CHAPTER 3

LAND AND THE PEOPLE

Situation

Chamba and Kangra, once the two large war-active kingdoms, constitute today two important districts of the State of Himachal Pradesh. They give shelter to communities belonging to different castes, creeds and tribes including the Gaddis.

Chamba is situated in the midst of the outer Himalayan ranges bordering the Jammu and Kashmir State on the north east, Lahaul on the east, Kulu and Bhangal on the south east and Kangra on the south and south west (Fig. 1). The maximum length of the district from the south-west to the north-east is about 70 miles; and the maximum breadth from the south-east to the north-west is about 50 miles, making an estimated area of 3,216 square miles. Chamba town and the Gaddi habitations are situated on both the sides of the river Ravi that flows through the district forming the Ravi Valley or the Chamba Valley. Bharmour, a sub-tehsil of Chamba district and the abode of almost the entire Gaddi population in the district is situated on the upper reaches of the Ravi Valley. Bharmour town as such is situated on the southern bank of Budhil, the main tributary of the Ravi. The altitudes of the inhabited and non-inhabited places in the

district range from 2,000 to 21,000 feet above the sea level. The Gaddi habitations or villages are mostly situated at heights ranging ten to twelve thousand feet above the sea level. Unlike the situation a few years back, Chamba town is now well-connected with the remote Gaddi habitations in the district as well as with the places in the plains and the neighbouring Kangra district. This account of the location of Chamba district will remain incomplete without a reference, however laconic, to the scenic beauty of Chamba. The whole valley of Chamba or the Ravi Valley provides a picturesque sight to the eyes: the fast meandering flow of the river Ravi, the resultant echo of the sound of the flow of its waters, the fir trees lacing its banks and, above all, the high mountain ranges on all sides that tower over everything underneath make one ecstatic. The densely populated town of Chamba, with all its olden royal grandeur, religious fervour and historic temples, reminds one of its pristine past. Moving farther towards Bharmour through upper reaches of the Ravi Valley, the sight is much more enjoyable. More or less a one-way motorable road that appears like a hanging approach to Bharmour town, with the Ravi and its tributary Budhil flowing through a gorge like deep path, and the road constructed on the right angular steep slopes make the journey adventurous as well as enjoyable. The sight of the Gaddi habitations on such steep slopes and the step like structure of their terrace fields on these bare slopes devoid of much vegetation are a testimony to man's struggle for existence against nature's toughest resistance through such uninhabitable topography.
Being the immediate neighbour of Chamba district in the south and south-west, Kangra district lies just adjacent to it separated by the outermost Himalayan range, the Dhauladhar. The lofty mountain range of the Himalayas in Himachal Pradesh suddenly opens up towards the south-west into the wide valleys of Kangra district, bordered on the north by the snow-capped Dhauladhar and on the south by the dwarfed hills of Shivalik ranges. The Dhauladhar runs for some 36 miles, delineating a natural boundary between the Kangra and Chamba districts, that starts from Bara Bhangal in the east of Kangra district to Dalhousie in Chamba district in the west. The Dhauladhar range marks also the significant climatic difference between the two districts of Kangra and Chamba, the former lying under its shadow to the south and the latter to the north. Treversing the mountains, the main river Beas enters Kangra district or the Kangra valley at Mandi and flows through the whole of the Kangra valley taking along with it the waters of numerous streams and rivulets that form its tributaries. Besides being well-linked with Chamba district, Kangra district is well-connected with the plains through roads and the railways. The inhabited and uninhabited places in the district have been seen to be situated at the height of 1,000-10,000 feet above the sea level. The Gaddi habitations in this district are situated at places some 10,000 feet above the sea level, while the Dhauladhar range has the Gaddi population living on the hills under it.
Habitations

The Gaddi habitations are found on the steep slopes and tops of the mountainous ridges, hills, river banks and valleys of Kangra and Chamba districts. The habitations in the form of villages vary in size according to the number of houses. The main village called 'Mauza', consists of a number of small habitations called 'Teeka'. Each village (Mauza) has 'Teekas' ranging from ten to fifteen.

However, there is a little variation in the number of Gaddi households in each village in the two districts. While a village (Mauza) in Chamba district has been found to be having mainly the Gaddi households in all 'Teekas' with a few non-tribal castes, a village in Kangra district on the other hand has been found to be having a few 'Teekas' inhabited solely by the Gaddis while others mixed with the non-tribal population also.

The types of Gaddi houses also vary, to some extent, in the two districts. The Gaddis in Dharmour sub-tehsil of Chamba district build mainly wooden houses, with more use of locally available 'deodar' and oak wood than of stone or clay. On the other hand, the Gaddis living in Kangra district build the type of houses which are prevalent in all the non-tribal habitations of the district, using more stone and clay than wood. The wooden material in the Gaddi houses in Kangra district is mainly used for making roof structures, door frames, windows and roof beams; the rest of the wall structure is made of stone and clay. However, due to the existence of slate quarry mines
in both the districts the roof tops are mostly covered with slates. Gaddi houses in Chamba district have multiple storeys, well protected to meet the severity of cold in winter. But the Gaddi houses in Kangra district have only two storeys, viz. the ground one and the first one. Almost every Gaddi house in both the districts has a cow-shed for tethering cattle, sheep or goats within the house in the ground floor while the kitchen with a cooking hearth is usually in the first floor. Usually, every Gaddi house in both the districts has an extensive courtyard in front of it.

Flora and Fauna

The flora in Chamba district ranges from the sub-Himalayan and subtropical types to the Himalayan type. The sub-Himalayan type flora is confined mainly to lower altitudes (4,000-6,000 feet), comprising the scrubs, the bamboo and the chil or pine (pinus-longifolia). The higher altitudes (6,000-12,000 feet) have the Himalayan flora, which includes the white oak, the spruce, the silver fir, the brown oak, the birch, the deodar (cedrus deodara) and kail (pinus excela). These sub-Himalayan and Himalayan flora are found up to the tree line in Chamba district i.e. the altitude up to which trees grow. After the tree line, we find alpine flora, consisting of herbal and medicinal plants like Atish or Patish (aconitum heterophyllum) and Karu (gentainx kurrq) and Kuth (saurea lappa), the flowering plants and also grassy lands which are used as
pastures by the Gaddis for grazing their cattle, sheep and goats during the summer months.

Among the floral wealth of Kangra district, the sub-Himalayan and the Himalayan flora are also available in the forests of all foothills situated along the entire range of the Dhauladhar. The altitudes of 3,000-6,000 feet have the sub-Himalayan flora, which like Chamba district include mainly the chil or pine (pinus longifolia), bamboo and scrub. Above the sub-Himalayan heights, there is a growth of Himalayan flora having different varieties of oak-long and dwarf. The deodar (cedrus deodara) and kail (pinus excelsa) are commonly found in this region. Various varieties of wild flowers and wild vegetables are also found on these foot-hills. A wild vegetable called 'Khasrohr' but locally called 'Lungru' and 'Fafru' is a very popular vegetable used in the households of upper Kangra valley; it is sometimes found even in the vegetable market. A plant, called 'Barah' in the Gaddi dialect, has rose red petal flowers which, after grinding, are used as pickle with the meals and is considered fit to be taken even by a sick man. The birch tree is commonly found in the Himalayan zone and the birch (Bhojpatra) is shelled out in big sheets for making umbrellas during the rainy season. While coming down to the lower altitudes during the winter, the Gaddis bring loads of birch from these trees to sell to the other rural people for making umbrellas. The rest of the Kangra valley (2,000 to 3,000 feet above the sea level) has the flora, that is found in the low lying Himalayan forests and lands like the leafy plants for fodder, fuel and also timber, thorny bushes, grass lands and wild fruits.
The commonly found fauna on the mountain ranges and forests of Chamba district includes the black and brown bear, leopards, Kashmir stag, ibex, gural, barking deer, thar, scrow, and snow leopard and muskdeer. The birds comprise chikor, snow partridge and pheasants. Fish abounds in the streams. For preservation of birds and animals of the valley, Chamba district has two sanctuaries - the Kalatope-Khajiar sanctuary near Khajiar and the Gamgul sanctuary in Bandal forest range.

The fauna of Kangra district includes black and brown bear, barking deer, leopard and muskdeer. Foxes, jackals, cats, monkeys, lemurs, hares and all kinds of reptiles are commonly found all over the district. The forests are rich in chikors, partridges, pheasants and wild cocks. Birds, both local and migratory, are in abundance. Fish is found in many streams of the district, especially in the Beas river, with its famed trout fish.

Historical Background of the Area and the People

The verbal as well as the written records reveal that Bharmour, the homeland of the Gaddis, was the first place to be founded in the past in the whole of the present Chamba district. The town now named Chamba did not exist at that time. The place Bharmour is said to have been founded by a man named Maru in 500 AD. It is believed that he entered the area from Kalpa side. The written records also reveal that the original State founded by Maru
was very small, including perhaps only the present Bharmour sub-
tehsil, i.e. the valley of Ravi from Bara Bhangal with its tri-
butaries - the Budhil and the Tunda - to as far down as Chhatrari. 
It was during the time of a king named Meru Varman the fifth in 
the royal descent in the seventh century AD (660 AD) that the 
present temple, called the 'Chaurasi Temple', of Bharmour was 
built and much of the development and dimensional extension of 
the State of Bharmour took place. The name 'Chaurasi Ka Mandir', 
after which the Bharmour temple is now designated by all the 
Gaddis as well as the pilgrims coming to visit it, seems to have 
become the current coin from tenth century onwards, when during 
the reign of a kind named Sahil Varman some 84 (chaursai) saints 
(yogis) visited Bharmour and stayed there for quite some time. 
It was raja Sahil Varman who, during his rule over the Bharmour 
State in 920 AD, founded the town of Chamba. The lineage records 
(Vansavali) of the ruling 'rajas' reveal that from Meru onwards 
there had been 60 'rajas', who ruled over the State of Chamba until 
the time it, along with the other hill States, got merged into a 
new entity under the name of Himachal Pradesh.

How and when exactly did the Gaddis come to live in these 
remote parts of these districts is a mystery of the legendary past; 
it has, moreover, only a historical relevance. Although the 
historical picture narrated by the Gaddi respondents during the 
study and the available written records enable us to link their 
past with the present, yet the authentic picture continues to be 
shrouded in mystery.
It is believed, that it was during the Mughal period in India (16th century), that the Gaddis immigrated from the plains of the country to Brahmpur, now called Bharmour, and made it their abode. It is also said, that when Aurangzeb assended the Mughal throne during the second half of the sixteenth century the Mughal empire was extending its boundaries to even inaccessible places. In order to capture the remaining pockets of the Hindus Aurangzeb continued the tradition of his predecessors but with more torturous methods like taking away or removing the sacred thread (yagyopavit) from the bodies of the Hindus, converting them forcibly to Islam and capturing unmarried girls from their homes. Under such tortuures, the Hindus who wanted to save themselves fled from the plains of the Punjab and other places, including those now in Pakistan, and reached the far-flung areas of Bharmour and the nearby places located in what is now called Himachal Pradesh. These Hindus included various castes such as Brahmans, Rajputs and Khatris. It is also said that although the States in the neighbourhood of Bharmour like Kashmir and Kangra were repeatedly invaded by the Mughals, the area of Bharmour later known as Chamba State escaped somehow these invasions. One of the reasons for this could have been its inaccessibility. Taking advantage of such a safe place, the Gaddis are said to have chosen it for a shelter. The Gaddis today say that since they considered the thread (janeu) around their body as sacrosanct, it was to protect its sanctity that they left their homes and hearths in the plains and chose to live in such inhospitable, snowclad mountains.
Further, since on their arrival in these areas they faced the problems of food and shelter acutely, they chose to acquire such an occupation as was suitable for them to provide both. So they took to sheep and goat rearing occupation that provided them with food and clothing and also forced them to adopt a nomadic way of life in search of pastures for their herds. The goat milk provided them with food, while the wool of sheep enabled them to make warm clothes, they badly needed. It may be due to this occupation of theirs that they are called Gaddi, i.e. a word resembling closely the word 'Gadri' or 'Gadria', meaning a 'shepherd'. The whole area of Bharmour subtehsil, where the Gaddis started living, has since been known as 'Gadhern' or 'Gaderan', meaning a place where the Gaddis live. Splitting the word also shows that Gaderan is composed of two words, viz. 'Gaddi' and 'ran' (living place). The term 'Gadhern' is profusely used by the Gaddis themselves as well as by the non-tribal communities of both the districts to denote home-place of the Gaddis in Bharmour in Chamba district. For example, during the winter when the Gaddis are on their itinerary to Kangra district, they say, "We have come from Gadhern", instead of saying that 'we have come from Chamba or Bharmour! Similarly, while going back they say, "We are going back to Gadhern" i.e. their home-place Bharmour subtehsil in Chamba district.
It is possible that the Gaddis at the earlier stages were nomads, moving up and down the mountainous ranges with their flocks as shepherds from season to season, but with the passage of time they settled down in Bharmour subtehsil for sojourn during the summer while putting their flocks of sheep and goats in the grasslands of the mountains, changing over thus to a seminomadic way of life. Later on, due to the hardships of climate, shrinking of grazing land and the hard way of family life, the Gaddi families started settling down in Kangra district all along the lower hilly ranges of the Dhauladhar, making their permanent homes there and changing over from a seminomadic mode of life to a sedentary one. That is probably why the Gaddis are also found in Kangra and Mandi districts of Himachal Pradesh. The ancestral linkages of the Gaddis of Kangra district with those of Bharmour subtehsil of Chamba district also stand testimony to the fact that they have from time to time migrated from the higher altitudes of Chamba district to the lower reaches of Kangra district. Some of them have still their names in the land records of Chamba district, although they have been living for long in Kangra and elsewhere. The Gaddis migrated, most probably in the sixteenth century from the plains of the Punjab, viz. Lahore and the adjoining areas, to Chamba district, with many of them migrating subsequently from Chamba district to Kangra district. The process of migration from Chamba to Kangra is still going on, because more and more Gaddis are taking to a settled way of life.
The Gaddis living in both the districts of Chamba and Kangra are Hindus, their castes being Brahmins, Rajputs, Khatris, Thakurs and Rathis. The Brahmins among the Gaddis are called 'Bhat Gaddis', they act as priests for all religious and social ceremonies, including weddings of the other castes of the Gaddis.

They speak a Gaddi dialect, whose vocabulary bears a great resemblance to Sanskrit. This also supports the view that they had migrated from the plains, where Sanskrit was the main language of the Hindus during the pre-Mughal period. Their attachment to the sacred thread (Janeu) also characterizes their Brahmanical origin and their cultural links with the Sanskritized part of our history. The Gaddis also have the clan or 'Gotra' system called 'Als' and under each of the above mentioned castes there are different 'Als' with different antecedents. These 'Als' need not necessarily be endogamous and permit exogamous relations. A majority of the Gaddis still wear the sacred thread, taking pride in the fact that since they fought for preserving its sanctity, they continue to reverence it to date.

Occupation

Sheep rearing has been the main and indeed the earliest occupation of the Gaddis of Bharmour subtehsil of Chamba district, so they have got to be nomadics or semi-nomadics. However, agriculture is also pursued by those, who are old, and by women, who are left behind. The Gaddis of Kangra district, on the other hand, are now mainly agriculturists, their cows and buffaloes not withstanding. The cultivation of fields in both the districts
is terraced type. The terraced fields in Chamba district are on steep slopes, while in Kangra district these are on mild slopes and mostly on flat lands. Thanks to education, the Gaddis are now also taking to other occupations such as shopkeeping and office work. Due to more favourable climatic conditions and, of course, to their growing education, the Gaddis of Bharmour sub-division of Chamba district are exhibiting a new trend to convert their terraced agricultural fields into apple orchards, which is more paying. The shepherds of Chamba district have also installed indigenous handloom shuttles in their houses. They weave woollen blankets and shawls (called Patoo/Gararu and Chadar respectively), using the self-combed and self-spun wool of their own sheep. These woollen products are sold to the non-tribal population.

Besides these occupations, there are some subsidiary occupations that are being adopted by the Gaddis more recently such as slate quarry work in slate mines and labour work in road construction undertaken by the Forest Department or Public Works Department. These new-found occupations have improved their economic condition further, contributing in no small a measure to a settled living for them.

When they move with their flocks of sheep and goats to lower altitudes in winter, they leave behind only the old and one or two other members per family to look after their houses
and crops in 'Gadhern' - their homeland. On their arrival in Kangra district, the women and children mostly take up household jobs with the locals, who in turn provide them with shelter. The adult males, however, move on with their flocks of sheep and goats to the distant pastures of the plains extending up to those of the Punjab to graze them.

At the end of their six-months itinerary, the Gaddi shepherds come back with their flocks and, picking up their families, they start their upward journey back to 'Gadhern'.

Crops and Food

The crop system in the two districts varies due to the climatic differences. Whereas the climate of Chamba district permits a single-crop system during the year, that of Kangra district allows a multi-crop system. The crops sown and harvested by the Gaddis in Gadhern, viz. Bharmour subtehsil of Chamba district, comprise wheat, barley and maize. These crops are sown only once between the late summer and the early winter months. After this, the Gaddis descend to the lower altitudes of Kangra district. These crops mature during the winter months under the cover of snow and are harvested by the Gaddis on their return to Gadhern during the early summer months, May and June. Even those, who are not shepherds, wait for the whole year to harvest the crop sown. This crop cycle repeats every year. Since rains are scanty, irrigation at high altitudes is not
possible. The terraced fields being too slopy to hold water necessary for the soil, rice cultivation is out of question in the Bharmour sub- tehsil. Pulses - soya bean (rajmah) and urad, locally called 'Rong' and 'Mah' respectively - are also grown. Popular vegetables grown, /include potato, tomato, onion, beans, chillies and mustard. The fruits sown and also found as naturally grown comprise walnuts (Akhroat) and 'Khumani' but these days apple is becoming more popular and is grown by a large number of the Gaddis in Bharmour subtehsil as a cash crop. A mustard seed like crop called 'chiney' in Gaddi dialect is also commonly grown and used sometimes as a substitute for a rice meal by the Gaddis, if the rice is in shortage.

The Gaddis living in Kangra district, on the other hand, sow and harvest their crops twice a year. In one crop, they grow wheat and barely (sown in November-December and harvested in March-April) and in the other half they grow rice and maize (sown in May-June and harvested in September-October). The climate of the district, irrigation facilities and mild or utter lack of slope in the land surface make it possible to have two crops a year. Mustard (sarson) and linseed (alsi) are also grown for extracting oil, while oil-cakes are used as fodder for cattle. All kinds of vegetables are also grown by the Kangra Gaddis. These include potato, tomato, onion, chillies, cucumbers, beans, mustard, sitaphal, karela, bhindi, arbi, and peas. Although the soil all along the Dhauladhar range is suitable for fruit-growing, yet the Gaddis have still to take to it. However, here and there,
in their vicinities, guava, peach, plum, banana, almond and mango plants are usually seen. The soil is also good enough for growing a variety of pulses, but their growth is hampered by excessive rains during the rainy season and hail-storms during the winter.

Since the Gaddis are, traditionally, a pastoral-cum-agricultural tribe, their food usually comprises the cereals produced in the field and the milk products obtained from the milk of the goats, cows and buffaloes. The Gaddi families, who still are shepherds and move from place to place with their flocks over hills and dales, and plains and forests in search of pastures for the flocks, have to remain content with the available food items such as wheat or maize flour or rice supplemented by goat milk. Sometimes, when on the move, their diet lacks vegetables; they then take only the starch of rice with a pinch of salt. However, the Gaddi families of Chamba and Kangra districts, who lead a sedentary life, have acquired a considerable regularity in their dietary habits. They procure milk and milk products from their cows and buffaloes. They also eat self-grown vegetables or even purchased ones. Their everyday diet usually consists of wheat or maize or barley flour or rice as cereal item and one of the common vegetables like potato, onion, a leafy vegetable called 'sag', besides pulses. The Gaddis of Chamba mainly use self-produced 'soyabeans' (Rajmah) called 'Rong' and 'urd' called 'Mah'. The locally produced cereal called 'chiney' is also used at times as an item of food.
By and large, the Gaddis are a non-vegetarian tribal community and would prefer to take a non-vegetarian diet, if available. Mostly they take meat in a community way, i.e. each Gaddi family contributing to the purchase of a he or she goat or sheep, dead or alive, and taking an equal share of meat.

The shepherd Gaddis have little regularity in the daily meal timings; they take their meals whenever they feel hungry. The settled Gaddis, on the other hand, take meals at regular intervals and have a special nomenclature for each meal they take. They usually take an early morning meal (breakfast) called 'dataiulu' or 'nuhari', a noon-time meal called 'kalaar', an afternoon meal called 'dafaari' and the dinner called 'sanjhialu'. However, these meal timings are determined more by their personal convenience and the nature of their occupational activity than by any set, pre-determined norms. A few wild vegetables like 'Khurokhr' called 'lungru and fafru' and a flower called 'brahphool' are also used as food items. The locally grown fruits like walnuts 'akhroat', Khumani called 'cheer' and apple also enter the food basket of the Gaddis living in Chamba.

Physical Type, Dress and Ornaments

Physically, the Gaddis, both males and females are stout and sturdy, medium-statured with Indo-Aryan features, simple, gay and mostly fair complexioned.
The traditional dress of the Gaddis is distinguishable from that of any other tribal or non-tribal community of Himachal Pradesh, in general, and of Chamba and Kangra districts, in particular. The typical dress worn by the men comprises a woollen cap called 'topu', a woollen halfgown called 'chola' and a long woollen black rope called 'dora' tied around the waist. Although they do not wear a trouser and are bare-legged throughout the year, yet they do wear it on important social occasions. It is a tight cotton or woollen trouser with a loose upper portion called 'Payjama'. When bare-legged, the Gaddi men usually wear a very tight underwear, called 'laangar', to cover the genital parts. A pair of locally made footwear, called 'juttey', is commonly used by them. The shepherd Gaddis keep this dress on in all seasons of the year.

They also carry on their person items like a firestone (flint) to kindle a fire when they are moving with their flocks (On many occasions, when it is raining, the match box in the midst of hills or forests either does not work or is not available). Some grassy pouch to kindle fire, some tobacco in a small leather purse and then all these items kept in a small sheep-skin bag called 'khalru' can be seen well tugged to the woollen rope and the halfgown or 'chola'. A medium size iron sickle or scythe called 'drat' is always kept inserted in the folds of the woollen rope for cutting purposes. This 'drat' is also the religious symbol of their famous god Keylong for worshipping and praying for all kind of protection during hazardous itinerary.
A smoking device - a small 'huka' called 'narelu' - with usually a brass base, a smoking wooden pipe (Nari) and a tobacco burner (chilm) of clay, is usually found in the hands of a shepherd even when he is moving with the flocks.

The young ones sometimes also tug to the woollen rope (dora) a brass rattle 'Ghunghroo' that produces an appealing rattling sound while moving. The Gaddis are music lovers; many of them also keep a flute with them to play upon it melodious tunes of Gaddi songs. The young and the old, and the male and the females regale themselves through the murmuring of their folk songs, which indeed are a food to the ears of not only the Gaddis but also of the strangers or the passers by.

The typical traditional dress of a Gaddi woman, commonly called 'Gaddan', includes a long gown reaching right up to the ankle called 'luanchari or dora' (if made of cotton cloth) and 'chola' (if made of woollen cloth); a cotton blouse called 'choli'; a cotton dopatta known as 'ghundu'; and a long black woollen rope called 'dora'. The hair is dressed in single hair band style called 'choti' and is well-knit and tied by a decorative lace called 'prandu'. The footwear is a locally made pair of shoes called 'mochari'. The Gaddi women are very fond of ornaments; on special social occasions, they are heavily laden with ornaments like necklaces called 'hars' made of silver, gold and beads of many varieties. The popularly worn necklaces or 'hars' are ranihar, kandhu, kapoormala of beads, joyemala and chanderhar. The head dress of newly married women includes an inverted cupshaped conical silver head-wear called
'chak or chaunk' and two small wears of the same shape called 'phuli' which they wear just above the ears. A forehead wear called 'Mantikka' is commonly used by new brides. A nose topus called 'long', a nose ring called 'nath' or 'besar', another nose ring called 'balu'- all three made of gold are the common nose ornaments. Silver bracelets known as 'gojru' or 'tokay' or sometimes 'ghunkaray' are very popular arm-wear and so are a variety of bangles called 'bangaan'. Silver-made pajeb 'parian' is an important foot ornament. All these ornaments are usually worn by a Gaddi woman on festive occasions. A locket of rectangular silver piece called 'tabeet' is generally worn around the neck by both the sexes.

A self-woven woollen blanket, called 'pattu', is an important item of the Gaddi dress; it is also the last to be worn over all the clothes when needed, especially during winter and rains. The Gaddis rarely use an umbrella; they protect themselves from the cold and rain by wrapping a blanket (pattu) round the body. These blankets or 'pattua' also serve as bed-sheets for them, especially when they are on the move with their flocks. A blanket below and a blanket above make their bed. They do not use a house to live in or a cot to sleep on or a kitchen to cook food in, when they are on the move. Any suitable place in the open is their shelter, cot and kitchen in all kinds of weather - sunny, rainy and cold. They usually lit a camp-fire in the open with a few blocks of wood, cook their food there and sleep beside the fire with their flocks around them. They keep
the fire burning throughout the night in the belief that the it keeps away the jungle beasts. However, there is always a good breed dog with each Gaddi family throughout its journey to faithfully protect the sheep, goats and the family members from the wild beasts. The settled Gaddis, however, of late have started wearing modern clothes such as shirts, trousers and coats. The women are commonly seen wearing a suit i.e. a 'kurta', 'salwar' and 'dopatta' or sometimes even saris. The traditional cap, once believed to be the symbol of Lord Shiva and Shiv Bhumi 'Manimahesh', is bowing out in favour of the turban, called 'pagri', 'pag' or 'safa'. A few have taken to the Kulu cap, while many prefer to remain bare-headed like the non-tribal communities of their area.