CHAPTER V

THE GADDI SCHEDULED TRIBE

Introduction:

The Chamba District of Himachal Pradesh is the homeland for two scheduled tribe communities namely the Gaddi and the Pangwal. These two scheduled tribes of Himachal Pradesh basically belong to the Bharmaur and Panči sub-divisions of this district. The Chamba district comprises of the earstwhile princely state of the same name which became a part of the Himachal Pradesh on April 15, 1948. Before merger, there were five administrative divisions, called Wizarats, namely, Chamba, Churah, Panči, Brahmaur and Bhattiyaṭ. However, the pre-historic records of the Chamba district reveal that it was not a unified single administrative unit.¹ There were several petty rulers mostly called 'Ranas,' occupying under their rule smaller parts of the present territory in more or less independent political and administrative entities. This period was known as the Thakurain period.² This period seems to have been of very ancient origin, but when it began, and how long it

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2. Ibid., p. 89.
lasted, are questions to which no satisfactory answer can be given.\textsuperscript{3} It is, however, certain that the upper Ravi Valley, which includes Bharmaur sub-division, was conquered from the Ranas, who previously ruled there, by the founder of the Chamba State, in the middle of the sixth century A.D.\textsuperscript{4} The \textit{Thakurain} period was followed by the rise of numerous Rajput principalities which held sway throughout the western hills up to comparatively recent times. They either expelled or reduced the Ranas to the position of tributaries or subjects. During the course of the history these Rajput principalities were subjugated by a powerful ruler who founded the state at Bharmaur in 550 A.D. The chronology of the Chamba State, as given in the Chamba District Gazetteer, provides that Sahil Verma ruled the state between A.D. 920 to 940.\textsuperscript{5} He conquered the lower Ravi valley and transferred to seat of the government from Bharmaur (formerly known as Brahma pura) to the new capital which he had founded at Chamba. Since then the existence of Chamba as a distinct princely state continued till the merger of the Indian States in the Union of the Republic of India. It was on

\begin{itemize}
\item[3.] Ibid., p. 89.
\item[4.] Ibid., p. 92.
\item[5.] Ibid., p. 94.
\end{itemize}
April 15th, 1948 that the erstwhile Chamba State got merged into Himachal Pradesh.6

After merger, the territory of the former princely state of Chamba became a full district of Himachal Pradesh. After reorganisation, the Chamba district now has a total area of 6528 Sq. Km.7 and the total population 3,11,1478 according to the latest census report. The entire district is mountainous with altitude ranging from 609.60 meters to 6400 meters above sea level. Therefore, climate varies from sub-tropical to semi-arctic. The high altitude regions of the district remain snow bound for a fair long period during the year.

Out of the four sub-divisions in which the district has been divided at present, the Bharmaur and Pangi sub-divisions constitute the tribal areas of the district. These two sub-divisions are the most backward areas of the Chamba district as well as in Himachal Pradesh.

Bharmaur and Pangi sub-divisions are inhabited by the Gaddi and Pangwal scheduled tribes of Himachal

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8. Ibid.
Pradesh respectively. In the following pages we shall discuss the customs and traditions of marriage etc. relating to Gaddis. The Pangwals are dealt in a separate chapter.

**Physiography of Bharmaur:**

Bharmaur, a small village, is the headquarter of the Bharmaur Tehsil of Chamba district. This had once the distinction of being the seat of the government of the old sovereign state of Brahmpura for over 350 years from 6th century to 10th century. Then the capital was shifted to the newly laid out town of Chamba by the then king Sohil Varma in 930 A.D.

The area to the South-east of the Tundah spur comprising that part of the valley of the Ravi from below Bara-Banghal with its tributaries as far down a Chirchind nullah near Chitrari is known as Bharmaur. It is also called 'Gadderan,' the abode of Gaddis. Dr. Newell has stretched the extent of Gadderan i.e. area inhabited by Gaddis. According to him it extended

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from Chamba to Kugti and from Dharamsula and the surrounding areas especially Nurpur to Tundah in the border of the Pangi range. He has identified this area with the cultural influence of the Gaddis beyond their homeland in the surrounding region.

The whole sub-division is mountainous. The attitude ranges from 400 ft. to about 19,300 ft. above sea level. It lies between the north latitude 30°11' and 32° 41' and between east longitude 76°22' and 76.53'. The area is situated between Dhauladhar and Zanskar ranges which run from south-east to north-west of Chamba district. The Bharmaur Tehsil is separated from Pangi Tehsil by a mid-himalayan range called Pirpanjal or Pangi range. The total area of Bharmaur Tehsil is 1818 Sq. Km. The climate varies from temperate to semi-arctic. During summer, the climate is moderate and pleasant. Snowfall commences from October but does not fall continuously till December after which the sub-division generally remains under snow till the end of March. This leads to the complete separation of the Tehsil from the rest of the country as the mean's of transformation and communication are disrupted throughout the winter season. As a consequence such

harsh and difficult climatic conditions of the area, people are forced to leave their homes. It has now been a custom among the Gaddis to leave the area alongwith their flock of sheep and goats in the early November to spend the winter in the lower ranges of the Himalayas.13

**Socio-Economic Setting of the People:**

According to Census reports Dharampur Tehsil of Chamba district has overall population of 29,944 persons and is most densely populated of the tribal areas in the State. Of the total population, 24,639 (82.28%) are scheduled tribes, 3975 (13.27%) are scheduled castes and only 1330 (4.45%) are others. The following table shows comparative figures during the decade 1971-81.

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Area Sq.Km.</th>
<th>Population Total</th>
<th>ST</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Density % of Population per Sq. Km.</th>
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<td>1971</td>
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<td>1981</td>
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<td>29944</td>
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<td>3975</td>
<td>1330</td>
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The above table shows a growth rate of 10.63 percent in

population as against 23.86% for the entire district. Majority of the population of the Bharmaur Tehsil belongs to Gaddi scheduled tribe. They are different from the Mʊhɑ̃-mɑdɑn Gaddis of Delhi, Karnal and Ambala who are offshoots of Ahirs.\(^{14}\) In fact the Gaddis of Bharmaur are an example of how a people fleeing from the indo-gangatic plains to an entirely different, rugged and mountainous tract, adopted themselves remarkably well to the new conditions and at the same time retained their essentially original socio-cultural traits for all these centuries of years. Traditions connect their origin to these Hindus who sought refuge in the Dhaula Dhar mountain range from war and religious persecution in the plains during the Mughal period.\(^{15}\) In this connection the observation of Dr Newell that the Gaddis of Bharmaur are always classified as a scheduled tribe for the purpose of gaining special administrative advantages holds good. He observes:\(^{16}\)

Yet I think it cannot be denied that they are clearly a caste for not only in historic times as far back as 11th century were they definitely Hindu but they also have an endogamous hierarchical system with some restrictions on interdining and intermarriage between the different sub castes.

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16. William H. Newell, "The Gaddis of the Upper Ravi as an Example of a Traditional Hindu Kingdom", in *The*...
Anthropologically, Gaddis can hardly be called a tribe. They, in fact, do not possess the necessary characteristics to classify them as a tribe. They have been declared as a tribe mainly for the purposes of development in view of their social and economic backwardness.

The Gaddis are an interesting people, and offer a striking contrast in several respects to the other inhabitants of the Chamba district. Their peculiar costume dress, traditions and their way of life. Their whole bearing is characteristic, conveying an impression of sturdy independence which is fully born out by closer contact with them. They in fact, are a separate clan. The term Gaddi is a generic name and are divided into the following four classes:

(i) Brahmins, (ii) Khatris and Rajputs, who regularly wear the sacred thread, (iii) Thakurs and Rathis, who, as a rule, do not wear the sacred thread and (iv) a menial or dependent class comprising of low caste people namely Kolis, Sipis, Halis etc. who have been declared as scheduled caste. In fact the title of Gaddi to the low caste people mentioned above is disputably applied to them[17] as the true Gaddis do not acknowledge

them as Gaddi at all. 18

Each class is divided into numerous gotras or exogamous sections, but the classes themselves are not, strictly speaking, exogamous. That is to say, a Khatri Gaddi intermarries with a Brahmin Gaddi. Similarly, the Brahmins intermarry with the other groups except the low caste group. This implies that the Gaddi society is organised on the Rajput hypergamous system. 19

The Gaddis are a semi-pastoral and semi-agricultural tribe. They own large flocks of sheep and goats which are their chief source of wealth. With their flocks of sheep and goats they go to far flung areas, the summers being spent in the higher mountains in Pangi and Lahul and the winters in the low hills bordering on the plains. This duty the male members of the family take in turn, the others remaining at home to tend the cattle and look after the farm work. Recently a new trend has emerged among the Gaddis. Many of them now own land in lower hills region near

Palampur, Nurpur in Kangra, and also in Punjab plains. As a result they now reap the winter crop in Kangra, returning in spring to cut the summer crop in Bharmaur. On the whole they are better shepherds than farmers. However, with the increase in population fresh fields and pastures now have to be searched for, especially during the winter months, when the alpine pastures get snow-bound, this pastorality has imported-semi-nomadism to the economy. Agriculture of a sort has gone almost hand in hand with this animal husbandry. For the last many years, there has been an increasing trend towards settlement in more hospitable climatic conditions. As a result agriculture coming to the forefront of the economy and livestock-rearing receding to a secondary position.

Traditionally, the Gaddis have been the follower of the joint family system. Even today the initial presumption, in a house hold having more than one son, is in favour of the brothers continuing within the fold of the same house-hold. A son prefers to be with the joint family even after his marriage and having separate earning. The reason for this seems to be the economic

compulsions. As the living is tough due to inhabitable climate and difficult geographical situations. Rearing of flocks of sheep and goats and the tilling of land coupled with the seasonal migration from their home land to the far flung areas and now sharing the burden of keeping two house holds on either side of the Dhaulā-Dhar, all these activities require the pooling of resources in the form of jointly carrying out these activities. However, a trend is now visible among the younger generation towards the disintegration of the joint family system. The bounds holding the family together, as pointed out above, have been almost progressively loosing and weakening due to the increasing influence of the modern urban civilization. As the modern welfare activities due to the faster means of communication have made its inroad towards the tribal areas thereby increasing the probabilities of intermixing of the tribals with the non-tribals. Moreover, the urge to divide the family property and to establish separate house holds springs mainly from the friction that stems up from the pettiness and selfishness inherent in the human nature. From small

beginnings in tempramental disharmonies, the gulf widens to cover substantial issues of shares and material gains and benefits, coloured by such considerations as which brother contributes more and which less to the pooled income of the joint family. Such conflicts develop into clashes, and heart burnings into bickerings and quarrels, till the same roof becomes intolerable and unbearable and the joint house hold is dispersed into fragments each of which struggles to establish itself as a flourishing family in its own right. Though such a trend among Gaddis is slow but steady.

Religions Beliefs of Gaddis:

Gaddis are hindu by religion. However, their religious beliefs and rituals, as elsewhere in most parts of the western Himalayans, were originally in essence demonolatry, ancestor-worship and nature worship. This original form was with the passage of time, dressed, refined and retatched by what is called, Brahmanism so as to form a phase of the vast religious entity that goes under the overall name of Hinduism. This transformation was achieved by the process of absorption rather than any forced introduction.

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than by that of eradication, with the result that, even today, the pantheon and the theology bear unmistakable outer relics as well as the essence of the original complexion of demonolatry and nature-worship, not as stray streaks of foreign colour, but as the integral and harmonised hue of the composite and complete pattern.

Among, the traditional gods of Hindu-Pantheon i.e. Vishnu, Shiva and Shakti, Shiva is considered the supreme deity of the Gaddis of the Bharmaur. The high mountain peak called Mani Mahes Kailash, a famous and sacred place associated with Shiva, is situated in Bharmaur region. For this reason the Bharmaur is also called as Shiv Bhumi. Religious association of Gaddis with Shiva is born out from their folk songs and methods of religious worships. Thus it goes as follows:

Gaddi chara bhedan,
Gaddin dindi dhoop,
Gaddi jo dinda bhedan,
Gaddin jo dinda rup.

i.e. the Gaddis feed their flocks and the Gaddins offer incense (to Shiva). To the Gaddis (he Shiva) gives sheep and to the Gaddins beauty.

23, Ibid., p. 171.
Similarly, the method of religious worship by the Gaddis on all important religious ceremonies such as marriage and birth etc. in the form of Niwala, a local form of Shiva worship, shows their preference for the Shiva cult. Though the Gaddis are by preference Shaivas yet their worship, as a whole is Catholic to some extent. In addition to the traditionally accepted gods of orthodox Hinduism and the beliefs and rituals connected therewith, there are a variety of other deities, faiths and practices. Practically every village has its own special deity and there are families with family deities too. In some cases a village deity has grown to the position of overlordship as the presiding god of the entire valley. Thus, when the Gaddi shephards cross the Kugti Pass over to Kullu-Lahul with their flocks for summer grazing, they dare not pass the Kelong Nag temple, which lies on the path, without offering the sacrifice. Similarly, when a marriage party passes through the seat of a deity offerings and sacrifices are made to please and obtain the blessings of the deity.

Judicial Administration:

The history of the administration of justice in the region is as old as the history of its rulers. During the old regime the ruler of the State was necessarily the fountain head of justice. It was he who used to appoint the judges, magistrates and munsifs and also to function as the last court of appeal and, wherever he chose as the court of unrestricted and unlimited original jurisdiction too. The authority of conferment and withholding of all judicial and criminal powers and fixation of pecuniary as well as territorial jurisdiction vested in him. However, the settlement of disputes relating to personal matters at village level was in the hands of village Panchayat consisting of male leaders of the Gotras of the dominant castes in the village and any other person who is invited. Thus the administration of justice was in a rudimentary form.

After the advent of British rule, there was no material change in the system of administration of justice at the local level. However, death sentences passed by the ruler were subject to confirmation by the

commissioner of Lahore who was also competent to inspect the courts. 28

Organisation of village Panchayats is one of the Directive Principles of State Policy under Art 40 of the Constitution of India. It provides:

The State shall take steps to organise villages Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of Self government.

In the wake of launching Community Development Programme in 1952, democratic decentralization symbolised by the establishment of Panchayati Raj institutions conceived with a view to develop local leadership and thereby raise the rural community to the highest levels of living with the active participation and initiative of the people themselves. The realization of this objective calls for strengthening the basic unit i.e. the Panchayat, to make it an effective instrument of social and economic change. 29 Executive and judicial functions have been separated by the establishment of Nyaya Panchayats for judicial work. Himachal Pradesh

29. At present the Panchayati Raj in the State is governed by the unified H.P. Panchayati Raj Act, 1968.
Panchayati Raj Act, 1968, provides for the establishment of conciliation boards or *Samjhauta Samities* in each gram Sabha. The object is to offer, through the gram Panchayat an opportunity to the parties concerned to make amicable settlement of their civil and criminal disputes before they seek remedy in the Nyaya Panchayats. Keeping in view the special local conditions the Nyaya Panchayats have been given the power to entertain and determine application for maintenance under Sec. 125 Cr.P.C. However, the functioning of Nyaya Panchayats is far from satisfactory and the tribal people continue to settle their disputes of personal matters through the traditional village Panchayats. There is hardly any dispute which is referred to the district or high court. Almost total absence of litigation in the district and High Court regarding the personal matters especially relating to matrimonial disputes shows the faith of the people in the traditional method of resolving their family disputes.

**Marriage Customs:**

Marriage has always been considered as an instrument for the propagation of the society by the Gaddis' tribal society. However, the customs of marriage, as we will see in the following pages, do not reflect the tribal characters. An elaborate marriage ceremony of Gaddis
reflects the Shastric nature of a Hindu marriage. This also corroborates the statement that the Gaddis are not tribal in the true sense of the term, but they have been declared as a tribe mainly for the purpose of development in view of their social and economic backwardness. 30

As we have already mentioned that the Gaddis are divided into four classes namely Brahmins, Khatris and Rajputs who regularly wear the sacred thread, Thakur and Rathis who, as a rule, do not wear the sacred thread and lastly the low caste people. Further, each class is divided into numerous gotras or exogamous sections, but the classes themselves are not, strictly speaking, exogamous. In other words inter-caste marriage is permissible among the Gaddi society. Here inter-caste marriage implies a marriage performed between a Gaddi Brahmin and a Gaddi Khatri or Rajput and vice versa. Similarly the sacred thread wearing families do not object to intermarriage with those which do not wear it. However, a marriage between a person belonging to the first three classes and a person belonging to the fourth class i.e. low caste is not allowed. A

30. Supra, p.
marriage outside the Gaddi society is not permissible. If a Gaddi boy contracts a marriage for himself with a non-Gaddi girl, such a marriage is not allowed by the community.

In a Gaddi society, the marriage of the girl usually takes place at the age of 12-18 years, while the boys are married when they have attained an age between 16-25 years. The Gaddis are mentioned as practising fraternal polyandry. This is an incorrect statement of the facts about the marital status of the Gaddis. In fact Polyandry is unknown to the Gaddis of Bharmaur. Monogamy is generally practiced among the Gaddis. However, there are instances of polygyny among the economically well off families.

The Gaddi wedding customs merit special notice. Different types of marriages are in vogue in the Gaddi society. The following types of marriages have been mentioned:

i) Dharma Puna i.e. regular marriage.

ii) Bujkya i.e. marriage ceremony is gone through only at the bride's house.

iii) Jhind-phuk i.e. marriage by elopement.

iv) Jhanjarara or Gudani i.e. Widow remarriage.

However, the following types of marriages are prevalent among Gaddis irrespective of their castes.

i) Byah (Dharma Puna) i.e. regular marriage,

ii) Bata-Sata i.e. marriage by exchange,

iii) Kamash i.e. Ghar-Jwantri,

iv) Khewat i.e. Haar or Reet marriage,

v) Bariana i.e. marriage amounting to the sale of bride.

vi) Gudani i.e. widow remarriage.

The marriage negotiations are invariably opened from the boy's side. Some relative of the would be bridegroom visits the house of the parents of the girl for negotiations. When the parents have given their consent, three matters are settled then and there. Firstly, whether the marriage will be Batta (i.e. exchange); secondly, what amount will be paid by the bridegroom's side to the bride's side and thirdly, whether it will be Dharma Puna. Thus where the parents settle the

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34. Census of India, 1961, Village Survey of Dharmaur Sub-Tehsil, District Chamba, p. 34.
marriage of their respective child, the type of marriage i.e. whether Dharma Puna or Batta Satta or Bariana, is also decided between them before hand at the time of negotiations.

In the following pages we shall discuss the various ceremonies performed at the time of solemnising the marriage. A detailed account of the marriage ceremony is found in partially a century old gazetteer which still holds good with minor changes.\textsuperscript{35} According to it a marriage proper succeeds the betrothal ceremony.

In betrothal the boy's parents or guardians send their Parohit to negotiate for a girl about whom they have information, and he brings back her parents reply. If it is favourable the boy's parents send two or more respectable men to the girl's home to complete the bargain. Then if it is clinched, two of the boy's family go with the parohit to perform the ceremony. If the betrothal is dharma puna this consists in the bride's father giving the parohit a bunch of drub grass with four copper coins or more, if they please, to be handed over to the boy's father.

in token that the alliance is accepted. The parohit hands over the drub, and the coins are returned to the prohit with a rupees added by the boy's father. The night is spent at the bride's house, and after a meal father gives the boy's father 8 copper coins and these he places in a vessel as a perquisite to the servant who cleans it. In a betrothal by exchange (tola) the first observances are the same, but when all go to finally complete the alliance a grindstone and sil with 3 or 5 roris of gur, supari, bihan and roliyan are placed before the party and then the parohit places supari, bihan and roliyan in the skirt of his sheet and puts them on the sil. Before tapping them on the sil with the grindstone he receives 4 annas from the boy's father and mentions the names of the boy and girl whose alliance is to be formed, and then taps them. After this the supari, etc., are placed in a vessel, with the balls of gur broken up, and distributed to those present after the girl's father has taken a bit. The elder members of the girl's family do not take any as it would be contrary to custom.

36. Roliyan red colour for making the tike on the forehead.
The boy's father puts Rs. 1.4 in this vessel and this is made over to the bride's parents who get jewellery to that amount made for her. After this the bride appears before the boy's father and he gives her a rupee. The rest of the ceremony is exactly as described above, but in this case the coins put in the vessel come out of the boy's father's pocket. The ceremony in the other house is performed in exactly the same way, though not on the same day for the sake of convenience. A propitious date is not fixed, but a lucky day is desirable, and Tuesday, Friday and Saturday are considered unlucky.

After having the date for the wedding fixed by a parohit two men are sent to the girl's parents with a ser of ghi to notify them of the date, and if they approve of it messengers from both sides go to the parohit and get him to write the lakhnoteri. For this he is paid 8 Chamba coins or 4 annas in cash, rice and some red tape (dori). At the wedding itself the sumhurat rite is first performed by worshipping Ganpati, kumbh\textsuperscript{37} and the nine planets and then the supari (a mixture of turmeric, flour and oil) purified by

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37. Kumbh. A small pitcher filled with water is placed over a handful of rice and peach leaves or a few blades of drub are put into it. It is worshipped exactly like the deotas.
Mantras is rubbed on the boy. Three black woollen threads are also tied round his right wrist to protect him from the evil eye. He is then taken out into the courtyard by his mother, with part of her red sheet thrown over his head, to bathe. At the bath the black thread is torn off and he is led back by his mother. Next he must upset an earthen lid, containing burning charcoal and mustard placed at the entrance to the worshipping place, and this must be thrown away so as to remove any evil influence which he may have contracted in the court-yard. The parohit then ties nine red cotton threads round the boy's right wrist and gives him ghee and gur to taste. These wristlets are called kangana. This is preceded by the tel-sand ceremony. Again Ganpati, Brahma, Vishnu, Kumbh, dia and the nine planets are worshipped, and then a he-goat is sacrificed to the planets by the boy, its blood being sprinkled on the sandori (bagar grass rope) and munj-mala (a ring of bagar). The sandori is then spread round the room along the cornice and the bridegroom made to don a white dhoti or sheet round his loins.

38. Dia. A small earthen lamp with a burning wick is placed over a handful of rice and worshipped, like the others.
to put flour mundras (joğis' ear-rings) in his ears, sling a satchel over his shoulder, tie a black woollen rope round his chest and cover his buttocks with an animal's skin, suspend a fanani (bow for carding wool) to the black rope and take a timber stick in his right hand with a Brahminical thread tied round his right thumb. This dress is assumed so that he may appear a regular jøgi (ascetic). After this the presiding priest asks him: why hast thou become a jøgi? His answer is 'to receive the Brahminical cord'. Then he is further interrogated by the priest as to what kind of cord he required, i.e. one of copper, brass, silver, gold, or cotton, and he asks for the later. The priest then sends him to bathe at Badrinarain, Triloknath and Mini-Mahesha, and these supposed baths are taken in turn by dipping his hands and feet in, and pouring some water on his face from, a vessel put ready for the purpose in the door-way. After these ablutions the pretended jøgi begs, first of his relations, and then at the house, and they give him a piece of brød and promise him cattle, goats, etc. according to their means. In conclusion the priest asks him whether he wishes to devote himself to jatera (wordly business) or metera (an ascetic life) and he invariably
answers 'to jatera,' and then the priest makes him take off his jocĩ's clothes, receiving 4 annas as his fee for this. The cattle, etc., which the relations promised to the boy go to him and not to the priest.

This over, the boy is made to sit on a wicker basket, or a sheep-skin bag for carrying grain (called khatru) and a dagger is placed on the munj-mala\(^{39}\) above his head. Then the people pour oil over his head, with a few blades of grass (drub) taken from a vessel containing oil and held by his mother's brother or in his absence by her sister. After this the bridegroom fits an arrow to the fanani (bow) and shoots it at the head of the dead goat which is placed over the nine planets, thereby pretending to slay them. The rite of testing pur and ghi by the boy ends this ceremony. The bridegroom is then dressed. He wears a white pagri (turban) and kuwa, a red luancha, and a white patka with galbadan suthan and a jaul\(^{40}\) thrown over the shoulders. The present (suhag-patari) is then arranged. It consists of a kharbas\(^{41}\) laucheri,

\(^{39}\) A small ring or wreath made of begar grass.

\(^{40}\) All these are articles of dress.

\(^{41}\) Kharbas, a dopta of white cotton cloth: laucheri, the bride's dress.
ghagaru, 42 nau-dori, 43 ungi, 44 chundi, 45 kangie, manihir, 3 roris of gur, dates, grapes, almonds, rice and 7 luchis, and these are carried by the parohit to the bride's house, with the procession. Boy is then veiled with a purified veil (sehra) by his mother's brother, his brother's wife puts antimony on his eyes, and his sister fans him. After this the boy gets up and the arti, is then waved thrice from right to left over his head by the parohit, and his mother throws three round cakes (luchis) on three sides of him. The arti must be sanctified by mantras before being used at the door. After this the boy's father gives him the tambol (present) of Rs. 1 and 4 copper coins, the latter being the parohit's fee. The boy then gets into a doli in the court-yard and his mother gives him her breast to suck. The palki is then carried by four bearers to the entrance, beneath the wooden parrots, called toran, which the boy, his mother and the parohit worship, and then the bearers present the boy with a kumbh filled with water and he puts a copper coin in it. The bridal procession,

42. Ghagru, coloured cloth for skirt.
43. The man or '9 doris,' are red cords, for on either side at the back of the head, plaied into the hair and converging into a nith thick dora which hands down the back.
44. Ungi, of iron with which the hair is parted in front: the kanci is a comb.
45. Chundi is an antimony holder for the eyes, worn on the back of the head.
consisting of the male members of the house and friends, dressed in their best clothes and preceded by tom-toms, goes to the bride's house. On arrival the boy with his followers is put up in a house other than the girl's or camps out in the open air. The boy's father or uncle, with one or two more, then takes a basket full of round cakes to the bride's parents; this is called batpartana. They return from the bride's house after eating something and putting 4 copper coins in the plate, and rejoin the procession. This observance is called juth pai.

Two respectable men are also deputed to the bride's parohit, to settle the amount he will take for performing the rites at the legan, and then rejoin the camp. The boy's parohit then proceeds to the bride's house to deliver the barsuhi (bride's dress) to her. The barsuhi consists of a white sheet (dupatta, launcher, chagra, nau-dori, ungi, kangi (comb), (articles of attire) chundi, 3 balls of gur, cocoa, dates, grapes, almonds, I seer of rice and 9 luchis, 3 wheat cakes, 7 puris of chandan chura, roliyan, kesar, sandhur, nahani

45. Chundi is an antimony holder for the eyes, worn on the back of the head.

46. It will be observed that the barsuhi consists of the same articles as the suhaç-patari.

47. Sandal-wood chips.

48. A sweet-smalling root: muth, the root of a kind of grass.
muth and supari. The priest then comes back to conduct the bridegroom and his followers to the bride's house with tom-toms playing. The boy is received at the entrance by his mother-in-law who performs the arti ceremony over him, waving it seven times over his head with her right hand, holding her left over his turban. Four turns are taken from the boy's right to his left and three in the reverse direction. Three cakes placed in the plate with the arti, are also thrown out towards the court-yard. The priest gives 4 chaklis (copper coin) to the boy who then places them in the arti after clasping his hands before it. The mother-in-law then retires, while the father-in-law comes to the spot and placing a patka (white cloth) round his own neck, washes and worships his son-in-law's feet. The boy's priest gives a duna (leaf-plate) with some rice, a walnut, drub and flowers into his hands. Both the palms are held upwards, with both thumbs joined and held up by the father-in-law in his hands who brings the bridegroom into the verandah while the mantras are being recited. After this the bride is brought to the place and made to stand a foot from him face to face with the bridegroom. The priest then takes hold of the boy's neck with his right hand and of the
girl's with his left and makes their shoulders thrice touch each other, first pressing the boy's right to the girl's left. This is called chan par par chan. After this two torches are held on either side of them. Seven small pieces of malti (jasmine) twigs are then put in the girl's hands, she drops them into the boy's hands and he breaks them one by one, placing them under his right foot. This breaking of the twigs is called chiri. It is preceded by giving bihan into the hands of the couple and they blow it at each other. This goes by the name of farui.

The pair are next made to sit down and the boy's father-in-law offers sankalap, that is he gives his daughter away, and then washes the couple's feet as they sit before him. Certain minor rites called chichari.

49. Chichari. Two or three blades of drub are tied together with red cotton thread and placed in a cup of green leaves. Then chakli (copper coin) till, rolian (turmeric), some flowers, water and a walnut are also placed in it. This cup is put in the bridegroom's hands and his father-in-law's hands are laid over them. The priest then recites some mantras, after which the drub is taken up by the father-in-law and with it he sprinkles water from the cup thrice over the heads of the pair. This is called the pahla bishtar or first char. This is repeated, but the second time some blades of grass, kesar (saffron) sarvan shadhe and flowers are thrown into the water. While the priest recites mantras the father-in-law sprinkles water on the couple's feet. This second rite is called pada. The third, or argh ceremony is similar, but this time the mixture is made of dhian, til, drub and rice, and after reciting mantras it is sprinkled over the boy's head. The fourth char is called dua bishtar and is an exact repetition of (contd)
are now performed by the bridegroom and his father-in-law. Then Ganpati, Brahma, Vishnu, Kumbh, dia and the nine planets are worshipped. After this one end of the girl's sheet is held out by her brother and on this red tikka is sprinkled thrice by the boy. Similarly

(continued from pre page)

the first char. The fifth char (achmani) is solemnised by putting water, til and rice in a cup which is placed on the ground as was done in the other chars, but the end of the ceremony the priest thrice throws a few drops of water from the cut on to the father-in-law's hands and the boy and they drink it from his hands. The sixth and last char is called madhuparak. The cup is filled with milk, til and rice, and put in the boy's hand; he daubs the four fingers and thumb of his right hand with it and then lifts his hand towards his mouth and putting it again into the cup sprinkles its contents on the ground. This cup is then taken by one of the bridegroom's jan (one who has come with the procession and given to the tom-tom player). This jan returns to the bridegroom and after being purified by mantras is allowed to mix again with the other men.

50. Ganpati is represented by a walnut in a cree cup, placed before the boy under the canopy on a heap of rice. It is given a copper coin—Ganpati being thus invoked to keep off mishaps.

51. Brahma's effigy is made of a few blades of drub, which are turned down twice, the ends being fixed in cow dung and placed in a green cup. He is then similarly worshipped, as being the Creator of the universe.

52. Vishnu is represented and worshipped like Brahma, but the lades are only turned down once from the centre; in his case Vishnu is worshipped as being the first cause and the protector of the universe.
the boy's waist-band is held out and anointed by the
girl. The girl then holds up her hands, and into them
4 copper coins, a walnut drub, flowers, til, and rice
are thrown by the priest, and then the boy is made to
lay his hands over hers. The priest then takes part
of the bride's sheet and wraps both pairs of hands
in it by running a tape (dori) round it.

The girl's father then performs the kania-dan
(giving the girl away) with the proper mantras. At its
conclusion the girl's maula (mother's brother) touches
her wrapper with a copper coin and it is then unknotted,
the things in the girl's hands being taken by the boy
and given to the parohit. The gur and ghi is then tasted
and this concludes the ceremony called lagan. The girl
now retires, but the boy remains to go through another
rite called the manihar. After doing the arti over the
bridegroom the tape with the betelnut is then put on
the boy's left toe and he is required to pierce the nut

53. Manihar — Nine walnuts (the nine planets) are put
on rice and worshipped and their blessing invoked.
There must be a separate handful of rice for
each of the walnuts. A bored copper coin, a
betelnut and a cotton dori (three cords about
1½ spans long) — all these together are called
manihar — but the ceremony is performed by taking
the boy out to the doorway and then he takes out
his dagger from the waist and touches the coin
with its point, pretending to bore it. The
string is then passed through the bored coin
and put in a mani (grain measure) and then the
manihar is sanctified and tied round the boy's
head-dress by his mother-in-law at the gate-way
after the arti.
with his dagger. This done, the priest takes the tape up and throws it over the boy's head, passes it down to his heels and under his soles, and then ties it round the pagri. The boy is then drawn by the manihar by his mother-in-law and led inside the house to the kamdeo. The girl is also brought there by her brother and dressed in the barsahi clothes and placed by the boy's side before the picture. Finally the remaining 7 doris of the barsahi are handed over to the boy by the girl's mami (mother's sister); he places them on the bride's head and then her hair is combed and arranged with these doris by her mami).

After this the boy's jaul (shoulder-band) and the bride's kharvas (sheet) are knotted together and the bride is carried by her maternal uncle (maula) to the canopy where the wedding is to be celebrated.

Under this canopy (baid) they are placed, on bamboo baskets covered with woollen cloths, facing east. The bridegroom sits to the right of the bride and in front of the sacred fire (homa or havan). The bride's father then wishes the couple's feet; after which Ganpati, Navagrish, Brahma, Vishnu, Kumbh, Sapt Rishi, Chaur Vedi, Chaur-disa (the four quarters) and Chaur-updes (the four elements) are worshipped
in due order, to ward off mishaps. This is followed by placing fired barley in a chhaj (sieve) which is brought to the baid. First, the bridegroom takes a handful of this grain and puts it on three different spots, while the bride's brother puts the grain down and the bridegroom wipes it away. This is called khila khedni and is done to break the tie of relationship, if any exists, between the contracting parties. After this khila khedni the boy's father puts 4 annas into the chaj and the bride's brother takes off the red piece which he has worn on his head during the ceremony and puts it in the chhaj too. It is then removed and the 4 annas are claimed by the boy's brother-in-law. Then the bride's brother's wife comes and grinds turmeric (haldar) on the sil and sprinkles it wet on the feet of the pair, three times on each. She receives 4 takas, i.e. 16 copper coins, for performing this rite. Then the couple are made to stand up and walk round the sacred fire four time from right to left. The bridegroom keeps his right

54. Parched grain.
55. Winnowing fan.
hand on the bride's back all the while. After each turn they are made to halt near the baskets and their feet are worshipped, by throwing til, drub, milk, and red colour, etc., by the bride's father, and at the end the bride's brother worships the couple's feet in the same way. These four rounds are called charlaj, and constitute the binding rite in the wedding.

The bride and bridegroom now change seats and sit facing each other. The bride then holds up her hands and in them a green leaf cup (duna) containing some walnuts, rice, flowers, 4 coins, etc., is placed by the priest. The bridegroom covers the bride's hands with his hands and then the priest unknots the manihar from the boy's pagri and puts it on their hands. The bride's father then takes til, drub, rice, flowers and copper coins and the sankalap is performed to the recitation of mantras. After this he places 4 copper coins and a rupee in the vessel containing water, turmeric, milk and curds and sprinkles the mixture on the baid (canopy). This is called saj pana or giving of dowry. The bride's mother's brother then comes and touches the boy's and girl's hands with a ser of rice and a copper coin and then they are released, the manihar being given to the girl to be put round her neck. The rice
and coin go to the priest. After this all the girl's other relations and friends give her presents, either in cash or in kind, according to their social position. These presents are then divided thus—To the bride's and bridegrooms parohits 2 annas each; to the bride's palki-carriers 4 annas; to the bridegroom's the same; and to the carpenter (badhi) who erects the temple and the canopy (baid) 4 annas also; to the bride's musicians 2 annas; and to the bridegroom's 4 annas. After this the bride's parohit counts the things received in dowry, receiving for this 8 copper coins, with four more as dehl (door-way) for acting as the family priest. Of the residue a 4th goes to the bride and a 10th of the remainder is appropriated by her priest. The balance with the canopy is then given by the bride's father as sankalap to the boy's father and forms part of the paraphernalia. After this the gotra-char mantras are read and fried rice is thrown towards the couple by both the priests. Each gets 4 annas for reading the gotra-char. This is followed by making the father of the couple sit under the canopy, and a blade of drub is put by the bride's priest into the girl's father's hands. He holds it between the tips of his middle fingers at one end, the other end being similarly held by the boy's father. The bride's father then says:
"asmat kania, tusmat gotra," meaning "our girl passed to your got." At the conclusion the bridegroom comes to the end of the canopy where he receives ruler (salutation with a present) from his mother-in-law and the other elderly women of the bride's house. The mother-in-law gives a rupee in cash and 4 copper coins, the others only copper coins, and without receiving this gift from the women it is not etiquette for him to appear before them. The boy touches the bride's mother's feet in token of her giving him this privilege. The ceremonies at the bride's are now over and the bride is taken in the palki, with all the paraphernalia, followed by the bridegroom, his followers and friends, to his house on arrival at the doorway. the arti is presented by the boy's mother and she also gives the bride a rupee. Next the pair are conducted to the kamdeo (picture on the wall), and Ganpati, etc., are worshipped, after which they are both made to go four times round the earthen lamp (diwa) and kumbh (pot containing water), tape and a bunch of pomegranate. This circumambulation is called the athlai (eight rounds).

After this the bridal veil is taken off by the parohit and the imitation birds on the veil are given to the priest, the brothers of the couple and their
newly acquired mitras (brothers made by sacred observance). Having done the athlai the bride and bridegroom's wrist threads are losened by two men who thus become brothers. These threads were put on by them at the commencement of the preliminary observances.

At the conclusion the bridegroom receives presents (tembol) from the men and women, and similarly munhsani from the women is received by the bride for unveiling her. Songs are sung by the women on these occasions.

Four feasts are given in the boys house to the guests; 1st, on the day of the oil ceremony, 2nd, on the morning on which the procession starts to the bride's house, 3rd, on the day the procession returns home, and 4th on the morning on which the bridegroom receives presents.

The first two feasts are given at the bride's house on the oil day to the quests of the girl and the last two on the marriage day to the bridegroom and his followers and to the bride's guests.

Bujkya:

Another form of marriage called bujkya is common in which the ceremony is gone through only at the bride's house, thus saving expense.
The Gaddis also practise the form of marriage called jhindphuk, solemanised by burning brush wood and circumambulating the fire eight times hand in hand, or with the bride's sheet tied to the boy girdle. It is admissible in cases where a girl's parents have consented to her betrothal but refuse to carry out the marriage, and is sometimes done forcibly by the bridegroom; or in cases in which a girl elopes with her lover. No priest or relative need attend it.

Widow remarriage is permitted except among the Brahmans. The rite is called gudani or jhanjarar and also choli-dori and is solemanised thus-pair are made to sit down by the diwa and kumbh, with some dhup burning. They worship both these objects, then the bride-groom places a dori (tape) on the widow's head and another woman cumbs her head and binds her hair with the tape.

After this the bridegroom places a noe-ring (balu) in the woman's hand and she puts it on. This is the binding portion of the ceremony. A feast is given to guests and relations and songs are sung. If
no priest presides at the ceremony the kumbh, etc., worship is dispensed with, but the tape and ring ceremony is gone through and the guests, etc., feasted. A widow used to be compelled to marry her husband's elder or younger brother, but the custom is no longer enforced by the State.

Description of the Gaddi regular marriage i.e. Bhyah, as given above, holds good even today with some minor changes. These changes have been crept in due to changed socio-economic conditions of the people with the passage of time. During the field investigation in this regard the following major changes have been noticed among other:

1. The amount of money given to the Purohit or to any other person during the marriage ceremony has been changed in terms of modern currency.

2. Generally the essential ceremonies are performed and other minor details are ignored deliberately to save time.

3. The value of gifts and presents given to the parties to the marriage by the friends and relatives in the form of Tambol and Saj has been increased.

4. Articles given in dowry now include among other things the modern items like utensils, furniture,
sewing machine, etc. Some gold jewellery is also given.

5. Instead of four feasts generally two feasts are arranged for the friends and relatives who attend the marriage.

These changes have not altered the form and nature of marriage ceremony. Marriage ceremony still continues to be religious in nature though its influence has reduced to some extent.

Other forms of marriage among Gaddis, depend upon peculiar circumstances. Thus in marriage by exchange i.e. Bata Sat a boy gets a wife in exchange for his sister or cousin sister for his wife's brother. The marriage is in Barvana form if the cash payment is agreed to be made for the girl by the boy's parents. The amount is fixed mutually when the negotiation for the marriage starts between the parties. In Kamash form of marriage the boy has to work in the house of his father-in-law usually for a term of seven years before marriage. It is unsuspicious for a Gaddi to die unmarried, such a course is taken by a poor person who can not bear the expenses of marriage. However, such

marriages are rarely performed these days. In Khewat marriage a husband releases his wife from the marriage tie to allow her to marry with another person of her choice if the new husband pays him the marriage expenses incurred by the first husband. The second marriage of the wife thus dissolves her first marriage.

Thus it is clear from above that through the Gaddis retain their age old custom of marriage, as is reflected from the marriage, yet the geographical isolation from the main land has forced them to adopt other forms of marriage with the passage of time.

Legal Position of a Gaddi Marriage:

As is clear from above discussion that a Gaddi regular marriage is similar to the Hindu marriage performed in the adjoining districts of Mandi and Kangra. Legally speaking a Gaddi marriage ceremony is shastri in nature and without the performance of this Shastric ceremony a marriage in the regular form cannot take place. This implies that the proper marriage ceremony is a necessary condition for the validity of the marriage. We have noted in the earlier chapter dealing with Kinnaura scheduled tribe that no
shastric ceremony is required to be performed at the time of solemnization of the marriage. This is so because in Kinnaura tribe the Hindu religious influence is negligible. As no brahmin priest is found in this tribal area, shastri or religious ceremonies cannot be performed at times of marriage etc. However, Gaddis are exception in this regard. Hindu cultural traits of the plains have been carried by them to the Bharmaur region when they migrated to this area long back. These cultural traits are still retained by them and is reflected in their marriage customs. Resemblance of marriage customs of the Gaddis and the hindus of the main land lend support to the point that the former migrated to the inaccessible region of the Himalayas from the plains. Performance of some marriage ceremony, Shastri or customary, is a must for the validity of a hindu marriage under Hindu Marriage Act, 1955. 57 This provision though is not applicable to a Gaddi marriage, because Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 is not applicable to the Gaddi society of Himachal Pradesh, 58 yet it can safely be concluded from the above discussion that for a valid Gaddi marriage performance of religious ceremony is mandatory. A marriage without religious

57.  Sec. 7.
58.  Sec. 2 (2).
ceremony is mandatory. A marriage without religious ceremony shall be a void marriage.

Marriageable age of the parties to a Gaddi marriage generally is between 16-25 years for the boy and between 12-18 years for the girl. In most of the cases the marriage take place when the boy and girl are still minors. The consent of their respective guardians is a must. However, in cases of marriage by Gudani i.e. widow re-marriage and Khewat marriage i.e. where the woman takes a new husband when he pays the marriage expenses to the first husband, the consent of guardian is not required. In such cases the consent of the parties to the marriage is essential. It implies that for a valid marriage the consent of the guardians of the parties to the marriage or the consent of the parties themselves in case of marriages other than the Byah i.e. regular marriage is another essential condition.

Inter caste marriage within the first three classes of the Gaddi society is permissible as it is organised on the Rajput hypergamous system. However, the marriage within the same gotra is not permissible. In other words a marriage between a boy and a girl belonging to the same gotra shall be a void marriage. Thus for a valid Gaddi marriage the following three conditions must be fulfilled:
i) Proper religious ceremony must be performed.  
   (In case of regular marriage).

ii) Consent of the guardian or the consent of the 
    parties to the marriage.

iii) Parties to the marriage must not belong to the 
     same gotra.

Marriage may be personal matter so far as the 
parties to it are concerned. However, it has far reaching 
social implications so far as the society is concerned. 
A person cannot dare to go against the established 
codes of the community. If a person tries to violate 
the established rules of the society he will have to 
face the penalty of excommunication from the society. 
It is the fear of excommunication which deter the 
people to follow its codes.

Divorce:

Divorce is permissible by mutual consent of the 
parties to the marriage. However, there are no 
formal means of seeking divorce. Generally a document 
is drafted to this effect and signed by both the parties. 
After divorce the woman can re-marry according to her 
choice. At times when a wife wants to leave the house

59. H.A. Rose, A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes 
of the Punjab and North West Frontier Province, 
of her husband with the intention to marry with another man i.e. her parmour, she can do so if her husband permits her. In such a case the husband permits his wife to marry some one else of her choice by giving her a formal document at the instance of this man if the later agrees to reimburse the husband of the marriage expenses which he had incurred to solemnise his marriage. Acceptance by the first husband of the monetary compensation from the second husband automatically dissolve the first marriage and makes her second marriage regular. But on account of the emerging social values, this practice of payment is fast dying out.