

## Beyond Visual Culture: A Study of Material Culture of a Transhumant Gaddi Tribe of North India

Keya Pandey

Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Lucknow, Lucknow, INDIA.

### Article History

Received: 18 Sept 2015

Revised: 20 Sept 2015

Accepted: 24 Sept 2015

### \*Correspondence to:

Keya Pandey  
Assistant Professor,  
Department of  
Anthropology,  
University of Lucknow,  
Lucknow, INDIA  
keyapandey9@gmail.com

### ABSTRACT

Man is in eternal quest of his best. He struggles with his present to get into a secure future. He holds fast to his traditions and endeavours to justify their continuance in the changing scenario due to advent of modern developments which are alluring and therefore, offer challenge to his romantic attachment to the past and ancient holdings of his culture. The changes that have come to stay in the social political, economic and cultural life of a man have their own bearing on the traditional ways of living. In order to have the arrangements for his food, clothing and shelter man has ever exerted himself to espouse vest means for achieving them. In the changing patterns of their cultural life Gaddi people could also not help from undergoing substantial transformation in their traditional pattern of living due to their contact with the outer world beyond their own society. Government policies are responsible for bringing about a material change in their living. Missionaries are also responsible for spreading education and modernization. A long journey from Gaddis tradition to modernity in present times can be summarized as under.

**KEYWORDS:** Clothing and adornment, Health care, Housing pattern, Personal hygiene.

### INTRODUCTION

Human civilization is the story of progress from the life of a nomad to the life of a habitant. In gaddis' population there are found the vestiges of nomadic life, but they are disappearing with the advent of modern life. Nomads do not have their permanent habitation. Specific race in gaddis' is known as shepherds who would go out from one particular place to some place prolific of pastures or green grass along with their cattle (goats & sheep) in the month of March & come back to the native place in the month of August. The whole family may not adopt the pattern of nomadic life, whereas a few members only may prefer to live like nomads.

Material culture is an interdisciplinary area that shows the relationship between people and their things, the creation, past, preservation, and interpretation of objects. It gives the theory and practice from such disciplines as art, anthropology, history, archaeology, folklore, and museum studies, among others. Anything from settlements and architectural rudiments to books, jewelry, or toothbrushes can be considered material culture.

Knopf (1976)<sup>1</sup> has discussed in a chapter that the resources required to support human life have to be obtained by application of wisdom and skills. Yidyarthi et al. (1976)<sup>2</sup> present the various researches carried out in the Himalayan region, thus it presents a good review of the various efforts put in by different agencies to review the Himalayan Anthropology. Sharma (1992)<sup>3</sup>

details the history of the Gaddi tribe in his unpublished fieldwork thesis. He has discussed their status as the Scheduled Tribe and has made observations about the impact of hanging world scenario on Gaddi tradition. Sharma, et al. (1998)<sup>4,5</sup> give a detailed account of the evolution of tribal studies; Himalayan anthropology, tribal ecology, present day ecological concerns and the social costs, which have to be borne by the forest dwellers. It also underscores the tribal predicament on the background of Thane forests-as a case study. Sharma (1999)<sup>6</sup> has made an attempt to trace the origin, history, and development of folk dances of Chamba. The author has also discussed the setback to the folk culture all over the country due to modern ways of life and the contemporary ways of these traditional styles being presented by new public and private vocational institutions.

Manna, Samita (2003)<sup>7</sup> has studied three tribes' viz., Lodhas, Munda, and Santhals from the border Bengal. She aims at highlighting that traditional wisdom and knowledge often restore the cultural heritage thus establishing the identity of the group. The impact of alternative and modern means on traditional medicine has also been emphasized upon.

Negi (2003)<sup>8</sup> deals with the traditional beliefs and customs being practiced in the central Himalayas. The study attempts to bring out the inherent environmental principles behind these practices.

Eisenstadt (2005)<sup>9</sup> has tried to study the effects of modernity's cultural and political program on the construction of collective identities. The author ponders on the approaches to realize social reconstruction and stresses the impact of transformation in the notion of modernities through social reform and social change for the expansion of society and civilization. Ferrarotti (2005)<sup>10</sup> traces the process of encounter between Greco-Roman, Christian, and Islamic cultures, which have represented reciprocal interpenetration and interfertilisation in forms of ideas, values and have given birth to a rich cultural communication between the West & the East. Kramvig (2005)<sup>11</sup> argues that there is a need for an opening up of concepts such as ethnicity and identity to encompass differences and antagonisms, both analytically and politically. He presents the concept of ethnicity in mixed communities in the Arctic region as dynamic. Ghurye (1961)<sup>12</sup> argues that though caste is not occupational in origin, yet the dimensions of an analysis change when the context is that of Indian castes and Occupation. The author has made efforts to delineate the caste equations in an ancient Indian society with occupational valuation.

Singh, Nandita (1997)<sup>13</sup> has based the study on fieldwork conducted in a Munda village in Khunti sub-division, Ranchi. The work is a description of an instance of exploitation within the tribe and throws light on the disillusionment that all land alienation is the handiwork of outsiders. It also exhumes the interpersonal conflicts resulting from it, finally suggesting alternatives for eradication of the problem. Joshi, Gopa (1993)<sup>14</sup> has set the focus of her study around the eight districts of Uttarakhand region of the Himalayas. She aims at studying the position of Bhotia women in this region the economy of which is conditioned by its geography, natural resources, climate. Kapoor (1993)<sup>15,16</sup> describes a picturesque account of the Gaddi customs, customary laws, the importance of the geophysical features of the area in framing the prevalent customs & practices. He concludes with a modern outlook providing helpful suggestions for securing the identity of the tribe. Sharma, et al. (1997)<sup>17</sup> emphasizes on the fact that dress habits have relevance to the religious beliefs and faith of people. In this work, the costumes of the tribes like, Gaddi, Gujjar, and Pangwal have been described. Verma (2002)<sup>18</sup> has given an account of the socio-cultural composition of Himachal Pradesh. Handa (2005)<sup>19</sup> is a sincere effort to project the physiographic, ethnographic details of Bharmaur along with the socio-political scenario.

Nomads face tough life in the absence of their well built houses at places where they choose to stay temporarily away from their houses. In order to protect themselves against rains, heat, cold & other weather hazards, they would collect slates of stone & build small cover known as 'Madi' that gives a look of tiny room. Nomads do exist

only as reminiscence of early period of civilization. Amongst the gaddis', nomads are conspicuous by their absence. Mostly people live in the village-permanently in their own built houses.

## METHODS

### The People: Gaddi

Since times immemorial, there have been migrations into the Himalayas and within it. Some of these were motivated by the spiritual quest while others were propelled in pursuit of profit. However, this place remained in oblivion until 12<sup>th</sup> century, when the shepherding people from mainland settled here. It is believed that the immigrant Brahmins and Kshatriyas from the plains brought caste-division with them and introduced new forms of social organization rooted in Hindu orthodoxy. These shepherds groups were called 'Gaddis'. These sheep and goat herders are one of the most important migratory tribes of the Himalayas.

These are a community predominantly distributed in the Northwestern and Northern most parts of the country. They are not nomads since they have homes and their own land which they or their family cultivates. Their practice 'transhumance'. This culturally rich community live in the Himalayan mountain ranges concentrated in Bharmaur Tehsil (Sub Division) of Chamba, parts of Kangra (Dharamshala, Palampur, Baijnath dominantly), Mandi district in Himachal Pradesh and in parts of Jammu & Kashmir, northern states in India. Himachal is the abode of snow and the cultural heritage of the Gaddi community.

### Origin

Nothing authentic can be said about their origin. Some consider the Gaddis as descendants of Aryans who either settled directly in Bharmaur or migrated from the adjoining plains to this area. Ilbetson (1916) states that the Gaddi inhabit the snowy hill ranges that divide Chamba and Kangra and trace their origin from Punjab, particularly during the days of the 'Muhammedan' invasions which made them take refuge in these ranges.<sup>44</sup> The name Gaddi is derived from the word 'Gadderan'-the local name for the hilly tracts of this part of Himachal Pradesh and from the term 'Gadariya' (A Hindi vernacular for Shepherd).

The generic term 'Gaddi' encompasses a congregation of different castes having variance in their socio-economic status. Although, all these castes are vaguely referred to as Gaddi living in the neighbouring areas of 'Gadderan', yet within the locality the term is particularly applied to Brahmin and Rajput castes. According to a popular belief, they originally lived in the plains of the united Punjab, and Sindh provinces and during the reign of Aurangzeb to save themselves from persecution and proselytization, migrated to Kashmir. They came to land locked region of Bharmaur (H.P.) and settled down there.

### **Physical Features & Language'**

The Gaddis of Himachal Pradesh are short to medium stature people, with an average height of 162 cms. They predominantly have a long head and a narrow to medium nose and face. Usually they have a very fair complexion and black to brown hair and eye colour. Various dialects of Himachali language are used for inter-group communication. They speak 'pahari' which belongs to the Indian-Aryan family of language, but are conversant with the Punjabi language as well both the 'devnagri' and 'gurmukhi' scripts are used. Their ancient language is 'tankani' which was verbal while the present language is 'gadiali'- a member of pahari language family and is a mixture of Sanskrit, Punjabi, Hindi, Urdu, and English.

### **Political set up**

This place which remained the capital of the state for about 400 years, is now administratively, merely the head-quarters of the sub-tehsils. Brahm-pura lost its glory in the 10th century, after the capital was shifted to Chamba. The Gaddis had the political system subservient to a monarch or King ('Raja'). All the people known as subjects ('Prajā') would carry out the orders by the king who had the supreme authority. King used to appoint royal representatives to ensure his proper rule over the society. The King as a ruler was responsible to maintain law and order in the society. People of the society owed their duty towards the King for making payments as taxes to the royal treasury. The King used to appoint *Lambardaar* (also known as *Lakhraind' I 'Chad'*) to make system functional and effective in the Gaderan region. They were those people who belonged to the local area. Higher caste people enjoyed the powerful positions given by the king. It was generally hereditary and they had the role of maintaining peace, security, and mutual harmony within the society.

After Independence Chamba state region merged into the Indian Union and thus the system of monarchy gave way to Democracy. According to the 72<sup>nd</sup> Constitutional Amendment 1992, a provision of 'Panchayati Raj' system was made, and that under the overall governance of State government, the administrative group established the political and social control. The head of each Panchayat was elected and was known as 'Pradhan'. Two Panchayats together constitute a Panchayat Samiti which has 15 members. This samiti is controlled by the Zila Parishad. Having been marked by the Constitution as the Scheduled area, certain special provisions are made for the area and they are implemented at the level of Panchayat which is accountable to the administrative set up of the State Government. There are some social rules which must be abided by the members of the Gaddi community in order to maintain the smooth functioning of the social relations. Most of the disputes are settled by the caste ('Biradari') panchayat, however, issues pertaining to legal issues are referred to the court.

### **Scheduled tribe status**

*Gaddi [excluding the territories specified in sub-section (1) of section 5 of the Punjab Reorganisation Act, 1966(31 of 1966), other than the Lahaul and Spiti district].* Practically the entire Scheduled Tribe population of Himachal Pradesh is confined to the areas which have been officially declared as the tribal areas (5<sup>1</sup> Schedule, constitution of India). Administratively it constitutes the entire Kinnaur and Lahaul-Spiti districts and the Bharmaur and Pangi areas of Chamba district. Each tribal pocket is separated from the other by high mountainous ranges which make the movement of the people confined to the defined region. As per the declaration under Scheduled Tribe Order (Amendment Act, 1976 a community declared as a tribe in its original habitat is now granted the status of a Scheduled Tribe throughout the territory of the State irrespective of the fact whether the members or that community reside in the tribal area or not.

Basic formalities of the nitty-gritty related to the entire project of the house construction especially for the gaddi houses are more or less similar to those observed as where in the plain areas. To collect the facts about the gaddis' habitation, we, the members of the study team, had to provide some time out of our itinerary for launching visits to as many villages as possible. In this venture, total number of 7 villages namely, Dhadkautta, Sachuine, Malkhautta, Sawanpura, Gotru, Pansai, Baadi were Covered.

The following narration will be based on the information I gathered from the different people or residents of these villages during my personal interaction with them. Hence, the narration may safely be taken to be true and veritable none tinged with any figment of my imagination. Gaddi houses also, like other houses need building plan, building material, finance, labour, construction process & space utilization according to the needs of the inhabitants. In stages, but in brief I am touching upon following aspects.

A research project of this magnitude cannot be completed with the use of just a single technique. The field area was not only situated far off from the investigator's native city but also the difference in the language, culture, and many of the social norms was evident. Hence, it became essential to focus the attention on establishing a sound rapport among the people, the study of the socio-economic and cultural set up of whom the investigator was interested in. Simple societies, which have kinship based social organisation, have to be dealt with utmost care. Among Gaddi's there is no supreme authority as a chief rather every Panchayat has its 'Pradhan' (head man/head woman) [*this system of Panchayats has been introduced by the Government of India*]. Earlier all-important decisions were made after the senior male members of the Village discussed the

issue. Therefore, the researcher first approached the district authority (ADM Chamba; SDM-Bharmaur) and the village Pradhan. The Pradhan introduced the investigator and her purpose of visit to his Panchayat members. The members were cordial enough and each invited the researcher to their respective villages (*most of which were also the study villages*). *Latei*, the next day she visited the village near the roadside (*also the largest of all*). The village men, women, and children all were curious about this new comer. The convivial attitude and the amicable nature of Gaddis helped the investigator to present herself and her purpose of visit with composure. After a brief conversation, the researcher directed the course of the dialogue towards the general aspects of the community (*their historical background, routine activities etc*). Likewise, Gaddis can speak Hindi with an accent like that of the people from Punjab. It is because of their close historical and even present connections with that part of the country, yet they used Gadiali quite often. Hence, during the study they were cooperative enough to speak to the investigator in Hindi and in English but only those like government servants etc. who were well versed in the latter.

The day the researcher began with her visit to the first village, she prepared an outline base map showing a few major features to provide a framework. On the map each allocation was plotted separately, that is, frequently an advantage location of hunting, agricultural land, etc. probably fall in to the category of sketch map, and as far as possible, these allocations are attempted to be correlated with the physiographic features. The map in this study has been used as graphic record of the topographic and demographic data of the people's environment. The maps /plans of the particular village or the dwelling area being visited were framed to make the study easier and outstanding. It is used to note the location of burial grounds, shrines, or sacred places, or open spaces reserved for certain activities / ceremonies. The researcher has tried to provide every possible indication of scale, orientation, legend, keeping in my mind the fact a map obscured by too much detail is worse than useless and that symbols more importantly should be clearly keyed.

The entire mapping was done on the first day of her visit to the village and other details, which happened to have been left, were incorporated later on. On her way to the villages the researcher was often passed by small Gaddi children (*while going to their schools*) they were in particular very enthusiastic about the entire exercise and provided quite very essential information about the area (*to her surprise at this tender age, their accuracy in pointing out a few features is commendable*). Often they would tell her about the possible shortcut routes to the village which otherwise seemed at quite a length and need not be mentioned that through the long route she took an hour or a half to reach there.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Old gaddi houses were generally built with wooden materials. The building materials generally used are - mud, chir & deodar wood, dressed or undressed stones - slates, bricks, cement & iron-bars (*saria*). In pristine times wooden houses were more in vogue. The building material is transported manually if it is available at the store close to the construction site, if the material is available at a faraway place; they use pony or 'khacchar' -for the transportation. Local gaddi people function as an alternative to the imported labour which is comparatively costlier.

But with the advancement in the transport and communication means, the building material like cement, maurang & iron bars are easily available at the hills. To provide the tinge of modernity they may use the cement to combine with the main wooden structure & the wooden nail of 1.25" that is drawn inside the wood amidst slates of mud is to support the structure against earthquake & is called locally as 'thatthar'. Mostly gaddi use the wood as permanent building material. The kind of wood used is either 'chir' or 'Dyar' (i.e. Deodar). Availability of the wood in the earlier times was quite easy & less costly, so people preferred wooden houses.

The use of wood has a wide base. Windows & doors are required to be made of 'chir' wood. Plywood is also used along with the wood. People stick to traditional patterns which are carried out on the wooden frame - a special & characteristic feature of Malkhutta village. As contrasted with the earlier times, the availability of the wood is not without any stumbling block. They do have to seek the permission from the forest officer to cut & carry woods from the forest, but wood still played the chief role in the construction of the houses, but if they are cemented and otherwise. However absolute preference to the wooden houses is dwindling day by day due to paucity of the trees, since one tree takes minimum five years to be allotted to a house owner by the forest officer. Hence now pucca houses are preferred despite their cost due to two reasons. In the first instance, there is the movement all along the hill side to save forest and wood cutting is not freely allowed, secondly preference to pucca houses has become a social status symbol also as an indicator of the affluence and wealth and can be now conveniently (usually) be constructed with the skilled masons - 'mistri' deployed from the nearby panchayat blocks.

The gaddis' do pass through various vicissitudes. Sometimes they suffer from the paucity of money & if they have money the crisis of poor or non-availability of either wood or cement over takes them. To cap all, at times they have everything but the labour who constitute to be no less an important segment of the various resources for constructing the house. Even at times they face the problem to carry their material in the absence of proper trucks etc. The gaddi people believe in the mutual cooperation & thus exchange the services of labour with

each other instead of making payments in cash for the labour. School going children also extend help while they observe the construction of their house. This signifies the ideology that practice makes a man perfect. Thus, they learn as children & till the time they grow have perfect knowledge of the ways & means of house construction.

### Features

Generally houses are rectangular and not constructed without a building plan. There is a proper map system. First and foremost thing is that the people would prefer to build house in the plain area & the plot should be east facing & the main door of the house should face the east. In terms of superstitions or belief they call east facing houses as lucky ones. Secondly, to provide a space in the front for courtyard. House must have proper ventilation for light and air. But they would prefer ventilators in the toilets only & not in all the rooms. This opinion was expressed by one 22 year old person named Pawan, a resident of Sachuine village. Construction process includes the digging of the foundation, raising the structure of the walls on the sides of the room and then providing roof of the room. Full utilization of the space is done, except the space left for the courtyard in front of the house. Foundation will be dug as deep as the height of the house from the base ground. If the house is to be constructed at a lower hill top the depth of the foundation will be restricted to 2 Vi feet to 3 feet but if the higher hill top is chosen for the construction of the house, the foundation will be as deep as 10 feet to 12 feet, to provide firm base.

The instruments used in digging the foundation are 'jabbal', 'genti', belcha' & 'kudali'. The foundation is filled in with 'bajri' & then pressed too hard for raising its structure with the setting of bricks - the process is called 'chinai' up to the ground level. On the day foundation is done there was a custom of paying '25 naya paisa' to the 'mistri' in olden times, now it has exceeded upto Rs. 5 or 10.

The log of wood called 'salipar' is used in raising the walls along with the white mud for covering it. The gaddis' treat such wooden houses, (actually kachha in nature) as good as pucca houses. The floor ('farsh') is called 'dhart' or 'Bhooiyan' and is also made of wood covered with the admixture of white mud and now more often black cement and blue colour known as 'neel' in hindi to add in to the beauty.

The height of the room will be from the minimum of 8 ft or 9 ft. and maximum up to 10 ft. or 11 ft., from the floor level to avoid cold. Length and breadth of the room will be 15ft. x 15ft. The iron bars (saria) of the 8mm size are for rings in the structure of the room. There is a tradition for usage of 4 cornered pillars in the structure of the house. As regards the roofing of the house, standing roofs on both sides were seen made of wood and slates of stone called 'hail'. This is called the 'kainchi' - jor style

after the wooden supporting frame work made by rafters joint together. But in baadi village one house was seen having slanting roof & as such the measurement of the room became 5 ½ ft. x 4½ ft.

Under modern touches to construction processes the material for roofing includes the cement, sand & bajri in the ratio 1:2:4. The 'mistri' is awarded money & clothes on the day when process of roofing is completed. Earlier Rs. 5 & 25 paisa or Rs. 10 & 25 paisa was the amount but now Rs. 101 is the minimum while the maximum money will vary according to the status of the family. The roof being the top most part of the house covering it 'bahod' comes next as a part below 'chappar' (roof). It is the top story of the house. To mention - 3storied houses are now in fashion which are described in gaddi language as AK, Dwi, Tri i.e. 1,2,3. Another term for the long, big jam packed - hall type room in the middle storey below 'bahod' is 'madai' & some belief that it is a synonym for 'obari' while yet others say that in present times 'madai' refers to the first or the middle storey used as formal and regular room by human being during winters to avoid cold. However, major contradictory narrations were obtained on the issue of 'madai' and 'obari' & the real & genuine uses of these terms. Therefore as the gaddis' relate it, it is tried to be explained here.

Some people reported that it was used as an underground treasure house closed from all the sides with an opening for the secret way. Yet others opined about obari as a short but a little longer place provided in the houses of the olden times not for keeping the animals but for storing the agricultural produce or corn. Now this is not in use. Constructed in the ground floor is 'obra' used for the cattle - bier outside the house.

In the winter season they spread on the floor lot of dry grass along with the dry leaves of the 'pinus' which provide for the soft base on the floor. Cattle sheds are now constructed even outside the house due to paucity of the space underneath. The house contains only one main door in the lower story. To reach the upper stories there are steps made of earth & stone, the entire flight being inside the house. These are called 'kacchi paidi'. The door of the staircase is called 'jangla' or 'kataida'. They might even use transferable wooden ladders called 'manjh'. The space underneath a stair case is called 'odhu'.

### Special Features

One peculiar custom developed amongst the gaddi houses was to arrange one big room for the purpose of sleeping in the night for all the members of the family, young as well as old. This was only in the older times probably due to paucity of the space in the house & also from the point of view of the security. With the passage of time, and with the availability of more commodious house, old people are now being provided separate room in certain places in some villages.

**Side rooms \* Gandari'** : Were built in traditional gaddi house long back for the purpose of guest room. Now they are not found.

**Underground rooms:** These were observed only in the house of "MachalaRamji" in Baadi village. The staircase leading to the underground room is kept covered by the small flat wooden plank, which they call as 'chubot'.

**Shops or 'hatti':** Are usually built underneath the house in the village.

**Tolu:** A rectangular to squarish opening to the outside of the house on the wooden walls, it was like a window and was seen only at Ranjana's place in Baadi village.

**Wooden Carvings:** These form the special feature of houses of Malkhauatta village.

**Wooden Shoe Racks:** They were seen in the gaddi houses. They appeared to be fashioned out either with their own skill or by some local carpenter. The tinge of modernity was apparent.

**Bilangaud of Sachuine:** A lady named Savitri Devi revealed a strange fact that the wooden structure that stood erect with slanting stone - slate roofs on either side by the support of wooden pillars was constructed by the older people of yester years in the playground in front of the village school. It was called -'bilangaud' and men had the privilege to sit over it and those strict restrictions for the same in case of women.

## PERSONAL CARE AND HYGIENE

Personal care and hygiene are the aspects related to the personal habits of the people. It is as well true of the Gaddi people's life. My interaction with gaddi people on this aspect has presented a picture of the diurnal activities of the gaddi people from morning to the evening. Below is the description activity wise.

### Post-Toilet Cleaning

Gaddi people get up early in the morning, they have preferred to go to the jungle for purpose of the toilet. The toilets would be outside the house. These arrangements indicate the concern of the gaddi people for the general cleanliness. They use open space to wash their hands and brush their teeth. They use soap for washing the hands after toilet, but if they are in the jungle, they would use the soil or ash known as 'Rakhadi' in gaddi language.

### Bathing

Taking bath is a common daily activity and for this purpose they do not have a proper bathroom rather 'Chala' - the raised platform of square shape in one of the corners of kitchen is used to clean the utensils as well as to have bath. But for some people bathing is an irregular activity. Generally old people are indolent in taking bath. This fact was told by Pooja of Sachuine village. Gaddis are reported to be regular in taking bath in summers. They confessed to be irregular in taking bath in the winter. Between first and second bath an interval of 2 to 3 days would take place invariably in the cold weather.

In the olden times, they would use lifebuoy and sunlight soap. This fact was revealed by Ranjha Ramji of Sachuine village. After September, they take bath with tapid water. Suman 24-year-old girl of sachuine village told that in the olden times gaddi people used to wash their bodies with the white mud and their head with the urine of the cow in view of its purity and genuineness.

Gaddis do not use perfumes after a bath as a must, but they are fond of perfumes of any brand on special occasion such as marriage or any function. No local perfume is prepared out of any kind of herbal material by the natives as a characteristic feature of their community. It is the smell of the perfume that attracts them and not the brands. The gaddis in order to keep their skin smooth and sleek and free from cracks were fond of massaging their bodies after bath with the mustard oil or dalda. Ladies now-a-days use cold cream and Vaseline, but are unaware of the brand names. They also use vicco-turmeric cream and other perfumed cold-cream and talcum powder etc. to keep their faces glowing with freshness. They call the fragrance as 'musk' in gaddi language. They also use lipsticks known as 'surakhi' in native language.

### Washing of the Clothes

Washing of the clothes was not regular on daily basis; but they might wear the same dress for 2 to 3 days continuously or that they would change it each day but the washing of the clothes will follow after 3 or 4 days as per convenience.

**'DABOTAN'** : The traditional way of washing the cloth was observed in most of the houses in Dhadhkautta, where they used the wooden piece known as 'Dabotan' which they themselves made after cutting the wood through 'Darati'. Now-adays, they have started using nylon brushes for cleaning the clothes.

### 'BAN KI LAKADIKA BURADA'

It is known as 'Dhool' in gaddi language. People used to wash their clothings with the saw-dust of the wood known as 'Ban'. If the ladies suffer from the growth of lice in the hair, they would also use the saw-dust for washing their hair. In the house of Sushila of Dhadhkautta, branded soaps, surf and some P.S.M. like soap known as 'Narol' in native language were used for washing the clothes. Nirma soap, Nima and breeze were used for both bathing as well as hair wash.

### Washing of 'Garadu' The Blanket

They would wash the blankets with the black round fruit known as 'Ritha' in hindi and 'goon' or 'rethe' in gaddi language.

They would keep their house neat and clean. They would themselves scavage the entire house in the morning and dump the rubbish and miasma of the house in the absence of community dustbin, outside the house at a far-off place. In the absence of the proper drainage system the filthy water flows down through the outlets made in the houses and thus despite themselves they

could not ensure the dirt and filth -free surroundings. This is a matter of great concern. Now people use creams, brushes, blades and razors of new brands before and after shaving. In the early times the people used 'ustaraas' and each individual had a separate one for himself.

#### **Care of the Eye and Eye-Brow**

In the olden times the gaddi people would apply the soot in their eyes through a sleek pick. The soot is known as 'kajjaP in the native language it used to be prepared in an earthen pot through the flame of the earthen lamp and mixed with fresh butter which was considered to be cool and soft for eyes. Ladies would prefer to go to the beauty parlour now-a-days for threading of their eye-brow.

#### **HEALTH CARE FOR THE PREGNANT LADIES**

Krishna Devi (24years) of village sachuine and Meena (22 years) of Sawanpura village gave me the information about the up-keep of the pregnant ladies. In the olden times the pregnant ladies would observe precautions during the initial period of 3 months and for the remaining period they used to remain active and busy in performing the ordinary house-hold duties.

An old lady of the house who is an experienced one would act as 'Dayee' at the time of the delivery of the child. They would expect ladies would not do any function of cutting the vegetables, stitching the clothes and weaving the sweaters during the lunar or solar eclipse since as per belief the child after birth will bear such marks of cutting on the body. During the eclipse period the pregnant ladies were asked to lie supine on the bed. They are also prohibited to close the locks and tie the knots since they believe it could cause hardship at the time of delivering the child. The silken thread is used to tie the navel-string of the new born and then the navel-string i.e. called 'Naap' or 'Naidu' in gaddi language is cut off by the new blade. Gaddi people now take full advantage of the primary health centres and private clinics for purposes of checking up their physical ailments. Ladies during the pregnancy would often visit these centres and use the services of the nurses known as 'Dayees'. The difference between the olden time 'Dayees' and modern nurses is that the former is untrained but experienced and the latter is officially trained one. This period of the month is known as 'kapade aana' and in olden times some cotton cloth was used which was washed daily for re-use, while the new generation of young girls and ladies have become more conscious for comfort and hygiene and well-informed by the advertisements and other news materials from the medium of television they usually prefer sanitary napkins viz; whisper, carefree, stayfree etc. as per the money they have. They take these to be much better than the cloth napkins and these boost up their confidence even during those days, further the dumping or disposal of these is much easier than the use of cloth ones.

The gaddi people in the earlier times did not prefer to cut their nails regularly, one reason might be the absence of proper means to do so. Gradually as they might have gained consciousness towards cleanliness and so they started cutting off the nails with the help of 'jungadi i.e the 'kaat' to shear off the hair of the sheep at the first place, then they opted blades and 'ustaraas' i.e., razers; further improvement was by small scissors, but today they have the knowledge to trim nails regularly by nailcutters which they call 'naihcuttoo' after the native name 'naih' for nails. The choice either to grow or to trim the nails varies from individual to individual and his liking. Gaddi girls were usually seen having long nails and they also chose to stain them using branded 'naihpolish' i.e; nailpolishes or those of local make. Meena (22 years) a girl from Sawanpura informed that the girls are very much inclined to visit the beauty parlours to get their nails filed, shaped etc. and this they believe definitely adds up to their beauty. Any tribal colour, material or preparation was neither observed by us nor was informed by any of the natives used for the purpose to decorate nails.

Deformations can be explained as the deviations and alterations from the normal shape and size of the human body. However, as far as gaddi society is concerned no such traits of deformations or discolorations were observed. Reena from village Dhadkautta informed that at the age of 6 years, they use needle to pierce the nose and ears of the girls so as to put a ring through them ,later the nose and the ears were given a gentle massage twice a day with the hot 'kaduwa tel' i.e., mustard oil till the organ didn't stop aching. She also told me that some of the people might try to give their infants' skull some shape etc; but most of them believe that whatever an individual has is a gift from god and that he or she should be happy with it. Hence, basically in the absence of any sort of deformations the gaddis usually have chiselled and lovely features.

#### **EAR, NOSE, THROAT, AND DENTAL CARE**

Gaddi society recognizes the pain in the ear as 'kanne peed' and in such cases they prefer trained doctors, there was a man in the Pansai village who had a small instrument about 1" long ear and tooth-picks of steel make hanging in his janjeer; the former was called 'kankhurkuni' and the latter 'dantkhodani'. Usually, they use the bark of Apricot tree to brush their teeth, this is not only a herbal way to clean the teeth but also to impart red colour to the lips, however, when in earlier days they suffered from pain in teeth, the teeth were pulled out so as to put an end to the suffering. While interviewing Reena, I came to know that how can the chanting of certain mantras be helpful in easing the diseased. She is considered amongst the villagers as the one who could cure any kind of 'guilties' in the throat' i.e; (the swollen gland) of the child.

She performed the curing on all week days except Monday and Thursday, while on Friday she used 'ash' (raakh) on her hand exceptionally, during the rest of the days she used oil; and performed some movement of her hand along with the chanting of mantra twice or once over the head of the child, while she sits on one side of 'chauhahat' and the child on the other side. The mantra, however, was not narrated in detail by her, because she feared that it might deprive her of the 'hunar' i.e; skill she had. One line of the mantra is as follows "*Ghadi-Mandi galeedipei...*"

### HAIR STYLE AND HAIR CARE

The gaddi people were quite conscious for the maintenance of their personality particularly the physical appearance. The hairs of the head known as 'harad' in gaddi language do make a difference in the personality by their maintenance and non-maintenance. Ladies in gaddi society are quite meticulously careful about making up-their hairstyle, pruning their eye-brows (brauhaan') and adorning their eye-lashes ('palkaan'). On ceremonious occasions particularly at the time of boy's marriage, all the ladies of the village make up their hair style known as 'Mindee'. Let me explain the modality of the style. Ladies pick up small portion of the hair to make strands of the hair- one on either side of the forehead, six strands behind each ear and the last one on the top of the head, and then with the help of 'paranda' all these strands of the hair in one lot will be taken up to make one single plait of the hair behind the neck, pendant over the back of the lady. In gaddi society the girls in majority were observed keeping a lock of long braided hair interlaced with ribbon.

In the olden times, males in this society had the tradition of keeping their head shorn of the hair to give a look of the bald head. They used to cut their hair with scissors. However, in present times there are no particular styles they stick to, while maintaining the moustaches or whiskers and keeping the beards would depend upon the individual & there is no rigid customary practice. After marriage ladies do not cut their hair, since they treat it as ill omens. Usually ladies use hair clip or pins 'suiyaan' or 'pinne' along with rubber band and hair band to keep their hair in orderly plaits. They use preferably mustard oil ('sarson ka tel') in their hair; otherwise any brand of the hair oil can be used. To keep their hair free from the dandruff they are now resorting to variety of shampoos as per advertisement. '*Neela sauta*' is a poisonous herb which releases water, when it is ground as powder. This water is useful to kill the lice i.e. *Jikhar* of the human hair. Dandruff is called 'sikari' or 'kar' in gaddi language. The girls of new generation prefer beauty parlours for special care of their hair, and they use 'mehndi' in the hair to bring the 'khumari' or redness in the white hair 'pallou' if any. In the event of the boys getting bald-headed, they may wear the wigs to conceal

baldness. Hair -combing is necessary to keep the hair from being dishevelled. Varieties of combs made of plastic in different colours are available for use. In the traditional gaddi society the comb or kanghee' used to be made of the wood called 'kukuru', though it finds rare usage only in a very few households.

### UTENSILS USED IN A GADDI KITCHEN

**Bandey:** This term is used in gaddi language for the utensils. To cleanse the blackened utensils, they use the 'vimbar' soap and ash. Match boxes are used now a days to light the fire.

The gaddis traditionally used to eat the food in the utensils of Brass ('Kansa'), Bronze ('Tamba') and Nickle ('Koot'); but the modern gaddis refrain from using these utensils for the meals and keep them apart to contain the materials used in the performance of religious rituals including the daily worship of God.

- **Aadanewala:** It is used to measure the quantity of milk.
- **Poodnee:** It is used for frying 'poodees' in the oil or ghee.
- **Palta:** It is used for purveying the rice.
- **Taintha:** The term is known as '*kalchal*' in hindi. Its front part is small but flat in round or square shape attached with long but thin steel stick that serves the purpose of a handle.
- **Maand:** This is the churning stick known as '*mathani*' in Hindi. This is a little stick made of Deodar wood with lower end carved out in the lotus shape.
- **Karath**— This term denotes the rope made of the hide of an animal having long horns .This is wrapped *around maand with two ends to be gripped by both the hands of the churner for drawing it to and fro.*
- **Preudi** - This term denotes special wood of which required rings are made and fixed in the wall to sustain the '*maand*'.
- **Chulha:** This means hearth.
- **Pipa :** Term denotes the canister that contains the cereals required for the human food or the canister that is used for providing fodder to the cattle.
- **Kund:** This is made of stone and is akin to '*okhaPia* Hindi, '*mortar*' in English for pounding the spices and vegetables.
- **Paneroo:** It is in the shape of cylindrical drum made with the mixture of Bamboo wood and mud or cattle dung to store the surplus corn like maize, wheat etc., to be used in future .
- **Baati:** This is made of 'Brass', it is like a 'hod' or 'tasla' in hindi for purposes of either cutting the vegetables or kneading the flour or providing the fodder to the cow.



- **Kursinaama:** This is made of 'Chir'wood in the shape of a table with two frontal supporting legs and the back set against the wall with three deep carvings in the shape of bowl either to keep the utensils or to use it for sitting. This was quite a peculiar thing to see in the house of Cchanga Devi in Pansai village.
- **Karad:** This term is known as 'cchuri' in Hindi and 'knife' in English.
- **Gaagar:** This utensil is made of steel or brass. Circular but having narrow mouth to avoid infection. Its usage is for storing the drinkable water.
- **Changair:** This is broad round shaped utensil with shallow bottom for purposes of cleaning the rice with water specially at the time of marriage. Now- a- days it is being used for drying up the pieces of meat and vegetables daily.
- **Daraat:** It is a tool made of iron shaft attached with another tool in a semi - lunar shape for cutting either the wood or the sheep or the goat.
- **Cchaj:** This is the gaddi term for 'soop' in Hindi made of slender sticks taken out from a special shrub known as 'Naloo' for clearing the refuse from the corn by way of 'winnowing'. This is also known as 'sieve' in English.
- **Kunaada:** Traditionally this utensil was used for kneading the flour. This was made of 'Dayar' wood .When it developed some cracks it used to be made fit with hide of sheep or goat.
- **Danda- Kunda:** Traditionally it was made of both wood and stone.' Danda' is made of wood and 'Kunda' is made of stone. Its usage was for pounding or crushing the spices, onion etc. Now-a-days, both the items are being made of iron in different sizes and shapes.
- **Pacharoo:** This is a big fork used at the time of religious feast ('Dham') to take out the ripe rice from the ' Baltoi.
- **Lugadi:** This denotes the white water which is taken out after boiling the rice in water to make available 'Bhaaf.
- **Kadati:** This is a pan smaller than 'Kadathaa'.
- **Kadathha:** This is a big deep bowl with two handles to hold it and is used for cooking food. This is like cauldron.
- **Handoo:** This is traditional utensil of Gaddi people and is made of red clay.
- **Padetari:** This is short tool for cutting the vegetable. This is made of wood and iron. The front part made of iron is a little curved in semicircular shape attached with slightly long wooden rod which is kept under the press of the feet, while cutting the vegetables. This is known 'hasiya' in Hindi or 'sickle' in English.
- **Baltoi :** It is like a round pitcher but bigger in size with small round mouth .Its speciality was its use on the occasion of marriage or religious feast during the period of royal dynasty and even now it is being used for such purposes.
- **Dugtoo:** This utensil is made of mud. Its inner surface is coloured in 'ochre' or 'ruddle' and its outer surface in brown-black. It is used to prepare the curd.
- **TATAD or BUTAOO:** this is made of iron and is used often for boiling the water for bathing and sometimes for cooking the food.
- **Charotoo:** This is made of either Brass or steel or aluminium; similar to Tatad in shape ; used on the occasion of religious feast ('Dham') for boiling the water for bathing or cooking something.
- **Cchota -Lunda:** This is a small bowl, carried by the Shepherd for eating food on the field.
- **Lohe ka Parat:** This is made of iron; used for kneading the flour in the modern time.
- **Tokaru or Chabdi:** These gaddi terms denote the utensils made of wood for keeping 'Chapattis'.
- **Kaddukas:** This is common term spoken in gaddi as well as in Hindi. It is made of iron or steel in square shape standing on four legs.
- **Big -TUB:** They would use this for storing the water for multipurpose .This is made of Aluminium or Plastic.
- **Sangadi:** This term denotes 'Heater' in English and 'Angeethi' in Hindi.
- **Chakki:** This is a grinding stone made of rough stone known as 'Kharaas' in Gaddi language. It has two parts- one is the base rough stone in a circular form placed on the raised platform around which a circumference made of steel or aluminium covering is arranged. In the middle there is a small vertical iron rod known as 'Killoo' in Gaddi. The other part is the upper one in a circular form with a hollow cut as a circle in the middle having a handle known as 'Hattha' on one side of its periphery. There is an iron key known as 'Chabhi' beside the circular cut in the middle for making adjustments by screwing it tight or loose as per the requirements of the flour - rough or soft . Wheat or Corn is poured into the middle by the person from left hand and the handle is gripped by the right hand for moving the upper stone base .Thus the flour is output. After several rounds of movement of the upper

stone base the flour is collected into a steel case and is taken out from the outlet made in 'chakki' in the form of a small window known as 'Khidaki' in Gaddi language.

- **Dhaar-Chulha:** This was a peculiar iron made rectangular hearth seen in the house of Vimala of Sachuine village with lots of wear and tear not in use. It had two round windows on its floor with a Chimney above to emit smoke and on one side with an outlet for the ashes. It bore the look of a small factory. It was being used for cooking as heater in some other house.

### CLOTHING & ORNAMENTS

Important activities and occasions in Gaddi people's life have necessitated the typical dresses which are a significant index of their culture similarly products of silver and gold in the form of ornaments are the loved and coveted assets to be possessed by both men and women to meet two ends in their life. In the first instance, they serve as security convertible into cash or ready money to meet the emergently urgent needs in a rainy day. Secondly, the ornaments are to be put on the parts of human body as a mark of display to add both beauty to the personality and gravity to the social status of men and women in their social life. Gaddi women, particularly have more fancy for the ornaments.

#### Dress of Gaddi men

'CholaV 'choloo' is the traditional dress of Gaddi men. It is made out of the soft and thin wool. It is a dress with 4 meter 'gher'(frock) and falls up to the knee. It is usually white in colour formed out of 'pattu'. It is quite heavy. The traditional 'choodidar pajama' is known as 'SuthniC. They also wear 'Gaddi coat' formed out of 'pattu'/'pattoo'<sup>AI</sup> cloth, which is tailored according to the person's measurement. On the outer left side coat has a pocket over the waist and a pocket on the outer side close to the chest. While one pocket is on the waist on the right side and one close to the chest in the inner side. It is very warm and is traditional. The old people would not like to keep themselves bareheaded hence they put Nehru cap or Himachali cap. The dress of a Gaddi shepherd is no different. The shepherds wear 'chola', 'suthnu'; the coat made from 'pattoo' (mentioned elsewhere) cloth and cover their head in the Himachali cap. They carry blankets along with them in the pastures. 'Poola' are the shoes made out of the grass, which they bring from uphill forests(no specific name was provide).These are mostly used by the Gaddi shepherds while trekking on the snow-laden hills as they have a firm grip on snow and do not slip.

#### Ornaments for Gaddi men

'Chain: This is a chain either made in silver or gold. Men generally wear it around their neck. 'Nanti, 'Bundaki"; 'Gunthi', 'Kangana. Other than these 'Chatta' is an exclusive ornament which has a mirror with some beads hanging down Gaddi men put on their waist over

their traditional dress 'Chola' and 'Suthnu', when they go to join the dancing feat.

#### Dress of a Chela

The dress of the chela depends on the god/goddess of which he is the chela. Those of Bharmani Mata put on a casual dress as the other Gaddis. The chelas of Lord Shiva wear white chola, white 'topu' (cap), Suthnu, a rudraksha mala, and hold a 'sangal' (an iron chain - symbol of Lord Kartikeya) in hand. The chelas in the Keling temple wear a red coloured chola with a cap.

On the occasion of marriage the red coloured 'Luancha' and a colorful printed 'Luanchadi' are put on by the groom and the bride respectively, as per the belief that they symbolize Lord Shiva and Goddess Parvati, who are believed to have put on these at the time of their marriage.

#### Bridegroom's dress: 'Luancha'

It is a traditional exclusive men's wear, specially prepared for the occasion of marriage. Luancha needs to be prepared in a red coloured cloth (compulsorily). The cloth used is as long as 12 meter to prepare it and is said to have about '30 kali's' in it, and hence it has the 'gher'. The dress is open from the chest and sleeves are made with double cloth. The cloth on the outer side is always red, while that of lining may be of different colour. The front line of one side overlaps the other and a small strip of cloth on the former (overlapping) side over the waist with which this gown is tied. The dress is decorated with frills .The final dress up is done with a 5-meter long white cloth called 'patka' that is tied around the waist. The other accessories of a Gaddi groom's include a 'suthnu'; a 'sehra' / 'pug'.

#### Bride's Dress: 'Luanchadi'

More like a gown open from the front often referred to as 'nuanchadi'/'luanchadi' (meaning the dress worn by the newly wed daughter-in-law ('nooh ')was worn in the earlier times, even young unmarried girls, but now-a-days it has become an exclusive dress for the married ladies. It takes about 18 meter long cloth to prepare this dress. A standard 'luanchadi' should be as long as 45" or the length will depend on the height of the woman who has to wear it. The more colourful and printed the cloth is, the more beautiful is the dress that is just the main reason of selecting the cloth. It has those shrinks on the cloth over the waist where the lower circular 'gher' (frock) of the dress is sewn with the upper part of chest. It is unlike 'Luancha' when it comes to the sleeves because 'Luanchd'" has much-decorated full sleeves, whilst in 'luanchadi' there is no question to decorate them, as the dress is sleeveless. 'Dora'- A thread as long as 10- 12 meter prepared out of the wool of the black sheep is used to be put around the waist to close the opening of the gown.

#### Dress of Gaddi Women

In the early times women used to wear a 'choodidar pajama' under the 'luanchadi'. This 'choodidar pajama'

is called 'sutthan'. It completes the traditional attire of Gaddi women. In place of 'sutthan', now-a-days, women have started wearing salwar. Very rare do the Gaddi women put on the Sari, but whenever they do as during special occasions, they put on the very attractive 'choli' (bodice). Its special feature is the embroidery at the back and on the sleeves that is 'baaju'. Because of increased expenses, a Luanchadi may cost up to about Rs. 2500 or Rs. 3000, therefore while in the earlier times the women had two to three luanchadi at a time to be worn alternately throughout the week. Now-a-days, a single 'Luanchadi' is enough for them and hence they have switched on to kurta and salwar for a daily wear.

## CONCLUSION

The natives experience the changes that have occurred in their community since past 2 or 3 decades and these are: Earlier times enjoyed the lush green pastures giving look of a verdant environment to these hilly surroundings, thus having more area under jungles that in turn caused easier availability of wood for various purposes.

Ignorance about the developed modern brands of oil in their society made the use of the mustard oil and *desi ghee* common and that not only controlled their cholesterol causing lesser heart problems, but also imparted several healthy properties to the food. Use of fertilisers and pesticides was almost unknown in the past as 'gobbar' (cattle-dung) was more in use to make the land fertile.

The less polluted air and healthy environment with regular and controlled periodic climate changes enabled the crops to be more nutritious and qualitative.

As regards the shortcomings of the olden days, the people pointed out that they were not in touch of the modern means of transport, the absence of which made their journey from one place to the other quite cumbersome and tiresome as they had to cover quite good mileage on foot. No medical aid through hospitals and well equipped clinics was available in the past time; this increased the rate of deaths.

They were completely ignorant about the fast food items earlier to which they have now switched on more frequently. The present times are adjudged as follows:

**1. The positive points:** The *advent of electricity, t.v., telephone, radio and other means of communication like newspapers, magazines* etc., along with better transport facilities and hospitals equipped with x-rays and ultra - sound machines have helped in early diagnosis of many diseases (to mention -community health centre was established here in Bharmour only 5 or 6 years ago, earlier it was known as the primary health centre which was even before known as rural hospital established in 1976). These hitherto developments have now opened the doors for future growth in the field of education, proliferation of job opportunities in private as well as government enterprises and these have raised the

standard of living amongst the gaddi people remarkably. Further, *in Sachuine village the use of solar panels and the greenhouse are the indicators of revolutionary steps in the odyssey to the eldorado of development.*

**2. The negative points:** *Deforestation* that has occurred due to the cutting of forests for establishment of dwellings for various houseless people proves to be the major problem as it has resulted less availability of lesser rains and snowfalls, the increased pollution and all this in turn affects the productivity of their economic trees like apple etc., thus causing thereby financial crisis before the gaddi people, and they also feel that although means of transport have become available for covering some area, still they think that a few more years may be required for these transport means to reach their villages, as even today they carry their ailing person on their backs to the main road so that the sick may be admitted to the nearby hospital.

The persistence of transhumance with the modern means of livelihood is an example presented by the Gaddi perseverance as how a society can strike a harmony between its past and present. The government incentives persuading the shepherds to give up their cult have, however, created an imbalance in this synchronized set up. Their inclusion in the national mainstream as doctors, engineers; civil servants, political leaders etc is no doubt a welcome effort but it should not be encouraged on the relics of a fascinating tradition of transhumance.

The present study is an attempt to disseminate improved understanding of the pastoral society as explicitly as possible, complementing the planners to make the programmes more effective and the management of both natural and human resources as widespread as possible. A careful perusal of the wide literature available for the forest based livelihoods, the policy measures undertaken for forest management and on the basis of information collected by interacting with the Gaddis of Bharmaur certain suggestions are being provided hereby.

Thus, a good degree of transparency is required to develop an information system regarding the forests and their produce. This is required not only to manage but also to regulate and regenerate the resource. This attempt should not only confirm the environmental standards but also the social and economic set up of the area in question. Hence, capacity building and training are a pre-requisite for the implementation of any plan or policy. Other than mere participation, emphasis must be laid on efforts to overcome the mental barriers which act as speed breakers to the pace of development.

## REFERENCES

1. Knopf, Alfred. A 1976; Cultural Anthropology; New York; Alfred. A.Knopf.Inc.
2. Vidyarthi, L.P. et al. 1976; The Tribal Culture of India; New Delhi; Concept Publishing Company.

3. Sharma, Govind 1992; "Impact of modernization on Gaddi tribal of Bharmaur tehsil"; Unpublished M.Phil Thesis; Shimla; Department of Political Science; University of Himachal Pradesh.
4. Sharma,S.P. et al. 1998 .Culture of Indian Tribes, 1;New Delhi; Radha Publications.
5. Sharma,S.P. et al. 1998 ;Culture of Indian Tribes-Ethnicity &Ecology Vol.II; New Delhi; Radha Publications.
6. Sharma, K.P. 1999;Folk Dances of Chamba; New Delhi; Indus Publishing Company, pp. 19-158.
7. Manna,Samita 2003 ; "Role of Medicine Men in the Traditional Tribal Heritage", Man in India ,83(3&4);New Delhi; Sage Publications Pvt. Ltd.
8. Negi, Chandra Singh 2003 ; "Role of Traditional Knowledge & Beliefs in Conservation -Case Studies from Central Himalaya", Man in India,&3(3&4); New Delhi; Sage Publications Pvt. Ltd.
9. Eisenstadt, Shmuel 2005; "The Dialogue between Cultures or between Cultural Interpretations of Modernity- Multiple Modernities on the Contemporary Scene," Sociological Abstracts; USA; Cambridge Scientific Abstracts.
10. Ferrarotti, Franco 2005; "Shared Cultural Traditions: A way Out of the Crisis of the West", Sociological Abstracts (4); USA; Cambridge Scientific Abstracts.
11. Kramvig, Britt 2005; "The Silent Language of Ethnicity", Sociological Abstracts (4);USA;Cambridge Scientific Abstracts.
12. Ghurye, G.S. 1961; Caste, Class & Occupation; Bombay; Popular Book Depot.
13. Singh, Nandita 1997; "Emerging Problems of Ownership & Exploitation of Communal Land in Tribal Society," Man in India, 77(2 &3); Delhi; Sage Publications Pvt. Ltd.
14. Joshi, Gopa 1993; "Women in the Socio-Economic Milieu of the Central Himalayas",Central Himalayan Panorama,!; Calcutta; Institute of Social Research & Applied Anthropology.
15. Kapoor, A.K. 1993; "The Environment & Settlement Pattern of the Bhotias in the Central Himalayas", Central Himalayan Panorama, 1; Calcutta; Institute of Social Research & Applied Anthropology.
16. Kapoor, Suresh 1993; Scheduled Tribes of Himachal Pradesh: Marriage & Divorce Customs; New Delhi; Navrang Booksellers & Publishers.
17. Sharma CP. et al. 1997 Costumes & Ornaments of Chamba; New Delhi; Indus Publishing Company.
18. Verma,V. 2002; Where Mortals & Mountain Gods meet : Society & Culture in Himachal Pradesh; Shimla; Indian Institute of Advanced Study.
19. Handa, O.C. 2005; Gaddi land in Chamba-Its History, Art & Culture; New Delhi; Indus Publishing Company.

**Copyright:** © the author(s) and publisher IJMRP. This is an open access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution Non-commercial License, which permits unrestricted non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

**How to cite the article:** Keya Pandey. Beyond Visual Culture: A Study of Material Culture of a Transhumant Gaddi Tribe of North India. Int J Med Res Prof. 2015, 1(2); 32-43.