

Intangible Cultural Heritage and Women Narratives: A Case Study of Jammu Region, India.

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ABSTRACT:

This paper presents a case study of Jammu region (Jammu and Kashmir), India, largely an uncharted domain with respect to women narratives. The paper has mapped the intangible heritage practices, which are exclusively women domain, to show that a narrative about women in the Jammu region can be constructed by understanding her role in the transmission and recreation of intangible heritage. Understanding her role in the ritual performances, making of arts and crafts, her culinary skills and use of local resources enables us to build up her narrative from her point of view as well. With regard to methodology, the mapping of the practices was done through a survey of the literary sources and employing interview techniques wherein the elderly women and heritage experts were interviewed. This case study shows that Intangible heritage can be used as an alternative source to build up the women narrative in the region.

Keywords: Women; Narrative; Rituals; Arts And Crafts; Culinary Traditions; Sati Cult.



Patrimonio Cultural Inmaterial y Narrativas de Mujeres: Un Estudio de Caso de la Región de Jammu. India.

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Resumen

Este artículo presenta un estudio de caso de la región de Jammu (Jammu y Cachemira), India, en gran parte un dominio desconocido con respecto a las narrativas de mujeres. El documento ha mapeado las prácticas del patrimonio inmaterial, que son exclusivamente del dominio de las mujeres, para mostrar que se puede construir una narrativa sobre las mujeres en la región de Jammu al comprender su papel en la transmisión y recreación del patrimonio inmaterial. Comprender su papel en las representaciones rituales, la elaboración de artesanías, sus habilidades culinarias y el uso de los recursos locales nos permite construir su narrativa también desde su punto de vista. En cuanto a la metodología, el mapeo de las prácticas se realizó a través de una encuesta de las fuentes literarias y aplicando técnicas de entrevistas dirigidas a las ancianas y expertas en patrimonio. Este estudio de caso muestra que el patrimonio inmaterial se puede utilizar como una fuente alternativa para construir la narrativa de las mujeres en la región.

Palabras clave: Mujeres, Narrativa, Rituales, Artes y oficios, Tradiciones culinarias, Sati Cult.



Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel et Récits des Femmes: étude de cas de la Région de Jammu, Inde.

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Résumé

Cet article présente une étude de cas de la région du Jammu (Jammu-et-Cachemire), en Inde, un domaine largement inconnu en ce qui concerne les récits de femmes. L'article a cartographié les pratiques du patrimoine immatériel, qui sont exclusivement du domaine des femmes, pour montrer qu'un récit sur les femmes dans la région de Jammu peut être construit en comprenant son rôle dans la transmission et la recreation du patrimoine immatériel. Comprendre son rôle dans les performances rituelles, la fabrication des arts et de l'artisanat, ses compétences culinaires et l'utilisation des ressources locales nous permet également de construire son récit de son point de vue. En ce qui concerne la méthodologie, la cartographie des pratiques a été réalisée à travers une enquête sur les sources littéraires et en utilisant des techniques d'interview où les femmes âgées et les experts du patrimoine ont été interrogés. Cette étude de cas montre que le patrimoine immatériel peut être utilisé comme source alternative pour construire le récit des femmes dans la région.

Mots clés: femmes, : Femmes; Récit; Rituels, Arts Et Artisanat; Traditions Culinaires; Sati Cult.



Immaterielles Kulturerbe und Frauenerzählungen: Eine Fallstudie der Region Jammu, Indien.

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Zusammenfassung:

Dieses Papier präsentiert eine Fallstudie der Region Jammu (Jammu und Kashmir), Indien, die in Bezug auf Frauenerzählungen weitgehend unbekannt ist. Das Papier hat die Praktiken des immateriellen Erbes, die ausschließlich Frauen vorbehalten sind, abgebildet, um zu zeigen, dass eine Erzählung über Frauen in der Region Jammu erstellt werden kann, indem ihre Rolle bei der Weitergabe und Wiederherstellung des immateriellen Erbes verstanden wird.

Das Verständnis ihrer Rolle bei den rituellen Darbietungen, der Herstellung von Kunsthandwerk, ihren kulinarischen Fähigkeiten und dem Einsatz lokaler Ressourcen ermöglicht es uns, ihre Erzählung auch aus ihrer Sicht aufzubauen.

In Bezug auf die Methodik erfolgte die Kartierung der Praktiken durch eine Untersuchung der literarischen Quellen und unter Verwendung von Interviewtechniken, bei denen ältere Frauen und Erbe experten für Kulturerbe befragt wurden.

Diese Fallstudie zeigt, dass das immaterielle Erbe als alternative Quelle für den Aufbau der Frauenerzählung in der Region verwendet werden kann.

Schlüsselwörter: Frauen; Geschichte; Rituale; Kunsthandwerk; Kulinarische Traditionen; Sati-Kult.



Patrimonio Culturale Immateriale e Narrazioni Femminili: Un Caso di Studio dalla Regione di Jammu, India.

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Sommario

Questo articolo presenta un caso di studio dalla regione indiana del Jammu (Jammu e Kashmir), un dominio in gran parte sconosciuto per quanto riguarda le narrazioni femminili. Il documento ha mappato le pratiche del patrimonio immateriale, che sono esclusivamente dominio delle donne, per mostrare che una narrazione sulle donne nella regione di Jammu può essere costruita comprendendo il loro ruolo nella trasmissione e nella ricreazione del patrimonio immateriale.

Comprendere il loro ruolo nelle rappresentazioni rituali, nell'artigianato, nelle abilità culinarie e nell'uso delle risorse locali ci consente di costruire la loro narrazione anche dal loro punto di vista.

Per quanto riguarda la metodologia, la mappatura delle pratiche è stata effettuata attraverso l'analisi documentaria delle fonti letterarie e la realizzazione di un'indagine condotta con tecniche di intervista rivolta a donne anziane ed esperte di beni culturali. Questo caso di studio mostra che il patrimonio immateriale può essere utilizzato come fonte alternativa per costruire la narrativa delle donne nella regione.

Parole chiave: Donne; Narrativa; Ritualità; Arti E Mestieri; Tradizioni Culinarie; Sati Cult.



Patrimônio Cultural Intangível e Narrativas Femininas: Um Estudo de Caso da Região de Jammu, Índia.

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Resumo

Este artigo apresenta um estudo de caso da região de Jammu (Jammu e Caxemira), Índia, uma área amplamente desconhecida de narrativas femininas. O artigo mapeou práticas de patrimônio imaterial, de domínio exclusivo das mulheres, para mostrar que uma narrativa sobre as mulheres na região de Jammu pode ser construída a partir da compreensão de seu papel na transmissão e recriação do patrimônio imaterial.

Compreender seu papel em performances rituais, fazer artes e ofícios, suas habilidades culinárias e usar recursos locais também nos permite construir sua narrativa a partir de sua perspectiva.

Quanto à metodologia, o mapeamento das práticas foi realizado por meio do levantamento de fontes literárias e da utilização de técnicas de entrevista em que foram entrevistadas mulheres idosas e especialistas em patrimônio. Este estudo de caso mostra que o patrimônio imaterial pode ser utilizado como fonte alternativa para a construção da narrativa das mulheres da região.

Palavras-chave: Mulheres, Narrativa, Rituais, Artes E Ofícios, Tradições Culinárias, Adoração Sati.



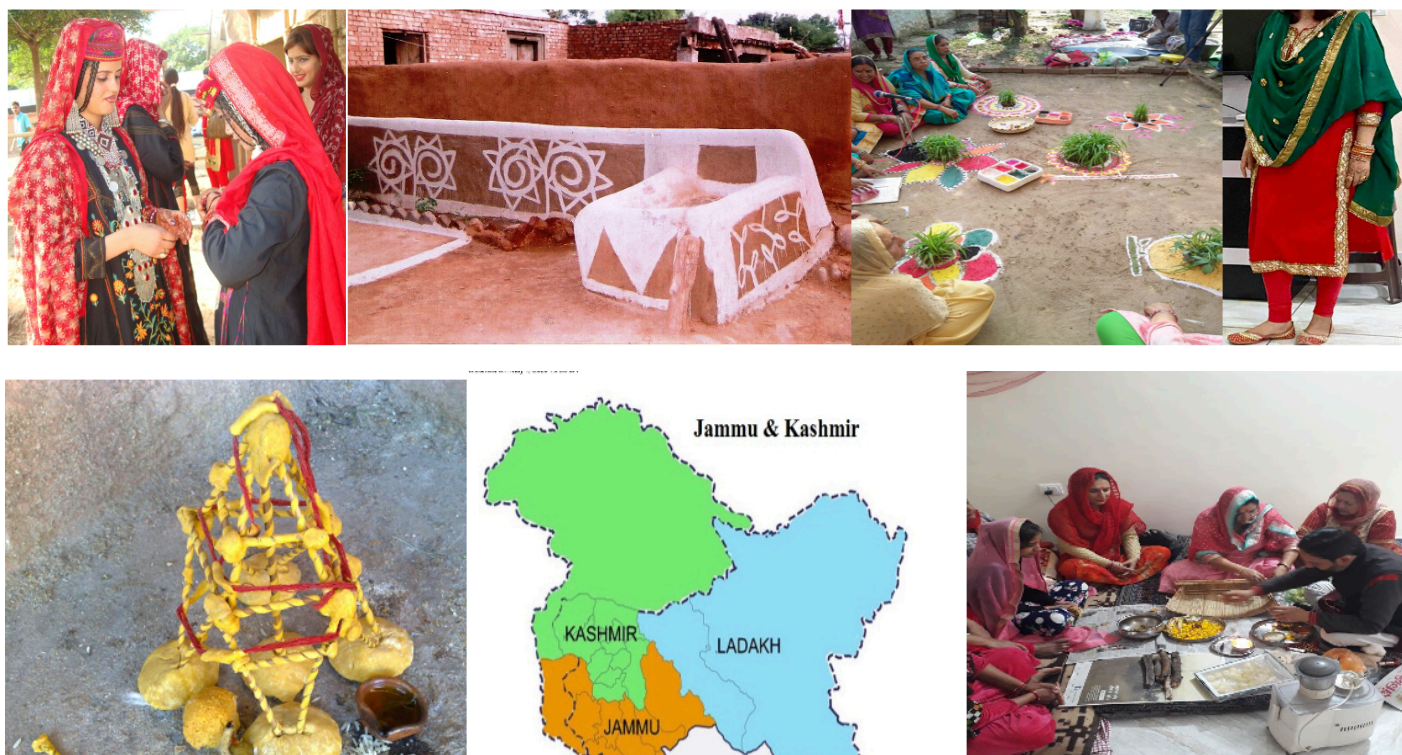
Intangible Cultural Heritage and Women Narratives: A Case Study of Jammu Region

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Introduction:

Women are the inventors of the most fundamental aspects of our life and culture-rituals and ceremonies, arts and crafts, culinary skills, collective memory in form of oral narratives, songs and legends, and the traditional healing systems-all that constitute traditional knowledge.

Even though a significant contributor in sustaining this planet, their part has been eclipsed and undermined. Constituting half of the population in any community, yet her role was ignored by the intellectuals, writing elitist history.



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History as a field of inquiry and recording events had emerged in early societies as a story of power struggles of a few men to capture it and of other men to dislodge those wielding it. But, with changes in the framework of history, other stories of the past also came to be written.

Her story remained largely undocumented till the emergence of the feminist movements in the 1970's. As a result of these movements, a new discipline of Gender studies emerged and now Her story is far more embedded in academic circles than it was half a century ago. It is now a part of the higher education curriculum and many centers focussing on her story have been established.

UNESCO has also played an important role in encouraging research and publications related to women in different regions of the world. Being the only organisation within the United Nations system with a mandate covering culture, it has been reinforcing women's role in cultural heritage especially the Intangible Cultural Heritage through various meetings and recommendations. (1) It has recognised that "women are custodians of intangible cultural heritage which encompasses, among other forms, the performing arts including music, culinary and medicinal knowledge and the know-how for the creation of material culture".(2)

Notwithstanding such efforts in bringing out the narrative on women, there are still many areas, where her story is not forthcoming. The problem becomes more dismal when such regions do not have enough sources to build up the narrative. In such a case, we need to look for those sources which ordinarily do not qualify as conventional sources. These may be summed up in the form of heritage, especially the intangible heritage. Therefore ICH may be used as an alternative source.

We know that Intangible Cultural Heritage provides an identity as well as consistency to each community member becoming 'a source of cultural diversity and human creativity'. Women also play a vital part in its transmission. They perform the principal role in raising children, through which the intergenerational transmission and renewal of many forms of intangible heritage occur. In maintaining and passing on intangible culture to future generations, women also recreate and transform culture. As such, this role of women in maintaining and transmitting intangible heritage, particularly within local cultural contexts can be used to build her story.

The relationship between women and ICH is an important research domain with the respect to safeguarding ICH and sustainable development. Mention may be made of Rashila Ramchuran work on '*The Role of Hindu Women in Preserving Intangible Cultural Heritage in Mauritius*' which is the case study of Diaspora women preserving their Intangible heritage.(3)

The transition in gender roles within Intangible heritage is yet another area where scholars have engaged themselves. Helga Janse's work on 'Changes in Gender Roles within Intangible Cultural Heritage', in connection the Yama Hoko Yatai festivals in Japan in an important study in this regard. (4) As the custodian of ICH, women's role in achieving sustainable development has also been a major area of research.

Royce Lyssah Malabonga's case study is an important work in this connection where the author has tried to explore the linkage of intangible cultural heritage, sustainable development, and eco-feminism through the country experiences of the *Tagoloanen weavers* of the Philippines and the *Jeju Haenyeo* of the Republic of Korea and to identify the significant roles and contributions that women play in the safeguarding and sustainable development of ICH. (5)

In the Indian context, *Madhu Khanna* who headed Narivada, a pioneer project(IGNCA) that revisions and contextualise women's cultural resources and knowledge systems in South Asia an integral element in Gender Studies opines that there is a great need to connect the vast resources on women's indigenous culture with contemporary discourse in gender studies. (6)

Here in the present study, the attempt is being made in this direction to use ICH as an alternative source to construct her narrative.

Moreover, building narratives by using alternative sources has emerged as one of the tools in history writing. It is being done in many regions of India in the case of marginalised sections such as peasants, Dalits, and tribes where vernacular literature, fables, folklore, myths, and legends drawn from the rich cultural and linguistic diversity are being brought together to reconstruct an alternative craft of history writing.

Popular Literature and Pre- Modern Societies in South Asia is an important work in this field. Since 1980s, gender sensitive historians have used sources that had previously been ignored as the conventional sources came refracted through the biases(patriarchal) of their times. They made extensive use of poems and songs created by women themselves found in *Therigatha* and *Sangam* literature. (7) The Narivada-Gender Culture and Civilization network of IGNCA (Indira Gandhi Centre for Arts, Delhi), has also evolved models of research on gender pertinent to the Indian ethos. (8).

Within this framework, the case study of the Jammu region, India, is being discussed which is yet to build up its women narratives.

Background:

Jammu region forms a part of the Jammu province in the Union territory of Jammu and Kashmir, India. As a geographical entity it has been identified as a tract lying between *River Jhelum and River Ravi*, that is, between the Plains of Punjab and the ascending hills of the Pir Panjal Range of the Inner Himalayan region (Atrey,2008, p.5). The region is further divided into four major sub-divisions namely:

The Eastern Plains which includes Jammu proper and the erstwhile principalities of *Jasrota, Balaur, Basholi, Babbur, and the lower parts of Reasi and Udhampur*. These plains are popularly called, the Duggar illaqa(area) due to the dominant Dogra culture prevailing here. The Western Plains comprises the erstwhile *Bhimbar, Khari-Kharyali, and Mirpur* which now forms part of Pakistan. This area was once known as Chibhal after the Chib clan of Rajputs. The Eastern Hills comprise Kishtwar, Bhandarwah, and Dacchin areas where as The Western Hills include *Rajouri, Poonch, and Kotli* areas (Census Report,1911, p.201).

In ancient times, the Jammu region was known by the name *Darvabhisara or Darva-Abhisara*. (9). It also remained a part of the *Madradesh, 'Land of the Madra Tribe'*, in Vedic times. (10).

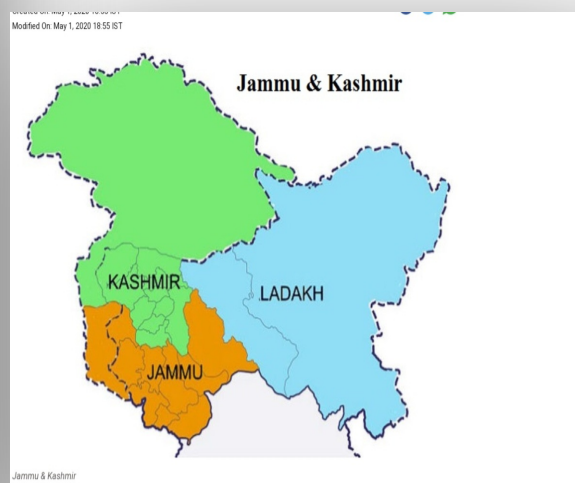
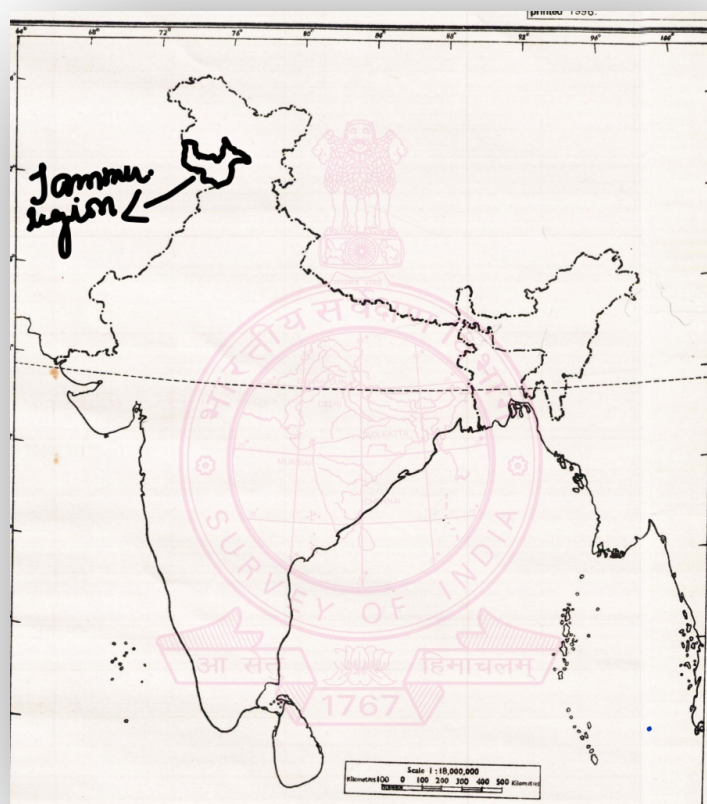


Figure 1:
A shows Jammu region within Map of India.
B shows Jammu within the

Through the historical period, the Jammu region has witnessed migrations from the neighbouring regions turning it into a home to numerous tribes and communities, both aboriginal and exotic. These tribes and communities such as *Dogras, Paharis Gujjars, Bakarwals, Gaddis and Sippis, Punjabis, Mirpuris, Sikhs, Jain, and Muslims* have been observing their traditions resulting in a rich heritage of Intangible culture in the region.

Within the domain of intangible heritage in the region, there are many areas where women have maintained a substantial degree of autonomy, from which men have been excluded, or to which they have had only limited (or recent) access. This is especially true in the area of rituals and the arts, especially handicrafts, paintings, songs, and dances, and also in organizing, shaping, and controlling the social life of the families and the communities.

This relationship between women and ICH as an area of research has remained an uncharted domain in the region. That the region since its accession to India in October 1947 has been witnessing border conflicts and terrorism has resulted in these issues being the dominant narrative. Women narratives, a few of which have come up, also are in this context. Not many works related to women's role in history and her status has been the focus of attention. Women find mention in few historical narratives such as *Gulabnama and Rajadarshini* in the context of customs like sati and female infanticide.⁽¹¹⁾

Though few folklore collectors have documented some information regarding women in their works however there is a lack of interpretative analysis in them. ⁽¹²⁾ *Duggar Diya Itihasik Naariya* (Historical women of Duggar Land)) published in 2005 by *Siva Nirmohi* may be mentioned as the only narrative on women. It is a kind of documentation of important women-princesses, warriors, social workers of Jammu. The major drawback is that information is very limited. The author mentions only names but no interpretative research.

Aim of the Study:

That a narrative about women in the Jammu region, which has been overlooked, can be weaved by understanding her involvement in rituals, making of arts and crafts, and as the custodian of traditional knowledge and folk narratives. In this regard the present study aims at:

- Mapping the ICH practices which are exclusively women's domain to put forth that women in the Jammu region play a major role in the recreation and transmission of intangible and tangible cultural heritage.

- Foreground the importance of *Sati Karaks* (oral narratives songs) as an important source in this regard.

Methodology:

Regarding methodology, a survey was conducted as a part of the mapping of the intangible cultural practices among major communities in the *Jammu region* by using a questionnaire (Appendix-I). In the first stage of the survey, enlisting of the intangible practices was done as per the information contained in the literary sources available, mostly in *Dogri* (local language).

The second stage involved the interviewing of the elderly women of the families, members of the heritage associations, and local heritage experts. The performance of the ceremonies was also documented by attending them. This process is continuing.

In the third stage, the information thus collected along with textual was studied and interactive sessions were held with local heritage experts. The discussions were largely focussed on the issue that the narrative on women can be built by understanding her through her role in recreation and transmission of intangible and tangible cultural heritage, in the absence of traditional sources.

At the same time, it was also agreed that *Karaks*, (folk narratives songs) connected with *Sati deities*, an important aspect of the living heritage of the region can also be taken into consideration. The present paper is a result of this study.

A) Mapping the ICH Practices:

On the basis of the study, following ICH practices have been mapped where women in *Jammu region* maintain their own exclusivity.

a) Rituals:

Groups and communities frequently devise ceremonies or performances that enact deeply held beliefs or values. These ceremonies and performances are termed rituals. The complexity of the rituals and their dramatic qualities make them dense with meaning. They are significant expressions of a group's traditions, *beliefs*, *values*, and identity. Rituals signify change in the state or the status, and frequently signal or celebrate important stages of life (Martha & Stephens, 2005, p.94).



(Credits: Kirpal Singh)

Figure 2:

Aarti, made by women during marriage in the family

Rituals are connected with birth, puberty, marriage, and death, thus signifying our entry to or exit from different stages of life or group experience.

Here in the *Jammu region*, the whole cycle of rituals includes those related to birth, marriage, and death. Most of these rituals are performed by women as a group or as an individual. In the context of birth rituals, right from reete (baby shower) to Sutra or tand (first baby bath), it is an exclusive domain of women folk.

During the eighth month of pregnancy, women on the girl's side take cooked delicacies (traditional), new clothes, and other items to the girl's house where women of both sides participate in rituals and celebrate the happy news. Similarly, Sutra is the first baby bath where again women on both sides participate in the rituals.

Similarly in course of marriage ceremonies, the performance of rituals beginning from *khule Shagun* (initiation of the festivities) to *Rakaade* (blessings of the family deity), is all ladies' affair. Along with all the necessities, required therein are usually home-made (dresses, accessories) primarily, done by women themselves. *Khule Shagun* is the formal announcement of the beginning of marriage functions.

Herein the ladies of the family and clan come together and start making preparations for the marriage day. They prepare the mud stove which is used by the professional cooks to prepare dishes for the marriage.



(credits: Kirpal Singh)

Figure 3:
Khule Shagun

Rakaade is a ritual where the newly married couple seeks blessings from the family deity(folk deity). It involves the ceremony of going in circles around the family deity shrine. *Rakaade* signifies the formal entry of the daughter-in-law into the family and from thence she becomes the custodian of the family traditions. The daughter-in-law cannot perform family rituals until she goes through this ceremony.

Among the family rituals, another area of woman exclusivity is the observance of *vrats (fasts)*. Of these, *Pugga vrata*, *Bachh Dua*, *Drubari*, and *Hoyi*, are kept for the welfare of children. *Pugga vrat*, also known as *Sankat Chauth* is observed on the fourth day of *Krishan paksha* (waning of the moon) in the Hindi month of *Magha* (15 January-15 February). It is observed by mothers who remain without food and water throughout the day. After the rise of the moon, they offer their obeisance to it and then to Lord Ganesh.

The obeisance is done by offering a mixture of sesame and jaggery which women prepare during the day. It is divided into a share for Lord Ganesh and the family deities (both male and female deities). Then they partake the same mixture with a glass of water. The offering made to the family deities is then consumed by the other family members, girls consume offering made to the female deity and boys take the share of the male deity. The share of Lord Ganesh is offered in the temple.

Bacch Dua is observed on the eleventh day of *krishan paksh* (waning of the moon) in the *Hindi month* of *Shravan*(15 August-15 September). Observed by married women, it involves worshipping a Cow and its Calf. Performed in the group near some water source(river, pond, or a well), they also listen to the *Katha* (story) related to it by some elderly woman.

Post ritual women eat food cooked without cow's milk and wheat. Probably through this fast, women try to make their younger lot (young females in the family) understand the importance of Cow and wheat also. On this day food is usually prepared from things that are not part of daily consumption. With life becoming more urbanized it is now usually done with making replicas of the cow and its calf.

Drubadi is another fast which falls on the eighth day of *Shukla Paksh*(waxing phase of the moon) in the month of *Shravan*(15 August-15 September). Again the ritual is performed near the water source by married women in a group.



(credits: Anjali Sharma)

Figure 4:
Bacha Dua rituals

The traditional bread called *Rutt* (a mixture of wheat and *jaggery*) is prepared and offered to the family deity and later on distributed among family members and friends.

Hoyi Ashtami is observed on the eighth day of *krishan paksh*(waning of Moon) in the *Hindi* month of *Kartik*(15 October-15 November). On this day mothers observe fast from dawn to dusk and take food the stars emerge in the sky.

They offer *aarg* (the offering of water and sugar) to the first star they see. In this fast, women worship *Hoyi Mata*(goddess) and *seek her blessings* for their children. It is pertinent to mention here that women keep these fasts mainly for the welfare of their sons as is usual in the patriarchal system.

Those who bore only girls do not observe these fasts. However, in course of survey it was found that women especially in the urban areas have started observing these vrats for their kids irrespective of gender.

This change has been there due to women themselves as males usually have no say in these rituals. This transformation not only reflects the changing perceptions in the society, where women without sons are getting access to the performance of rituals but also that distinction between kids as boy or girl is getting blurred.

Women vouch for marital bliss and longevity of their husbands in *Karva chauth and Tulsi Puja*. *Karva chauth* falling on the fourth day of *krishan paksh* in the month of *Kartik*(October-November) includes a lot of festivities. The preparation for the fast starts many days in advance. Women buy new clothes, jewellery, and puja (ritual) items, such as the *Karva* lamps, *matthi* (ritual sweets), *henna* (to be applied on hands), and decorative *Puja thali* (decorative plate used for the ritual purpose).

This *Vrat* involves three rituals *namely Sargi, Arag, and Biya*. *Sargi* includes eatables and dresses gifted to the fasting woman by her mother-in-law whereas *Biya* is the gifts sent by the fasting lady to her mother-in-law or any other elderly person in the family. *Arag*(water and sweets) is the offering to the Moon which signifies ceremonial end of the fast. (13)

Tulsi Puja or Tulsi Vivah is performed by married women for the prosperity of the family. On this day women perform the ceremonial marriage of the *Tulsi (holy basil)* plant to the *Hindu god Shaligram* (Lord *Vishnu* in the form of a black stone or to his avatar, *Sri Krishna*). The *Tulsi* wedding signifies the end of the monsoon and the beginning of the wedding season in the Hindu calendar. It is performed anytime between *Probodhini Ekadashi* (eleventh day of waxing of the moon to Full moon in the Hindu month of *Kartik*(October-November). This marriage resembles the traditional Hindu marriage which is performed by women either at home or in the temples. The fast is kept from morning till the ceremony takes place in the evening.

Rade, is another festival which is celebrated by young girls in the month of sawan, where they paint flowers and geometrical designs on the floor around the rims of necks of broken earthen pots. (14) Here again, family welfare is vouched for.



(credits: Kamal Sharma)

Figure 5:
Rade Ritual

During the performance of these rituals, narratives called *vratakathas*, are recited. These *vratakathas* have their own local variants which differ from region to region. The same is true of the *Jammu region* as well.

These *kathas* need to be deconstructed to cull out the local element from *Brahmanical* one to have a wider picture of the women as they are the inventors of *kathas*.

Though nowadays these *kathas* are available in the form of booklets, a few years back, the elderly woman of the house or the locality would narrate these *kathas* during the rituals, bringing her innovations into the story.

Nag Panchmi is another important festival where snakes as lords of the underworld are venerated. Among Dogras it is celebrated on the fifth day of *sukla paksh* in the month of *Shravan* (July-August). Here women perform rituals along with male counterparts but within the precincts of the house whereas the male members perform it outside the house around the Anthill. It is forbidden for females to make an offering to a serpent deity. So her role is limited to performing *puja* (rituals) by drawing pictures of the serpent and other animals of the same family in the kitchen and cook ritual food. The reason may be that anthill usually lies outside the village, where women would not go in old times. It may be pertinent to mention here that in Indian houses the fireplace used for cooking is considered holy so this ritual is performed in the kitchen.

It may be important to mention here that the rituals discussed above are largely those observed by Hindu women throughout the region. Some of these are being now observed by those professing *Jain* and *Sikh* religions as well. Muslim women on the other hand follow Islamic way so far as religious acts are concerned.

b) Arts and Crafts

1) Decorative Art On Walls And Floor:

During the performance of the rituals, the local women also exhibit their artistic skills in the form of the images which they create on the floor and walls, known as *parola art*. They do it with locally available material, such as *Cow-dung*, *Parola* (mud culled out from pond), flour, turmeric, and *geri* (local mud, red in colour).

When cow dung is used, the process is known as *lipna* whereas floor decoration with designs is known as *Parola art*. The motifs are generally flowers and geometrical designs. Women acquire these skills through interaction among themselves where they are instructed on some baseline skills to decorate the walls and floors of their homes.

It is an art where their grandmothers, mothers, older sisters, aunts, or friends act as tutors and involve in the creation and recreation of heritage.



Figure 6:
Parola Art

2) Craftsmanship:

Among the handicrafts of the region, *dogri* suit (work of *gotta-patti* and *kinari*), *Gujjri kurtis*, *Basohli shawl*, *Pahari rumal* (handkerchief), *sozni work* (thread work done by *Gujjari* women) are women's domain. *Dogri* suit and *Gujjari kurtis* (shirt) are the traditional dresses which are worn by *Dogra* and *Gujjar* women.

These traditional dresses are worn by brides to be even now during the time of marriage rituals. Whereas *Dogri* suit is done in silver and gold work, the *Gujjari kurti* has extensive thread work on it. It is all done by women themselves.

Sozni work is done on quilts, bedcovers, and mats. *Pahari rumal* is embroidered handkerchief worn on the head or around the neck during ritual ceremonies (Jerath, 1999, p. 64-66). (15).



Figure 9: Dogri Suit

Figura 9: Traje Dogri



Figura 7: Bordado de Sozni

((Créditos: Javid Rahi))



Figura 8: Gujjari Kurtis (Camisa)

((Créditos: Javid Rahi))

c) Culinary Heritage:

Traditional Recipes, Pickles, Food Connected with Rituals.

In the area of culinary heritage, local women have created recipes, Pickles, and food connected with rituals that are now part of *Dogra heritage*. *Babroo*, *Khamere*, *Kyuur*, *Khatte Kulth*, *Allo ambal*, *Khatta Meat* forms the main course recipes whereas *Churma*, *Pugga*, *Kyuur*, *Dahi-Aloo*, *Ma-Kichdi*, *Gulra*, and *Saasrut* are consumed during the ritual performance. Therefore we treat them in separate section under recipes. The ingredients which go in making of these recipes are all locally available.

Babroo is deep-fried bread prepared by mixing flour and jaggery whereas *Khamere* is again deep-fried bread prepared by using fermented flour. *Kyuur* is made of white flour batter which is done in geometrical designs during deep fry. (16) *Khatte kulth*, *Aloo ambal* and *Khatta meat* are recipes prepared by adding Mango powder or Tamarind to them. *Kulth* is a local lentil whereas *Aloo* is potatoes and meat is (usually goat).

Churma, prepared by roasting wheat and sugar in ghee (oil from cow milk) is consumed during fasts. (17) *Pugga* is made of grounded sesame seeds and jaggery and consumed by women on the day of *Pugga* fast. (18).

Dahi aloo is potatoes cooked in curd and can be had in any fast. *Ma-Kichidi* is cooked on the day of *Makar Sankranti* (usually January 14-15) when the winter solstice ends. *Ma-Kichidi* is prepared from the new harvest of rice and black grams. It is considered an auspicious day throughout India as well. *Gulra* and *Saasrut* are the items the bride takes along with her to her in-laws' house. (19).

Women of the region have also mastered local forest products into famous pickles of *Lasooda*, *Kasrod*, *Hari Mirch*, *Tyou*, *Tarad* and *Kadam*. Though now in urban areas these items are being commercially produced. This has resulted in the loss of means of livelihood for some women.

d) Performing Arts

- **Folk Dances:** Among folk dances, *Jagarana* is a dance drama, actually a mock drama. It takes place when the *barat* (marriage procession) leaves for the bride's place. The ladies assemble in a room, and dancing to the tunes of *dholki* (a small household drum), they act out the roles of various male members of the family and bringing taunts on them. (20).

No male member is allowed access to this performance. *kikli* and *gidda* are dance forms through which women express their happy moods. In *Kikli* two ladies clasp their hands and move in circles whereas *gidda* form imported into the region from neighbouring area of *Punjab*, women stand in the circle formation and clap rhythms. (21)

A lead woman recites *boli* (lyrics) that the entire circle then repeats. The whole form of a *gidda* song is worked through in this call and response form. In all these dance forms the lyrics reflect the stories of local women's lives, including sexuality.

- **Folk Songs:** Within folk songs, a major cluster is that of songs sung during marriage festivities by women. They include *Sittniya*, *Boliya*, *Godhiya*, *Suhaag*, and *Bidaayi* songs which reflect women's thoughts as a group. *Suhaag* is sung in the bride's house and *Godhiya* at the bridegroom place wherein ladies of the family shower good wishes to the girl or boy getting married. *Sittniyas* are jokes played on the relatives attending the marriage. *Bidaayi* song is sung when the bride is being sent off with bridegroom to her new house. These songs are filled with emotions and portray the feelings of the bride who has to leave her parental house forever.
- **Lullabies** are another form of folk songs available in all the local dialects of the Jammu region and are usually expressive of the affection, hopes, and fears of mothers for their infants.
- **Love Songs** are also popular in the region, especially among the *Gaddi* tribe. They depict the state of lovers especially lady love and her feelings of happiness, longing, and reunion for her beloved. The most famous being the folk love songs of *Kunju-Chanchlo*, *Sunni-Bhukhu*, *Chann Plasar*, *Raja Hosn*, and *Mira-Julahi*. (22).
- **Religious Songs** like *Bajan*, *Bhate*, and *Aarti*, are sung by women in the weekly or monthly religious get together known as *satsangs*. They are general forms of religious singing in India but have been articulated by women within the local context according to their ethos and value system. These songs reflect women's perception of life around them.

e) Folk Wisdom:

- **Grandmother's wisdom**, popularly known as *dadi / nani ke Nuskhe* are repositories of folk knowledge in form of Healing techniques and folk wisdom. To quote some, in the area of healing techniques, intake of turmeric after surgery or injury and drinking a mixture of warm water/lemon drops/ honey and a pinch of cinnamon for harsh cough. That one should avoid curd at night and so on.

- **Old wives' tales** or traditional beliefs are usually considered superstitious and seem to have been created to discourage unwanted behaviour, in children and youngsters. 'Cutting nails at night brings bad luck', 'what you give on Friday you will never get back', 'If you lick your plate there will rain on your wedding day', 'Have sweet curd before going for examination or on a journey' are some of the examples. Some of them also relate to women's traditional concerns, such as pregnancy, puberty, social relations, health, and nutrition. Some examples are, 'Pregnant women should not go near *Anthill*', 'feeding mother should not take food which is difficult to digest', 'Predicting sex of the yet to be born baby'.

Observations:

The study of the mapped ICH elements above gives us an insight into the life of the local women. Within the domain of rituals, her enactments reflect the extent of the role that she plays in the religious and spiritual sphere of the regional community.

It would not be out of place to mention here that women's ritual practices provide a window on local forms of syncretism as well. Some of the rituals are performed by the women cutting across clan, caste, and community boundaries. *Karva Chauth* is one such ritual. *Moreover*, her role in the conduct of the rituals delineates her position vis-a-vis her husband.

A further look into this aspect can help us to understand gender relations within the domestic sphere. The scholars opine that in the sphere of food and rituals, women are keeping alive modes of worship, fasts, festivals, and rules governing concerns of purity and pollution. Her role in the domain of decorative skills and folk performances represents yet another area of women's collective memory. It is wonderful to see how they spontaneously recollect, improvise, and recreate without being tutored by anyone.

However, at the same time it cannot be denied that under the pressures of urban life, many of the families and clans are unable to carry on with the intricacies of the rituals. They are being threatened by the winds of globalisation and technological advancements as well.



Figure 10:
Dehri

(credits: self)



Figure 11:
Mohara of Sati Deity

(credits: self)

The present study also found that many exotic things have been added to these rituals because of commercialisation. Those arts and crafts which are largely the domain of women are being commercialised. This has also led to the artifacts losing their originalidad. However, it may be said that local women continue to document their folk cultural history and the sacred worldview through the transmission of intangible heritage amid commercialisation, globalisation, and cross cultural interactions.

B) Sati Karaks:

Sati karaks form an important aspect of the oral narratives of the región.(23) Worshipped in form of *Moharas*(Hero stones) placed in miniature shrines (*dehri*s) at the sites where they attained martyrdom, their *karaks* gives us an important insight into the status of the women in the *Jammu region*. We come to know that women in the region have resorted to sati in the hour of distress irrespective of the class/caste to which they belonged. (24)(Appendix-II). *Bua bhukhi* was *Brahmin*, *Bua sheelawati* belonged to *Majahan Jati* whereas *Bua Banga* was *Rajput* and *Bua Pagadi* was from *Harijan* community. (25)

The *karaks* also help us to understand the rituals connected with birth and marriage rituals. The birth rituals (first bath) varied according to the caste of the sati being on the 12th day for *Brahmin* whereas in *Majahans* it five days as in the case of *bua satywati*. Likewise details of marriage rituals can also be studied from the *Karaks*. *Karaks* of *bua Bhukhi* and *bua Tripta* are pertinent examples. The *Karaks* also inform us that tell us that girls were usually married before puberty, at the age of seven, as evident from the *karaks* of *Bua Tripta* and *Bua Bukhi*.

The overall picture of the status of women in the region as evident through *karaks* is not very encouraging. They appear to be a suppressed lot, who suffered at the hands of the regional society in different ways.

We find many instances where she killed herself or was killed due to the atrocities of the In-laws and consequently out of fear, the family started worshipping the daughter-in-law to escape her wrath. The *karaks* also tells us the stories of enlightened women who not only fought for their rights but, for social justice as well.

The *Karak of Bua Banga and Dabboj wali dati* are pertinent in this regard. A further detailed investigation into this cult of sati deities can help us to know about the women in the region and the role of the *Sati karaks* in this becomes all the more important as they can act as an alternative source to understand women in the regional society.

Concluding Remarks:

All these activities-rituals, handicrafts, paintings, dance, and music- and her stories of atrocities and bravery in form of *Sati Karaks* form a cultural document of the *Jammu region*.

It emerges from the vast collective consciousness of the women which inadvertently gets scripted in their activity. The way women interact with each other and with the audience around them, during these performances, gives us an insight into the beliefs of this group, their relations with male counterparts. As this heritage is a source of identity for them, there is a great need to study and connect the vast resources on women's indigenous culture to bring in their narrative. This study becomes more important as in the area of women and heritage, there is a lack of systematic research in the *Jammu region*.

Therefore Women and heritage in *Jammu region* should be seen within this framework of the narrative building as well. This area needs to be addressed in the form of inter-disciplinary dialogue. As show in this study, the field-work being an anthropological study, literary evidence was sourced out from works in the area of history, folklore, Sociology, cultural heritage, and Gender studies. It may further require the need to be open to new paradigms, models, tools, and theories that might emerge in the course of working with local data and social conditions. This might involve adding to and/or modifying already existing theoretical approaches related to women and Intangible cultural heritage.



Dr. Mrinalini Atrey

With a doctorate in History, her research work is largely in the area of Intangible cultural heritage of *Jammu region* with the focus on Local *Deity Cult*, Folk Rituals, folk Narrative Songs, and women's role in the transmission and recreation of intangible cultural heritage. She works as a Lecturer in History at The Law School, University of *Jammu*. Currently, she working on the narratives, legends and anecdotes connected with the built heritage of *Jammu region* with focus on temples, *baolis (stepwells)* and *sarais(inns)* on the traditional/pilgrimage routes. Along with many publications related to the areas of work mentioned, she has to her credit a monograph titled *Deity, Cult, Rituals and Oral Traditions in Jammu*. This work has been an attempt to highlight the importance of the study of Local deity cult and oral traditions associated with it to understand the socio-cultural processes in the *Jammu region*.

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Appendix-I

Inventory Format:

Inventory Format for Documenting Intangible Cultural Heritage

- 1) **Name of the Element:**
- 2) **Category:** Oral Tradition and expression/ Social practices, Ritual and festive events/ Traditional Craft/Performing Arts/Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the Universe/ any other
- 3) **Name of Community/Communities practicing it:**
- 4) **Performed by:** Males only/ Females only/ Both
- 5) **Brief Description in each category as per following**
 - a) **Oral Tradition and expression: Information required:**
 - 1) Genre
 - 2) Time of performance
 - 3) Reason for Performance
 - b) **Rituals and festive events**
 - 1) Place of practice: District/Tehsil /Village
 - 2) Participation: Individual/ Group
 - 3) Purpose of the Ritual: (Birth, Marriage, family ritual)
 - 4) Time of Performance:
 - 5) Description of Art Form (Vidhi):
 - 6) Narrative Attached (vratkatha)
 - 7) Accessories used/ Paraphernalia Used
 - c) **Traditional Arts and Craft**
 - 1) Type of Craft
 - 2) Participation: Individual/ Group
 - 3) Medium used:
 - 4) Motifs used:



d) Performing Arts:

- 1) Genre:
- 2) Time of Performance:
- 3) Reason for performance:
- 4) Narrative Attached

6) Traditional Knowledge and practices :

- 1) Healing techniques:
- 2) Knowledge about Local medicine /herbs used
- 3) Folk wisdom:

7) Culinary Art Forms:Types of cuisines

- 1) Traditional (product used)
- 2) Pickles(product used)
- 3) Ritual recipes (product used)

8) Photographs

- 8) Consent
- 9) Video
- 10) Submitted by



Appendix- II, Sati Deities

S. No	Name of the Deity	Main Centre	Form of Deity	Status	Reason	Caste Association	Geographical area of influence	Any other Remarks
1	Bua Banga	Thada kalyal (Billawar)	Mohara (Dehri)	Sati deity / Kuladeity	Sati against feudal lord	Kula deity of royal family of Bhadu and Sumbria Rajputs	Bhillawar	
2	Dhabbojwali Dati	Dhabboj Village (Sambha)	Mohara (Dehri)	Sati deity / Kula deity	Against cruelty of feudal lord	Kula deity of many Rajput families in Sambha	Samba	
3	Bua Kodi	Along with her father Babaa Jitto	Mohara (Dehri)	Sati deity / Kula/ folk deity	Sati on the death of her father Baba jitto		Folk deity of the region	
4	Seti Thakyal Rani	Bhimber near smadhi of Raja Dharmchand Chib	Mohara	Sati/ Kula/ folk deity	Sati on the death of her husband	Kula deity of Chib and Thakyal Class		
5	Sati Nagru	Dehri near Old Mahal in Bhadu Village	Mohara	Sati/ Kula deity	Sati on the death of her husband	Gaur Brahmins are the priests. Kula deity of Bhadwal Rajputs		
6	Sati Ridhake	Dehri at Guraha Salathia (Jammu)	Mohara	Sati/ Kula deity	Sati on the death of her husband	Kula deity of salathia Rajputs	Gurha Slathia village	
7	Datti Chiragu	Dehri at Dharmyal Village	Mohara	Sati/ Kula deity	Sati on the death of her son	Worshipped in many villages of Hiranagar	Hiranagar	
8	Bua Amro	Dehri on Jammu Gajansu road	Mohara	Sati/ Kula deity	Dowry death	Yadav Godgal Brahmin of Karlup village (her ancestral village) consider her Kula deity		
9	Bua Bhukhi	Dehri Madik village Kathua	Mohara	Sati deity	Atrocities of in-laws			

10	Bua Lohari	Salal Village	Mohara	Sati/ Kula deity	When her husband was killed	Kula deity of Bhagyal class		
11	Bua Makhana		Mohara (Dehri)	Sati deity		Atrocities of her mother-in-law.		
12	Bua Pagadi	Bukori village (R.S. Pura)	Mohara (Dehri)	Sati/	12	Bua Pagadi	Bukori village (R.S. Pura)	Mohara (Dehri)
13	Bua laddo	Parwaha village (near Nagbani)	Mohara (Dehri)	Sati/	13	Bua laddo	Parwaha village (near Nagbani)	Mohara (Dehri)
14	Bua bachanu	Kathua	Mohara (Dehri)	Sati/	14	Bua bachanu	Kathua	Mohara (Dehri)
15	Bua Tript	Ambariya n	mohara	Sati/	16	Bua Tript	Ambariya n	mohara
16	Bua Satyawati	Chan (kathua)		Sati/kula deity	On being stopped by her mother for being too religious	Jandyal Mahajans		
17	Bua Sheela	Govindsa r(Kathua)	Mohara	Sati/Kula deity	Died of thirst as vaid had instructed family to do so			
18	Bua Sobha	Govindsa r(Kathua)	Mohara	Sati/Kula deity (7year old)	Committe d suicide when badly scolded by her mother	Malvaraj Brh. (padha brahman as)		

19	Sati Gyano	Saneri(Gura Slathia)	Mohara	Sati/Kula deity	Suicide on being badly insulted by her sister in law	Barkadias and Asgotra (kula deity)		
20	Sati Gyano	Saneri(Gura Slathia)	Mohara	Sati/Kula deity	Suicide on being badly insulted by her sister in law	Barkadias and Asgotra (kula deity)		
21	Bua Brala	Poni Barkh		Mohara	Sati/Kula deity	Killed by a male of Latwal rajputs by suffocating her with leaves of Drank (Poisonous tree)		
22	Bua Ratnao		Mohara	Sati /Kula deity	On the death of her son who was killed by Manhas Rajputs	A section Manhas Rajputs (Kula deity))		
23	Dati Bargot	Bargot (Chenani)	Mohara	Sati /Kula deity	On the death of her son	Samaria tribe (kula deity)		
24	Sati Mahapurshrani		Mohara	Sati/Kula deity	Sacrificed by her Father in law (Feudal lord)for the construction of a water source		Folk deity of Chenani area	
25	Bua Dev		Mohara	Sati/Kula deity	She was Brahman widow&Committed sati when she had no source of Livelihood	Tankhyal Brahman(Kula deity)		
26	Bua Bagalu		Mohara	Sati/ Kula deity	Brunt by her brother to save her from Sikh soldiers	Sadotra Brahmins (kula deity)		
27	Bua dodi							
28	Bua dodi	Ratnal(bisnaha)						

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7. Therigatha text is a part of the Khuddaka Nikaya of the Buddhist textual corpus and is the earliest known text to have been authored by women. It consists of poems where women poets reflect their experiences-religious, social and personal.
8. Its main aims are: (i) To create a space for discourse on women's culture that is either airbrushed from history, marginalized or distorted by the misperception of history; (ii) to revise and contextualize women's cultural resources and knowledge systems as an integral element of gender studies; (iii) to shift the emphasis of gender research from reductionism to a more holistic frame; (iv) to emphasize and reassess the key role women have played in

the creation, preservation and transmission of our cultural heritage; (v) to question the current epistemologies in gender studies in order to create space for a new hermeneutics based on the perennial values of Indian culture; (vi) to alter the frame to bring about a paradigm shift; (vii) to provide a new theoretical orientation for the study of gender and culture to redress the imbalance between modernity and tradition so that a dialogue on gender, culture and modernity is pursued on an equal footing; (viii) to initiate methodological reflections by introducing new ways of exploring women's experience; (ix) to explore under-theorized areas of women's oral heritage and to celebrate diversity of views; (x) to frame our discourse and activism in community solidarities and sister networks; (xi) to promote wide networks among women scholars, creative thinkers and activists throughout India and the world; and (xii) to promote collaborations with institutions and visibility for Narivada-oriented research.

<http://ignca.gov.in/divisionss/kalakosa/narivada-gender-culture-civilization-network/>

9. Darvabhisara refers to two ancient tribes, the Darva and the Abhisara, which are said to have dwelt in eponymous regions in Pre-Mauryan times. Darva was the region lying between the Chenab and Ravi Rivers and can be identified with the present-day Jammu and Billawar areas known as Duggar Ilaqa (Land Of the Dogras). Abhisara was the area between the Chenab and Jehlum Rivers. Its ruler, Abhisara (Abisares in Greek sources) is said to have entered into a diplomatic alliance with Alexander the Great and thereby saved the region from destruction. The area is presently called Chibhal and includes the areas of Rajouri, Poonch, and Bhimber. Since Darva and Abhisara were adjacent to one another, the whole region between the Jehlum and Ravi Rivers came to be called Darvabhisara.
10. Madra was an important tribe in Vedic times, which had carved out a state in Punjab and the adjoining region, as well as extending onto the plains areas of Jammu. At one time in the historical period, Jammu was a part of the Madradesh.
11. Gulabnama by Diwan Kripa Ram, and Rajdarshini by Ganesh Das Waderah are the Court Chronicles penned in the 19th century and trace the histories of the Local Dogra rulers.
12. Mention may be made of following works: Hindu shrines of the Western Himalayas, Shrines of Shakti in the Western Himalayas, and Folk Art of Duggar by Ashoka Jerath. Duggar ke Lok Devta(Dogri) and Duggar ki Lok Gathye(Dogri) by Shiv Nirmohi also contains information on the women of the region.
13. On this occasion, women observe vrat(fast) from dawn to dusk. They eat sargi (the pre-dawn meal which keeps women energised the whole day). It includes fenja and katlame (prepared from wheat and oil). After spending the day in meeting friends and exchanging gifts, in the

evening, women get together in a circle and perform the ritual. Herein the story of Karva Chauth is narrated, with regular pauses by the storyteller who is usually an older woman or a priest, if one is present. Then the Karva Chauth puja (prayer) song is sung collectively by women passing their thalis (decorated Plate with eatables) around in the circle. After the moonrise, women pay offer Arag (offering of water and sweets) to the Moon and pray for the well being of their husbands. And then they take food. Once the wife breaks her fast then she offers biya (gifts) to her mother in law and seeks her blessings. Though there are not many restrictions related to food for the occasion, the general understanding is that it has to be vegetarian and without garlic and onions.

14. Here the term Rade refers to the rims of broken earthen pots which on this day represent the number of males in the house. The central Rada, called Dhama Rada is the biggest and supposed to represent the head of the family. The girls draw colourful floral and geometric designs around these rades. Triangles, squares, and five, six, and eight pointed stars are drawn with bright colours. The girls eat their food collectively placing their thali over the rade and later sing songs related to the ceremony (Jerath, 1999, p.49).
15. Making of the Pahari rumal is a feminine craft tradition, very much prevalent in Jammu and in its neighbouring regions. An example of Pahari needle work it is worn by men and women as headgear. The daily wears have simple needle work whereas those worn on special occasion such as marriages have extensive work on them. In older times the Pahari paintings were replicated on rumals but now we find birds and flowers in geometrical designs as common motifs.
16. The bridegroom and his friends are welcomed at the bride's place with Khyyur feast. The bride's sisters and her friends offer it to him with sugar and curd. The tradition is to do it before the marriage ceremony takes place.
17. It is used as an offering and as food in vrats (fast) which are observed weekly especially those kept on Mondays and Thursdays.
18. Pugga has now become a famous sweetmeat which consumed during winters. The Pugga which women consume during fast is a simple mixture of sesame seeds and jiggery, unlike the metamorphosed sweetmeat.
19. Gulra is prepared of grounded rice mixed with fennel seeds and dry fruits. Saasrut is a big snack round in shape made of white flour. Though the smaller size of the same is sent in number of 101, 201, and 501 to be distributed among the relatives and friends of the new family, one exclusive, big size is especially sent for mother-in-law.

20. In older times, the ladies did not accompany the marriage procession. The bridegroom used to go to the bride's house only with his male relatives and friends, the reason being long distances and danger involved in the journey. So the women relatives after sending off the barat, would spend the night waiting for the arrival of the bride and the groom by entertaining themselves with Jagrana.
21. Gidda being an imported form, the style of enactment is similar but the lyrics or songs used in performance are from the local Dogri dialect. In the present times cultural exchange has resulted in Dogri form becoming mixture of the both.
22. Kunju-Chanchlo is the love story of a Soldier (kunju) killed in battle-field and his beloved (chanchlo). Sunni-Bhukhu were the lovers who belonged to Gaddi tribe and died on receiving wrong news about each other's death. Chann Plasar is the story of two lovers from different castes. The boy (Chann) was from Brahmin (priestly caste) and his beloved was from the Harijan community (untouchables). When there was opposition from the society, the boy became a Harijan for his love. Raja Hosn is a story of a prince who had won his bride in the swayamvara and when the bride's brother refused to acknowledge the marriage, he had to fight a hard battle with the bride's family. Mira-Julahi is again a tragic love story of a lady and her warrior.
23. The term Sati refers to an act of self-immolation by a woman on the death of her husband. Locally the term Silabanti is used for sati and it has a wider connotation in the context of the Jammu region. Here it includes not only those women who committed sati on the death of their husbands or sons but also those who got killed or immolated themselves for various reasons such as atrocities of in-laws, victims of dowry, wrong medication, or raising their voice against the rulers. Once the victim died, the guilty person, family, or community started revering the dead person, to escape his wrath and anger.
All these sati are worshipped as family deities. Karaks on the other hand, are sacred narratives sung in the honour of the folk deities in the region. They are performed only at the shrine of deity and on particular occasions by the designated person. The word karak has been derived from Sanskrit word karika which means shalok or special sacred song or something sacred said in few words. The object of karak formation is to bestow deity status on the designated person, especially in the case of a person who has achieved martyrdom or adopted the path of renunciation and, also to honour the deity. So we find karaks being created by the communities to extol their family /sati deities.
24. At Pan India, Sati is an ancient custom which the scriptures sanction only for the women of the warrior class.

25. Bua Sheela or Sheelawati of Govindsar is said to have died due to wrong medication and superstitious behaviour of her family. She was born at Khkhali village and was married in Govindsar village. Once she became seriously ill and a local doctor (vaid) was called. After giving medicine, he advised the family not to give her anything to eat or to drink till he pays next visit. Bua became thirsty and asked for water again and again. But she was denied the same because of the advice of the vaid and she died thirsty.

Bua Banga is a story of a widow's struggle against the atrocities of feudal lord of Thada Galwal village. The Feudal lord of Thada galwal was under the suzerainty of Bhadu state. He wanted to build a new palace for himself. Therefore he started raising money by collecting more taxes. He forcibly collected taxes from his subjects by inflicting atrocities. Bua Banga raised her voice against this and also asked other villagers not to give excessive taxes.

Bua Pagadi is said to have committed suicide, when she came to know that her fiancé had immolated him. As the story goes her fiancé was patient of tuberculosis. One day he was scolded by his sister in law for being a burden on the family. He was not able to tolerate it and committed suicide. When Bua Pagadi came to know about the incident, she also became sati. Her dehri is at Bukori village in Ranbir singh pura tehsil of Jammu district. She is the Kula deity of the Local Harijan community.

