67.2)	1804 (56.4)	3216 (85.6)
Sikhs	13 (0.4)	26 (1.3)	8 (0.3)	36 (1.1)	340 (9.0)
Mohammedans	625 (22.2)	410 (20.7)	549 (25.0)	717 (22.4)	24 (0.6)
Christians	-	180 (9.1)	149 (6.7)	631 (19.7)	139 (3.6)
Jains	1 (0.03)	7 (0.3)	12 (0.5)	6 (0.1)	17 (0.1)
Others	343 (12.2)	-	-	-	-
Total	2807 (99.8)	1977 (99.51)	2192 (99.7)	3194 (99.7)	3757 (99.2)

Note : 1. Figures from 1881 to 1991 include data for Sanawar school (formerly lawrence Military Asylum, those for 1971 refer only to Kasauli town.

2. Figures in parenthesis denote percentage in total population.

Source : Punjab States Gazetteers, Vol. V, Part B. Ambala District. Statistical Tables, 1936, Table 7 and Census of India, 1971, Series 7, Himachal Pradesh, Part VI-A. Town Directory, Statement VIII.

Table V

Chamba Town : Social Groups, Mohallas and Associated Features

Maini Social/ Occupational Religious Group	Mohalla	Association	
Brahmin	Chauntra	Named after raised platform in the centre of mohalla used for preparing administrative, astrological, revenue records.	
	Hatnala	Largest temple complex in town, oldest market, residence of royal astrologer and priest * statue making, repair of temples, making of religious and royal ornaments, painting, embroidery.	
	Kharuda	Residence of royal preceptor (Raj-Guru)* traditional gardeners, making of flower garlands.	
	rajput	Bansi Gopal	Temple
		Surara	Derives its names from location on old open water course to town; additional palace; later given over to royal relations
		Drobhi	Derives name from patch of grass in the area Resident Rajput families responsible for organising royal relations
		Bansi Gopal	Created during enlargement of palace for settlement of offshoots of royal family.
Khatri	Nand	ditto	
	Kharuda	Royal horse stables, families in charge of these	
	Bangotu	name derived from a small forest patch consisting of Ban trees (Oak- <i>Quercus incana</i>) or Sanskrit word 'vana' (forest). Contains royal palace. *Royal butchers and*as in Janasli mohalla.	
	Jansali	Named from <i>Jains</i> (grain), grain stores located here, in charge of stores called Jansali. royal cow sheds, state magazine *horse keepers, basket and leaf cup makers musicians.	
	Sapdi	Named after rocky outcrop called sasad in local dialect, resident families engaged in trade, post-independence resettlement of displaced persons.	
	Chauntra	Residence of former Lord Chamberlain (<i>Khaloa</i>) in charge of Raja's personal stores and upbringing of royal children.	
Mahajan	Chowgan	Named after the open space in the centre of town, resident families engaged in trade.	
	Julakri	Post-independence resettlement of displaced persons.	
	Surara	State service, land assessors, record keepers, storage and trade	

Maini Social/ Occupational Religious Group	Mohalla	Association
Sikh	Chowgan	Temple, contains <i>bazaar</i> called Dogra bazaar inhibited by Mahajan families called Dogra who were initially cloth merchants.
	Charpat	Temple, named after <i>yogi</i> Charpatnath, mohalla located at the former main entrance to the town, trading families *making and selling of bangles.
	Julakri	Post-independence resettlement of displaced persons
	Kasakra	Ditto
Muslims	Kashnari	Named after inhabitants who came from Kashmir, artisans, damers, bangle makers, gardeners etc., contains mosque.
	Julakri	named after <i>julaha</i> (weaver), recorded as a separate village at the beginning of the century, later became part of town, resettlement of displaced persons.
Christians	Sapdi	Blacksmiths, sword makers, masons, resettlement of displaced persons.
	Kasakra	Butchers, resettlement of displaced persons.
	Dharog	Traditionally inhabited by leather workers, <i>mohalla</i> considered a suburb at the beginning of the century.
Artisan and service castes (location of some of these groups in high caste mohallas is indicated by an asterisk)	Pacca Tala	Traditionally inhabited by service classes
	Kashmiri	Traditionally muslim
Recent Development	Chamesni, Charpat, Dharog, Kasakra, Kashmiri, Pacca Tala	Spatial distribution basically controlled by perception of ritual purity-pollution of occupation, street lines within <i>mohalla</i> divide different groupes, social, religious and occupational where inter- <i>mohalla</i> separation not present.
	Ballu, Bhiod, Sultanpur, Hardaspura	Mixed, some families from traditional mohallas.

Table VI

Kulla Town : Social Groups, Mohallas and Associated Features

Maini Social/ Occupational Religious Group	Mohalla	Association
Brahmin/Mahant	Sultanpur	named after its founder, contains palace of former rulers, contains a main bazaar, and a small abazaar inhabited by goldsmiths.
	Raghunathpur	Named after the temple of royal deity located in it.
	Lower Dhalpur	Named with reference to its location at a lower elevation with reference to Dhalpur <i>mohalla</i> .

Rajupur	Dhalpur	Named after its location on sloping ground/after the name of its founder, formed part of royal lands, contains Dhalpur <u>maidan</u> around which administrative and institutional structures are located.
	Shishamati	Contains forest waste land which was broken (nautor) and settled by locals *sweepers on lower slopes.
Sood & Mahajan	Akhara	Named after the term <i>akhara</i> (college for residence and activities of religious mendicants and friars), contains an inner and main <i>bazaar</i> . the former housed muslim population, has a mosque and a street named mosque street (Masjid-waligali).
	Sarwari	Located along stream of the same name, has a bazaar, displaced persons families live in it.
	Ramshila	Extension of <i>akhara mohalla</i> from where families have shifted here.
Tibetans	Tibetan colony, Tapu Shishamati, Sarwari	Tapu (literally island), along stream bed in Shishamati and Sarwari.

Table VII

SabathuTown : Social Groups, Mohallas and Associated Features

Maini Social/ Occupational Religious Group	Mohalla	Association
Sood, Aggarwal, Gupta, Goyal, Chaurasia	Upper <i>bazaar</i> , Chowk <i>bazaar</i> Lower <i>bazaar</i>	Intermixing of trading groups in all, upper and lower denote relative elevation <i>chowk</i> (street crossing) <i>arhat</i> (commission based wholesale trade especially in grains)
Muslim	Kashmiri	Regional association, has a mosque adjoins <i>arhat bazaar</i>
Gurkha	Lower <i>bazaar</i>	

Table VIII

Kulla Town : Social Groups, Mohallas and Associated Features

Maini Social/ Occupational Religious Group	Mohalla	Association
Sood, Aggarwal, Gupta, Jain, Kanaujia Muslim	Market <i>bazaar</i> , Sadar <i>bazaar</i> Arhat <i>bazaar</i> Kashmiri	intermixing of trading groups in all, elevation decreases from Market Arhat (commission based wholesale trade specially in grains) <i>bazaar</i> Regional association, has a mosque, adjoins <i>arhat bazaar</i> .

in India. Located between 30° 30' and 33° 15' north latitudes and 70° 30' and 79° 0' east longitudes, it is bounded by Tibet in the east, the Indian States of Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and Haryana in the north, west and south-west respectively. Its southern boundary is formed by the state of Uttaranchal.

The earliest traditions in Himachal Pradesh refer to a period known as *Apthakurai* when petty chiefs called *Ranas* and *Thakurs* ruled over small territories and were constantly at war with each other. This period was followed by the establishment of a number of Rajput principalities. Almost every such principality was founded by a Rajput family which had either come directly from the North Indian plains, or was a cadet of one of such families already settled in the region. The three such oldest states in Himachal Pradesh - Kangra, Chamba, and Kullu - were founded during circa 200 A. D. to 500 A. D., although the genealogical rolls of their ruling families invariably claim a much earlier, even pre-Christian origin. The relative inaccessibility and complex physiography of the region prevented the establishment of a single major empire or the control of the annexed territories for long during the period of Mughal rule in India as well as the Sikh rule in Punjab between the 16th and the 18th centuries. The various native states in the region came under British colonial rule after the defeat of the Gurkhas and the Sikhs in the 19th century and remained under it till the independence of India in 1947. Himachal Pradesh was formed by the merger of 30 princely Hill States and given the status of a Union Territory on 15th April 1948. On 25th January 1971, Himachal Pradesh was granted the status of a state.

The first impulses of urbanization in Himachal Pradesh were indigenous in origin and resulted in the establishment of capital towns of native

states which also performed trade, religious, and defence functions. In addition to these, trading towns and pilgrimage centres comprised the urban base till the advent of the British colonial rule in the region. In comparison to the indigenously evolved towns which had developed in the river valleys which provided the lines of communication as well as favourable conditions for settlement and economic activities, the British established cantonments, sanatoria and hill stations on mountain ridges and spurs to take advantage of their cooler climates and to create a physical and social environment suitable to the colonial style of living.

The partition of the country in the wake of independence in 1947 resulted in considerable redistribution of population in the region. A large number of Muslim families migrated to Pakistan while displaced persons from Pakistan were resettled in the region.

II. The Study Towns

Chamba is a class IV town with a population of 17194 persons in 1991. It was established in 930 A. D. as the capital of the native state of the same name (4). Till the independence of the country in 1947 the town remained the capital and has since been the headquarters of a district of the same name. Due to its relative inaccessibility the town experienced a long undisturbed social and political history. The social implications of Muslim and British dominance in India have been negligible in shaping the social morphology of the town except in the emergence of a small community of Muslims and Christians. In the wake of the partition of the country, another social group consisting of the displaced persons from Pakistan was introduced into the social milieu of the town.

Chamba town, situated at the confluence of the Ravi river and its tributary, the Sahu

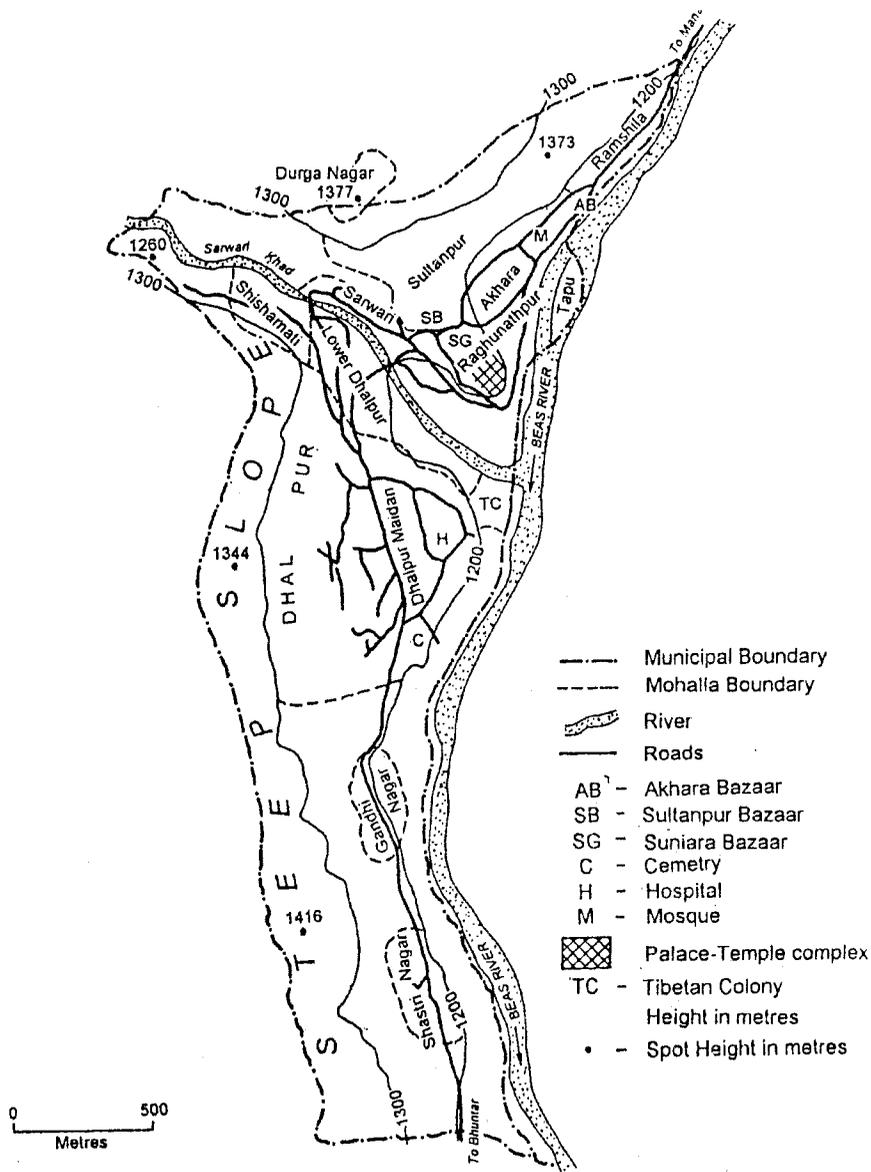


Fig. 3 : Kullu Town : Site and Location of Mohallas

(Fig. 2), is spread over two terraces of the Ravi River. The lower terrace has a large flat open space called *Chowgan*. It is the public

promenade and recreation ground. On the upper terrace and overlooking the Chowgan is the palace of the former rulers of Chamba.

While the *Chowgan* forms a functional and morphological divide between the physically and socially upper and lower parts of the town, the palace acts as a pivot in this organization of space. Due to the small extent of suitable land available for habitation in the town, social distance is expressed more through physical elevation rather than horizontal distance.

Kullu, a Class IV town with a population of 14569 persons in 1991, is a former capital town and presently the headquarters of a district of the same name. Till 1951, when it acquired the status of a town, Kullu was known as Sultanpur after the name of its founder, Sultan Chand. The town started functioning as the capital of Kullu state around 1660 A. D.

The town is located on an old trade route connecting the Punjab Plains with Tibet. Its rulers have been described as "Lord Marchers" flanking a great trade artery (Hutchinson et al. 1982, p.39). Due to political vicissitudes from late 18th century till 1846, when it became a part of the British district of Kangra, the town lost its importance and declined. It was described as of no great population or extent by a British traveler to the area in 1820 (Moorcroft et al., 1971, p. 171). It was once a regularly walled town and a place of some strength. (Harcourt, 1972, p. 93). It started growing again after the restoration of political order by the British and the subsequent increase in trade. The old Kullu town or Sultanpur is located on the right bank of Beas river at its confluence with a tributary, Sarwari (Fig. 3). At present Sultanpur, containing the palace, and Raghunathpur containing the temple built by the former rulers of the state, form only one of the mohallas of Kullu. Around this palace - temple nucleus the town has developed. Across the Sarwari is an open flat space called Dhalpur maidan. Functionally, it emerged as

the public promenade in Kullu in recent years with the development of new residential areas of Gandhi Nagar and Shastri Nagar, and the expansion of Dhalpur mohalla. Earlier it had merely served as a camping ground.

Compared to Chamba and Kullu, the towns of Sabathu and Kasauli, established by the British as cantonments, have a much shorter history and are the products of a different socio-political functional system (5). Sabathu was established as a cantonment in 1816, and Kasauli in 1842. Sabathu had been an important Gurkha stronghold for a few years before the advent of the British in Shimla Hill States, who after defeating the Gurkhas in 1814-1815, stationed an Assistant Political Agent at Sabathu. A Gurkha battalion, consisting of defeated Gurkha soldiers was also raised at Sabathu. The town continues to be a recruitment and training centre for the Gurkhas.

At present Sabathu is a Class VI town with a population of 3700 persons in 1991. It is located at a height of approximately 1280 metres on a tableland overlooking the Gambhar river. Before the construction of the present Kalka - Shimla road in 1860's, the main route passed through Sabathu connecting it to Shimla and the main markets in the plains. However, after the construction of the Kalka - Shimla road Sabathu lost this advantage. At present it is located about 13 kms. off the main highway.

Kasauli was established about 15 kms. from Kalka, on the summit of a long ridge at a height of about 1920 metres. The old route passed through Kasauli and Sabathu, and like Sabathu, Kasauli also lost this advantage with the construction of the present Kalka - Shimla road. At present Kasauli is located about 11 kms. off the main highway. It is a Class VI town with a population of 4385 persons in 1991.

In Sabathu and Kasauli, as in other hill towns established by the British in India, the separation of the European and Indian residential areas was almost complete, morphologically, functionally, and socially. This separation was effected through the provisions of the Cantonments Act. Like others of their genre these towns developed into two broad areas, the Station and the Bazaar. The former, as in all cantonment towns, contained the structures related to the performance of the residential, recreational and religious functions of the resident European community, the bazaar developed over land "set apart for the purpose of trade or the residence of natives or any other purposes and the boundaries of which have been demarcated by pillars or posts...under the authority of the General Officer of the Command" (King, 1976, p.81). The bazaar area, contained all the social groups comprising the Indian community in Sabathu and Kasauli, as in other such towns. It was located on lower elevations while the Station area occupied the higher slopes. The morphological and functional divide between the two parts was formed by the parade ground. Due to the continuation of the Cantonments Act in the post-Independence period as well and the continued small size of population there has not been much change in the basic morphological structure of the study towns.

III. Political Systems and Spatial order

The capital towns of former native states in Himachal Pradesh, particularly those of the larger and relatively inaccessible ones, such as Chamba, developed as the embodiment of the societal norms and the three fold - religious, feudal, and personal - authority of the Raja. The long uninterrupted dynastic rule in Chamba resulted in the firm establishment of a feudal socio - political order. It was recorded for Chamba that "in and around the capital...

caste rules are in force" (Punjab States Gazetteer, 1904, p. 130). Socially, the impact of this factor is evidenced in the evolution of a clear division of Chamba town into parts, an upper part spread over the higher elevation sites inhabited mainly by such socially higher castes as the Brahmins, the Rajputs, the Khatri and Mahajans, and the lower part inhabited by the menial and polluting Hindu castes and non-Hindu groups.

The feudal spatio-political organisation required the services of a large number of officials to run the state administration and to act as an extension of the authority of the Raja. The higher ranking among these were placed immediately below the nobility in their socio-political status. These comprised of two broad groups, those looking after the affairs of the state in the capital itself and, those in charge of different provinces of the state. The latter performed their functions from the capital itself (Punjab States Gazetteer, 1904, p.261). These officials lived in different areas around the palace and formed social as well as morphological nuclei in the evolution of the town and promoted a concentration of families with comparable social, economic and political status in the areas of their residence.

The status of the feudal ruler as religious head of the state resulted in the development of another type of nuclei that influenced the evolution of social morphology in Chamba. These comprised of the temples in the town dedicated to different deities of the royal family and the state religion. The temples and the Brahmin families responsible for their maintenance and performance of rituals were given land grants (Punjab States Gazetteer, 1904, p.51 and p.282). With the passage of time such lands were given over to construction

of houses and shops to raise additional income for the temples and to accommodate the expanding families of the first incumbents of

these grants. Religion also influenced the evolution of social morphology of Chamba by providing the tenets for the location of temples,

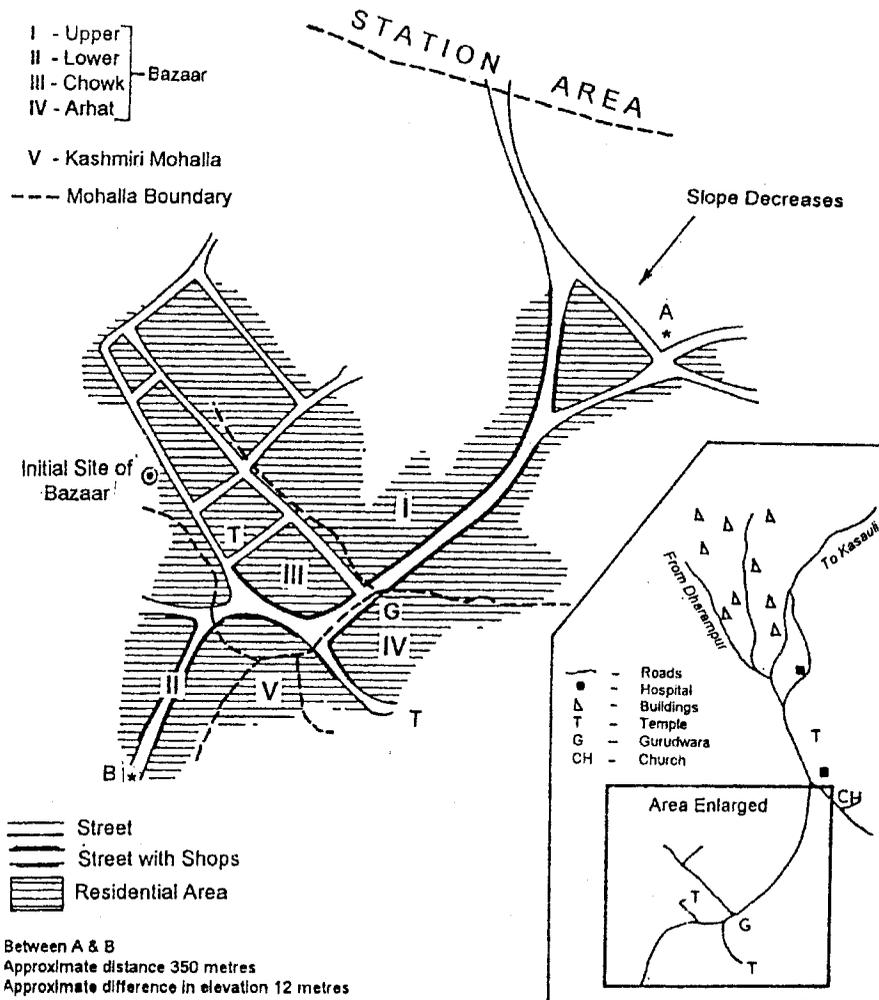


Fig. 4 : Sabathu Town : Location of Bazaars (Notional Map)

the palace and, the various social groups within the town.

The economic effect of the feudal rule on the evolution of social morphology of Chamba was in the concentration of economic activity

in the town. It is recorded for Chamba town that "almost all the ordinary trades and avocations are represented in the capital" and "few high class artisans are found outside the capital" (Punjab States Gazetteer, 1904, p.201).

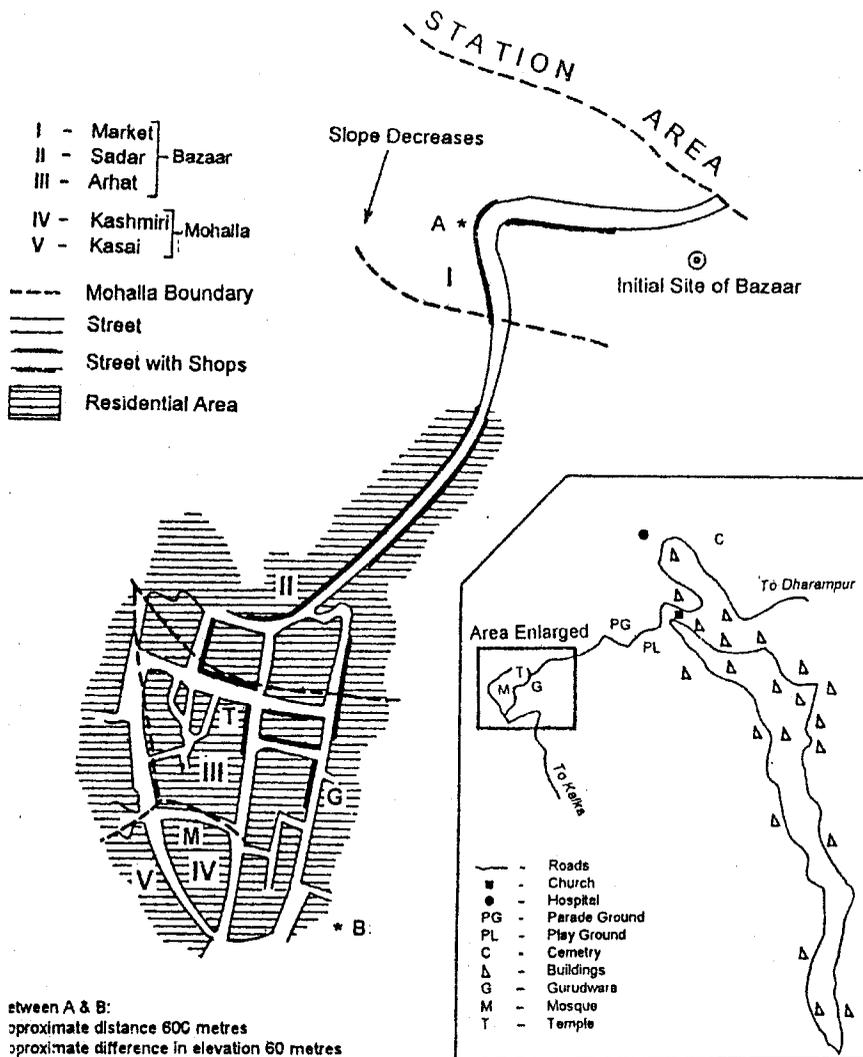


Fig. 5 : Kasauli Town : Location of Bazaars (Notional Map)

As compared to Chamba, the role of feudal rule in shaping the social morphology of Kullu town is not so important due to the late occupation of the site, and an early end to the influence of feudal rule. The absence of the royal court at Kullu for so many years must have obviated the necessity for the court officials to remain at Kullu. Under British administration, officials, even those forming the lower cadres were sent from Kangra and Punjab. Even for traders it was noted that "there is not a single shopkeeper who is not either a native of Kangra, the neighbouring states or the plains" (Harcourt, 1972, p. 86). A more important influence on the evolution of social morphology of Kullu town has been its location on the trade route between Tibet and Punjab. It promoted interaction of Kullu with other regions and prompted people from outside to settle in different parts of the town.

While Chamba and Kullu came up as a part of the feudal system, Sabathu and Kasauli evolved under the influence of the colonial cultural and political spatial organization, which, so far as social attitudes towards Indian society are concerned, was as feudal as the native rule. In Sabathu and Kasauli, as in other towns of their genre, the influence of feudal rule in shaping the socio-spatial tenets was replaced by that of the colonial cultural values mediated through the provisions of the Cantonments Act. In this frame work there was an almost exclusive emphasis on the ethno-medical beliefs regarding health, pollution and disease associated with the activities of the resident Indian Community in the bazaar area.

In these towns the evolution of social morphology was thus governed by the life style and values of the colonial community, so far as the Station area housing the colonial community was concerned, and by the type and nature of economic activity that could be carried out by the residents in the bazaar area

housing the Indian population. However, wherever the notions of ritual pollution held by the Indian community coincided with those of physical pollution, the pollution of the senses - hearing, smell, sight - and the ethno-medical beliefs of the colonial community, a spatial separation of the social groups engaged in such activities was effected in the bazaar area e.g. the Kashmiri and Kasai mohallas inhabited by the Muslim and butcher communities respectively.

Within the bazaar the mohallas did not develop on the basis of the social status of a group, as in indigenous towns. Instead, these either developed according to the type of commercial activity, for example in Kasauli the bazaars are named as Market, Sadar (Main) bazaar, and *Arhat* (commission based whole sale trade generally in grains) bazaar, or with reference to their relative elevation, for example Sabathu has an Upper and a Lower bazaar in addition to an *Arhat* bazaar, or those referring to a street crossing, for example, Chowk bazaar in Sabathu (Figs. 4 and 5). The location of *Arhat* bazaar at a lower elevation did not imply a corresponding lower social status of its inhabitants within the Indian community. In both these towns the *Arhat* bazaar was located at a lower elevation to facilitate unloading of goods in bulk.

IV. The Social Morphology of Study Towns

A comparison of Tables I, II, III, and IV clearly establishes the all pervading influence of Hinduism in the study towns. In contrast, the Muslim population declined dramatically from more than 20 per cent in 1911 in Chamba, Sabathu and Kasauli to 3 per cent in Chamba and less than one per cent each in Sabathu and Kasauli in 1971. This decline in Muslim population is related to the Partition of India in 1947 and the consequent large scale migration of Muslims to the newly created

state of Pakistan. The Partition of India also resulted in an influx of Hindu population from Pakistan causing an increase in the Hindu population in the study towns.

A perusal of Tables V, VI, VII, and VIII suggests a mixing of individual co-religious high social status groups, whether under feudal influence, as in Chamba, or colonial influence as in Sabathu and Kasauli. The guiding principle has been the functions performed or what may be termed as the mode of living. However, it must be pointed out that generally the higher level functions came to be performed by the traditionally higher social status groups and vice versa. Thus although there are few single caste/social group mohallas in the study towns, in the former princely towns only one of the resident groups is associated with an individual mohalla. Interestingly, in Chamba the high caste groups are concentrated mainly in mohallas located in the area considered to be ritually sanctified (Fig. 2). In the former princely towns some service caste families often live within some high caste mohallas reflecting the requirements of functional dependence.

1. Chamba : Dominance of the High Castes

: The presence of Brahmins in the region predates the establishment of Chamba town in 930 A. D.. The site of the town belonged to a family of Kanwar Brahmins and was acquired from this family in exchange for eight Chamba copper coins (Chakli) to be given in perpetuity on the occasion of every marriage in the town. The practice was in vogue till the beginning of the present century (Punjab States Gazetteer, 1904, p. 73). During field work in the town, it was found that many of the old resident families still follow this practice. However, the nature of the gift has changed and varies from family to family. The presence of Brahmin families is

also evidenced from the land grants given to various temples and their management by Brahmin families.

From the beginning of the 16th century onwards there is evidence of new Brahmin families from outside the state being given land grants and state offices. The earliest of such families is of Bengali Brahmins, Surananda and Brahmapati (Ramapati), who came from Benaras (Varanasi) during Ganesa Varman's rule (1512-1559 A. D.), were appointed Raj Guru (Royal preceptor) and given land grant in Kharuda mohalla. The descendants of this family were holding the office of Raj-Guru till the beginning of the present century (Punjab States Gazetteer, 1904, p. 168). The family continues to live in Kharuda mohalla (Fig. 2). The descendants of two other families of prominence, those of the former Raj-Jyotishi (Royal Astrologer) and Raj-Purohit (Royal Priest) appointed during the same period, live in Hatnala mohalla (fig. 2). Another prominent Brahmin family is that of a former Raj-Vaid (Court Physician) appointed during Raj Singh's reign (1764-94 A.D.). The ancestors of the priests of the Lakshmi Narayan temple, located in Hatnala mohalla, came from Kullu with the idol installed in the temple when it was first brought to Chamba.

With the passage of time the Brahmin families in the town expanded and there must have been additions from outside the state also. As the beginning of the 20th century, fifty two family names among the Brahmins in the town were recorded. It was also recorded that some of these were in the state service in various capacities and in trade, many were not so well off and acted as priests and cooks (Punjab States Gazetteer, 1904, p. 131). Although, Brahmin families at present live in practically every part of the town, except

Dharog mohalla, their main association remains with the mohallas of their traditional occupance. These are given in Table V.

The main attributes of the pattern of residence of Rajput families in Chamba town are similar to those of the Brahmins. The original home of the ruling family of Chamba is said to be in Ayodhya (6). The first settlers must have been accompanied by a group of followers which formed the nucleus for subsequent growth. The Chauhan Rajputs are said to have migrated to Chamba around 760 A. D. However, till the 12th century, the local chiefs, who had been subdued in the process of founding the state, lost none of their former status and ranked as nobility immediately after the ruler at the head of state officials in the order of precedence. During 1060 - 80 A. D. two such chiefs functioned as Prime Minister and Lord Chancellor of the state (Punjab States Gazetteer, 1904, p. 174). Some such families must also have been integrated into the social mosaic of the town.

The Rajputs in Chamba town thus comprise mainly the direct and collateral branches of the ruling family and those of the state officials. Many of these derive their *al* (family name) from the area of their residence in the town. For example, the Chaubara family, whose parent stem is now extinct, derives its name from Chaubara (Chautra mohalla); the Bagawala family, descending from a younger son of Raja Prithvi Singh (1641-64 A. D.) derives its name from the original residence in a garden (bag) near the palace; the Chenaria family, descending from a younger son of Raja bala Bhadra (1589 - 1640 A. D.), derives its name from a chenar tree that stood near their original house. The site was cleared to make room for the Residency in 1865-66. At present, although some Rajput families live in every mohalla of the town, except in dharog

and Chamesni mohallas, their main association remains with the mohallas of their traditional occupance. These are given in Table V.

As compared to the Brahmins and Rajputs, the Khatri and Mahajans, both traditionally trading communities, entered the town at a late stage, although Gaddi Khatri are said to have migrated to the state from Lahore at the time of early Muslim invasions during 11th to 13th centuries. The Khatri families in the town were employed in storage, trade and transportation of goods, and in state service as land assessors and revenue record keepers. In the 18th century some of the families rose to important positions and held charge of the royal children and state forces. Not all of these were of local origin. For example, the Bagalwan family, said to be named after their ancestral village Bagala in Ujjain, received a grant from Udai Singh (1690 - 1720 A. D.) and settled in the town. The ancestors of another important family in the town, the Lahrial family, also came from Ujjain during 1748 - 64 A. D.

In the mid 19th century, Mahajans, cloth traders by profession, and called Dogras by the locals, settled in the town in large numbers. They had come from Sukho Chak area in Sialkot, now in Pakistan. They settled in the newly developed Dogra bazaar in Chowgan mohalla. Many other Mahajan families, also engaged in trade, settled in Charpat mohalla during Sham Singh's reign (1873 - 1904).

The present pattern of distribution of Khatri and Mahajan families is strongly influenced by the rehabilitation of displaced persons from Pakistan after the partition of the country in 1947. A number of Khatri families from Para Chinari, and Mahajans from Sukho Chak, both in Pakistan, settled in Chamba town partly because of familiarity with the town since pre-partition days. At present Khatri and

Mahajan families live in some numbers in every mohalla of the town. The mohallas traditionally associated with Khattris and Mahajans are given in Table V.

The first reference to Sikhs as a social group in Chamba is during the period of Raj Singh's reign (1764 - 94 A. D.) when he asked for help from Ramgarhia Sardars in Punjab against the state of Jammu in 1775 A. D. (Hutchinson etel., 1982, Vol. I, p. 315). Following this some Sikh families must have settled in the town. However, their number remained small and constant till the beginning of the 20th century (Table 1). There is a reference to Ramdasi Sikhs, engaged in tanning and working of leather, as migrants from the (Punjab) plains (Punjab States Gazetteer, 1904, p. 154). Since Dharog mohalla housing workers in leather was already in existence, it is reasonable to assume that this community also lived in it. Two prominent Sikh families, one to operate the newly installed pump and power house in 1910, the other engaged in block printing on cloth with silver or gold pigments, settled in Chauntra mohalla and are still residing in it.

The present pattern of distribution of this group is mainly related to the rehabilitation of Sikh displaced persons in Julakri and Kasakra mohallas after the partition of the country in 1947, where Muslim evacuee property was allotted to them. Although Sikh families live in other mohallas also, particularly Chowgan mohalla, their main association is with Julakri and Kasakra (Table V). As a spatial expression of their social identity the former mohalla has been renamed Arjun Nagar, after the name of the fifth Sikh Guru.

The first reference to the Muslim community in Chamba is during the reign of Prithvi Singh (1614 - 64 A. D.), when a group of bangle makers is said to have come from Delhi, and

Muslims from Kashmir migrated to Chamba due to famine in the Kashmir Valley in 1646 and 1655. A group of Pathans came to help Chamba forces in their battle against Nurpur during the same period and remained a part of the state forces till 1863 when these forces were paid and discharged (Punjab States Gazetteer, 1904, o. 110). In addition to these specific instances there must have been a regular influx of the Muslim community, though in small numbers, from across the adjoining Kashmir state. Among the Muslims, those hailing from Kashmir have been the most numerous and live in Kashmiri mohalla named after them. The other mohallas associated with this community are Julakri, inhabited by weavers (Julaha) and Kasakra inhabited by butchers (kasai) Fig. 2). The blacksmiths among this community inhabited Sapdi mohalla. Some families who converted to this religion live in the adjoining Pacca Tala mohalla (fig. 2). Some others have moved from Kashmiri mohalla to Pacca Tale due to expansion of their original families.

A number of Muslim families, particularly from Julakri, Sapdi and Kasakra mohallas migrated to Pakistan in 1947. Their properties were allotted as evacuee property to the families of displaced persons from Pakistan comprising mainly of Sikhs, Khattris and Mahajans. This has been a major change in the residential patterns and social morphology of Chamba town. The mohallas traditionally associated with Muslim population are given in Table V.

The Christian community in the town comprises completely of families who converted to this religion. Considering the traditional feudal socio-economic set-up, the dominating influence of Hinduism, the limited role of the Christian missionary activities, the

small size of the town and its relative physical inaccessibility, this conversion, though restricted to a small number numerically, represents an important social process in Chamba. The present location of Christian families in mohallas traditionally associated with the menial and polluting service castes and Muslim families suggests that conversions took place from these groups. Some Christian families also live in Charpat and Chowgan mohallas (Fig. 2). There is no evidence of migration of this group from outside the town. The main mohallas associated with this group are given in Table V.

Only a few artisan and service groups are indigenous to the hills, and to the town. Most of these must have migrated from the plains at different points of time and gradually settled in the town (Punjab States Gazetteer, 1904, p.201). The artisan and service castes in Chamba represent a cross section of various social groups ranging from Brahmin and Sikh carpenters, cloth embroiderers and painters, Gujarati Brahmin carpenters-painters to those forming the lowest strata of society. The groups engaged in ritually pure occupations got located near the mohallas of the higher castes and, even within these in small numbers, depending on the nature of their activity and the level of exclusiveness of the high caste group. At the highest level of exclusivity, represented by the nobility, even a polluting group was allowed to reside inside the mohalla, for example, two families of butchers in royal service in Bangotu mohalla (Fig. 2). Workers in bamboo (batwal), water carriers (jhewr), blacksmiths and sword makers are known to be living around the Chowgan before being settled in different parts of the town during Sham Singh's reign (1873 - 1904).

The newly developed mohallas on the outskirts of the town have a more mixed social

composition as compared to the older parts of the town. These mohallas include families already residing in these at the time of their inclusion within the limits of the town, migrants from surrounding areas as well as some old resident families of the town who have shifted to these mohallas due to expansion of their families.

2. Kullu : Importance of the trading castes

The evolution of social morphology of Kullu has been influenced as much by its function as a trade center as by its status of a capital town. Its basic socio - spatial pattern broadly conforms to the one associated with feudal rule. The Raja, his family and functional appendages lived in Sultanpur. The Brahmins associated with the royal temple continue to live in Raghunathpur. The distinction between these two mohallas is of recent origin. Earlier, both were known as Sultanpur and formed the place - temple nucleus of the town. A group of goldsmiths was settled on the northern side of Sultanpur and a street, Suniara (goldsmith) bazaar, named after them developed later. Adjoining it was main bazaar of the town known as Sultanpur bazaar. Approximately in the area of the present Durga Nagar mohalla (Fig. 3) lived royal weavers who had come from Bushahr, a state in Simla Hills. Along the lower slopes of the left bank of the Sarwari lived watermen and fish catchers who also operated water mills. Subsequently, the present Sarwari mohalla developed in this area on the upper slopes, with its own bazaar. On the right bank of the Sarwari lived sweepers.

The higher elevation areas, approximately corresponding with the present Shishamati mohalla, were forested waste land. Adjoining these along the lower course of the river were the royal demesne areas. These approximately corresponded to the present Dhalpur and lower Dhalpur mohallas (Fig. 3). Within these

mohallas smaller areas are still called Mian - ki - Bher and Mahant - ki - Bher denoting the titles of the early owners of land (7). Beyond Sultanpur and extending upwards along the Beas river was the akhara (college of a monastic order) inhabited by Gosains, an important commercial and religious caste who are recorded as having a monopoly of Kullu opium trade (Punjab District Gazetteers, 1924-25, pp.175-76).

The Gosains accompanied the idol of Rama (Raghunath) for the royal temple brought from Ayodhya during Jagat Singh's reign (1637 - 72 A. D.). During the same period the Bairagees, another religious group devoted to the same deity is also recorded to have come to Kullu (Harcourt, 1972, p. 38). There seems to have been regular interaction between the plains and Kullu through similar religious groups. It is recorded that a group of wandering Bairagees who had come to Kullu were enlisted as royal body-guards by Raja Tedhi Singh (1742 - 67 A. D.) (Hutchinson et al., 1982, vol. II, p.465). In 1820, Moorcroft, a British traveler recorded that the "principle traffickers are wandering mendicants of whom a vast number assemble here on their way to holy places in the mountains; there are also above two hundred supported by allowances from the Raja" (Moorcroft, et al., 1971, p.171).

Although the role of Gosains declined after the regulation of opium trade by the British, many of them settled in the town as indicated by the name of Akhara mohalla, and acquired properties and land, as indicated by the name Mahant-ki-Bher in Dhalpur mohalla. The present location of Gosains in Raghunathpur is related mainly to their looking after the former royal temple. In other areas, particularly in Lower Dhalpur, it is related to their settlement on the properties granted to or acquired by them. The mohallas associated

with this group are given in Table VI. However, in recent years the community has become associated more with Gandhi Nagar, a new mohalla where new centres for meditation etc. have been established since the 1970's, than with Akhara mohalla, their old nucleus in the town (Fig. 3).

The coming of Rajputs to Kullu has followed the pattern already identified in Chamba namely, the first settlers coming with the founding family and expanding subsequently. However, in Kullu the presence of Rajput nobility or elite is rather restricted partly because the town was the third in the series of capitals of the state, and partly due to the short duration of feudal rule from this site. Most of the prominent Rajput families are said to have shifted to the villages during the period of political instability from 1760 till 1846. At a later stage some Rajput families settled in Shishamati mohalla on nautor (nau - new, tor - broken) land (Fig. 3). None of these families belong to the former nobility/elite class.

From the late 19th century onwards the Soods and Mahajans, both trading communities, started emerging as the main social group in Kullu. This was related partly to the lack of patronage to the pre-existing trading groups in the town due to the absence of local feudal rule and partly to the recently established trade links of the new trading communities in the high Himalaya and the Punjab plains. For example, in 1871 it was recorded that "the trade is chiefly in the hands of merchants who have shops at Hoshiarpur, Amritsar, Kullu and Leh" (Punjab District Gazetteers, 1917, p. 129). In fact, the Soods from Kangra became the major trading community in the whole of Himachal Pradesh. The main mohallas associated with the residence of Soods and Mahajans in Kullu are given in Table. VI.

The early presence of Muslims in Kullu was also related to trade. "The musalmans are strangers from Ladak of Balti race, Arain immigrants from down country and Pathans who have strayed here for trade" (Punjab District Gazetteers, 1917, p.61). These lived at the outer limits of Akhara mohalla. At present the area is marked by a mosque and a street named "street of the mosque" (Masjid-wali-gali).

The families from Lahul have always been an important component in the social morphology of Kullu town. Buddhists by religion, their movement to the town was initially related to trading and seeking shelter in the town during winter months (Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1881, p. 446). In recent years many of them have settled in the town, particularly after 1980's, following their prosperity from introduction of commercial crops in Lahul. They reside mainly in Akhara and Shastri Nagar mohallas (Fig. 3).

There has not been a major change in the residential pattern of social groups in the town due to the rehabilitation of families of displaced persons after 1947. In 1951, the displaced persons in Kullu town numbered 199 persons and formed 5.3 per cent of its population. Some of these families are at present residing in Sarwari and Gandhi Nagar mohallas. The Tibetans came to Kullu in the late 1950's. Their settlement in the town followed the events in Tibet and the settlement of this community in different parts of the state. The mohallas of their residence are given in Table VI. In the recently emerged Durga Nagar, Shastri Nagar, and Gandhi Nagar mohallas, the social composition is mixed. In Shastri Nagar and Gandhi Nagar mohallas, the social composition is mixed. In Shastri Nagar and Gandhi Nagar some Sood families from Ahkara mohallas have settled due to

expansion of the parent family and lack of space in their ancestral houses. A number of families from the surrounding areas have also moved to Kullu and settled in the newly developed mohallas following their prosperity from apple cultivation.

V. The Colonial Towns

The social morphology of Sabathu has evolved under the influence of the requirements of the colonial community, mediated through the provisions of the Cantonments Act and lure of trade. Toward the end of the 18th century the Gurkhas are said to have started settling in the town, and in the villages around it. Following the defeat of the Gurkhas in 1814 -15 the Gurkha forces were dispersed. However, since Sabathu continued to be a centre for training and recruitment of Gurkha in the army, the community has been present, in varying numbers in the town. Some of the earlier Gurkha inhabitants settled permanently in the town, later some others came back to settle in the town after being discharged from the forces. These are located mainly in the lower bazaar area. A number of young Gurkhas keep coming to the town for seeking recruitment in the forces. Those who do not succeed stay around either doing odd jobs to try again or move out to some other town in search of employment.

The establishment of cantonment functions at Sabathu required that supply lines, depots and a bazaar, manned by trusted traders, be established. Sabathu already enjoyed the advantage of being located on routes connecting it to the markets at Jagadhri and Hoshiarpur, located in the plains. As in other such cases, in Sabathu also the regimental contractors who had moved along with the regiments were given sites in the bazaar. This process is best illustrated by the case of a Kashmiri trading family which had initially

moved from Kashmir to Delhi. From Delhi it moved to Sultanpur in Uttar Pradesh as military contractors. From Sultanpur the family moved to Ambala and from there to Sabathu. Another family, traditionally dealing in betel nuts and leaves and hailing from Uttar Pradesh, came to Sabathu in the pre 1857 period.

While the first traders in the town had followed the British officers and soldiers, the newly accrued advantages from abolition of duties on carrying trade, and rerouting of old routes between 1820's and 30's prompted traders from the already established wholesale markets to move to Sabathu. Two such main trading communities were the Soods from Kangra and Aggarwals from Jagadhri. Broadly, the pattern of their movement was that initially one or two members of the family would move to the town every year coinciding their visit with the "season" (approximately April to October) of annual movement of the British to the hills, because during this period the demand for supplies increased manifold, as did the European population in the hills. Once sufficient links and credibility were established these traders would settle in the town as an independent unit. With the passage of time their families expanded, so did their shops and houses. Many of these continued to maintain links with their parent concerns and families and actually ran a chain of shops. Some of these also expanded their business to other trade centres in the region. This is exemplified by the case of a family from Jagadhri who settled in upper bazaar initially and came to own a number of shops in the same bazaar subsequently. A part of the family later shifted to Barog, an important halt on the Kalka - Shimla railway line, to undertake trade in vegetables sent as far away as Delhi and Amritsar.

Attracted by the prospects of employment, the Muslims in Sabathu came mainly from

Kashmir. These were weavers, leather workers, butchers, and also took up employment in construction, mule transportation and as porters. The weavers are said to have come as a separate group. The Muslim community in Sabathu was concentrated mainly in Kashmiri mohalla (Fig. 4). The community of weavers in Sabathu later left due to competition from factory produced articles from Amritsar.

The groups providing such menial services as washing of clothes and sweeping came from the plains and were located away from the main settlement, beyond the lower bazaar, and continue to reside at the same location.

The Christian community in Sabathu, as in other towns in the region, comprised of the converts from other groups.

There has not been much change in the residential pattern of social groups in Sabathu in recent decades. Some displaced persons families settled in the town on the Muslim evacuee property in Kashmiri mohalla after 1947. In 1951 their population was 259 persons, forming 10 per cent of the population of the town. Since 1960's some of the trading families have left the town due to better economic opportunities elsewhere. In their place some families from the surrounding region have moved in. Their numbers however have been limited. The main social groups and the mohallas associated with these are given in Table VII.

The main attributes of the evolution of social morphology in Kasauli are an almost exact replica of those identified in Sabathu, except the specific time frame. Kasauli was established as a cantonment in 1842, when Sabathu was already well established. As a matter of fact, the decision to establish a cantonment at Kasauli was taken in view of its

better climate, due to its higher elevation as compared to Sabathu.

Among the first traders was a family of military contractors from Benaras (Varanasi) in Uttar Pradesh. The family first moved to Rawalpindi, now in Pakistan, then to Ambala and from there to Kasauli. A family of Soods from Ambota, formerly in Kangra and now in Una district of Himachal Pradesh, came in a phased manner. So did the Aggarwal families from Jagadhri. The Muslims in Kasauli also were mainly from Kashmir and lived in Kashmiri mohalla (Fig. 5). In addition some Muslim families from Meerut in Uttar Pradesh were also settled in Kasauli. Among the Muslims, those engaged in butchering of animals lived in a separate mohalla called Kasai mohalla, separated from Kashmiri mohalla by a street. The Christians in the bazaar were converts from local population living on outer slopes of the bazaar area where they continue to live.

A number of displaced persons families from Pakistan were rehabilitated on Muslim evacuee property in Kashmiri and Kasai mohallas after 1947. In 1951 the displaced persons numbered 603 persons, forming 15 per cent of the population of the town. However, only a few of these have remained in the town. Quite a few of the evacuee houses were auctioned and have been bought by local residents. The main social groups and the mohallas associated with these are given in Table VII.

CONCLUSION

The evolution of social morphology in the study towns has been strongly influenced by the symbolic status associated with these towns and the cultural norms and perceptions emanating from the requirements of maintaining this status. The towns of Chamba and Kullu illustrate the case of capitals of the erstwhile Hindu dynastic feudal states in

Himachal Pradesh and the cantonment towns of Sabathu and Kasauli represent the British colonial socio-political functional system. In both these types of towns the influence of these factors has resulted in distinctive patterns of internal social organisation of space.

The cultural norms and perceptions in the case of the former type of towns had indigenous origins and included within their ambit a number of social and occupational groups, with each group having a specified status in relation to other co-religious groups. The social morphology of these towns thus evolved under a complex social hierarchical formwork. The norms and values of this framework were derived from the Hindu religion and mediated through the feudal socio-political organisation. The induction of non-Hindu religious groups into the social milieu of these towns added a new dimension to the already existing socio-spatial pattern. Functionally, these non-Hindu groups comprised an integral part of the resident urban community, but were considered to be ritually impure and therefore spatially located outside the perceived sanctified limits of the town, which by and large, coincided with the high caste Hindu mohallas. The social morphology of these towns thus symbolised the socio-cultural traditions of the society in which these evolved.

An important attribute of the evolution of the social morphology of capital towns of the feudal states, such as Chamba and Kullu, is that the movement of different social groups to these towns was restricted only to those groups whose occupational specialisations formed a part of the feudal socio-economic organisation. The population of these towns therefore comprised essentially of those who were bound to the court by virtue of their being the royalty, royal kinship, the state officials, ritual performers, tradesmen and

craftsmen and their menial appendages. The size of population of these towns and the diversity of occupational specialisations depended upon the stability of the feudal rule and the relative status and size of the town. This is evidenced in the differences in the evolution of social morphology of Chamba, which remained under a longer spell of feudal rule and was a comparatively large town, and Kullu, which did not have any of these attributes.

A close link between the capital town and the society whose corporate identity it represents is an inherent pre-requisite of the feudal socio-economic organisation. This is manifested through the presence of various strata of society recognised in the state's population in its capital town also. The movement of different social groups to Chamba and Kullu from their respective regions is indicative of this link. In later stages of their evolution, greater interaction with neighbouring states prompted further migration to these towns. However, this movement was confined to groups who were socially compatible to the already existing population and restricted to the western Himalayan region. The only group inducted from outside the region was of displaced persons after the partition of India in 1947. This group also was a co-religious and socially compatible one.

In comparison to the feudal Hindu state capital towns, those established by the British in Himachal Pradesh, as elsewhere, represent an exogenetic process. Although these towns were also symbolic, their symbolism was based on the cultural values and norms of an alien society. The social morphology of Sabathu and Kasauli cantonments, as of other cantonment towns, hill stations and sanatoria, evolved under the influence of the requirements

of the British colonial socio-cultural system mediated through a set of legal controls. Consequently, these towns developed a social morphology, which unlike that of the capital towns of native states, was devoid of a corporate identity so far as the Indian population of these towns was concerned. The only basis for unifying the resident Indian community of these towns was occupational association for providing goods and services to the colonial community. This resulted in the movement of only trading groups, craftsmen, lower class menials and daily wage earners to these towns. The evolution of social morphology of these towns suggests little impact of ethnic or religious factors.

Being a part of a spatial organisation with continental dimensions, these towns attracted social groups from over a much wider area as compared to the capital towns of native states. However, this did not result in the kind of spatial distancing identified in the social morphology of capital towns of feudal states. In the cantonment towns the entire Indian population was confined to the area specified for their residence and economic activities. Within this area only the Muslims and those engaged in occupations perceived to be ritually impure according to Hindu beliefs, and polluting according to the colonial cultural value system, were physically separated from the rest of the resident community. However, as in the capital towns of native states, elevation was an expression of socio-cultural status in these towns also. The colonial community lived on the higher slopes and the Indian residents were confined to the lower elevations.

In spite of the significant vertical economic mobility among various social groups generated by the impulses of socio-economic development and political change in the post-Independence period, there is a general lack of

large scale changes in the basic social morphology of the study towns. This is mainly related to the small physical, social, and economic size of these towns.

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NOTES

1. Some prominent studies are, Bopegamage, A. (1957) *Delhi : A Study of Urban Sociology*, Bombay University Press, Bombay; Gist, Noel P. (1958) "The Ecological Structure of an Asian City (Bangalore) : An East - West Comparison", *Population Review*, pp. 17 - 25; Brush, John E. (1962) "The Morphology of Indian Cities", in R. Turner (Ed.) *India's Urban Future*, University of California Press, Berkeley, pp. 57 - 70; Bose, N. K. (1968) *Calcutta : A Social Survey*, Lalvani, Calcutta; Mehta, S. K. (1969) "Patterns of Residence in Poona, India by Caste and Religion : 1822 - 1965", *Demography*, pp. 473 - 91; Smailes, A. E. (1969) "The Indian City: A Descriptive Model", *Geographische Zeitschrift*, pp. 177-190; Berry, B. J. L. and P. H. Rees (1969) "The Factorial Ecology of Calcutta", *American Journal of Sociology*, pp. 445 - 91; Berry, B. J. L. and H. Spodek (1971) "Comparative Ecologies of Large Indian Cities", *Economic Geography*, pp. 226-85; Doshi, Harish (1974) *Traditional Neighbourhood in a Modern City*, Abhinav, New Delhi; Weinstein, Jay A. (1974) *Madras : An Analysis of Urban Ecological Structure in India*, Sage, Beverly Hills; and Naidu, Ratna (1990) *Old Cities, New Predicaments - A Study of Hyderabad*, Sage, New Delhi.
2. The etymology of the word mohalla suggests a corrupted form of the Persian Mahalla, Muhalla which refers to a district, quarter (of a city), ward, camp, a review or muster (of troops). The term also denotes streets, squares, courts, places houses, districts and departments (in India). See, Platts, John T. (1977 Reprint) *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classic Hindi and English*, Oriental, New Delhi, p. 1010 : and Steingass, F. (1977 Reprint) *A Comprehensive Persian - English Dictionary*, Cosma, New Delhi, p. 1182. The term came into general use during the Muslim Period, particularly in North India and referred to a spatial unit inhabited by a homogeneous community. In the ancient Indian texts on town planning the term denoting a similar spatial unit is pada. See Dutt, B. B. (1977 Reprint) *Town Planning in Ancient India*, New Asian, Delhi, p. 142. Among the other terminological analogues of the term mohalla, the use of peth and pol is prominent in Poona and Ahmedabad respectively.

3. The *raison d'etre* of the mohalla being social and cultural affinity of the residents is well recorded. See Brush, John E. (1962) *op cit.*, p. 60; Breeze, Gerald (1963) "Urban Development Problems in India", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, p. 261; Smalies, A. E. (1969) *op cit.*, pp. 181-82, interestingly, Smalies refers to the mohalla only as Muslim quarters, p. 188; and Noble, A. G. and Ramesh Dhussa (1982) *op cit.*
4. The state of Chamba was founded sometime in the middle of the 6th century. Before the establishment of Chamba town the capital of the state was at Brahmapura, modern Brahmour, located 77 kms. south-east of Chamba town. See Hutchinson J. and J. Ph. Vogel (1982 Reprint) *op cit.*, p. 277; and Punjab States Gazetteer (1904) *op cit.*, pp. 69-73.
5. The other cantonment towns established by the British in Himachal Pradesh are Jutogh, Dagshai, Dalhousie, Bakloh and Yol.
6. The former Rajput royal families of Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh belonging to the Solar line of descent claim to have originally belonged to Ayodhya.
7. The title Mian, denoting a prince or person of almost equal status came into use during the Mughal period. The term Mahant denotes head of a religious body, Bher, a term for land measurement to facilitate land assessment is said to have been invented by Todar Mal, Akbar's finance and revenue minister.

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