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ETHNOGRAPHY OF FOOD AND FOOD HABITS IN A TRANSHUMANT POPULATION OF NORTH INDIA

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INTRODUCTION

Food is one of the most important basic needs of human life. As the human civilization progressed various ways and means were invented for arranging the food for human beings. The primitive society knew only nature's produce such as fruits of the trees and roots of certain plants available in the jungle, as well as animal flesh obtained by hunting. By and by with the advent of agriculture, the forest produce was substituted by the agriculture produce like wheat, paddy(rice), pulses (dal) etc. people in pristine time used to be non-vegetarian.

Food may be defined as that which when taken into the body may be utilized for the formation and repair of the body tissue and for the production of energy. Man eats to live. The carvings of a hungry stomach are sensory stimuli that set the organism into food getting activities. Ingestion of food is an absolute necessity for the maintenance and functioning of the organism. Food as repair material to replace the continuous loss of substances from the body is necessary for bodily maintenance. True foods are either energy yielder or non - energy yielders and man must get an adequate intake of both. In addition, man must take in indigestible materials expressively called roughage to assist the passage of true food and its residues through the alimentary canal.

Food Nourishes the Body in the Following Ways-It furnishes vitamins and minerals by means of which life processes in the body are regulated, thereby, protecting the body against ill health. It provides proteins for the building and up keep of the body (Bhagawan, R. K Swaminathan 1962).¹ Foods being a necessary commodity play a vital role in the life span of every living being one can say that no life is exist without food what so ever may be, it is a link between life and death. It is not only essential for a physical need but also a social need. The basic function of the food is to fulfill the demands of the body and the energy to perform the day to day work assigned to the living beings by the nature. If you take human body as a machine, body requires energy for its proper functioning as it is required by the machine itself. The food acts as fuel in the machinery of human body and provides energy which is scientifically known as "CALORIE".

Malinowski² in his book Scientific theory of Culture writes that the needs or desires for sex, hunger and protection are basic to all other needs or desires. These are the universal needs. All human beings use different means to satisfy them. The fulfillment of desire or needs for hunger beings take food but the kind of food, the variety, the preparations, the serving and the associated beliefs differ from one community to community.

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Aninda K. Chakravati³ observes socio-cultural factors of food. In one of her article she related diet and desire in terms of culture and food use. She determines the food production and its use. She told that in India wide range of physical, cultural, economic conditions of food production offers a large variety of diet preferences of which vary not only with age, sex religion, caste and economic conduction in same area but also varies from place to place producing distinct regional dietary pattern.

S.H.M Rizvi and Shibani Roy⁴ in 2006 studied Garo tribal's living in N.E part of India. Meghalaya and stated that their staple food is rice but they also eat millet, maize and jobs tears tapioca. They don't use any oil for cooking but simply boil the food but now some of them use mustard oil. They eat flesh of goat, pig, fowl, duck and cow. Some of them eat non - poisonous snakes and lizards. They cook the animal blood in pots.

First, there have been major changes in the grooming, eating, and ceremonial consumption patterns of tribals, signalling higher social status through adoption of higher status consumption patterns. Tribals shifted out of low status (but highly calorie intensive) foods like sugar cane juice and *roti chatni* into diets containing (unbroken) rice, fresh vegetables and spices. Use of high status foods in social occasions like weddings also increased. Second, research report says changes in the accepted behaviours between castes, with rapid erosion in discriminatory processes that stigmatised tribals. By and large in these blocks, tribals are less likely to be seated separately at weddings, they are no longer expected to handle the dead animals of other castes, there is a noticeable increase in births in dalit households that are attended by non-dalit midwives, and non-tribals increasingly accept hospitality in dalit homes. None of these practices were common in 1990.

Lifestyle changes can only be understood in a comparative perspective, presenting us with two alternatives: comparing the lifestyles of tribals with non-tribals, or comparing the present lifestyle of tribals with their past. We chose the second approach, which in turn determined instrument design and choice of enumerators. We sought to understand changes in the food habits, lifestyle, caste practices, mobility and occupations of dalit households since 1990. In the absence of any previous study on these topics, there would be no alternative but to ask people for their recollection of previous conditions.

METHODS

Depending upon the type of information required in social research the sources could be categorized generally into two types-

1. Primary Sources: The actual information collected by the investigator for the study from the actual field of research from the facts of living person's lives and the individuals and the incidents around them.

2. Secondary Sources: The published reports, journals of government agencies or other non-government organisations, newspapers.

Of the various methods and techniques used to attain the first hand or primary information the most common are:

- 1) Observation
- 2) Interview
- 3) Case-study
- 4) Genealogy
- 5) Census
- 6) Maps
- 7) Photography.

In this chapter a detailed account of those methods have been given which were put to use during the present study. The fieldwork continued over a period of two years with several visits intermittently scheduled during two winters; two summers and a pre-winter

time in Chamba, Dalhousie, Bharmaur, and Shimla.

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 12th 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 organisation rooted in Hindu orthodoxy. These shepherd 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 they own land which they or their family cultivates. They 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. Ilbetson⁵ (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. 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. Brahmpura 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 72nd 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 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.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Gaddi people also shared this historic heritage of food culture. Now a days in gaddi society people have adopted both vegetarian as well as non-vegetarian means for pampering their hunger. They have switched over to the cooking of food inside the house in a separate place known as '**kitchen**' which **gaddi people call 'rasulla'** in gaddi language. The meal, cooking habits and either items connected with food and its preparation are mentioned later in this chapter. At first let's have a look at gaddi agriculture and cattle food and forest produce. Agriculture and allied occupations such as sheep rearing, weaving and spinning of wool, etc., are the main occupation of the Gaddis. As the slopes are very steep and the soil of hilly terrain at the higher altitudes is very poor and stony and not fit for agriculture. So the size of the fields is very small and the food produced here is not sufficient for subsistence of the people

1. AGRICULTURE AND FOOD CROPS:

The gaddi people practise crop-rotation in their fields. Mainly there are 2 periods for crops to rotate between. The first period runs from September to June and the main crop of :the wheat is sown during it. The second period runs from June to September and the crops of 'makka'. 'mah', and 'raung'(rajmah) are sown during this period. The change in the cropping pattern ensures the restoration of efficiency or the productive capacity of the field. To keep the fields fertile, they mix the dung of the cow, goat and sheep in the fields in the name of the fertilizers and pesticides. This was told by Kartar singh of sachiwine village.

Gaddis make experiments with the use of the seeds and they first sow the seeds and thereafter they decide as to whether the seed belongs to the quality brand. Then after finally testing the quality of seed, they prefer to sow such seeds in the fields. According to gaddis the area is commonly replete with red and black soil. As regards the mixed food crops, gaddis mention that the combination of 'makka'. 'mah' and 'raung' offers the mixed food crop. Along the crop of wheat they also raise the crop ofpeas in the same field as co-existent or concomitant crop.

Gaddis do cooperate with each other so as to make the exchange of manual service among themselves easily available and thus encourage the practice of discharging the mutual obligations. Gaddis remove the weeds which are harmful to the crops by scuffling the field. Thus the fields become free from the excrescences or unnecessary growths.Those gaddi people whose fields yield crops in galore and after assessing their personal consumption need if they find surplus produce, they prefer to sell it in the market either directly or through a 'thekedar' (contractor). Gaddis use the dried dung of cow or sheep or goat as fertilizers to the apple trees. In the earlier times these people used to give the corn in exchange of work. Now- a -days they give money in exchange of services.

2. CATTLE-FOOD:

The cattle-food is the by -product of the main crops. '**Ghada**' is a special structure where the gaddi people store the fodder prepared after mixing the hay, straw, leaves of the apple tree, chaff of the wheat and the remnant part of the maize. They do not grow fodder plants specially for the cattle-food, since they do not know about it and usually use the grass which grows naturally along with the various crops. They obtain special feed from the veterinary hospital to be given to the cattle as a stimulant to enhance the catties productive capacity. '**Drakha**' : This is a special cattle-food prepared after mixing the flour of maize and wheat-i.e. 'kukadi'+ gandum or kanak,(respectively), in boiled water with a little salt. This is provided to the cattle in a 'tasla' known as iunda' in gaddi language and hod in English. This liquid is then given to the cattle so that it should eat more grass and therefore yield more milk. Green grass known as 'Berseen' is grown as fodder plant in Pathankot and Kangara side but gaddi people do not do so; they treat the forest trees as fodder plants for the purpose.

3. MILK AND ITS USE:

Milk is not the substitute of food but a complement of it. The cow after giving birth to the calf does start yielding milk soon, but the gaddi people do not take it immediately. 24 days after the birth of the calf only the milk of the cattle is used. The milk produced during 24 days is offered to Lord Keling in the form of 'lassi' along with ' 'puri halwa', ' chawal', 'khichadi' and dal of 'man' and 'raung'. In gaddi society milk is used for preparing curd ('dahi'), butter ('makhan'), as well as 'desi ghee'. And 'lassi'. 'Cheese' is also a product of milk preferred by them. Milk in the pure form ultimately is taken as normal diurnal drink which is conducive to health. Usually the milk is collected by gaddis in a small bucket 'dolchi' made of steel or aluminum. It is also called 'dol' in gaddi language.

No special person is designated for milking the cattle, both men and women can do it. Gaddis make special ruse for milking the cattle by tying up the legs of the milk cattle. If

any cow gives or yields less milk than the reasonable quantity, the owner gets it treated not by veterinary surgeon but by a necromancer; or 'ojha'. Gaddis do not mind the milk being used for good or for bad purpose, since they do not believe that the use to which the milk is put affects the animal milked. Gaddis have been rarely aware of the Hosten, American cows which are the high yielding varieties of the cows. In comparison to these Cows, they keep Jarsi and Desi cows which are considered high yielding milch cows. 'dhyoti; It is a gaddi term which means the milk-seller or milk man.

FOREST PRODUCE:

Fruits also do not substitute the food of the gaddi people, but they constitute to be the additional attendants of the main food. They can also subserve as alternative to food in times of need. This information stems forth from the observations made during the course. Resources for forest produce are the forest trees like those of Apple, walnut, pears and 'aloobukhara'. These trees proffer these fruits as food to the gaddi people. Apple is the most coveted fruit in gaddi society.

There are 2 types of 'chir'-- one is meant to provide the wood and, other is known as 'khumaniwali chir' or the chir that produces sweet fruit known as 'khumani' in the hill area. This is preferred by gaddi people in the months of April, May and June. **'Chir', 'Deodar' and 'Ban' are the resource trees to provide the wood to the gaddi people.** Fire-wood is known as 'jangadee' in gaddi language. This is nothing but chirwood, it gets ignited within no time like Kerosene oil. The ignited piece of the chirwood is used as torch that they call 'mashaal'. This wood is also used in the hearth to facilitate the ignition without using cloth piece drenched in kerosene oil.

FOOD & COOKING HABIT:

COOKING:

The gaddi people use coal and gas for cooking in the winters and wood in the summers. In the earlier times the main fuel was the forest wood of ' chir' and 'tosa' now a days hearths with cooking gas arrangements have replaced the earthen hearths. In certain cases stalks or ' tuttoo' in gaddi language mainly of the maize or 'makkayee' are used in place of wood which is getting out of vogue, due to restraints put by the government as well as resistance put by the agitation or movement with the slogan 'save forests, save Environment'. Traditionally they used the dried balls of cattle dung as fuel for cooking 'Khora': Virkama of the village Sachuine told that the spot in the earthen hearth where the wood is put on fire is known as ' khora' in gaddi language. She further told that the hot vessels are grasped or gripped by the tongs now a days either to suspend them over the fire or hearth or to take them down from the hearth, although in most of the gaddi houses the piece of the cloth is used to grasp the hot vessels. Prohibited days for eating meat are Mondays and Tuesdays of the month to taboo their food habits in placation of specific gods and goddesses of those days. Non- vegetarians would prefer the meat of the cock, sheep and goat. Dogs, cats and jackals and other animals even when injured or dead are considered bad and forbidden for eating .Cow's meat is totally forbidden due to its adoration as sacred entity.

PRAYER BEFORE EATING AT ALL TIMES:

Gaddis pray before every bit of eating in the morning at the time of breakfast known as 'nuhari; in the noon at luncheon known as 'dophaaree' and at the time of dinner known as 'shaamee'. They believe that they eat to satiate them -selves and they call such eating as 'kalaar' in gaddi language.

COOKING MEDIUM:

Preparation of food items requires the oil for frying and cooking them. Gaddi people were found having preference for the mustard oil in the earlier times. Refined vegetable oil was in rare use. Now- a- days, they have started using desi ghee and dalda for

the purpose in all seasons except in the winters. Gaddis do not find their agricultural land suited to the production of paddy (rice) crops and oil crops. Hence, they purchase the rice and oil from the market specially **the Basmati rice is imported from Punjab**. Gaddis while serving the food to the members of the family follow the sequence i.e; Dal (pulses), chawal (rice), Phulke (chapatti) and sabji (vegetable). Traditionally gaddis were habituated to eat rice with the hand, but now they have started using spoons for the purpose. In some parts of the district Lahulpiti there is the custom of preparing so much quantity of the 'phulke' i.e; baked chapattis in advance that the same may be adequate enough to be consumed with in a week. However, they denied the prevalence of such a custom amongst gaddis of the village Dhadkauta, Sachiune and others mentioned in our study. The diseased person is provided liquid pot-pourri 'kichadi' prepared out of the mixture of rice and pulse of 'moong' but the diseased infant is provided porridge made of cereal boiled in water or milk.

Gaddis use all such spices in preparing food as are used by others in different parts of the country. The person should face the east while using the kitchen for cooking food. **'Bhoopana'**: The gaddi people use a long hollow round shaped slick to blow out the air through mouth for fanning the fire. This apparatus is known as 'Bhoopana' in Gaddi language as against 'Phunkani' of Hindi and 'Mouth-Blower' in English. The winters retain severity in cold from December to March, as such gaddis prefer to collect the wood from the forest, flour and rice from the market for keeping in store during the September and October for future use in winter.

Pucca food for them is cooked rice, the 'pooh' and 'parantha' made of maize or wheat flour. In the event of somebody's death, the preparation of food should be done without using garlic/ahsun). onion fganda) ; heengfganaka or sunda) meat; haldi(basuar). Usually the raw meat of cock is cheaper (90 Rs/kg) than the prepared meat. Except the horns of sheep and goat any part of the body may be eaten.

Madra: An eatable prepared out of Rajmah 'Raung'.

MISCELLANEOUS FEATURES OF GADDI KITCHEN WITH TERMINOLOGY OF VARIOUS ITEMS :-

- Dhaam: This is a religious feast.
- Teend: Term is used to denote the place in which Dhaam is prepared.
- Bottee: Term is for the kitchen- men engaged in arranging and preparing the 'Dhaam'.
- Pipali: Denotes Mirch in Hindi and chilli in English.
- Bhatta: Denotes 'baingan' of Hindi and Brinjal of English.
- Sachoo: Denotes 'seb' in Hindi and Apple in English.
- Khod: Denotes 'Akhrot' in Hindi.
- Beend: Denotes the seed of coriander.
- Nakh: Denotes 'nashpati' in Hindi and 'pear' in English.
- 'Lungadi' or 'Piddha': Indicated rice water obtained after the boiling of 'chawal'.
- Bhaat: Is cooked rice.
- Kukadi: Denotes 'khira' in Hindi and 'cucumber' in English.
- Pregnant ladies in this society are provided the normal meals, although they would avoid coconuts and walnuts in their food from the 7th month as per the belief that

the protective layer around the unborn child would be ruptured because of these eatables.

MANUFACTURED DRINKS:

Usually the gaddi people prefer 'sur' -local drink milk or the alcoholic drink 'desi sharaab'. **Gota:** It is a drink prepared from the mixture of 'Bhaang' and milk and is taken on the day of Shivaratri'. **Sur:** The ingredients for the preparation of the drink are 'Akht', 'Bhootkes', and seeds of 'Jau', which are pounded with a pestle in the mortar then it is fried and is ground in the 'chakki'. The entire mixture is diluted with water and some sugar or 'gud' is added and is poured in a big 'Ghada' (pot) which is called 'Math' and is left for 10-15 days (during winters the preparation in the 'math' is kept in 'obra' because obra is warm). 'Sur' preparation by gaddis has been granted licence by the government. After the sur is ready, chapattis are prepared out of the dough of kodra. (Kodra's flour+ lime juice or boiled rice) and are crushed to be mixed with the jungle herbs 'Dhalli' and 'Dhara' and then boiled with water. The mixture is ready to be used after 3 or 4 days. The drink is considered to be highly nutritious.

RECIPE:

- **Aid ka saag:** This is a vegetable prepared out of the scorpion-grass ('bicchoo-ghas') that produces the itching sensation in the part of the human body that touches it, but its prepared vegetable is quite dainty to eat and conducive to health.
- **Semi (Vermicillis):** This is made of 'maida' in long slender threads, taken as dish after boiling them in the liquid of sugar and water (or milk).
- **Tomato Pickle:** It is prepared after cutting the raw tomato and drying it up in the sun, thereafter it is mixed with haldi (basuar); salt (namak,) spices Ggaram masala,) in a pan and then entire mixture is parched and preserved for future use. It must be mentioned that gaddis prefer a number of vegetables as-cauliflower, tomatoes, etc. and also meat to be chopped into small pieces which are then dried in sun to be used during winters.
- **Pindari:** This preparation is made in the month of April on Baisakhi. The process of preparation includes the crushing of Kodra (a special shrub) and mixing of wheat flour in it with water and moulding the mix into round balls to be parched in a big 'pateela' on the hearth for at least half an hour. **This is taken as special morning food for gaddi people on the festival day.**
- **Badi:** Tomato and potato are cut into pieces and boiled into water and then they prepare small round pieces out of this mixture and put them under the sun for drying. Thereafter they are preserved for making vegetable available in the slack seasons.
- **Onion ('ganda') and garlic('lahsun')** is boiled into oil and mixed with the meat. Water is also mixed in it and then it is parched to become ripe and well cooked.

PRESERVATION AND STORAGE OF FOOD:

Kitchen is the ideal and only available place to serve as store- house for the food. If there is surplus fresh food, it does not get stale and spoiled since the natural cool climate helps to preserve the food, therefore although fridges do not find much usage, but the trend of using refrigerators is well within their knowledge. As the corn of wheat, maize and 'rajmah' as well the uncooked rice are generally stored for longer duration, they often develop worms with in- in that event they are taken out of the drums meant for storage and kept under the sun for a reasonable time to fend these worms away. The cooked food, if it is to be preserved for a longer period, it needs to shun the sun and is to be kept at a cool place beyond the rays of the sun.

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 BUTA OO: 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.

FOOD, PEOPLE AND THE FORESTS:

There are certain checks and people are not allowed to use forests indiscriminately because of the stringent rules of the Forest Department made on account of poor capacity of the forests to feed the increasing local demands. To obtain Timber Distribution rights of other jungles on the basis of being the bonafide residents of the region they need to move to longer distances, however, it is opted as an alternative by a few but a greater percentage remains confined to the nearby forest cover. Those who cannot engage themselves in a time-consuming procedure prefer to manage the fodder requirements from their field grass and from the waste obtained after the pruning of apple trees.

The local population of Bharmaur (including members from both Gaddi and non-Gaddi community) opine that initially the villagers were blamed by the forest department officers for the exploitation of forests since they collected medicinal plants and fuel wood. Hence, the Forest Department imposed all sorts of regulatory mechanisms by means of permits etc. to restrict the villagers from using the forests. When it was found that even then there could be no control on the depleting natural resources of the area the blame was shifted to the traders and apple growers. It was said that due to their large scale lopping of trees to meet the demands to pack their produce and transport them to far off places forests of the area are over stressed. The graziers were also asked to follow rules laid to obtain grazing permits, to regulate the size of their flock especially to reduce the number of goats which were held responsible for degradation of the forests. The local people report that this is because of the 'timber mafia' who are responsible for illicit felling of trees and for smuggling the precious timber.

The government by way of the income to forest department earns about Rs.1 crore as revenue from timber sold to forest corporation and from the sale of fuel wood during the 'Mani-Mahesh Yatra', However, the local people claim that this should have been their right to use the forest produces. Hence, according to them, the government and the Forest Department are always the beneficiaries for the income through Forest though the 'ban' /forests belong to the villagers. They resent the provision to get authorised permit to make an access to something, which has been very much their property since time immemorial. They strongly put forward a demand for discretionary powers so that they themselves assess the availability of trees and the state of the forests and pastures.

The forest officials on the other hand are of the view that the villagers are biased against the intentions of the government. It is quite possible that not every government

scheme or proposal suffices their purpose. Nevertheless, the government is entrusted with the responsibility to maintain the ecological balance in the area; hence, they cannot make everybody happy all the time. According to a senior officer those trees which cannot be used any further by the local people are assessed by the officials of the Forest Department and are then provided as 'fuel wood' (through the forest corporation depots) to the pilgrims who come to Bharmaur to attend the Mani-Mahesh procession. After the nationalization of the forests, those declared as 'dry forests' are sold to the forest corporation. These trees are cut in different sizes to prepare samples and sleepers and the forest corporation displays them for auction.

Great losses have been incurred on the forests due to irresponsible handling of the resource. Grazing, according to an officer in Forest Department, Bharmaur, has never been the matter of concern, it is over-grazing which leaves the ground devoid of grasses or any other form of small vegetation for a long time or even so permanently. The graziers act as litterlouts in the pastures and often leave the wastes there, which are mostly indecomposable as for e.g., broken utensils; plastic bags etc. The people of Bharmaur, according to him, undoubtedly have an earnest desire to preserve their surroundings but it is also true that there are some human elements from amongst the local population itself who are contributing to the exploitation resulting into the destruction of natural resources. Further, at present they (the local people) do not have adequate skills required to undertake a big responsibility as that of handling the local forests. These are highly specialized tasks and to allow the Gaddis to undertake such a venture demands proper capacity building which shall take a long time.

He stressed "most of the time people do not understand the basic purpose of any rule or regulation. It is not the fire lit to keep the commuters (who move through the pastures) warm, which is objected to but the careless manner in which they burn fire that often results in great havoc in the forests. The forest fire leads to the loss of a huge area of green cover." It has been estimated that the total Forests area burnt during 2001-2002 (due to various reasons) was 1684 hectares, this was quite less than the area burnt during 2000-2001 (6216 ha.), of which 169 hectare was in Chamba circle. The hills, which become denuded with loss of trees, shrubs, and grass cover, are unable to regulate storm water, thus causing flooding and sedimentation in the rivers. Thus, apart from losing the pastures and trees, which support their livelihood along with other forest goods, there is also a danger of various villages submerging in the floods besides loss to cultivable area due to frequent landslides.

The Forest Conservation Act (FCA), 1980, prohibits the breaking up or clearing of any forest land for the cultivation of coffee, spices, rubber, horticultural crops or medicinal plants without prior approval of the Central government under FCA. On the plantation of oil bearing plant 'jatropa' on forestland under the National Afforestation Programme, Government of India has given a classification dated 8 June 2005. According to it, though plantation of oil bearing plants like Jatropa is prohibited on forest lands under FCA but where this plant is indigenous to the area and such plantation activity is part of an overall Afforestation Programme in the area concerned, it will not require approval under FCA, 1980.

Similarly, wild fruit trees indigenous to the area can also be raised in the forest area. The National Forest Policy 1988 outlined the scope for people's participation in forest management. The participatory forest management rules 2000 were notified on 23.03.2001 and this paved a way for the involvement of the local communities. To start with, the system is entitled to be applicable to degraded forest only. The scheme Sanjhi Van Yojana 2001 has been launched in the state to put Joint Forest Management into practice. This scheme was promulgated after clubbing together the other related schemes.

During the study, the discussions held with the local population especially Gaddi women and a few of the castes not recognized as Gaddi have led to the following observations. Government has enhanced the plantations on the forestland and this has considerably increased the demand for labour. It also has contributed to the availability of fuel wood and fodder. Initially, with the depleting forests there was an acute scarcity of fodder. Now-a-days, the Gaddis though are not aware of the effect of having degraded forests around their village/area, yet they have started growing grass on their own fields. This according to them is a response to evade the tedious procedure of Timber Distribution Rights: The officers do not allow them to collect the fodder and some MFP but with certain restrictions and controls. As the fodder is a major medium on which Gaddi livelihood is based, its scarcity not only affects the income but also the quality of life of the people dependent on it. Further, due to scarce forest produces the people have started keeping a few cattle's like cow etc. This again results in lesser availability of cow-dung manure. As a result, chemical manures are being used in place of the natural and traditional ones. These, according to the Gaddi farmers, are expensive and those who have had an opportunity to move to nearby towns, work, and learn there, opine that chemical fertilizers are harmful for human health.

Thus to conclude, the Forest Department supervises the forests and the activities of the Gaddi farmers and pastoralists. These policies demarcate the forests which are permitted for grazing and those to which access is prohibited or restricted. The forest officials also supervise the protection of wild flora and fauna. Controlled use of forest produce is permitted to gaddi population by charging a fee and providing permits. Most of the Gaddis do not have a strong dislike for Forest Department and they seem to have adapted themselves to the rules of Forest Department developed out of environmental concerns, regarding use of Minor Forest Produce (MFP), wood etc.

The pastoral population, however, is concerned as the reduction in forests and pastures for grazing leads to the reduction of livestock. This in turn has resulted in the loss of income generation. All these have to an extent caused the sedentarization of Gaddi people who practice agriculture, horticulture etc. and has also given a push to out migration of the Gaddi people to diversify their economic activities by way of tourism, higher education, seeking alternative jobs etc. Although such inclinations are growing at a slow pace, yet may gradually cause the decline of pastoralism

CONCLUSION

Research shows the shifts in eating habits among tribals. Some foods with low social markers, which were the community's main sources of calories, have practically disappeared and new elements, such as spices and vegetables have appeared. Another example are drinks made of either sugar cane, in winter, or from hardened molasses or jaggery *rus*, in summer. These are high calorie intensive drinks that provide energy for manual labour but have little other nutritional content. As these drinks were often provided by landlords for their workers in the field as part of the wage, these came to be associated with agricultural labour and low social status. Often non-tribals too would consume these drinks but more often than not, it was matter of choice, rather than necessity as in the case of tribals. This drink has essentially disappeared in both blocks, with the shift beginning much sooner in the western block.

In addition to the low status items dropped from the diet, there have also been new additions. Tomato, packaged salt, and cardamom were uncommon to non-existent in the diets of tribals in 1990 but they are now part of regular consumption items, with the exception of cardamom in western block where the uptake is relatively modest. These changes in eating habits go beyond the usual shifts associated with higher incomes. The rapid disappearance of foods that were status markers highlights the effort, and ability, of tribals to shift towards higher social status foods and empirically affirms Gopal Guru's

(2009)⁷ argument that foods serve as a metaphor for cultural hierarchies. Deaton and Dreze (2009)⁸ have highlighted the puzzle that while there are many indicators of economic progress in India, caloric intake appears to have fallen since the early 1980s. Some use this indicator to suggest that the gains from economic growth have not benefited the poor. In our household survey, people were asked if their food and clothing situation today was “worse”, “as it was”, “improved”, or “much better” than in 1990. Obviously, people can feel their food situation is “much better” (and have higher disposable income) but consume the same (or less) calories, if they are buying things other than calories with their food. It is well known that typically quality upgrading raises costs per calorie, but this research raises the question of the extent to which tribals are buying status by upgrading their food habits to eliminate invidious social distinctions revealed in what people eat. This is a factor not captured in the standard measures of either expenditures or calories.

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