

TRIBES: CULTURE AND ECOLOGY
A Case Study of Adilabad District, 1905-1948

THESIS SUBMITTED TO OSMANIA UNIVERSITY
FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN HISTORY

BY
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UNDER THE SUPERVISION
OF
Dr. K. ARJUN RAO,
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work embodied in this thesis entitled **“TRIBES: CULTURE AND ECOLOGY, A Case Study of Adilabad District, 1905-1948”**, submitted by me to Osmania University, Hyderabad, for the Award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, is the original work carried out by me, under the supervision of Associate Professor, **Dr. K. ARJUN RAO**, Department of History, Osmania University, and it has not been submitted either in full or part for any Degree.

Place: Hyderabad-7.
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “**TRIBES: CULTURE AND ECOLOGY, A Case Study of Adilabad District, 1905-1948**”, submitted by Mr. T. SRINIVAS, in total fulfillment for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, is original and the work has been carried out under my supervision. The thesis carries satisfactory work and is recommended for the Award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. No part of the thesis has been submitted for any other degree previously in this University or any other University or institution.

Place: Hyderabad
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CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER-II

**GEO-PHYSICAL, HISTORICAL AND TRIBAL
BACKGROUND**

CHAPTER-III

ECOLOGY AND MAN: TRIBAL INTERACTION WITH NATURE IN ADILABAD

CHAPTER-IV

COMMERCIALISING WOODLANDS OF ADILABAD: NATURE OF STATE POLICIES

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**IMPACT OF GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND
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ABSTRACT

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ABSTRACT

TRIBES: CULTURE AND ECOLOGY

A Case Study of Adilabad District, 1905-1948

The present study is an attempt to pursue on how the nature was used and abused by man in the first half of 20th century in the district of Adilabad. The study has been confined to one of the remotest districts of Andhra Pradesh. All the tribes developed a culture that had respect towards the ecology in which they live. Till recent times, research on tribes was mostly confined to socio-religious and economical issues. Studying tribal culture in ecological paradigm is an attempt to go for constructing comprehensive history. The natural formations and environment undoubtedly influenced the history and in tune with this environment aboriginals of Adilabad district like elsewhere have evolved and developed their own way of lifestyle. The study is intended to examine the relationship between forest dwellers, forests and forest policies of the State in historical context along with geophysical-tribal-ecological background of Adilabad District. The study of tribes and their culture in correlation with Ecology has become one of the emerging aspects of recent cultural and ecological investigations. Under present study, efforts were made to study on both tribal culture in correlation with nature and implementation of Nizam's forest policies in the first half of twentieth century from environmental point of view. The final point is the reflection or impact of implementation of forest policies in form of tribal resentment in Adilabad district. Thus, present work concentrates on four wide issues. Initially,

study begins with the narration of landscape of Adilabad district along with an overview of tribes residing in the district. History, as said earlier is nothing but an enactment of drama on the stage called geography or space. So, before knowing anything about drama it is better to know a little regarding the space for better understanding of the situation in which that particular drama is enacted. So, for having better understanding of culture of tribes of Adilabad and its correlation with the nature, the knowledge of geophysical-historical and tribal background of Adilabad district is a must. Therefore, every effort has been made to portray the picture of man in Adilabad district from ecological point of view.

The hills, landscape, valleys and plateaus of this district, for many centuries were adorned with forests. This forest clad hills and valleys gave shelter and protection to aboriginal tribes. There are many tribes residing in India and some of them has made Adilabad district as their abode since time immemorial. As said earlier tribal culture and ecological balance coexist. Attempt to elaborate this issue by focusing on economy, ethno-medicine and beliefs were made as discussion points in one of the chapters followed by chapter on geophysical-historical and tribal background of Adilabad district. Tribes have been passing this treasure of experience which has been gained through their practical experience to the next generations for centuries. Under any circumstances, if forests are lost, then the acquired experience or lessons will be lost for ever and it result in extinction of tribes who depend on nature. We should not forget that each community has its own distinctive identity. Otherwise greyness of uniformity will be prevailed on the earth, and there will be no cultural diversity.

Each tribe has developed its own culture and way of lifestyle. Though, they are living in the forest clad landscape since past but never disturbed or destructed their surroundings for their selfish gains like other human beings do. In India, for domination over forests and forestlands has begun soon after British came to power and it is continuing as a legacy. The chapter entitled 'Commercializing the Woodlands of Adilabad-nature of state policies' documents the range of enthusiasm of State shown in expanding its authority over large forest tracts of Adilabad by giving over forest department with new Acts. The promulgation of policies lead to commercialization of forests and has trampled the natural rights of tribes over forests. Though this chapter speaks completely on forest management but it is intricately related with the life of tribes. Through this chapter attempt is made to give in depth analysis to the above said point. The penetration of State administration through its agencies like forest department, entry of non Tribals with the encouragement of government into woodlands and the exploitation of forests and innocent tribes has been highlighted in one of the chapters.

The peoples' access to forests is restricted. The centuries old forest usage pattern of people which was in tune with the surrounding ecology is now disturbed. The ill treatment meted out by tribes on all political and economic fronts resulted in the form of serious repercussions that lashed the state administration like stormy wave. State committed blunder in not identifying the natural right of tribes over forest and forest lands. For this reason, it had faced series of organized and unorganized revolts. One such revolt that has taken place

in Adilabad district in 1940 has become a prime aspect in the succeeding chapter. Thus, this chapter highlights the Impact and Response of Tribes towards states policies of commercializing Forests from the economical, social and environment perspectives. In a nutshell the argument in this work is an attempt to reflect culture in general and tribal culture in particular in correlation with nature and also on how the quality and magnitude of ecological exploitation lead to social conflicts.

APPENDIX-I

Interview with a Gond medicine man, *Oika Jallu*, 8th July, 2008, Wagdhari village, Neredigonda (Mandal), District Adilabad. In the beginning he didn't speak freely but after some prolonged discussions he slowly conceded to put forward his families past history and knowledge about plant medicine.

In his words, "I shifted to Wagdhari around forty years ago. In my childhood we used to live in Neredigonda and my father brought a new patch of land under cultivation. That was the period when non-Gondi and other caste groups started settling in Neredigonda. One day a man came with some papers and said that he has *Patta* (title deed) over the land which my father used to cultivate. Later along with my father we shifted to this village and cleared some forest for cultivation and settled here. In the beginning this hamlet too was settled by tribes only. Slowly here also the non tribals started settling. I learnt about the use of herbal medicine from my father and we generally don't reveal the secret to others. It is said that if you tell to others then the medicine will not work".

APPENDIX-II

Interview with *Oika Manthu* (son of *Oika Jallu*) on 15th November, 2008, Wagdhari village, Neredigonda (Mandal), District Adilabad. It is sorry to say that, on my second visit I found *Oika Jallu* has passed away who gave valuable information on medicinal values of few plants that are found in their surrounding forest.

Latter I had an opportunity to interact with his son who inherited his father's knowledge on ethno-medicine. He too spoke on some medicinal plants that were added to the information given by his father on ethno medicine. For developing some ideas on the concept of ethno-medicine among tribes of Adilabad as a part of their nature or eco-friendly culture the words of *Oika Jallus* and *Oika Manthus* are very useful. Because such knowledge gained through personal experience helped these communities to survive and sustain. They also explained how their communities didn't suffer from few ailments or diseases like Diabetes. They also tried to put forward how their culture and way of living is different from others that helped them to stay healthy.

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FORTS AND BUILDING CONSTRUCTION: THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO FIELD OF ART, ARCHITECTURE, TECHNOLOGY AND ADMINISTRATION IN TELANGANA (11TH TO 17TH C. AD.)

INTRODUCTION:

Geographical space is often considered as land, and can have a relation to ownership usage (in which space is seen as property or territory). While some cultures assert the rights of the individual in terms of ownership, other cultures will identify with a communal approach to land ownership, while still other cultures such as Australian aboriginals, rather than asserting ownership rights to land, invert the relationship and consider that they are in fact owned by the land. But one should not forget is that the ownership of space is not restricted to land. Spatial planning is a method of regulating the use of space at land-level, with decisions made at regional, national and international levels. Space can also impact on human and cultural behavior, being an important factor in architecture, where it will impact on the design of forts, buildings and structures, and even on farming too.

The first buildings ever constructed by human beings were huts and shelters, constructed by hand or with simple tools. As urban centers grew during the bronze age, professionalism in fields of art and architecture along with a class of professional craftsmen, like bricklayers and carpenters also appeared in the society. Occasionally, slaves were used for construction work in ancient period. In the middle ages, these were organized into guilds and respectively in modern period steam-powered machinery appeared, and later diesel- and electric powered vehicles such as cranes and other modern machinery.

CASTLES, FORTS, CITADELS AND OTHER CONSTRUCTIONS:

Castles are fortifications which are regarded as being distinct from the generic fort or fortress in that it describes a residence of a monarch or noble and commands a specific defensive territory. Fortifications are military constructions and buildings designed for defense in warfare and military bases. Humans have constructed defensive works for many thousands of years, in a variety of increasingly complex designs. The term is derived from the Latin *fortis* ("strong") and *facere* ("to make").

Larger forts may class as fortresses, smaller ones formerly often bore the name of fortalices. The word fortification can also refer to the practice of improving an area's defense with defensive works. City walls are fortifications but not necessarily called fortresses. The art of setting out a military camp or constructing a fortification traditionally classifies as castramentation, since the time of the Roman legions. The art/science of laying siege to a fortification and of destroying it has the popular name of siegecraft or 'siege warfare' and the formal name of poliorcetics. In some texts this latter term also applies to the art of building a fortification.

Fortification is usually divided into two branches, namely permanent fortification and field fortification. Permanent fortifications are erected at leisure, with all the resources that a state can supply of constructive and mechanical skill, and are built of enduring materials. Field fortifications are extemporized by troops in the field, perhaps assisted by such local labour and tools as may be procurable and with materials that do not require much preparation, such as earth, brushwood and light timber, or sandbags. There is also an intermediate branch known as semi-permanent fortification. This is employed when in the course of a campaign it becomes desirable to protect some locality with the best imitation of permanent

defences that can be made in a short time, ample resources and skilled civilian labour being available.

Like term fort, a citadel is also a fortress for protecting a town, sometimes incorporating a castle. The term derives from the same latin root as the word "city", *civis*, meaning citizen. In a fortification with bastions, the citadel is the strongest part of the system, sometimes well inside the outer walls and bastions, but often forming part of the outer wall for the sake of economy. It is positioned to be the last line of defence should the enemy breach the other components of the fortification system. A citadel is also a term of the third part of a medieval castle, with higher walls than the rest of a town. It was to be the last line of defence before the keep itself.

The oldest known structures which have served as citadels were built by the Indus valley civilisation, where the citadel represented a centralised authority. The purpose of these structures, however, remains debated. Though the structures found in the ruins of Mohenjodaro were walled, it is far from clear that these structures were defensive against enemy attacks. Rather, they may have been built to divert flood waters.

At various periods, and particularly during the Middle Ages, the citadel - having its own fortifications, independent of the city walls - was the last defence of a besieged army, often held after the town had been conquered. A city where the citadel held out against an invading army was not considered conquered. For example, in the 1543 Siege of Nice the Ottoman forces led by Barbarossa conquered and pillaged the town itself and took many captives - but the city castle held out, due to which the townspeople were accounted the victors (and took considerable pride in it). However, Citadels were often used also to protect a garrison or political power from the inhabitants of the town where it was located, being designed to ensure loyalty from the town which they defended. The attack

on the Bastille in the French Revolution - though afterwards remembered mainly for the release of the handful of prisoners incarcerated there - was to considerable degree motivated by the structure being a Royal citadel in the midst of revolutionary Paris.

From very early history to modern times, walls have been a necessity for many cities. Uruk in ancient Sumer (Mesopotamia) is one of the world's oldest known walled cities. Before that, the city (or rather proto city) of Jericho in what is now the west Bank had a wall surrounding it as early as the 8th millennium BC. The Ancient Egyptians also built fortresses on the frontiers of the Nile Valley to protect against invaders from its neighbouring territories. Many of the fortifications of the ancient world were built with mud brick, leaving many no more than mounds of dirt for today's archaeologists. The Assyrians deployed large labour forces to build new Palaces, temples and defensive walls.

Some settlements in the Indus valley civilization were also fortified. By about 3500 B.C., hundreds of small farming villages dotted the Indus floodplain. Many of these settlements had fortifications and planned streets. The stone and mud brick houses of Kot Diji were clustered behind massive stone flood dykes and defensive walls, for neighbouring communities bickered constantly about the control of prime agricultural land. Mundigak (c. 2500 B.C.) in present day south-east Afghanistan has defensive walls and square bastions of sun dried bricks.

Babylon was one of the most famous cities of the ancient world, especially as a result of the building program of Nebuchadnezzar, who expanded the walls and built the Ishtar gate. Exceptions were few — notably, ancient Sparta and ancient Rome did not have walls for a long time, choosing to rely on their militaries for defence instead. Initially, these fortifications were simple constructions of wood and earth, which were later replaced by mixed constructions of stones piled on top of each other without mortar.

In Central Europe, the Celts built large fortified settlements known as oppida, whose walls seem partially influenced by those built in the Mediterranean. The fortifications were continuously being expanded and improved. In ancient Greece, large stone walls had been built in Mycenaean Greece, such as the ancient site of Mycenae (famous for the huge stone blocks of its 'cyclopean' walls). In classical era Greece, the city of Athens built a long set of parallel stone walls called the Long walls that reached their guarded seaport at Piraeus.

Large tempered earth (i.e. rammed earth) walls were built in ancient China since the Shang dynasty (c. 1600-1050 BC), as the capital at ancient Ao had enormous walls built in this fashion (see siege for more info). Although stone walls were built in China during the Warring States (481-221 BC), mass conversion to stone architecture did not begin in earnest until the Tang dynasty (618-907 AD). In terms of China's longest and most impressive fortification, the Great Wall had been built since the Qin dynasty (221-207 BC), although its present form was mostly an engineering feat and remodelling of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644 AD). The large walls of Pingyao serve as one example. Likewise, the famous walls of the Forbidden City in Beijing were established in the early 15th century by the Yongle emperor.

The Romans fortified their cities with massive, mortar-bound stone walls. The most famous of these are the largely extant Aurelian walls of Rome and the Theodosian walls of Constantinople, together with partial remains elsewhere. These are mostly city gates, like the Porta Nigra in Trier or Newport Arch in Lincoln. Hadrian's Wall was built by the Roman empire across the width of what is now northern England following a visit by Roman Emperor Hadrian (AD 76–138) in AD 122.

The Early Middle Ages saw the creation of some towns built around castles. These cities were only rarely protected by simple stone walls and more usually by

a combination of both walls and ditches. From the 12th century AD hundreds of settlements of all sizes were founded all across Europe, which very often obtained the right of fortification soon afterwards. The founding of urban centers was an important means of territorial expansion and many cities, especially in Eastern Europe, were founded precisely for this purpose during the period of eastern colonization. These cities are easy to recognize due to their regular layout and large market spaces. The fortifications of these settlements were continuously improved to reflect the current level of military development.

Medieval-style fortifications were largely made obsolete by the arrival of cannons on the 14th century Battlefield. Fortifications in the age of blackpowder evolved into much lower structures with greater use of ditches and earth ramparts that would absorb and disperse the energy of cannon fire. Walls exposed to direct cannon fire were very vulnerable, so were sunk into ditches fronted by earth slopes. This placed a heavy emphasis on the geometry of the fortification to allow defensive cannonry interlocking fields of fire to cover all approaches to the lower and thus more vulnerable walls.

The profile of the fort became very low indeed, surrounded outside the ditch by a gently sloping open area so as to eliminate possible cover for enemy forces, while the fort itself provided a minimal target for enemy fire. Traditional fortification however continued to be applied by European armies engaged in warfare in colonies established in Africa against lightly armed attackers from amongst the indigenous population. A relatively small number of defenders in a fort impervious to iron-age weaponry could hold out against high odds, the only constraint being the supply of ammunition. Steel-and concrete fortifications were common during the 19th and early 20th centuries, however the advances in modern warfare since I world war have made large-scale fortifications obsolete in most situations. Instead field fortification rose to dominate defensive action. This

was an advantage because since it was less extensive it formed a less obvious target for enemy force to be directed against. Many historical fortifications were demolished during the modern age, but a considerable number survive as popular tourist destinations and prominent local landmarks today.

Walls and fortified wall structures were still built in the modern era. They did not, however, have the original purpose of being a structure able to resist a prolonged siege. Its primary purpose was to enable the city to impose tolls on goods and, secondarily, also served to prevent the desertion of soldiers from the garrison in Berlin. The Berlin wall was a different form of wall, in that it did not exclusively serve the purpose of protection of an enclosed settlement. One of its purposes was to prevent the crossing of the Berlin border between the East Germans and West Germans. Defensive walls have been built in Korea along the De-militarised Zone. In the 20th century and after, many enclaves Jewish settlements in Israel were and are surrounded by fortified walls.

ARCHITECTURE:

Architecture first evolved out of the dynamics between needs (shelter, security, worship, etc.) and means (available building materials and attendant skills). Architecture is a Latin word and its Greek form is *arkhitekton*. It also means as the professional service in relation with art and science of designing and erecting buildings and other physical structures. It reflects functional, technical, social, and aesthetic considerations. It requires the creative manipulation and coordination of material, technology, light and shadow. As human cultures developed and knowledge began to be formalized through oral traditions and practices, architecture became a craft. The process of trial and error, and later improvisation or replication of a successful trial is termed as vernacular architecture. Indeed, vernacular buildings make up most of the built world that people experience every day. Early human settlements were mostly rural. Due to a surplus in production

the economy began to expand resulting in urbanization thus creating urban areas which grew and evolved very rapidly in some cases, such as that of Catal Hayak in Anatolia and mohenjo Daro in the Indian Sub-continent.

Architecture also encompasses the pragmatic aspects of realizing buildings and structures, including scheduling, cost estimating and construction administration. As documentation produced by architects, typically drawings, plans and technical specifications, architecture defines the structure and/or behavior of a building or any other kind of system that is to be or has been constructed. Architectural works are often perceived as cultural and political symbols and as work of art. Historical civilizations are often identified with their surviving architectural achievements. Architecture sometimes refers to the activity of designing any kind of system but here the present study is concerned with historical perception

The earliest surviving written work on the subject of architecture is *De Architectura*, by the Roman architect Vitruvius in the early 1st century CE. According to Vitruvius, a good building should satisfy the three principles of *firmitatis utilitatis venustatis*, which means durability, utility and beauty. According to Vitruvius, the architect should strive to fulfill each of these three attributes as well as possible.

In Indian context on architecture there are textual references on architecture. But real textual on architecture began to be written in the renaissance period. These became canons to be followed in important works, especially religious architecture. Some examples of canons are found in the writings of Vitruvius, the *Kao Gong Ji* of ancient china and *Vaastu Shastra* of ancient India and *Manjusri vasthu vidya sastra* of Sri Lanka. The architecture of different parts of Asia developed along different lines from that of Europe, Buddhist, Hindu and Sikh architecture each having different characteristics. Buddhist architecture, in particular, showed great regional diversity. In many Asian countries a pantheistic

religion led to architectural forms that were designed specifically to enhance the natural landscape.

During medieval ages Islamic architecture began in the 7th century AD., developing from a blend of architectural forms from the ancient Middle East and from Byzantium but also developing features to suit the religious and social needs of the society. Example can be found in India and central Asian countries. Examples can be found throughout the Middle East, North Africa and Spain, and were to become a significant stylistic influence on European architecture during the Medieval period.

With the Renaissance and its emphasis on the individual and humanity rather than religion, and with all its attendant progress and achievements, a new chapter began. Buildings were ascribed to specific architects - Brunelleschi, Alberti, Michelangelo, Palladio and thus the cult of the individual had begun. There was still no dividing line between artist, architect and engineer, or any of the related vocations, and the appellation was often one of regional preference. At this stage, it was still possible for an artist to design a bridge as the level of structural calculations involved was within the scope of the generalist.

With the emerging knowledge in scientific fields and the rise of new materials and technology, architecture and engineering began to separate, and the architect began to concentrate on aesthetics and the humanist aspects, often at the expense of technical aspects of building design. After the I world war pioneering modernist architects sought to develop a completely new style appropriate for a new post-war social and economic order, focused on meeting the needs of the middle and working classes. They rejected the architectural practice of the academic refinement of historical styles which served the rapidly declining aristocratic order. The approach of the Modernist architects was to reduce buildings to pure forms, removing historical references and ornament in favor of

functionalist details. Buildings that displayed their construction and structure, exposing steel beams and concrete surfaces instead of hiding them behind traditional forms, were seen as beautiful in their own right.

As India is no exemption to the world's tradition of constructions, therefore we can find large number of fort and other related constructions adorned in different parts of India. Unlike studies on forts in rest of the world, research on construction, engineering techniques, architecture know how of bygone era was less projected in India and more in Telangana region. But the present study is intended to cover Telangana region where one can find wide varieties of forts built by different dynasties at different point of time. For example, the Golconda fort, Warangtal fort, Rachakonda fort, Devarakonda fort, Bhuvanagiri fort etc.

Here is some description of forts of Telangana region which is the area of proposed study. To begin with Golconda fort, it is surrounded by a girdle of hills with fifty five feet crenellated granite wall in a circumference of eight thousand yards was adorned by three tiers of loop holed battlemented ramparts and guarded by eight colossal gates.. Golconda or Gollakonda once styled as Mankal, which was primarily under the Kakatiyas, the sovereigns of warangal, was later transferred in 1363 by Raja Krishnadeva Raya of Kakatiya dynasty through an agreement to Mohammad Shah Bahmani, the sultan of Bahmani dynasty. To defend from Mughal invasion additional rampart was constructed and it is interlinks the primitive and modern forts.

Bhuvanagiri fort is another marvelous fort built on an isolated rock by the western chalukya ruler Tribhuvana malla vikramaditya VI and was thus named after him as Bhuvana giri. Bhuvanagiri means hilltop citadel. The 6th Nizam, Mahboob Ali Khan changed its name officially as Bhongir. This fort on rock hill stands around 600 feet above sea level and spreads over 40 acres. This splendid historical fort with the awe inspiring rock and the aesthetically fortified courts

which have stood the ravages of time still in the imagination of the tourists. Devarakonda fort was constructed by “Padma Nayaka Velumalla Rajas” and it enjoyed pomp and glory between 1287 to 1482 AD.

Warangal fort is one of the architectural wonders of bygone era. It is a massive structure built in the 13th century by the then Kakatiya dynasty. The construction of this colossal structure was initiated by the couple of rulers. Once one of the impregnable forts, Warangal fort is today very popular for its architectural brilliance which is above and beyond its history. Under Kakatiya dynasty the Telugu speaking rulers’ art and architecture reached its zenith. The special feature distinguishing the four enormous pillars of the gateway is that they have been cut from a single rock. The remnants of the fort provide useful insights of past civilization that used to occupy this region.

Thus each fort and construction in Telangana region has its own historical, architectural relevance which is to be studied. Such efforts not only carry forward legacy of this culturally enriched land but also project the identity of region for self assertion.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE:

Some literature in the field of forts and related construction has emerged in recent past and most of them are either on history and antiquities and its relating factors mostly confined to one or two forts. This literature is not of less importance because it not only provides information but contributes in making further in depth analysis of the present study and help to fulfill the lacunae if any exist.

To begin with a book entitled, *Fort Scott: Courage and Conflict on the Border* by Leo E. Olivia is an interesting work. This book recreates the history of the military post from its beginnings in 1842 until it was abandoned in 1865.

Writer Leo Oliva covers the fort's vivid past. He highlighted how this fort played an important roles in Civil War as base, as a collection point for prisoners, and a gathering place for refugees during the war.

One another document on single fort i.e., *Fort Leavenworth: Gateway to the West*, written by J. Patrick Hughes. This book tells the story of the oldest U.S. Army fort in continuous existence west of the Mississippi. Fort Leavenworth was built on the bluffs of the Missouri River in 1827 as a frontier post to protect trade on the Santa Fe Trail. This work also explains about how this particular fort has served critical roles during the Mexican War, Civil War, and early expansion of the West. Today this historic post is home to the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College.

William McKale and William D. Young have co-authored a book entitled *Fort Riley: citadel of the frontier west*. McKale and Young cover the conflict that surrounded the post when it was established in 1853. The story follows the fort through the Civil War and the hostilities between Indians and settlers in the West. Standing as a central military stronghold, it escaped the gradual demise of most western forts and evolved with a changing army into the twentieth century. Fort Riley exists today as one of two active posts in Kansas.

Another interesting book entitled '*forts of maharashtra*', authored by M.S. Naravane, also presents in elucidated manner regarding various forts built under the rule of shivaji and succeeding powers. *Forts of Andhra Pradesh* by Dr. N.S. Ramachandra murthy is a book *forts of Andhra Pradesh* emphasizes on much neglected aspect in the architectural and historical studies of Andhra Pradesh. It attempts to critically examine the rise and evolution of forts coupled with the concept of defense and classification of forts based mainly on the data available in archaeological excavations, extant remains, literary texts both Sanskrit and Telugu and local records from pre-state to state societies in Andhradesa. Even this book failed to analyze historicity of many important forts. Barnes and Noble's book on

‘Forts in Andhra Pradesh: Kondapalli Fort, Golkonda, Kondavid Fort, Gandikota, Madanna and Akkanna, Chandragiri, Rachakonda, Devarakonda’, is also a good book on various forts in Andhra Pradesh.

But an overview of the above documents shows that none has focused exclusively on the forts in Telangana region with emphasis on architecture, historicity and cultural point of view.

SCOPE OF STUDY:

Many dynasties ruled Telangana region at different points of time. Covering the constructions of all the dynasties right from ancient to modern days is a difficult task. Therefore the present study is confined to the period between 11th and 17th centuries. Although this is not a small span of time. But this was the period in Telangana region when some important dynasties (Kakatiyas, Velamas, Reddis and Qutubshahis) ruled effectively and left their legacy that speaks about contribution of talent that has been contributed to world culture by this region.

OBJECTIVES:

1. To make a study on the historical background of various forts in Telangana between 11th and 17th c. AD.
2. To assess the modus operandi used in the process of construction of various structures.
3. To know about the architectural know-how of bygone era used in creating this landmark in history.
4. To project how this architectural legacies are symbols of indigenous knowledge and culture.

HYPOTHESIS:

Work under this research proposal is an attempt to make a comprehensive study on the physical, cultural and architectural landmarks like forts and related constructions in the Telangana region. This proposal is intended to highlight the techniques, scientific know-how, indigenous knowledge of bygone era. It also meant about projecting things that can help in modern service industries like tourism for the coming generation to come.

CHAPTERISATION:

The research proposal can be categorized into following chapters which as follows:

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|-------------|---|
| Chapter I | : Introduction |
| Chapter II | : Historical background of various forts and buildings between 11 th and 17 th cAD. |
| Chapter III | : study on art, architecture of various forts. |
| Chapter IV | : Modus operandi or technology used in construction of forts in Telangana region. |
| Chapter V | : Comparative study on forts of different dynasties |
| Chapter VI | : Conclusion |

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CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

Generally, the pages of history shine by the acts of great men and the wars waged by them. But history is an amalgamation of many other factors such as socio-economic, cultural, ecological and nonpolitical dimensions which have been marginalized due to the hegemonic factors. Every community has its own identity which one can identify through one's culture, traditions, customs, and spiritual affiliations reaching back symbolically to the dawn of time. Similarly, tribes, too, have their own culture, which stands out from the rest shaped by ecology. This cultural diversity has come under siege owing to the preponderance of a number of cultural and linguistic approaches and in this case, tribal people, their culture as well as their indigenous knowledge, became most vulnerable. The terms like culture and heritage are widely used in a variety of contexts. Traditionally, these words relate to the natural environment, buildings and monuments, arts, and social customs and traditions. Man's contribution to the natural environment has resulted in buildings and monuments of significant historical value, which can be broadly termed 'the build heritage'. But the impact of environment is more on human race and in framing their culture rather than vice-versa. The present study is an attempt to portray one of the marginalized culture of Adilabad district between 1905 and 1948 i.e., tribal culture. This culture has been developed in tune with natural surroundings or ecology.

The tribal population of Adilabad District, traditionally like any other tribes, that are closely associated with forests and there are some tribes even today spend greater part of their lives in the proximity of trees. It is for this reason that aboriginals were often referred to as “*Jangali*”, today a derogatory term standing for “uncouth” or “uncivilized” but literally meaning “forest dwellers”. The tribes, whatever be their country and status, are the cause and the effect of the natural economy, natural society, natural polity, and natural cultural entities. The tribes by way of their living show that man and environment are not mutually exclusive but they are mutually reinforcing and inclusively depending on each other. The social, economical, cultural and ecological spheres of tribes of the district are distinct with their own identity and are very significant as far as their lifestyle is concerned. But the cultural, material and ecological aspects which are inter-related arenas in the life of tribes have been indeed hemmed in on all sides by non-tribal percolation into wooded lands with the initiative and assistance of state. Moreover forest landscape has been the center for diversified livelihood patterns and played an important role in shaping the socio-economic and cultural patterns of aboriginal societies. There are many causes for the immigration of non tribals into the district but intervention of state into the forest clad district was with sole intention of exploitation forests on commercial lines. To fulfill such desires machinery has been created to exploit forest resources and that was department of forest. This forest department mammothly since its inception started to engulf all that forest tracts that came in its way unhesitatingly without respecting the sanctity of ecology and ecology based cultures. Thus, non-tribals from one side and state sponsored machineries like department of revenue and

forests from other side has encircled the wide forest tracts which is the homeland of tribals. The way forest department has colonized and brought wide forest tracts under its management along with implementation of forest policies in Adilabad district is an interesting narration that has to be studied from ecologically related historical angle. The enforced implementation of forest policies led to the resentment in form of Revolts. The 1940 revolt under the leadership of Kumaram Bhimu is one such example of resentment that has taken place in the district of Adilabad.

The district of Adilabad was converted as a contested domain over the available resources since second half of nineteenth century. In this the forest dwellers or tribes had to bear the burnt of enforced alien culture that is not an eco-friendly. The forest dwellers till then had natural right over the resources of forest had to give them up. Forests, generally were no mans land but due to commercialization it turned into states personal property. The life of tribes vis-à-vis forest dwellers developed their culture that is intricately related with the ecology in which they live. Their economy, belief system, culture and what not every thing has been shaped by ecology. They are living in forests since times immemorial but never destructed forests. With the intervention of state policies through forest and revenue departments drastic change was induced not only in the life of tribes but also in the environment. The aboriginal tribes were forbidden from their access to forest resources/products. Thus change introduced in isolated forests resulted not only in crippling the cultural and material life of tribes but also general environment by their economic thralldom. Despite the pressure exerted on them, marks of their original culture is still seen in few isolated

and secluded pockets of remote areas because of their unrelenting efforts to resist against foreign intervention and also to preserve their identity. The people who once lived in relatively free and well blossomed environment now remain as shrunken societies by becoming homeless in their own land. One can witness such societies and cultures all over the world still flourishing with a spirit to be alive. The societies that fought only succeeded in preserving their identity and those which didn't have failed to do so. The disappearance of any of this population or the erosion of their traditional style of life would diminish the complexity of mankind's cultural dimensions. This would also lead to the gray uniformity already threatening the world. So, there is an urgent need to have synchronic studies of the past from ecological perspective.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY:

The universe of this study is to deal with the socio-economic and cultural aspects of tribes that have been developed in tune with the environment in which they lived. The present area of study intends to cover Adilabad district under Nizam's dominion with the time span commencing from 1905 and concludes in 1948. The intention is to situate all the material and non-material (social, economical and cultural) aspects in the context of ecology. It was in 1905 the District of Adilabad was created for administrative convenience. Nizam's Government through its laws encouraged immigration into this district in order to bring virgin forest tracts under cultivation to increase state's revenue. Conferring of title deeds and jagirs gave legitimacy over ownership of land. This led to the influx of outsiders, who questioned the sustenance of Tribe and their way of living. The study period

concludes at 1948, because, this year marked the end of Nizam's regime and newly framed Indian constitution came into effect in this region.

RAISON D'ETRE OF THE STUDY PERIOD:

By 1905, Adilabad district was created as a separate district under Nizam's dominions, which was earlier in Warangal Suba as an administrative unit (Sirpur-Tandur sub-district). From 1905 onwards the results of administrative changes were clearly seen. Giving of *Pattas* (title deeds) to non-locals made them to claim lands owned by tribals. Non tribals supported by State made deep inroads into culture, and economy into wood lands or forestlands that made unprecedented and adverse effects on culture a boriginal inhabitants and even on the ecology of the concerned region. From 1905, the same physical demarcations of Adilabad district continued till Hyderabad state was merged into Indian Union through police action (17th September, 1948). Between 1905 and 1948 the unchanged modus operandi of administration was carried on in the district. It was the period when forest department brought large tracts of forest cover in the district under its management. The intention was simply commercial exploitation for generating revenue. Establishment of forest department and its mode of working in Adilabad is largely part of British legacy in princely state of Hyderabad. But such acts lead to the unwelcome intervention in the personal and isolated life of a boriginal tribes who developed their way of living in tune with ecology. The acts of destruction of such ecology have registered change in the lives of forest dwellers or a boriginal tribes. The administration carried in Adilabad district made visible impact on culture, economic life style of indigenous people along with

the ecology. This brought irreconcilable and irrecoverable loss and imbalance in nature and also in the life of the aboriginal inhabitants that never existed till then. Generally, resistance will be seen for bringing sudden and unexpected change in life either in form of violation of rules or violent revolts. Revolts normally are seen as anti-government or anti-administration but occasionally they have cultural and ecological angles.

As the world is changing rapidly so is India. Her hills, forest and tribes are Indian in every sense of the word, and they can not be left out of this change. They too have future and not merely past. The only policy that can guarantee their culture and physical survival along with the concerned environment is sympathetic guidance, awareness and encouragement. This can't be done today without proper understanding of the genuine background because certain Government and non-Government forces in the early twentieth century with the mask of modernization made constant onslaughts. Above this very few aboriginal people of India have attained greater prominence on the political scene of past centuries and there seems to be little work done on ecological aspects especially in regard to regional or micro history. This mist veils the history of Deccan especially and the present study is to throw ample light on the history of district from ecological dimensions. The unprecedented depletion of forest cover resulted in severe environmental crisis and this ultimately resulted in severe social conflicts in various parts of the Indian and Adilabad district is no exemption. The heavy competition on the limited resources makes one to brood over the actual cause that has created such crisis. For example,

inception of forest department in the district resulted in the commercialization of forest resources. This wrongful or mismanagement of natural resources made irreversible damage not only to nature but also to age old cultures that relied on it.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE:

The intention behind present work is to make a study on the three different perspectives, such as things like tribal culture, implementation and impact of forest policies and response to forest policies from ecological perspective. Many scholars have contributed immensely on the study of life and conditions of tribes both in pre and post independence era. This literature is of no less importance because they along with giving information, also contributes in making further in-depth analysis of concerned aspects.

Generally, Sociologists and Anthropologists have categorized tribes and their culture as separate entity or group. Many eminent academicians and non academicians have contributed with their might in relation to the study of tribes, ecology and related culture. If any attempt is made on study regarding tribes of Deccan, then necessarily one has to refer the series of writings on different tribes by Christopher, Von Furer Haimendorf. His writings were purely from anthropological and sociological perception. He had documented socio-economical and cultural conditions of Chenchus¹, Gonds of Adilabad², the Reddis of Bison Hills³, Apantanis of Assam hills⁴, and so on. Haimendorf in, "*The Raj Gonds of Adilabad*", discussed life, in terms of Socio-Economic conditions and cultural life style of tribes in

Adilabad in pre-Independence period and it is valuable document and closely relevant as far as present study is concerned. Setumadhava Rao, a bureaucrat too contributed on tribes through his work entitled 'Among Gonds of Adilabad'⁵. Haimendorf in, 'The Chenchus', gave description of the topography and climate of the concerned region. Though it is expressed very briefly, but provides precious information that tickles the mind of readers. R.V. Russel is also one of the earliest writers to contribute on tribes of central provinces of British India⁶. In "Tribal India", Gisbert theorized about the basic institutions present in tribal societies.⁷ Further Indrajit Singh, In his book, "The Gondwana and the Gonds"⁸, made study on tribal cultural contacts and acculturation. Similarly, K.S. Singh,⁹ brought out the Birsamunda movements agrarian base and its link to the colonial situation. In his "Birsa Munda and his movement, 1874-1901", speaks about the grievances ventilated by Santals and tried to emphasize on the nature of revolt. Mr. Singh's other work "People of India",¹⁰ is a systematic account of ethnographic study of tribes of India. But this work though is informative and more relevant form Anthropological survey rather than historical study of the tribes and the ecology in which they lived. Edgar Thurston, gives¹¹ Information of various tribes and their settlement in South India.". In the same lines Syed Sirajul Hassan narrates the presence of various tribes that were existed in the early years of twentieth century¹². This work covers the issues, such as, distribution of Gonds along with other allied tribes of the region, with special reference to the land problems, customs and ceremonies of the aborigines. Reddy, P.C.,¹³ gave account of socio-Economic conditions of Yanadis under British colonialism. Nirmal Kumar Bose published a book and it is an interesting account of principal Indian tribes, their

habitat, society, ways of living, rites and rituals¹⁴. In the same way V. Raghavaiah¹⁵ made an attempt to analyse on tribal nomadism, tribal life and revolts. He worked among the tribes of Madras presidency, tried to prove that there was no difference between *adivasi* and peasant movements¹⁶. In the writings of scholars like Haimendorf and Sethumadhava Rao a brief introduction about the topography of the land and climate can be noticed. Such writing can be classified under early writing of geography as far as environmental history of Andhra Pradesh is concerned. But after analyzing the above works, it reveals that no single scholar made serious attempt to study life and culture of tribes in co-relation with ecology. As a part of tribal culture, the aspect of ethno-medicine plays important role. Study related to it contributes in knowing about how man kept himself alive since stone ages. In relation to it, a book entitled 'Medicinal plants' by S.K. Jain deals with medicinal plants that includes authentic information based on pharmacological and other experimental work. The literature on medicinal plants is so vast and scattered¹⁷. There are also other gaps in the writings of the scholars like highlighting tribal revolts and resentments from various perceptions like ecological because they are simply the civilized people in arms. The study of environmental history is in its adolescence and recently many scholars are contributing with their might in this regard. Some of them are like Richard grove, David Arnold, Ramachandra Guha, Madhav Gadgil, Vandana Shiva, Shaym Divan and so on.

In recent times, some scholars have attempted to study the changes brought by state in the natural resource management, in particular the forest resource

management in India. They examined the questions like how the ecological factors like climate, vegetation, soil and forests that influenced the Indian society and culture. They also made attempt to know how the natural resource utilization patterns were transformed. And finally, to what extent this colonial legacy is still continuing.¹⁸

Ramachandra Guha's writing presents interesting definitions on environmental history. He focused on the process of ecological degradation and identification of agents behind it.¹⁹ When depletion of resources like forest was registered then struggle to grab limited resources begins. The resentment of people will be in the form of revolts. These revolts are nothing but ventilation of grievances against various causes, which have to be seen and analyzed systematically not only through economical points of view but also from cultural and ecological point of view. 'The unquiet woods' of Ramchandra Guha put into historical perspective the well known 'chipko movement', a peasant movement against commercial forestry in Uttarakhand. For him chipko movement is a kind of social protest and to defend their rights of forests.²⁰ Undoubtedly forests have positive co-relation with life style of tribes and human civilization as a whole.²¹ Thus after going through some literature related to tribes-culture-ecology, it reveals that no single scholar made serious attempt to study life and culture of tribes in co-relation with ecology. This lacuna can be seen in regional history of India especially under Nizam's dominion. There are also other gaps in the writings of the scholars like highlighting tribal revolts and agitations from various dimensions because they are simply the civilized people in arms.

HYPOTHESIS:

The present study is regarding tribal culture that has been tuned by ecology. Along with ecological study an ample light will be thrown on implementation and impact of forest policies that lead to resentment among forest dwellers in the District of Adilabad. The universe of this study is to examine the above said issues by confining to the time span of first half of twentieth century. Adilabad district is one of the less known districts in Indian sub continent. Studying history with ecological dimension is recent phenomenon and it remains at large in adolescence. On the same lines an attempt will be to portray the districts history with ecological perception. In support of above said proposal causes and consequences of introducing change in environment along with the grievances ventilated by the tribes in the form of protests and revolts will be studied.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:

The present study is to make a modest attempt from historical and ecological perception to address, explain and estimate the social, cultural and economic conditions of tribes that existed in Adilabad district between 1905 and 1948. Emphasis has also been made on the government measures to colonize and commercialize woodlands of this district. Here are few specific objectives are:

1. To construct Geophysical, historical and tribal background of Adilabad district along with an overview of Tribes of this district.

2. To study social, cultural and economic practices of tribes and their positive co-relation with the environment. Because, ecologically informed history can help in reassess the history of societies.
3. To examine and evaluate the Government forest policies in the State of Hyderabad in general, and Adilabad district in particular between 1905 and 1948.
4. To examine the nature of tribes' revolt of 1940 against the hegemony of intruders, and the nature of leadership. Looking into the nature of tribal resistance from social, political, economic, and ecological point of view is necessary because most of the tribal resentments more or less are ventilation of grievances against the foreign intrusion.
5. To focus on the Impact of forest policies that have shown impact on environment of the district and on life of forest dwellers.

SOURCE AND METHODOLOGY:

In the process of the study there is a need to make use of a variety of sources both primary and secondary. The period of study confining to first part of twentieth century makes one to depend mainly on the archival source material. Primary data is collected from contemporary administrative records, proceedings, reports, Brandies reports on forests and records pertaining to departments of health, revenue, Judiciary, police and jails, census, etc. Along with other official and non-official records, Gazetteers published by the state of Hyderabad and Madras presidency which give information related to this study also taken into consideration. During the course of

study in fieldwork few personal interviews were conducted to collect first hand information to have in-depth analysis of the topic. Thus Primary sources were mainly collected from state Archives of Andhra Pradesh and by visiting tribal settlements as a part of field work.

Secondary sources such as Books, Journal and newspaper reports and articles published in this regard are used in our study that consists of published books, articles, journals and un-published works. These works helped us in formulating the conceptual and theoretical framework that is employed in the process of our study.

CHAPTERISATION:

Narration on Tribal culture in correlation with nature, implementation of forest policies by Nizam's administration in the District of Adilabad and settlements in return to implementation of forest policies has been organized into six different chapters.

First chapter is a brief introduction on topic/title and area of research and its importance. This chapter provides information regarding the review of literature on tribes and environment. It also consists of brief description of the objective of the study, hypothesis and methodology applied to present task that has been undertaken.

Second chapter illustrates about the effort made in constructing geophysical and historical background of Adilabad district along with an overview on tribes residing there.

Third chapter examines how aboriginal tribes in Adilabad district developed their socio-economic and cultural activities in tune with prevailing environment. It is an attempt to situate material and non-material culture in the writings of environment history. Special emphasis in this chapter is given to ethno-medicine, beliefs and other aspects in correlation to the ecology.

Fourth chapter examines the context of evolution of forest policies in British India and in the State of Hyderabad. Introduction and nature of implementation of forest policies in Adilabad district between 1905 and 1948 forms backbone to this chapter. This chapter examines on how deliberately forests of this district were exploited? How commercialization of forests in Adilabad has taken place because of increasing demands for timber in British Indian and overseas markets. Requirements for shipbuilding, railways, Infrastructure activities and demand for fuel mostly lead to deforestation have been analyzed by giving relevant information. Finally, this chapter documents the process of bringing wide tracts of forests in Adilabad under the control and management of State administration. In a nutshell, this chapter attempts to contextualize forest policies as a part of writing environmental history of this region.

Fifth chapter describes people's response to the implementation of the forest policies in Adilabad district. It focuses mainly on impact of forest policies on forest dwellers who completely depend on forests. This chapter deals with the violent movement that was erupted in 1940 under the leadership of Kumuram Bhimu. It tries to picturise the restriction imposed on tribes from access to forest products. Finally, it shows how government tried to persuade tribes with the help of an anthropologist, and also on how their interests were accommodated by framing new laws.

Sixth chapter is conclusion and summary where an attempt is made to draw some of the findings. The present study mainly focuses on the regional level process of formation of forest policies. The present study also attempts to show how the resources of forests, the gift of nature to mankind became an issue of 'contested domain' between forest dwellers and state government.

Over all the present study tries to illustrate that by implementation of forest policies a well developed and strongly established eco-friendly tribal culture started showing signs of erosion.

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CHAPTER-II

GEO-PHYSICAL, HISTORICAL AND TRIBAL BACKGROUND OF ADILABAD DISTRICT

Historical geography as a discipline is growing with a distinct focus on interdisciplinary analyses. This resulted in need to look landscape through different dimensions. Investigation of issues through historical geography is concerned with the material well being of humans, for example, agriculture, trade, urban centres, rural settlements, industries, communications, etc, arouse the interests of both historians and geographers. Similarly, the identification of regions not just in geographical terms but also in economic, political, ecological and cultural terms. So there is need to know geophysical, historical and tribal background of Adilabad district.

Adilabad is a fascinating district, though having historical, ecological and wider ethnological background, it has received less attention of scholars. Intention of this chapter is to throw light on physical, historical and tribal background of Adilabad district. This background provides suitable setting that helps in understanding various aspects like nature, nature related culture, states intervention, its role in changing ecology and disturbing culture that has been developed in correlation with nature, etc. This district derives its name after Ali Adil Shah, the ruler of Bijapur. Even though this district has plenty of natural resources it remained backward. Very little is known about the history of Adilabad district prior to its becoming part of Hyderabad state under Asafjahis. As a part of their territory this region was ruled by many ruling

dynasties like Mouryas, Sungas, Shatavahanas, Vakatakas, Vishnukundins, Western Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas, Kalyani Chalukyas, Yadavas of Devagiri, Kakatiyas, Gond Rajas, Bahamani sultans, Maratha Bhonsles, Moghuls and Asafjehis. The land of this district is located between river Godavari and its tributary Penganga. Pranahita, another tributary of River Godavari forms eastern boundary of this district.

1. TOPOGRAPHICAL AND GEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND:

The district of Adilabad is situated between 77.46' and 80.01', of the eastern longitudes and 18.40' and 19.56', of northern latitudes. It however occupies fifth rank in area with an extent of 16,105 Sq. kms¹ and accounts for 5.90% of the total area of the State of Andhra Pradesh. It is however, the second largest district in Telangana after Mahaboobnagar with 52 Mandalas and 1743 villages. But by 1340 F. (1930-31)AD this district's geographical area was around 7,294 Sq.Miles.² It is bound on north by Yeotmal and Chandrapur district of Maharashtra, on the East again by Chandrapur district, on the South by Karimnagar and Nizamabad districts of Andhra Pradesh and on the West by Nanded district of Maharashtra State.³ The Satmala range traverses the district from the northwest to the southeast for about 281.5 Kms.⁴ In this range, the Mahbubghat is the highest peak. In the eastern portion of the district, some hills and hillocks are of minor importance. The most important river that drains the district is river Godavari. The Godavari, which is the largest river in Peninsular India, enters this district near Basar, a pilgrim centre. This mighty river forms the southern boundary of the district separating it from Nizamabad and Karimnagar districts. Penganga, Wardha, and Pranahita come next in importance. The Kadam and the

Peddavagu are tributaries of the Godavari. Besides these, there are also rivulets like the Saatnala, the Swarna vagu, and the Suddavagu that drains the district.

The Penganga forms part of the northern boundary of the district, while the Wardha and the Pranahita form the northern and eastern boundaries of the district. Pranahita joins the Godavari along with the Wardha at Revulapalli village near Chinnur. The Kaddam River takes its origin at Boath village in east and at Paspula near Khanapur finally falls into Godavari. Peddavagu, Saatnala, Swarna and Suddhavagu Rivulets flow in easterly direction of this district. Along with this, Adilabad district is abundant in natural and mineral resources. The soils are Red loamy derived from the granite formed in Archean period. Shales, limestone to some extent sandstone of the Penganga and Sullavai series yield fine, red or grey dusty to loamy soils. The soils over the Barakars and Kamthis are coarser and reddish, while those on the Talchirs are fine, sandy with a yellowish tinge. The Deccan traps on weathering gave rise to deep brown to red soil or to regar popularly known as black cotton soils that support growth of cotton crops.

Topography of this district is a kind of laboratory for the students of Geology and Geography. There are clear evidences of land formation in this district in form of layers one above other. This sequence of layers formation helps in study of Geological and geographical aspects of this region. The availability of various types of rocks and minerals in large quantity like Coal, Limestone, Iron Ore, layers of Black cotton soils speaks regarding this. The geological formations include the Archean

gneiss, the Cuddapah, Sullavai and Gondwana series, and the Deccan trap. In the geological history of the peninsular India, the district of Adilabad has a special significance. Important deposits of coal, limestone, iron ore and clays are also found besides several other minerals.⁵

This district, like the other districts of Andhra Pradesh, forms part of the Indian Peninsular shield that remained a stable block since the Archean times. The Archaeans were formed about 2000 million years ago when conditions for the existence of life were unfavourable. The rocks formed during this period were essentially igneous or highly metamorphosed resulting from intense earth movements. These rocks were later exposed to agents of weathering for about 500 million years, after which a vast sea was spreading over this region. Primitive life existed during this period. Rocks such as conglomerates, sandstones, shales and limestones were deposited during these times. After many years this basin was uplifted due to earth movements which caused folding and faulting. There was a lull in the geological history of the district for about 400 million years. By this time, a supercontinent came into existence and this is referred as Pangea. Its northern part is Eurasia and southern part is Gondwana land, as said by the geologists. In the early stages of its existence, glaciers had deposited boulder beds and silts in the inland basins that covered this Gondwana land. Simultaneously, there were changes in the land flora, the growth of which was accentuated by the retreat of glaciers. This flora is known as the Glossopteris flora and the land plants included essentially Pteridosperms. This vegetation drifted and deposited by the waters and covered by other deposits such as

shale and sandstones got buried and transformed into coal in a course of time. Subsequently dry and warm climatic conditions set in. During this period, deposits such as sandstones, shale, clays, limestone and conglomerates were deposited. There was a marked change in the fauna and flora as well. This cycadean flora known as the Ptilophyllum flora replaced the earlier Glossopteris flora. The primitive tetrapods, dinosaurs, flying reptiles and insects existed on this land. The ganoids and lungfishes, lamellibranches and bivalved Crustaceans lived in water.

These conditions existed about 100 million years ago when there was a gradual break up of the Gondwana land. Flows of molten rock known as lava, which poured out of fissures from the west coast of India, spread over the western and central India. These flows have given rise to flat-topped hills known as the Deccan traps. In between the successive lava flows, sedimentary rocks were deposited in the lakes formed in the depressions. There was a revolutionary change in the flora and fauna. The angiospermous plants made their appearance and marked change was noticed in the animal life as well, and these were partly preserved in the intertrappean sedimentary rocks. The volcanic activity continued for about 15 million years, after which there was no significant change in the geological history of this part of the peninsula except for the deposition of alluvium along the river banks.

Here is the sequence of the various geological formations in the district from oldest to recent times in geological age.

Archaean type of rocks is divided into two main groups, the peninsular granite complex and the Dharwars. The Archaeans are exposed in the southern part of the district north of the Godavari, south of Adilabad and in the northeastern corner of the district. Dharwar type rocks belonging to lower pre-cambrian period. This rock occurs as patches in the granite terrain in parts of Nirmal, Khanapur, Utnur and Lakshettipet taluks. Talc-schists, chlorite-schists, hornblende-schists and quartz-magnetite or quartz-hematite rocks are the main rock types of this group. During upper pre-cambrian period we can see two type of rock formation like penganga and Sullavais group. Penganga group is followed by sullavais. The pre-cambrian sediments overlying the granites unconformably are referred to as pengangas and sullavais in this district. The former, named after the Pengana River that forms the northern boundary of the district, consists of shales, limestones and subordinate sandstones. The gritty sandstone unit resting on the granites at the base of the pengangas is called the Pranahita sandstone. It is white or pinkish, quartzitic sandstone made up of quartz and pink feldspar derived from the weathering of the underlying granites. The sandstone is 50 to 100 feet thick and limestone resting over the penganga sandstones is grey, black, pinkish or purplish in colour and is thin bedded and splintered at different places. The shales, the dominating member of the pengangas are soft, reddish brown in colour and are interbedded with thin limestone beds. The Pengangas are exposed in the area between Mancheriyal and Asifabad.

The other rock group of this period found in the district is sullavai series. The Sandstones are reddish or brown in colour and are pebbly at places and current

bedded. Irregularity characterizes these sandstones. This rock system is found north of Mancheriyal and north of Sirpur-Kagaznagar area overlying penganga beds. Between Jurassic to Upper Carboniferous period the rock systems that formed are generally of Gondwana origin. This system fairly occupies wide area in the eastern part of the district roughly between Sirpur, Asifabad, Mancheriyal (Mancheral), Chennur and Vemanapally. The beds of this rock in general have gentle dip towards northeast or east-northeast. The Gondwanas are broadly divisible into two divisions, the lower one comprising the Talchir, the Barakar and the Kamathi stages, and the upper Gondwana.

The upper Gondwanas are represented by the Maleri, Kota and Chikiala stages in this district. The Maleri stage, named after the village of Malledi (Marweli) near Tandur, comprises purple, grey or red clays and calcareous friable, fine-grained sandstones. These rest on Kamathi and are followed by the Kota towards the northeast. The red clays have yielded fossils including invertebrates, vertebrates and plants. Among invertebrates-Unionids (Laamellibranchs), Epherids, Coleopterous, Baltoid and other insects and worms. In Vertebrates-primitive tetrapods (Hyperodapedon huxleyi), dinosaurian remains, knipoid and ganoid fishes (catyrys, Tetragonolepis analis, Lepidotos and ceratodus) and coprolites. Along with this fossil wood Dicroidium odontoperioides, Elatocladus plana, Ptilophyllum acutifolium, podozamies, cone, and stem and seed impressions also can be seen. Along with plant fossils, fish fossils of upper Gondwana age is found in this district. The youngest beds

of the Gondwanas in the district are the Chikialas and comprise conglomerates, sandstones, shales and clays. These are ferruginous and are rich in iron.

Deccan trap has covered nearly half of the area of Hyderabad state and mostly occupied northern and western portions of the dominions. Its northern limits lie in the vicinity of Adilabad in the taluq of Sirpur-Tandur.⁶ A British Geologist, W. King through his research on Deccan trap of this region has contributed a lot that helps us to know about the trap formations in Adilabad district.⁷ The sedimentary series found immediately underlying trap is called lamta bed. Where ever intra-trappean formation with over lying trap occurs, few wooden fossils and reptilian bones were found.⁸ The volcanic rocks occupying the western and central parts of the district are the eastern continuation of the vast masses of the traps covering the western and central parts of India. These consist of a number of flows of different composition but are essentially made up of basalt. Both the vesicular and non-vesicular traps are present. In some places there are well developed drusy cavities partly or completely filled up with calcite, quartz, chalcedony, jasper and opals etc. Interbedded with traps are thin beds of conglomerates, sandstones, clays and limestones. These are freshwater sediments deposited during the periods of quiescence that lapsed between the successive flows of traps.

Under recent and subrecent formations, Laterites, gravels and soils are prominent. Ferruginous laterite cappings over the Deccan traps occur in parts of Utnur area. Recent conglomerates, gravels and gritty sands are exposed along the riverbeds.

Near the courses of rivers in the district there are larger deposits of fertile alluvium attaining a thickness of six metres in some places.

2. CLIMATE:

This district as a part of larger Indian peninsular region seems to have very stable type of climatic conditions without much change since last two billion years. This is proved from the experiments done by scientists from University college of London in collaboration with Indian Statistical Institute. It means the type of climatic condition that has started working few million years ago, is still continuing today without much change. Regarding the study of this climatic climax, extensive study on vegetation, their types and related fossils that were excavated in the district play predominant role. The climate of the district is Tropical in nature. Summers are hot and generally weather is dry except during the southwest monsoon season.⁹ Records compiled by British officials state that the climate of this district is unhealthy in nature but man in this district is living since pre historic days that too in coordination with his surroundings. With advance of southwest monsoon into the district by about the middle of June there is an appreciable drop in temperatures. By about the first week of October when monsoon withdraws the day temperatures begin to increase slightly but the night temperatures steadily decrease. There is a meteorological observatory station at headquarters, Adilabad. The cold weather commences towards the end of November when temperatures begin to fall rapidly. December is generally the coldest month with the mean daily maximum temperature at 29° degrees and mean daily minimum at about 12 degree Celsius. The rainfall in the district, in general

increases from the southwest towards the northeast. Average annual rainfall recorded in the district is about 1045 mm. The variation in the annual rainfall recorded in the first half of 20th century is not large. The highest annual rainfall was recorded as 152 percent in 1933 AD, comparative more than normal occurrence. About 85% of annual rainfall is received during the southwest monsoon season, July being the peak rainy month. On an average there are 56 rainy days with variation in different areas in the district. The rainfall recorded in the district was 32 cms, at Asifabad on 27th September, 1891 A.D. Heaviest Average rainfall of dominion in 1304 F. was around 34 inches.¹⁰ The relative humidity is high generally during the southwest monsoon season. The air is generally dry during the rest of the year, the district part of the year being the summer season when the humidity in the afternoon is 25%.

3. NATURAL RESOURCES:

3.1. MINERAL RESOURCES:

A large portion of Adilabad district being covered by the older crystalline rocks and minerals of various kinds.¹¹ Khurshid Mirzas, 'A brief outline of the Geographical History of Hyderabad with special reference to mineral resources, Hyderabad' published in Hyderabad bulletin series gives information about efforts made to study topography and minerals of Hyderabad state during first half of twentieth century. With the exception of Iron and building stones, no other minerals seen to have attracted any attention till recent times in this district. Among the districts of Andhra Pradesh, Adilabad district earns more revenue from mineral

resources as it is well endowed with rich reserves of coal, iron ore, limestone and clays.

3.1.1. Coal: All the workable coal seems to be are confined to the Barcker stage of the lower Gondwanas. The Singareni coal field was discovered in March 1872, by Mr. W. King from Geological Survey of India. He reported existence of coal in Nizam's dominion. On his recommendation Nizam's government under supervision of G.F. Henan the department of public works drilled a shaft near Rajura (Rajura was in the district of Adilabad till 1956 A.D.) and coal at the level of 60 feet below the earth was discovered.¹² The coalfields are mostly around Asifabad, Tandur, Mancheri, Bellampally and Chennur of Adilabad district. The Singareni Collieries Company Limited actively exploits these deposits. Coalfields north of River Godavari occupy an area of 75 sq.km.

3.1.2. Iron: Iron ore in Godavari and Wardha valley was discovered in 1876 by Geological survey of India officer Mr. E.G. Lynn. Two hills of iron sulphide were discovered Sirpur tahsil by Mr. Pearson near Janagaon (present Asafabad) subdivision of Sirpur tahsil. Dark cubical iron ore is found in the limestone series but not in large quantity.¹³ Deposits of low-grade iron-ore consisting of magnetite and hematite occur in Dharwarian schists near Chittial (magnetite) and Kalleda (Magnetite) in Kadam Mandal, Rebbanpalli (Magnetite) in Luxettipet Mandal and near Birsai (Magnetite and Hematite) in Untoor Mandal. In addition to these, there are several minor occurrences in the Dharwarian schists near Dusurabad, Raidubba, Parpalli,

Maddipadaga and Somwarpet of Khanapur Mandal and Mayapur, Velmal, Ananthpet Ponkal and Mamda in till Nirmal in east. Hematite nodules occur in Kamathis type of land formations near Sankaram in Chennur Mandal. Local smelters used this reserve to some extent for the extraction of iron. Hematitic nodular ironstones associated with the chikiala, beds of the upper Gondwanas occur near Chichala, A garguram, Loha, Pangerigutta, Jhandhaguda and Pochammagutta in east along with Sirpur taluk. The name of a place Loha itself speaks regarding the availability of Iron ore. Loha itself means metal in Hindi, Telugu and Sanskrit. Lateritic iron-ores derived from Deccan Traps occur near Servai and Kotari in Utnoor. From time immemorial the iron of the Nizam's territories has been worked a Nirmal of Adilabad district. The ore used in the manufacture of the best Nirmal steel was a mixture of magnetic sand and an earthy ore from the latrite.¹⁴

3.1.3. Lime stone: There are fairly extensive deposits of cement grade limestones belonging to the Penganga series. The main deposits are in the Ryali Reserve Forest area between Luxettipet and Asifabad along with Adilabad to the north. The former has a reserve of 600 million tonnes of cements grade limestone and the Associated Cement Companies Limited for their cement factory at Mancheril actively are working on these. Recent work of the Geological survey of India has indicated a reserve of 50 million tonnes of flux grade limestone around Asifabad. Sedimentary rocks are intercalated with the trap series consisting of limestones, calcareous, shales, chert and more rarely sandstones. These beds have not been found more than 300 or 400 feet above the base of the trap, and can be rarely traced for a longer

distance than three or four miles. But successive beds are often seen as in the Makligondi pass in Nirmal hills with trap flows intervening near kutnur limestones are seen and some indurated fossiliferous clays are met with at nirmal.¹⁵ The limestones are fine-grained, massive and fossiliferous. The important fossils are physa paludina belonging to the mollusca.

3.1.4. Clay: Extensive deposits of pure white clays associated with Kota Maleri beds of upper gondwanas occur at about 1.60 km south of Pachagoan and Rallapet of Asifabad. The reserves of clay in these deposits are estimated at 18 million tonnes. Minor deposits of clay occur in Kattarla (Kotha Rahpalle) and Butternal of Asifabad along with Kothapalli in Chennur area. The deposits near Rallapet are being used for the Manufacture of Potteries, Chinaware, Stoneware, bricks and sanitary ware.

3.1.5. Manganese: This mineral does not available as abundantly as the above minerals. Most of the manganese ore deposits are located just north of Adilabad town. Along with these minerals this district is also gifted with many other minerals like granites and gneisses of Archaean, Sandstones and Chocolate colored limestones located north of Adilabad. This type of limestones if polished well they can be used as decorative stones.

There are other Economic minerals that are available considerable scale are Granite, Gneiss, Mica near Yedlabad on the banks of Penganga¹⁶

3.2. FORESTS:

Generally, forests of this district falls under the category of dry deciduous. This dry deciduous forest of Adilabad is classified for the convenience of forest management into Teak forest and Mixed Forest. The forest covers nearly 35 to 40% of the total area of the district (roughly around 7,000 sq.kms). The area of protective forests is 1573 sq.km. But this green cover is fast dwindling. Regarding forests further information is furnished in the coming chapters. (For more details see fourth chapter)

4. PEOPLE:

Compared to other districts of Andhra Pradesh even today this district has less density of population (154 persons per sq.km),¹⁷ The district has population of 24,88,003 (2001-census) that accounts for 3.13% of the total population of the State. Till recent times this district was sparsely populated. The Population of the district according to 2001 census is 24,79,347. Rural population accounts for 18,23,004 or 73.52% of the total, while the urban population accounts for 6,56,343 forming 26.48% of the total population. The increase in population during the decade of 1981 and 1991 was 26.85%, which is higher than that of the state. The female population is little bit lesser (980 females for every 1000 males).

Of the total population of the district, nearly 4,16,511 belong scheduled Tribes, forming 18.3% of the total population (2001 census reports). According to 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931 and 1941 census reports the population of this district was of about 2,72,815, 6,20,426, 6,55,536, 7,62,030 and 8,23,622 respectively. The above

data shows the rate at which the growth of population in the district has taken place in the last one hundred years.¹⁸ The people of various communities including Tribes and non-tribes reside here. People belonging to communities like Gonds, Banjara, Budhists, Christians, Muslims, Sikhs, Jains and Hindus can be seen mostly. Abundant availability of Natural resources in the district has attracted many migrants towards this district and enabled them to settle permanently. Because of this, tribes and their culture in Adilabad are in a kind of cultural island. Waves of Maratha and Telugu migrations in Adilabad have surrounded a boriginal people. The census reports between 1901 and 1941 show that the early twentieth century has seen an unabated immigration into the district from various parts of the country and even some from foreign lands. Most of the settlers came from surrounding districts like Karimnagar, Nizamabad, Nanded, Warangal and Hyderabad. The thing to see carefully is that this migrants has settled in this district selectively in the fringes of this district which is comparatively plain area and deliberately pushed the local tribes to hilly and forest regions that are in the central parts of the district

As said earlier Adilabad district is surrounded with the districts of Maharashtra on three sides (north, west and east). Chandrapur, Nanded and yeotmal are the neighbouring districts of Adilabad that are in Maharashtra. From the above said districts Adilabad received most of its Marathi migrants. By 1947, nearly 232 people at Isgaon village near Kagaznagar were noticed as non-locals who migrated from east Pakistan (Bangladesh). People in this district follow various religions

(Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Jainism along with animism among tribes) and speak different languages and vernaculars.

5. LANGUAGES:

People speaking different languages reside in this district and among them Telugu is widely spoken. It is said that once Gondi dominated most of the district. Along with Telugu other languages like Urdu, Marathi, Lambadi, Gondi, Hindi, Kollami, Koya, Mane, Nalkani, Bhare, Gujarati, Rajasthani, Mathuri, Malayalam, Punjabi, Yerukala, Pardhan, Bengali, Sindhi and many other tribal languages are spoken.¹⁹ There are nearly 1721 revenue villages and of them Adilabad, Mancherial, Bellampalli, Kagaznagar, Chennur, Nirmal, Bhainsa, Mudhol, Sirpur, Mandhamarri, Asifabad, Boath, Uttoor, Lakshettipeta are few settlements that are large in size.²⁰ According to 1940 census, there has been increase in population speaking various languages but unfortunately decrease in population speaking Gondi has been recorded.²¹

6. CROPS AND AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES:

Like other districts agriculture was/is the main occupation of the people. Let us have a glance on area of cultivation and type of crops that were grown in Adilabad district between third and seventh decades of 20th century. By 1921 A.D. nearly 1,363,823 acres of land was under net sown area in entire district. Table below given will give the decadal information of land that was under cultivation. Land use under different categories by 1966-67 was: forest (42.8%), agriculture (37.5%) and Land put

to non-Agri use is (3.7%). The Net area sown in the district is 35.4% of the total geographical area while for the state the relative percentage is 40.2%. The percentage of the area sown more than once to the net area sown in the district is 23% and it is far below the relative percentage of state viz. 15.7% which speaks of lack of cropping pattern existing in the district. The principle Crops grown in the district is Jowar (accounts for 31.8% of the total cropped area) followed by cotton, maize, paddy, turmeric, chilles, soya and pulses. Paddy account for 10.8%, pulses and other non-food crops by 34.7% of the total cropped area.²²

Cotton occupies an important place in the agriculture sector of this district. Adilabad has got 27% area under cotton cultivation and it is 16% of the total area under cotton in the entire state. However the yields are not in accordance with the above ratios, which accounts to only 11.76% of cotton production of Telengana and about 5% of the states' total cotton production. The Regional Agricultural Research Station at Adilabad set up in the early after independence is conducting research on cotton in modern cultivation and pest management techniques to advise the farmers for better yields achievement. The expansion of agriculture was not so optimistic between third and fourth decades of twentieth century. Nearly two and half lakh acres of land was brought under cultivation between the above said period. The enthusiasm of expansion of agriculture that was seen in third decades was absent by the end of fourth decade and on other side steep declination can be noticed as far as area of cultivation is concerned. Over all at the end of fourth decade of 20th century the area of cultivation was more or less equal to the area of land that was under cultivation in

the district by early years of second decade. The below given table picturise little information about the area under cultivation in Adilabad district in first half of twentieth century.

TABLE-I
Total net shown area of Adilabad district under cultivation between 1921 and 1936 A.D.

Year	Net area sown in acres
1331 F. (1921-22 AD)	1,363,823
1332 F. (1922 -23AD)	1,362,382
1333 F. (1923 -24AD)	1,377,164
1334 F. (1924 -25AD)	1,391,603
1335 F. (1925 -26AD)	1,384,269
1336 F. (1926 27-AD)	1,391,876
1337 F. (1927 -28AD)	1,322,756
1338 F. (1928 -29AD)	1,354,710
1339 F. (1929-30AD)	1,574,386
1340 F. (1930 31-AD)	1,560,114
1341 F. (1931 -32AD)	1,386,541
1342 F. (1932 -33AD)	1,450,500
1343 F. (1933 -34AD)	1,122,158
1344 F. (1934 -35AD)	1,208,248
1345 F. (1935 -36AD)	1,258,242

Source:- *Hyderabad District Gazetteers, Adilabad*, Government Central Press, Hyderabad (Dn), 1331-1336 AD. p-297.

6.1. IRRIGATION:

The undulating character of terrain of the district lends itself favourable to irrigation from tanks, wells and streams. The area irrigated is rather limited although the major rivers like the Godavari, the Penganga, the Pranahita and the Wardha flow along the borders, while many other tributaries like the Kadam, Peddevagu, Sathanala etc., too flow in the district. The total irrigated area accounts for 11.5% of the total cropped area while the relative percentage of the state is 37.3%. The main sources of irrigation in the district are canals and tanks and the irrigated area under canals of Kadam, Swarna, Sirala and the Khanapur Channel accounts for 3.5% and that of tanks in 28.3%. The southern part of the district is fairly developed agriculturally, owing to the availability of irrigation facilities. The total cropped area of the district is 5.93 lakh hectares that constitute 37% of the total geographical area. The area at present under the plantations and horticulture crops is only about 3.5% of the net area cultivated in the district. The medicinal and aromatic plant cultivation is another untapped area in the district, which has good potential.²³ Animal Husbandry is only second to agriculture in terms of contributing to the gross income and employment in the district.

7. HANDICRAFTS, PAINTINGS AND ARTS:

Toy making crafts, Dhokra casting crafts are very popular in Adilabad District. Nirmal is known for toy making and paintings. Locally available soft wood in the near by forests is the good source of raw material for toy makers. Ushagaon, Jamgaon and Keslaguda village of Jainoor and Karameri mandals are known for Dhokra

casting. The artisans at Nirmal produced articles of artistic content and features reflecting the local life and environment. The present day trend is on making animals birds, fruits and vegetables, which appears very natural. The Dhokra casting artisans are living in this district since last 100 years and producing tribal ornaments, zoomorphic figures, particulars horses, elephants either with or without rider, birds, animals, bells and lamps. Beside the above, there are other Handicrafts seen in the district are: Stone carving at Ichoda, Wood Carving at Adilabad, Bhorn Crafts at Shanthinagar of Gudihathnoor, Bamboo Handicrafts Articles at Kamana of Wankidi.

8. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ADILABAD DISTRICT: AN OVERVIEW

Present description on historical background of Adilabad district is kind of glance into the past of the district of Adilabad from stone ages to the second part of twentieth century.

8.1. PRE-HISTORY:

Several prehistoric sites were unearthed in this district. For first time excavations undertaken in 1949 by the archaeological department of Hyderabad state highlighted prehistoric background of the people scattered over the area between two rivers. The discoveries at these sites are assigned to few special stages in the progress of civilization. Many eminent social scientists, Anthropologists both native and foreign have contributed with their might in studying about this district. *T.X.W. Kish* did research on Sirpur, erstwhile Chinnor area and to his success he discovered

fossils, implements and weapons. He recorded voluminous information on culture and civilization of local aborigines on the request of the Nizam's of Hyderabad.

Mr. Bland Ford too discovered some evidences in regarding the settlements of primitive tribes. *Mr. Thakur Rajaram Singh*, a n a dvocate b y pr ofession a nd a n Archeologist by interest have explored many prehistoric sites in the district. Some of his findings are tools and implements of prehistoric man who lived in this region. *Mr. Malan*, a German scientist discovered stone axes, some paleontolglcal evidence like fossils of birds and trees at Nasspur. Most of the northern Telangana region is in Godavari river basin. Mighty Godavari and its tributaries like Penganga, Wardha, Pranahita, Wainganga, Manjera and Peddavagu water this region. In Adilabad and Karimnagar along with Eturunagaram in Warangal region we can see dense forest. This provided shelter to various wild life species. Geologically, Deccan trap extends even into Adilabad district. Availability of black cotton soil and rocks formed because of D eccan trap along with quartz clearly supports the above s tatement o f the geologists. In this district availability of few peculiar stones and on rubbing them fire can be created. It is said that man who lived in stone ages in this region may have used them t o create fire i n order t o save hi m from c old climate and wild beasts. Creating fire wi th the hel p of particular s tones i s c learly seen absent i n the neighbouring di stricts l ike N izamabad, K arimnagar a nd Warangal. P eople of t hese districts i n a ncient da ys might ha ve br ought t hese stones from A dilabad a nd ha ve used them.

8.1.1. Paleolithic Age Or Old Stone Age: Archeological operations at Sirpur²⁴, Vemanapalli, Naspur and Mancherla have thrown ample light on the early history of the district. Till recent days there was a misconception that so far there are no traces of the Paleolithic age in the district. Life was more or less barbarous and savagery. Hundreds of stone axes, hand axes along with other sharp stone implements excavated from the banks of a stream, Swarna vagu near a village called Chityala in Nirmal mandal (*Prior to 1984 Taluqas*) of Adilabad district speaks about the above statement. These stone axes are made of granite and quartz stones that are available naturally in this region. Hand axes and cleavers made of soft stones like chert and chalcedonic for first time were excavated around Pochchara waterfalls near Boath. Same types of remains of implements as said above were also traced around Adilabad, Untoor, Asifabad, Lakshetipet, Naspur, Chennur and Vemanapalli. Fossilised prehistoric wood remains unearthed in Asifabad, in the fields little west to the quarters of defence personnel²⁵. It is generalized that Middle Paleolithic age extended in this region between 50,000 and 30,000 B.C. Anthropologists came to conclusion after studying the available fossils of this period. A fossilized elephant jaw was discovered near Vemanapalli in Adilabad district. There are even other places where fossils have been unearthed are Manikgudem, Wankidi and Kerameri regions.

8.1.2. Mesolithic Period: Flints and microliths came into use by this period. In the district of Adilabad tools and implements of this period were found near Boath, Pochchara and Kuntala waterfalls along with Mancherla, Chennur, Asifabad, Bellampalli and Sirpur. The evidences of microlithic age in the district can be seen at

boath, wankidi, Adilabad, Asifabad, Sirpur, Chenur, Mancheriyal and on the banks of river Pranahita. Man of this age was still food gatherer and led nomadic life. Fossils and weapons of microlithic age were found finely chiseled and measures 20.8 cms in length and 2.5 cms in width weighing from 100 to 200 grams.

8.1.3. New Stone Age/Neolithic Phase: Flakes, bones and other implements belonging to the Neolithic culture were noticed at Pangri and Parshwar near Asifabad²⁶ (near Asifabad, sonagadh and Narsapur near Nirmal and also in Khanapur mandal. The new Stone Age weapons were 5 to 10 grams in weight and 2.4 cms in length and half cm width and were discovered (sometimes measured between six and twenty centimeters) near pochera Lingapur, Kuntala water falls.

8.1.4. Megalithic Age: Most of evidences of this period are Burial remains. Finding the shelters and Burials of man of this period is somewhat easy compared to his predecessor. They speak plenty about their way of life. The existence of Megalithic culture was revealed by the discovery of burials of the type of stone circles, Cairns and menhirs at Gudihatnu²⁷ near Nirmal. This megalith burial state that man started used metal implements. The residues of this age in Adilabad district can be seen around human settlements near Asifabad, popularly called as demon caves (Rakasi guhalu). Archeologists say such excavated cemeteries can be dated between 2000 and 500 BC. The digging of these cemeteries made clear that the dead were buried along with implements, ornaments and tools used by them. Upon this graves heavy

stones and pillars were placed and there is overlap of metal age and megalithic cultures.

8.2. ANCIENT PERIOD:

Sadly the district of Adilabad has relatively meager evidence and it becomes difficult to construct its early history like neighboring district, Karimnagar. But archeological excavations conducted in the district of Adilabad helps to develop this in abstract form. People like Takur Rajaram Singh made an attempt to construct history of Adilabad by using various like inscriptions and writings of Megasthenese. Till recent times this district was covered by dense forests and the present geographical expression (the tract between the Godavari and the Penganga) came only by 1905 under Asafjahi rulers. Moreover, since time immemorial this district was inhabited by tribes who preferred isolation.

8.3. MEDIEVAL PERIOD:

Few travelers appear to have traversed the district and the old literature contains no reference to its inhabitants. We get traces history of this district from early days of this millennium. Until the arrival of Kakatiyas we don't get much information about this district. This dynasty has ruled exactly between 995 AD and 1323 AD over today's Telugu speaking region.

There is an inscription on a black stoned pillar in the office compound of Mandal prajaparisad at Chennur belongs to Kakatiyas. On the four sides of this

pillar there is information regarding the period and administration of Ganapatideva. This inscription was laid by Ganapatidevas sister, Kundavamba. Exactly to say this stone pillar was brought from a nearby village Kundaram of Jaipur mandal of Adilabad district. The name of this village, Kundaram may have been derived after Kundavamba. At Kundaram of Adilabad and Kundaram of Warangal districts the inscriptions on stone pillars were found in the temple premises. At both places temples were dedicated to Lord Shiva and the villages in which these temples are located were given gifts to Brahmins as Agrahara for maintenance.

Kakatiya Ganapatideva had only one daughter, Rudramamba. Rudramadevi chased the Yadava army till Bidar in a battle and while retreating she crossed a stream near Vankidi in Adilabad district and built a temple, dedicated to Harihara. Thus, the district of Adilabad here and there is seen in history of ancient and medieval India. After evidences related to Kakatiyas of Warangal, once again we will be in dearth of evidences to construct exact chronological history of Adilabad till the arrival of Asafjahi rule. But here and there some vague information is available regarding this region in medieval period. Sir A. Lyall, based on old revenue papers of 1666 has mentioned that during Aurangzeb's time tribute was contributed to his treasure from the zamindars of those tracts that were under Gond rajas of Chandrapur and Berar region²⁸. In the Godavari region it was not until Mughal times that the tribal populations and political units like Gond states figured in contemporary chronicles and documents. But the ruins of forts ascribed to Gond Rajas suggest that in the past centuries tribal communities and their chiefs or Rajas did not live in isolation and they

entertained relations with other populations whose life-style their rulers imitated and regarding this we can see in tribal aspects of same chapter. The Gond rajas who reigned in Bastar region prior to the arrival of British have claimed to be descent of Kakatiya Kings, but the great majority of the population of Bastar had remained tribal. It was because of industrial and mining activities that began around four to five decades ago in Bastar, led to the influx of non-tribals from other parts of India.

8.4. MODERN PERIOD:

From days of Asafjahi rule the history of Adilabad can be constructed chronologically. Much part of Adilabad district during early days of Asafjahi rule was under Maratha and Gond rule. It is only from the times of Nizam Ali Khan (1761-1803 AD) complete district came under Asafjahi control. Nizam Ali Khan (1761-1803 AD) has appointed an officer, Ibrahim Begudhamsa under the title Jaffar-ud-daula to administer the areas around Nirmal. In AD 1755 Raghoji Bhonsle died and there started war of succession among his both sons. Nizam-ul-mulk was asked to play role of mediator. Under an agreement with Nizam-ul-mulk and in AD 1772 areas on south of river Penganga were handed over to Asafjahis. This is the territory where exactly the present district of Adilabad can be located. Thus the District of Adilabad became part of Nizam dominion. In 1795 the nizams of Hyderabad were at war with Marathas, who's power reached Zenith in 18th C. AD Gond chief, Jukut Rao, held the district adjoining the Maratha territory as Jagir from the Bhonsles (Marathas). Marathas occupied Adilabad district till Nirmal from Nizam. In 1803 AD as a result of war between the British and Raghoji Bhonsle II, under the treaty of Deogaon, the

latter ceded the territory of Berar to the British who in turn passed it on to their ally, the Nizam under treaty obligations for his co-operation in the war. Consequently, Sirpur, the ancient seat of the Gond rulers, passed into the hands of the Asaf Jahi rulers till the state of Hyderabad joined the Indian Union.²⁹

Though most of the district of Adilabad by then was covered by forest but the inhabited localities were vibrant in nature and against British and Nizam. Rohilas in the disguise of Nana sahib followers lead their activities against British from this district. Most of this Rohilas and soldiers who early worked as soldiers in British army who were part of Sepoy mutiny reached Adilabad. This district was used as base and safety zone to protect themselves and to carry on their anti British activities in central provinces of British India. Rohilas to some extent were successful in leading anti British movement around Nirmal and they even took help of a Gond sardar, Ramji Gond. This unrestness created trouble to British and Nizam soldiers. In order to trample down this revolt British moved 47th regiment under Col. Roberts from Hingoli and Bellari to Adilabad. The movement that was carried in Adilabad district by Rohillas and Gonds between 1857 and 1860 is nothing but an extension of sepoy mutiny in Deccan. Thus rule of Afjal-ud-daula was eventful year as far as history of Adilabad district is concerned.³⁰ However here and there we can find short references regarding Adilabad District even in the travelogues of British officials. One fine example is 1795 account of Captain J.T. Blunt, who travelled in the Godavari valley region.³¹ Mahboob Ali Khan (1869-1911 AD) came to power after the death of his father. He was also known as Mahboob-i-Deccan. He introduced

reforms in many departments like forests, postal, education, health and medicine. During the rule of this Nizam only Adilabad as a district emerged and experienced many changes like establishing of department of forests. It enabled state to colonise the whole flora and fauna of this district that has brought unrecoverable destruction in ecology of this district and in the living pattern of indigenous tribes that were surviving on forests since time immemorial. The rule of last Nizam, Osman Ali Khan is the most eventful year as far as history of Adilabad district is concerned. Events like bringing most of the forest areas under state control by demarcating and declaring vast forest tracts as reserved and protected and eruption of tribal revolt under the leadership of Komram Bheem can be noticed. Under Asaf Jahis a sub-district by name Sirpur-tandur was created in 1872 with three talukas namely Edulapuram (Adilabad), Rajura and Sirpur. There was only one sub-district in entire Hyderabad state and it was Sirpur-Tandur. Sirpur-Tandur was known as Amaldari under Bidar division with 5029sq.m with three talukas and 1833 villages before 1905 AD.³²

By 1905 full-fledged district was created by name Adilabad, with Adilabad town as its headquarters by including Nirmal, Nasspur talukas from Nizamabad (Indur) and Chennur, Luxetipet talukas from Elagandla (Karimnagar) districts. By bifurcating Nasspur taluka a new Kinwat taluka was created and remaining villages of the Nasspur taluka were added to Nirmal taluka. In 1906 Janagaon taluka was created and in 1907 it was renamed as Asifabad, in this few villages of Sirpur and Luxetipet talukas were added. Thus Adilabad district was formed with eight talukas (Rajura, Sirpur, Asifabad, Adilabad, Luxetipet, Chinoor, Nirmal, and Kinwat). In 1913-14 AD

headquarter was shifted to Asifabad from Adilabad and was once again shifted back to Adilabad by 1940-41. After 1949, Utnoor and Boath taluks were formed. In 1956 when state reorganization took place on linguistic basis, all the Telugu speaking regions of the district (along with Mudhol, Kubeer, Bhainsa revenue circles of Nanded district) were added to Andhra Pradesh and the rest Marathi speaking regions (Rajura, Kinwat, Islapur of Boath taluk) were added to Maharashtra. After the process of reorganization a new taluk of Mudhol was created.

V. Ramakrishna Reddy has contributed a lot through his work 'The Economic History of Hyderabad state' from 1911 -1950 with special reference to Warangal subha. Under Nizam's of Hyderabad Adilabad was part of Warangal Subha and the above document provides lot of information on economic aspects of Adilabad in general and Hyderabad state in particular³³. Recently Narothama Reddy of Osmania University has worked on the freedom struggle and anti Nizams movement in the first of the twentieth century and focused on the contribution of Adilabad district to the social and political movements in Telangana from 1920 -1948. He has thrown adequate light on the work of Andhra Mahasabha, the library movement and the socio-economic conditions then prevalent in the district. The rule of Nizam ended when his dominions joined the Indian Union Government in September 1948.

9. TRIBES OF ADILABAD: AN OVER VIEW:

The word tribe derived from Latin word '*Tribus*', perhaps related to Tri-three and referring to the three divisions of the early people of Rome. According to Oxford

Advanced Learner's dictionary, Tribe is a group of people of the same race, and with the same customs, language, religion, etc., living in a particular area and often led by one or more chief. There are many appellations used for referring the term tribe in India. The tribal groups are also called as Adivasis, Adimjatis, Indigenous population or primitive group. The religious texts in Sanskrit and Telugu are replete with references to various forest living tribes.

According to *Srikant*, an anthropologist, there are a plenty of indications in mythological stories of Ramayana and Mahabharata and even in the pre-Christian era the indigenous people had to resist the impact of foreign culture. The modern form of Hinduism comprises many elements of such cultural admixture. But apart from this fact there are groups of people representing the primitive stage of life. The earliest reference dates back to Rig Veda, Where the tribes are referred to as Ki ratas and Nishadas. In fact, Andhras are referred as a tribe inhabiting the peninsular India in *Aitareya Brahmana*. All the Telugu population is believed to be the progeny of the ancient tribe, Andhra. Even to this day there is an aboriginal group by name 'Anth' in the Adilabad district, which is believed to be a offshoot of the ancient tribe Andhra³⁴. Further, the various tribes described in the epic Ramayana are identified as the original pre-Dravidian inhabitants of the region now known as Andhra Pradesh. Janasthana Kishkinda and Dandakaranya described in Ramayana are believed to be synonymous with the present day Andhra Pradesh. Even few clans among the Gonds of Adilabad district claim that they are related to Pandavas, Mythological heroes of

Mahabharata. But perception varies among intellectuals some feel it as intricacies of culture and acculturation and for some it is a cultural domination.

Since Pre-historic times, India has been a country of multi-racial stock and has been occupied by various groups of people having their own definitive cultural traits and levels of development. Among them a large number of groups are still in primitive stage and they are far away from the realm of so-called civilization. They in India are designated as tribes. The Geographical distribution of tribal population in India is uneven. Making study about them assumes significance from many angles. Today, India is consciously turning towards her own heritage and the indigenous roots of her complex culture and pattern on one side and on other side it is also rubbing shoulder with developed nations in every aspects of scientific advancement.

Total tribal population of Adilabad district by 1931 was 104,809 including all tribes³⁵. Before we know little regarding the tribes of the district of Adilabad, let us have a glance on the general profile of tribes in India and Andhra Pradesh. The state of Andhra Pradesh has the largest concentration of tribals in south India. where as the tribal population of India according to 2001 census stood at 8.74% (6.94% in Andhra Pradesh) and world average was 26.6%. The same census reveal that there are eight primitive tribes in Andhra Pradesh and Adilabad stands fourth as far as tribal population is concerned (preceded by Khamman, E. Godavari and Vishakapatnam districts³⁶. According to 1901 Census, Adilabad had more than 76% of the population were Hindus, Muslims were at 5% and the rest of the population consists of tribes (animists in census reports prior to 1941 census)³⁷. The habits and customs, beliefs and dogmas of the various tribes that we come to know through wide variety of

sources are not strictly observed today. There are many causes for this and here is an attempt to know at least something about it if not every thing. But the present area of study confines itself between first and fifth decade of 20th century. So it becomes necessary to speak at least about the background of land and people with whom the culture and conditions that underwent change are related. The divergent and picturesque landscape of Adilabad varies from the wide cultivated plains with sparse natural vegetation to the undulating uplands where wide valleys chequered with fields, with low wooded ridges and finally higher hills that traverse the district from west to north east. It is these valleys sandwiched by a series of densely wooded hill ranges that are the main habitat of tribal. If we see the demographic profile of Tribal Adilabad, it is the home to some of the important tribes of this vast country since pre-historic times. According to 1941 census, Out of a total ground tribal population of 1,14,228 residing in the Hyderabad state, 71,874 were found in Adilabad district alone. Out of 33 major tribes in the state, nine major tribes such as Gonds, Koyas, Kollams, Pardans, Naikpods, Lambadas, Andh, Bhils and Thotis inhabit this district.

TABLE-II
Population of few tribal communities in Hyderabad Dominion according to 1881 census:

Koya	60,897
Gond	37,995
Andh	18,209
Bhil	11,015
Chenchu	10,641
TOTAL	1,38,757

*source: *Census Report, 1881 AD. & Report on administration for 1303 F. (1893-94 AD.)*³⁸

The above picture shows total tribes of Hyderabad state according to 1881 Census report. Though the presence of Gond, Kolams, Pardhans and other tribes of Adilabad district are comparatively less in number than other tribes of Andhra Pradesh but their presence is considerably good in Adilabad district since prehistoric days. At present the tribal population of Adilabad district is of about 4,16,511.³⁹ and total tribal population of the state is 50,24,104. These tribes constitute nearly 8% of the total population in Andhra Pradesh. In Adilabad tribes represent a large chunk of human habitat i.e., 18% of its total population and has second largest tribal population after Khammam district. Gonds, Naikpods, Kolams, Pardhans and Lambadas form group of major tribes in the district and there are also some tribes who are scanty numerically, they are Naikpods, Thottis, Khattis and Wanjaris who too made forests of Adilabad as their home land.

9.1. THE GONDS:

Gonds are most numerous found tribe of Adilabad till recent times. The first reference on Gonds can be seen in the writings of Dr. Voysey that was published in journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal⁴⁰. Among the tribal population of India, Gonds stand second in number and area of expanse only after Bhils of Western India⁴¹. By 1941, Gond population of entire India stood at 3,000,000 and out of it a small fraction of around 141,280 was found in erstwhile Hyderabad state. The pattern of rise among Gond population in Andhra Pradesh is similar to that of other non tribal population of world. Between 1981 and 1941 we can see normal growth of Gond population but in 1921 census like world population steep decline in growth of Gonds was noticed.

TABLE-III

Years	Total population of Gonds in Andhra Pradesh	Decadal variation in percentage
1881	88,711	-
1891	98,806	+ 11.0
1901	107,585	+ 8.9
1911	124,341	+ 15.6
1921	103,132	- 28.5
1931	113,280	+ 10.0
1941	142,026	

Source: *Census of India 1961.*⁴²

Gonds today in Adilabad district have been pushed from the banks of the Penganga towards the hills of the center long ago. Census reports of 1931 and 1941 have classified Gonds under the title, animists and reported their number to be around 52,224 and 71,874 in Adilabad district and this district was home to majority of Gond population that can be found in Hyderabad state⁴³. Wilfrid.V.Grigson and Verrier Elvin have compiled authoritative document on gonds of Bastar and central province but made no contribution regarding Raj gonds of Adilabad⁴⁴. To some extent Syed Siraj-ul-Hassan gave brief description on them⁴⁵. It is Haimendorf who contributed with his might and made extensive Anthropological study on gonds of Adilabad. Due to inaccessibility of dense forest and hilly terrains were used as shields to keep them

in seclusion. This seclusion helped the tribes like Gonds to preserve their distinct culture. Wherever roads had opened up the forest tracts there Gonds came in to contact with the people of other cultures, sometimes sharing movement of population and particularly the influx of new settlers.

Gonds according to Dr. Wilson, they are the oldest inhabitants of the hills and suggest that they can be identified with Chandalas. Adhering such notion may be misconception because gonds don't lead scavenging life and more over Raj gonds feel that they belong to ruling class⁴⁶. The Gonds are divided into six sub-tribes namely *Raj Gond, Pardhan, Thoti, Dadve, Gowari* and *Kolam* which are all endogamous⁴⁷. Dr. Urmila Pingle has contributed in the study of tribal genetics and nutritions. She in her research found that Raj Gonds and Kolams are genetically very close and for this may be because of extra marital sexual relations between Raj Gonds and kolams that are tolerated. Interestingly, she reveals in her study that both the Raj Gonds and muria speak Gondi but the Murias of Bastar share many cultural features with the Austroasiatic Gadabas of Orissa but very few with Raj gonds of Adilabad.⁴⁸

The derivation of the name Gond is unknown. Infact they call themselves Koitur and the name Gond was given to them by others. The derivation of the name and origin of the Gond is elaborately discussed by R.V.Russel in his "The tribes and castes of the central provinces of India". Northern and northeastern parts of Adilabad district is the place where the tribals were restricted, though in the past the central highlands of Adilabad had offered a home to the important tribal population of Raj

Gonds. The origin and early home of the Raj Gonds of Adilabad is still unraced. Orally transmitted traditions as well as a few historical documents suggest that the Raj Gonds constituted a self-sufficient social and cultural unit. To Haimendorf, the term Raj Gond from 1940's started to become obsolete. It may be because of losing political authority by Gond rajas⁴⁹. The Gond rulers of Chandrapur in Maharashtra until 1749 were powerful and their dominion included a large part of Adilabad District of Andhra Pradesh. It is said that Raj gonds have tried to raise their social status by compliance with Hindu customs and some other scholars believe that they are the descendants of an alliance between Rajput adventurers and Gonds⁵⁰. C.U. Wills using early Muslim writings tried to trace the early history of gonds and came to conclusion that Raj gonds belong to ruling class and basically they are from Mandla region⁵¹. Gonds contact with different people is confined to economic exchange and cultural adjustment, and has not led to any appreciable ethnic blending. Neither has there been a linguistic unification. Waves of Maratha and Telugu civilization meet and overlap in the hills of Adilabad and the remnants of a aboriginal culture are surrounded by these new currents. To speak in the words of Christopher von Furer Haimendorf, "No aboriginal people of India has attained greater prominence on the political scene of past centuries than the large group of tribes commonly known by the generic term Gond."⁵² The words of Haimendorf have much weight. He spent nearly whole of his life for making deep study on the life and culture of tribes. But it was Rev. Stephen Hislop who made study on gonds and said that it was the Konds of Central province, who after crossing Wainganga came into contact with the Telugu

people and came to be known as Gonds. If we correlate to present study then it is the Godavari valley districts of northern Andhra Pradesh and of which Adilabad is part⁵³.

The Gonds had a free run of the central highlands of Adilabad and were able to clear the forest and start cultivation wherever the lands seemed suitable. The situation changed, however, since dawn of 20th century, Government of Hyderabad embarked on a policy of forest reservation and land-hungry Hindu peasants as well as some Muslim entrepreneurs from other areas infiltrated into the tribal area and growing population pressure led to the alienation of much of the land which until then had been in the hands of Gonds. Shifting agriculture (slash and burn or podu) and the raising of livestock have always been the basis of Gond economy⁵⁴. Myths and legends tell of Gond chiefs ploughing and herding cattle. Gonds have always been cultivators of dry lands unlike their Telugu neighbors. Gonds lived in close contact with populations of different cultural heritage, sometimes inhabiting separate hamlets.

Though appearing as a monolithic unit, Gond tribe is divided into four exogamous patrilineal phratries known in Gondi as *sagas*. The sagas have no names but are referred to as the descent groups of the “four”, “five”, “six” and “seven” ancestors. Within each saga there are several named clans, called as *pari*. Each pari is linked with the memory of deified ancestor and united by the worship of a clan-god known as *persa-pen*, which means “great god”. The religion of the Gond is Animism, both simple and pure form⁵⁵. Attached to every clan there is a priest (*katora*) basically from Pardhans community and he acts as hereditary bard. Not necessary that all

Gonds should have Pardhans as hereditary bards. A kind of feudal setup assisted by mokashi was in vogue. As late as the 1940 the Raja Akbar Shah of Chanda, who was of Atram clan, occupied the highest position within the traditional feudal system⁵⁶. From the beginning of 20th century onwards are losing their hold on their ancestral lands because of incursions, state and forest policies. Early pressure was from non tribals and latter from Banjaras or lambadas, who were given status of tribes in latter days. But there may be the time to come when this tribe will lose its position and can be overtaken numerically by new tribe that arrived into Adilabad in more recent times like Banjaras or lambadas. Gonds are economically losing their ground to new infiltrators like plain area people and lambadas. Even Haimendorf has accepted this impending future tide of problem on Gonds. In words of Haimendorf, “once Banjaras gain foothold in a village, it is generally lost to Gonds or Kolams forever”.⁵⁷

9.2. PARDHANS:

Among the aboriginal tribes of Adilabad district, Pardhans occupy important place. But the census of 1921 gives very contradictory data and figure 416 as total pardhans population in the district. Generally, this community is known for their priestly activities. They are the hereditary bards of the Gonds and serve as genealogists and bards to the Raj Gonds, singing the exploits and great deeds of their rajas by producing music from a kind of violin called ‘Kingri’⁵⁸. They are even known as craftsmen of the Gonds. The songs and stories that they preserve by oral transmission are the most important depositories of Gond history, culture and tradition. But it is

also said that they acted more as musicians rather than priests. Anthropologist Haimendorf in his study found that no marriage ceremony of a Raj Gond is celebrated, nor the death rites performed, unless Pardhan is present to receive the marriage presents or to claim the remainents of the dead and all rites in honor of each Persa Pen. Whereas R.V. Russell perception on pardhans as priests of gonds in Adilabad contradicts and he says pardhans acted as only musicians and never as priests as most of the rituals were obligatory in nature. Sethumadhava Rao, Pagidi too have same perception and says that pardhans have nothing to do with religious ceremonies⁵⁹. Like Gonds, system of exogamous phratries and clans even rule over Pardhan society.

As bards and guardians of traditions, the Pardhans play a vital role in Gond culture. Christopher von Furer Haimendorf noticed that whenever Pardhans abandoned their ancient association with Gonds, their own as well as their former patrons cultural life suffers the loss of a vital element. This community, along with Adilabad District is seen in the neighboring districts like Nanded (especially Kinwat taluqa) and Chandrapur of Maharashtra.⁶⁰ One of the issues that rotate around the Pradhans is regarding their aboriginality. It is said that culturally they belong but how far racially do they belong to gonds is the question. Their racial roots seem to lie elsewhere and most of Pardhans are easily distinguished from Gonds. Their physical type is far more progressive, the face longer, the nose more prominent and narrower, and the stature slighter and more delicate. Their movements are more graceful than those of Gond women. The language spoken by the Pardhans of Adilabad generally is

Marathi, but they are equally familiar with Gondi. Indeed Gondi is the language of the epics and hymns, which they sing at feasts and for the entertainment of Gond audiences.

Though closely connected with the Gonds, Pardhans are not accorded equal social status. Gonds will not partake of their food or grant them entrance into the interior of their house. With the infiltration of Hindu ideas this distinction might have deepen and the Pardhans are now in danger of being classed with the out castes of Hindu society. In predominantly aboriginal areas, however they are not subject to any appreciable disability and they mix freely with Gonds. Many Gond villages contain several houses of Pardhans. In latter days many pardhans have taken to agriculture like Gonds. But this is not their traditional occupation and even today there are numerous pradhans who live only on what they receive from Gonds as wages for their performances and on the fees due to them in their capacity as House Pardhans.

The most important possession of a Pardhan is his kingri, and a square wooden sound box covered by a skin membrane. On this fiddle Pardhans play during the Persa Pen rites and accompany themselves while singing hymns or reciting epics. Like Raj gonds, Pardhans principle deity is also Persapen. They worship the same gods as the Gonds and attend most of their religious ceremonies. At Festivals it is usually the most prominent Prardhan who plays the Kingri (a musical instrument like crude form of veena or lute generally with three cords/strings), while younger men blow trumpets and beat drums⁶¹. In their dress Pardhan men are indistinguishable from Gonds, but

women wear as a rule a choli or bodice of the type customary among all the lower Hindu castes, and their forehead is often painted with a red case mark. In their social observances, marriage customs and funeral rites they follow the Gond Pattern.

9.3. THE KOLAMS:

The wooded hills and secluded valleys of Adilabad districts even gave shelter to Kolam tribe. The Kolams or Kolavars is said to be an aboriginal tribe mainly the inhabitants of Berar and Central provinces of British India. In their own language the kolams call themselves as Kolavar⁶², but Gonds refer them as Pujari, among plain area people they are known as Mannevarlu and in Marathi and Urdu as Kolam. W.V. Grigson, an I.C.S officer while working in Central provinces made an anthropological and sociological account of few tribes of central province and in them kolam too features⁶³. Members of this tribal community are found scattered over larger part of the Adilabad district from the westernmost corner of Kinwat taluqs to Sirpur and Lakshetipet in the east and south. The language spoken by them is known as kolami and anthropologist consider it as Dravidian languages. Most Kolams speak a distinct tribal tongue, but in the western part of the district usage of Marathi is more while in the east this community went for Telugu⁶⁴. One can find here and there both Telugu and Tamil words. Physically, Kolams are shorter and coarser than an average Gond. The standard of living of Kolams is also lower than Gonds. Haimendorf noticed the living condition of kolams in the second quarter of 20th century and noted in his records that this community subsisted on shifting-cultivation and it was only

introduction of forest conservancy policies during the early decades of the twentieth century had forced them to go for new mode of life i.e. Plough cultivation.⁶⁵

Kolams like Hill Reddis cultivate on hill slopes after clearing forests. Hill Reddis are also aboriginal tribes and their economic development can be comparable to that of Kolams. Both practice podu or slash and burn type agriculture and subsist to a large extent on wild roots and plants in the seasons when agriculture ceases to exist. Though both Kolams and Hill Reddis are aboriginal tribes, to some extent Kolams seems to be more advanced than Hill Reddis because Kolams used hoe for cultivation much earlier to Hill Reddis⁶⁶. Even in the fifth decade of last century they were found practising slash and burn or shifting cultivation. In Adilabad district Kolams immediate neighbouring tribe is Mannes. They both constitute two separate endogamous groups they have been considered to belong to one tribe in the distant past. Through research it has been proved that genetically Kolams and Mannes are intricately related. Like Kolams, Mannes community till recent times too was confined to the sandy ridges which sustain only shifting cultivation. In the ashes seeds were sown with a primitive hoe. Jowari, however, is more often dibbled into holes made either by this same hoe or a long handled digging stick⁶⁷. Sometimes the same iron point may be affixed alternatively to hoe and digging stick. After the seed has been dibbled the soil is brushed over with a kind of broom made of bamboo. They in dry days dig up wild roots, tubers and hunted animals. They are said to be experts in honey taking. Like the Gonds they have no prejudice against eating beef and domesticated animals.

There settlements usually perched on a ridge some hundred or two hundred feet above a Gond village which spreads out in the valley below. The Kolams seems to favour such elevated sites even though the way to the water may be long and steep. Most kolam settlements are extremely clean and well kept. With scanty belongings the Kolam is mobile, and when life becomes too difficult and the forest laws too stringent, they even moved twenty to thirty miles to establish new settlement. Kolams adopted few social, cultural and economic aspects of Gond tribe. The principal diety of Komas is Ayak and this deity is referred as Bhimanna or Bhim Deo⁶⁸. Socially, Kolams like the Gonds are organized in exogamous clans and most of these have names identical with those of certain Gond clans. At the times of festivals and at agricultural rites the deceased receive their share of the prayers and offerings. Marriage system of Kolams is imitation of Gonds marriage rites⁶⁹. Their funeral customs are distinct from other tribes of Adilabad. The dead are buried in the forest far from habitations and the grave is never visited again. Interestingly Muria Gonds have certain practices in common with Kolams of Adilabad than Raj Gonds⁷⁰.

9.4. NAIKPODS.

Resembling the Kolams in many respects and often confused with them by outsiders. Gonds refer Naikpods as Mache. Naikpods are scanty in number in Adilabad district Compared to neighbouring districts of Karimnagar and Warangal. Like other tribes of district Naikpods too adopted their surroundings. They too practised shifting-cultivation like their other tribal counterparts upto first half of 20th

century. The existence of this tribe is not referred to in any Census report before independence.

The clans of the Naikpods are exogamous but they are not grouped into larger units comparable to the phatries of the Gonds⁷¹. The Naikpod's claim social status higher than that of Gonds and Kolams. This is expressed by keeping themselves away from consumption of beef and pork. The poor Naikpods of the hills struggle in isolation to survive by depending on jungle fruits and roots and on little grain raised by hoe and digging-stick. They even don't take food in the house of Gond. The religion of Naikpods resembles in many respect to that of Kolams. Their main deity is Bhimana or Bhimaliyak, adorned with peacock feathers. Besides Bhimana they worship various other gods like Poturaju and pandavas⁷². In their social customs, the ceremonies at birth, marriage and death are important. The Naikpods largely follow the rituals that are similar to that of lower Hindu castes based according to the locality and to a nextent got assimilated into Hindu social order. The Naikpods are distinguished from the Kolams not only in speech and social organization, but also in physical appearance⁷³. On the whole they look less primitive than the average Kolam of Adilabad. But there is also a perception prevailing regarding the chances of Naikpods belonging to an ancient aboriginal population.

9.5. THE TOTIS:

R.V. Russel noted Totis in his writings as sub tribe of the Pardhans⁷⁴. Even by 1941 we don't have census report on this tribe. It may be because the census officials

might have been mistaken them as gond. The Thotis in turn are the bards of the pardhans and form a group of wandering minstrels. The men of this sub-caste make and sell small bamboo articles and also deal in medicinal herbs, while the women are skillful tattooers. The Thotis and Pardhan way of life is intricately related with that of Gonds⁷⁵. In Adilabad the Pardhans own language is Marathi, the Totis speak Gondi as their mother tongue and claim an association with the Gonds, older than that of any Pardhan. The Totis are less numerous in numbers and their maximum concentration is in Boath and Lakshetpet areas of Adilabad district. Physically they seem to be slightly more primitive than the average Pardhan⁷⁶. In the social scale they rank lower than Pardhans and it is said that Gonds say that just as the pardhans beg from them, the Totis beg from Pardhans. The stories and songs recited by Totis are similar to those of Pardhans, but it is said that the particular specialty of Totis are stories of the god Bhimana. They too use Kingri, the three stringed fiddle, and blow trumpets on ceremonial occasions like their pardhan counterparts.

As said above, Toti women are expert in tattooing and the elaborate tattoo covering the arms, shoulders and chests of many Gond women are their work. For this they are paid in cash or grain and they make regular visits to the Gond villages where their services are likely to be required. Most of what has been said of the Pardhans applies also to the Totis. Sethumahava Rao has noted in his document that Totis worship the Gond gods and have part in the same social system and observe the same social customs. Whereas Haimendorf and Urmila Pingle noted that Totis worship Bhimanna or Ayak of Kolams But Thotis show little interest to adopt new occupation

like agriculture by abandoning their ancestral occupation. This tribe was recognised as one of the primitive tribal group by Government of India in 1983. Numerously, totis form very small group. Their presence is scanty not only in Adilabad but also in Andhra Pradesh. Interestingly, 1991 census of India reports features, nearly half of Toti population of Andhra Pradesh made Adilabad district as their home.

9.6. KHATIS:

They are like craftsmen who supply essential implements, with many cherished ornaments and ritual objects to other tribal groups residing in forests of Adilabad district. To a large extent they have been absorbed in the pattern of aboriginal society. Like Pardhans and Totis they live in the Gonds villages and speak Marati and even fluently in Gondi while interacting with Gonds. Foremost among this khati craftsmen are blacksmiths. Physically they are slender built and normal in looking. They have same clan names like that of gonds and pardhans they are grouped in exogamous phratries by same number of wen (divine ancestors). Their inclusion in the Gond system is however not as complete as that of Pardhans and Totis. Their relation with other tribes in the district is more economical in nature. Khatis as a duty do not actively participate in the ceremonies of other tribes and even they are not debarred from attending also. Khatis enjoy a comparatively good social status and they may enter the Gonds houses but they don't interdine or eat each others food. A Khati area of economic activity crosses the boundary of his settlement and spreads into surrounding settlements for economic benefits. With his instruments he works in improvised shelters and even under trees. Whoever wants implements repaired or new

implements supplies the khati with charcoal and sometimes lend a hand in the work. The client generally brings the iron in a market. Khatis receive annually a fixed amount of grain and in return do all repairs and make new implement from iron supplied to them. Their income is more in form of grains and less in cash.

9.7. WOJARIS:

Wojaris or Otaris are a caste of brass founders widely scattered over both Gondwana and Marathwada. Only a small number of families seem to live more or less permanently among the Gonds and these have adopted Gondi clan names. Gond history reveal that this wojaris sometime back were employed by erst while Gond rajas and thus were said to have adopted their masters few social customs. Like the Khatis they remain outside the cult organization based on the Gond clan system and do not usually share in the religious ceremonies of the Gonds. It is they who manufacture the sacred bells, which are among the symbols of the persa pen the small idols of brass placed in the shrines of various gods and parts of the trumpets of Pardhans and Totis. So important are these objects in Gond religion that even the myths tell of the Wojari, from whom the culture hero Pahandi kupar Lingal obtained their proto types. Wojari also makes cheap ornaments of brass and white metal, such as rings, toe rings and armlets. They mould their object first in wax and embed the wax form in damp clay, bake the clay mould and allow the wax to flow out and then pour molten metal into the empty mould. Though W onjari families sometimes settle for several years in a Gond village, they are by habit rather unsteady and seem to have no attachment to any particular locality. Their trade necessitates a great deal of wandering, for only by

moving from village to village can they peddle their wares and remain in touch with their customers. Their social status is similar to that of the Khatis and they may enter the Gonds houses but unlike Pardhans and Totis they do not eat food cooked by Gonds.

9.8. LAMBADAS AND MATHURAS:

This tribe is the newest addition to the population pattern of the district. But in 1941 along with Mathuras the Lambada population was around 39,984 and it increased unabatedly covering both plains as well as hills of Adilabad district even in latter decades of 20th century⁷⁷. When this tribe entered Adilabad from northern direction had characteristics of semi-nomadism. Therefore Lambada tribe is a wandering tribe of grain and salt carriers, transports of goods on the backs of their pack bullocks, cattle breeders and graziers, found in large numbers all over the dominions of Hyderabad state⁷⁸. Lambadas are not aboriginal tribals of Adilabad district. They have migrated into Hyderabad state from Maharashtra and their percolation into Hyderabad state brought untold loss to the aboriginal tribes of Andhra Pradesh, especially to the tribes of Adilabad. It is necessary to quote Sir Haimendorf, in his words, "Once Banjaras gain a foothold in a village, it is generally lost to Gonds or Kolams". For him by 1976 numerous old Gond villages had been taken over by Banjaras and the acquisition of Gond land by new Banjaras settlers proceeded at a steady pace⁷⁹. We will see in more detailed form in other chapters of this work. The Lambadas are divided into four tribes. They are (1) Mathura, (2) Charan (3) Labhani, and (4) Dhodia. Members of these sub-castes neither intermarry nor interdine.

Lambadas are also known as Banjaras⁸⁰. As initially they didn't have settled homes and lead a wandering life in bands and tandas. Their homeland is said to be northern India and they came in the wake of Muslim armies that invaded the south and settled down in many parts of the Deccan⁸¹. Each band being under a hereditary leader styled Naik, to whom implicit obedience is yielded. Lambadas are hinduised in their religious beliefs even though to some extent animism can be seen. Lambadas don't marry outside their sub caste and inside the section to which they belong. Like their Hindu counterparts they burn the dead and occasionally they bury in a lying posture with the face downwards and head pointing towards the south. Such kind of practise can be noticed among Yerikulas of Godavari valley of Warangal and Kamham districts.

Mathuras were actually cattle breeders. Even to this day mathuras still subsist mainly on cattle breeding and agriculture for them is a sideline business in rural areas of Adilabad district. Mathuras feel themselves to be cleaner than other lambada tribes and like Hindu Dwijas they wear sacred thread. Banjaras and mathuras appear at a glance as foreigners in this part of India. In appearance they are fair in looking and tall in stature. The modern means of transport outstripped the banjaras bullock carvans and many of them took to agriculture. These tribes speak their own languages like Mathura and lambadi (Gormati). These tribes too have their own set of customs which distinguish them from the local population of Adilabad district. Mathuras claim their descendency to the mythical herdsman, Lord Krishna. They do not eat meat and

according to their custom they even should not eat food cooked by person of other caste or tribe.

Along with the above tribes there are some other tribes in the district whose number is negligible. They are Mannes⁸², Andhs⁸³ and Bhils who reside in northern parts of Adilabad and followed shifting cultivation some years ago but it is said they too basically belong to Berar region of central province. The habits and customs and beliefs of the tribes underwent change. Commodity, economy, trade and commerce, transport and communications have largely affected tribal or primitive way of life and their habitat, especially during the present century. After independence the rapidity of change is still more marked in rest of India but it is experienced at rapid pace in the district of Adilabad by from the ending of 19th century or from the dawn of 20th century itself. Tribes for centuries together successfully withstood the onslaughts of civilization, and the untold change has occurred mostly during the recent decades is to be accepted. Let us see some of the aspects that were affected in tribal way of life.

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CHAPTER-III

ECOLOGY AND MAN: TRIBAL INTERACTION WITH NATURE IN ADILABAD

“There are some of us who remain so humbled by the task of measuring and understanding the extraordinarily complex environmental system that we are skeptical of our ability to know what it is doing and why”.

- John R. Christy¹

J.R. Christy has presented this idea in an attempt to explain about the human activities and their way of looking towards various problems of life. Anthropologists, Sociologists, Environmentalists and recently historians are in the queue all around the world with intentions and attempts to explain the existing relationship between nature, human and human related activities. Being part of it, tribal communities evolved as one of the historical entities which are part of larger multi ethnic society with specific cultural traits. The present chapter is an attempt to locate material and non-material culture of tribes of Adilabad district from ecological point of view. The general perception regarding study of ecology means dealing something related to nature and human world has nothing to do with nature but this is a narrow concept. It has also something to do with those factors in natural environment that constantly work in shaping man and his culture. According to few eminent scholars, environmental history has something fishy in this regard but it too has certain parameters like study of human engagement over time with the physical environment, of the environment as context, agent, and influence in human history.² This does not mean that environmental history is bounded by strong and rigid boundary. Present chapter

begins with perception on culture and continues with discussion on some of the economic, socio and religious aspects of the tribes of Adilabad district and their ecological viability. In economic aspects, agriculture and related aspects are viewed from ecological angle and tried to put socio-religious (ethno medicine, beliefs and other general issues) aspects in the same line.

It is difficult for one to give a satiable definition to culture. The word culture is derived from the German word ‘*Kultur*’, which means growing. From socio-anthropological point of view it is knowledge³. It is knowledge about humanity, which is learned or acquired but not naturally gained. Here my point is not to argue whether man acquired knowledge naturally or not but how far it is correlated with nature or ecology. Culture is all that man learns and acquires by virtue of being a member of society that is conditioned by its surroundings. Here my area of observation lies i.e. how man responds to the conditioned circumstances of nature or ecology. It differs from society to society and each has its own hallmark of Uniqueness. It is acquired through struggles and sheer efforts of concerned society or tribe. But contradictory to this it is looked as something that man is not born with, but something man is born into. In the case of animals, their genes play a very important role and in the case of humans, learning, training and socialization play an important role than genes. The essence of Determinism school of thought says that human history, culture, life style and stage of socio-economic development of people are controlled by physical environment⁴. Both human beings and animals adopt the environment some or other way. In the words of V. Gordon Childe, “Animals

hereditary equipment is adapted to perform limited number of operations in a particular environment. Mans extracorporal equipment can be adjusted to an almost infinite number of operations in almost any environment”⁵. i.e., animals have to depend on their biological organs. However, in human beings culture helps in adaptations to the environment more efficiently. Every community has its own cultural identity, one can identify them through their practices, tradition, customs and spiritual applications. Similarly, tribes too have their own culture, which stands out from the rest, mostly shaped by their surroundings (ecology in present context). The present area of discussion is obviously round the tribes of Adilabad who too have developed their own culture in correlation with their environment and it has brought them an identity. This cultural diversity is a kind of natural heritage given to man by nature in this district. This diversity has come under siege owing to the domination or influence of a number of aspects. Intention behind arguing around this is an attempt to present that the tribes and their eco-friendly culture is one of the valuable knowledge acquired by man from the lessons taught by nature. Stress of external factors is making such eco friendly culture vulnerable that caused it to stand on the verge of extinction. To understand the above said lines more clearly the relationship of man and nature. There is much more to the relationship between man and environment, other than simple adaptation. To understand more clearly the cultural activities of man in relation to nature one has to understand how difficult it is for man than animal as he is born on this mother earth without any safety gadgets to protect himself. Human mind is more mature enough than other animals and this is his sole and powerful weapon to survive. He is not only has to put his mind to create implements

and tools but also for using them efficiently. Based upon this efficiency only man's prospect of being alive depends.

ECOLOGY AND TRIBES OF ADILABAD:

1. ECONOMY IN CORRELATION WITH ECOLOGY:

Economic developments like domestication and cultivation of food crops occurred only some ten thousand years ago, and there can be little doubt that it was brought about by the invention of a type of agriculture still common in large parts of the less developed world, known as slash and burn or alternatively as 'shifting cultivation'. Even today shifting cultivation is practiced by nearly 10% of tribal population in India. In Adilabad, agriculture, hunting and cattle rearing have always been basic to tribal economy since time immemorial. The wooded hills and range of this district are not only the home to many tribal communities but also provided a suitable habitat for undertaking occupations like shifting cultivation, hunting and food gathering though most of the traditional occupations have been abandoned today. Relative isolation for many years gave them free hand to lead their own way of life without any disturbance. Rugged terrains of central part of Adilabad helped tribes to retain many features of their archaic way of living till the interference of state and its agencies has happened. The foreign interference brought change in tribal economy and social life. We will see little more on shifting cultivation in the coming pages.

Near to their dwellings, tribes like Gonds, Kolams and others generally select a plot of land for undertaking agricultural activities. Let us see about their dwellings

in latter part of this chapter. In the soil enriched by the ashes of the burnt trees and undergrowth, grain crops such as millets, pulses and root crops can be grown. When the harvest of one or two years crop has been gathered, the plot is abandoned until the forest has regenerated. Provided the period of fallow is long enough and no damage is done to the forest. In Telugu, this agricultural method is described as “*podu*” a term equivalent to “*Bewar*” of Madhya Pradesh, “*Jhum*” of Assam region, bringa/thani/toila in Orissa and Gonds refer it as “*dhya/dhai*”.

In the beginning I was using the term archaic to define method of agriculture. This can be seen in some other way. One can even understand on referring Gordon Childe's perception on history⁶. To Gordon Childe, there happened three revolutions in human history that changed human destiny and increased momentum and brought drastic change in the process of civilization itself. They were Neolithic revolution, Urbanization and Industrial revolution. For him it is because of invention of fire, wheel, Agriculture (though wild) in Neolithic period, a kind of revolutionary change in human life was registered. This was a kind of economic revolution seems to be crude form today but might have seen as an ultra modern in those days. To say society became more dynamic than before because of increase in the phase of economic development and also in increase registered in surplus or productivity. Prior to this man lived savaged life and has to keep himself busy in search of food continuously. Technique of agriculture led to increase in production pattern and it resulted in giving economic stability. Though surplus may not be exact like present form but to some extent supported by little food security man got time to go for new

endeavors. Even tribal legends tell that the Gond chiefs ploughed land and herded cattle therefore they built their own kingdoms and culture. But unlike non tribes, tribes of Adilabad had no knowledge of artificial irrigation and they depended completely on rain fed cultivations. Practice of dry land agricultural was in vogue among them.⁷

Today in India's mainland nowhere we can find tribes completely depended on hunting and gathering for sustenance. That means they got extinct, if not to say their culture got extinct. Adilabad district too is not an exemption to such transitions. It is said that by 19th century there were more than ten lakhs of people who depended on shifting cultivation and this dependency has dwindled to about few thousands today. The tribes who depended on shifting cultivation to some extent defended themselves and resisted against economic and cultural invaders by responding in form of revolts. But those tribes who depended completely on hunting and gathering failed to defend themselves. People who are naïve regarding shifting cultivation defend their notion of anti shifting cultivation. According to this notion shifting cultivation will not only clear green cover but also leads to erosion of fertile soil and this eroded soil will collect in rivers as silt and result in manifold increase of floods during rainy days. The above notion was developed during colonial period. Why this entire problems not to be seen prior to the arrival of outside elements into forestlands is the argument made by present environmentalists. In contrast to the above said notion some anthropologists argue that for effective and successful utilization of resources under shifting cultivation the growth rate of populations should be either low or stable in

growth. Haimendorf made extensive research on tribes of central and peninsular India. In his study on Hill Maria of central India he came to amazing conclusion that the thick forest today can be seen in the areas where shifting cultivation is practiced and in areas where plough/permanent cultivation is present there we find no forest. That is vigorous depletion of forest cover or deforestation was recorded in the areas where shifting cultivation is absent. To Varier Elvin, an anthropologist on scientificity of shifting opined that it is not only an economic method with few environmental effects but it is also a way of life. From psychological and physical culture point of view shifting cultivation to him is central to tribal life. People who criticize shifting cultivation forget that state after bringing most of the forest areas under their administration has immediately asked tribes to stop this method of cultivation by stating that it is not environmentally viable but on the other side fast depletion of forests has been recorded in the state administered areas only that too purely for commercial/market purpose. Growth of population is shown as other important cause for not supporting of slash and burn method of cultivation. The question is why there were no problems before the intervention of forest department in the tribal way of life. Therefore, looking shifting cultivation from environmental and cultural point of view is necessary rather purely from economical angle. There was no recorded environmental problem created by tribes prior to the penetration of outsiders (state/forest department/contractors) into deep forest areas⁸.

In the absence of scientific mode of cultivation, animal husbandry and organic manures, shifting cultivation proved good and sustainable with low inputs for

cultivation on the infertile soils. This method of cultivation involves the rotation of fields rather than crops. This type of cultivation is good for rain fed and millet cultivation. In this method of agriculture the period of cultivation is not more than two years, since the production of crops falls drastically up to 50% in the second year. There are two main reasons for diminishing yields and hence abandoning the plot to a specific fallow period. Firstly, the fertility of soil reduced because the nutrients from the ashes are utilized by crops, and secondly there is a revival of weeds which have been partially killed by the initial firing. These weeds now tend to overpower the crops in coming year. Therefore, the plot is abandoned to fallow for the period between ten to twenty years, the period of fallow vary according to the type of soil, terrain and climatic factors. Most shifting cultivators can assess the fertility of land by noticing the productivity. One can reuse the same field when its fertility is regained but for this it takes some time for nature to restore. Therefore as long as a adequate fallow periods are maintained in this type of cultivation and it remained the most efficient and proven method of agriculture in many parts of the tropical world. In the absence of modern methods this type of cultivation practiced proved well and good. Shifting cultivation is generally practiced on weak, leached or sandy soils on hill slopes. Hence such areas have not attracted the interests of more advanced cultivators who would prefer to move into volcanic or alluvial soils or clays which support use of plough and permanency in using land. In Adilabad district Gonds, Kolams and Naikpods practiced shifting cultivation. But Gonds used ploughs unlike their Kolams neighbors. This Gonds prior to the settled cultivation, they were the free lords of the thick forest moving in every corner they loved and tilling every piece of land they

favored. Gonds used plough but frequently shifted to new plots and leaving the old plot for growing of new forests. Whereas, Kolams and Naikpods, after felling and burning the jungle on hill slopes they used to dibble Jowar grains into the holes with the hoes or with a long digging stick till beginning of last century. Thus Gonds are different in their economic aspects compared to their tribal neighbors and non tribal intruders. This slash and burn cultivation did not continued for long in modern days and situation underwent change from the beginning of 20th century as the state of Hyderabad embarked upon the policy of forest reservation and allowed land hungry Hindu and Muslim peasants and entrepreneurs to infiltrate into the tribal areas. Thus growing of population and commercialization of forest by state has not only created pressure on land but adversely affected fertility of soil. Under compulsion, selected species of trees will be eliminated resulting in many social and ecological problems like decline in availability of humidity, reduction of rejuvenation of soils because of decrease in leaf fall, decrease in time for regrowth of forest after abandoning by tribes, bringing other type of imbalance in ecology. Some more points on forest policies can be seen in chapter on States forest policies. Gonds tilled soils mostly in the valleys and flat areas while Kolams and Naikpods tilled a long hill slopes or practiced terrace farming. The adoption of plough by Gonds does not mean their moving away from shifting cultivation though it led to intensive cultivation. Tribes like Kolams and Naikpods who practiced plough or shifting cultivation followed more eco-friendly mode of production. They after clearing forest cover ploughed on hill slopes leaving tree stumps undisturbed and did their best to avoid tree stumps while cultivating. In this type of cultivation stumps that are left standing help against

soil erosion and allow the sprouting of stumps leading to the regrowth of forest cover again within short time. Such cultivation practices have been well adapted to suit the physical characteristics of the soils present in this region. It is well established known fact that broad leaf tropical forests help to store rain water, nutrients and regulate rainfall. But the grass varieties grown by tribes have multiple roots and keep upper soil intact and there is no need to have deep ploughing. Burning of fields after clearing forest too is an eco friendly act. The dried branches and leaves that are cut and stripped off are burnt to yield fertilizing ash which provides fertilizer for the crops. 'Konyak' tribes of northeastern India practiced traditional way of shifting cultivation and that was never of communal ownership. Unlike the above tribe shifting cultivation among tribes of Adilabad district was of both individual and communal ownership.

The areas where shifting cultivation is practiced there we can find the dense forests in India. In rest of the places we find no green cover due to intensive and commercialization of agriculture. Shifting cultivation can be successful support in case of less population. Because of shortening or reducing of cycle of shifting cultivations time period, revival of lost forest cover is not taking place. For this there are two causes, one is increasing pressure on land because of percolation of non-tribals with title deeds (*patta*) or ownership rights in their hands and occupying the land abandoned by tribes and doing intensive cultivation that gave no time for revival of forest cover. The other is because of the above percolation into tribal or forest areas making it difficult for tribes from moving around in large forest tracts that were at

their disposal and now they are confined to a limited area. The new arrivals led to increase in demand of wood. As a result of this new pressure the traditional values developed by man (tribes in particular) to preserve his natural environment began to lose ground. The general cause is arrival of new and powerful owner of forest i.e., state and its agencies. Their sole aim was/is nothing but to make money by devastating forest cover and never thought that such activities will adversely affect life of those natural inhabitants who since times memorial relied on it without disturbing. For the new powerful owners i.e. state, forest resource was/is nothing but a new inexhaustible source that can bring huge money to exchequer. Regarding this we shall discuss in other chapter. Against shifting cultivation after the coming of forest department on scene started arguing that such kind of cultivation is one of the main hindrances in preserving forests. but one has to note that I said above is, the areas inhabited by communities following this type of cultivation we find dense forests while in the areas where people practice intensive cultivation and have wide variety of solutions of reforestation there we find complete absence of forests.

It is said that the very existence of green cover in this tribal areas reveals that shifting cultivation is eco-friendly if practiced in proper manner by allowing the growth of forest in a abandoned land for considerable period of time. From various findings it has been noted that there is close relationship between intensity of agriculture and density of population that rely or depends on it.

Based on the above discussion we can say two points regarding slash and burn method of agriculture in Andhra Pradesh. knowingly or unknowingly this method of cultivation by tribes seems to be eco-friendly on one side and on the other though this may be archaic in nature (because of it has been introduced after old stone), has kept tribes satisfied with what they have produced and consumed. This may be also a cause for tribes not getting themselves exposed to other non tribal form of agriculture.

2. SOCIO-RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF TRIBES IN CORRELATION WITH ECOLOGY:

Geographical Background in 'Kalpasutras' makes it clear that how physical environments play an important role in shaping habits, customs and manners of people. i.e. The pattern of culture is largely determined by geographical conditions. Many peculiar things embodied in the sutras owe its origin to the geographical conditions of India. A nadequate knowledge of the geographical background is, therefore, a *sine qua non* for the proper understanding of any culture.⁹ Here the intention of pursuing tribal socio-religious aspects from ecological point of view is to situate culture within a concept of social production and specify the ways that cultural forms serve the concerned society in environments. So as part of cultural studies we not only have to assert value of popular culture but also of minority. General aim of this type of study is to stress on cultural pluralism and egalitarianism that enables us to have broad outlook of multicultural societies. In the present age of globalization, cultural diversity is losing ground which is the real nature or character of cosmopolitan world.¹⁰ After all Culture is all that man learns and acquires as a

member of society. In case of animals, their genes plays important role and culture in the case of man. Man can transcend his biological needs to a certain extent for spiritual and religious reasons but animals can't as they are rooted in their organism needs. Thus, culture intervenes in the satisfaction of biological needs of every society that in turn guided by its surrounding. However, Culture helps in adaptation to the environment. As said in the beginning that there is much more to the relationship between man and environment, other than a adaptation. There are certain element of non-material culture like knowledge, beliefs and values.¹¹

2.1. ECOLOGY AND ETHNO-MEDICAL ISSUES:

Leading a simple life is different from leading a meaningful life because the latter one is an art. It refers to those forms of creative expression which are guided by principle of necessities and which involve imagination, skill and style in executing things. Tribal culture of Adilabad is good example to this as they have their own characteristic forms of creativity. Tribes through their acquired experience, consciousness, knowledge, perceptions of reality express their values. These expressed values speak about their identity and their culture. Collection of a wide variety of items used by the community like food, fodder and medicine is one of the most important activities in the life of a tribe. As a larger part of it, tribes of Adilabad have developed their own ethnic medicine and learned to survive by using the nature in which they live. They gained knowledge of plants that exist in their surrounding for curing different ailments.

As Adilabad is part of tropical India then there is need to throw little light on flora wealth of this land. India has big share in world's flora and fauna. It has been estimated that out of about 2000 drugs that have been used in curing human ailments in India, only about 200 are of animal origin and a similar number are of mineral origin. The rest i.e. about 1500 are of plant origin. This number and diversity is very large because of vastness in area of our country. Wide variety of plant wealth occurring is because of prevalence of variation in temperature (between minus 30 C to about 49 C), rainfall (from 100 mm to over 10000 mm) and an altitude (sea level to over 6000 m). Therefore India account for the occurrence of over 15000 species of plants in India.¹² Dr. G.P. Majumdar in his article on Vedic plants¹³ tried to study historical background of plants that grow naturally in India by referring ancient scripts like Amarakosa and Susrutasamhita. He referred that many plant names that are found in one are absent in other.

In a history of the world on a comprehensive scale the contribution of ancient India deserves a distinct place. Sanskrit literature is full of references to various treatises on Indian science and Art that were used by ancient Indians especially during the last three thousand years for which literary sources are available for study and research. It is from the beginning of 20th century, study on the history of Indian plants has began but purely from scientific orientation though it had little traits of studying historical background. This reveals knowledge of Indians on common Indian plants of medicinal or nutritive values.¹⁴ All these efforts are nothing but expressing indebtedness of humanity to both nature (plant species) and to the

people who learned lessons only through consciousness and helped in keeping life and entity alive, which was also need of hour. Today we are reaping the fruits of indigenous knowledge that has been gained after spending enough time and energy by our ancestors. As a part of ecological history, the history of the plant lore of the India was certainly well abreast of the times and gave much that the west has assimilated though not always gracefully acknowledged.¹⁵ Some of the oldest Indian medical treatises like those of Charaka and Sushruta with their therapeutic values speak in volumes about the excellence medical properties attained by Indians in ancient days. For such a history the efforts of one or two scholars will be of no avail. For a systematic history of which there is a abundant material in Jain, Buddhist and Brahmanical texts, has remained unnoticed in responsible oriental journals during the last hundred years or so.¹⁶

To attain comprehensivity in writing history of Indian culture in general and tribal in particular, profound reference of Botany as a part of ecology in general should be included necessarily. Because there is need to write ecologically informed history.¹⁷ Studies in the history of Indian plants on the strength of Indian source that influenced the life of people have convinced that so far this branch of ecology has been almost neglected by historians and consequently our indigenously acquired knowledge of nature is becoming extinct with vanishing cultures. We read and speak much about the knowledge gained by societies that disseminated their know-how through their literature but what about those people and knowledge who prefer to live in isolation and reading-writing for them is an alien activity. They kept their

knowledge alive through oral tradition and passed to the coming generations as it is. So it is necessary to make study empirically about the contribution of few societies and cultures of India that silently walked on the sands of time by leaving their own marks.

The present work is upon life of forest dwellers that is strongly conditioned by natural environment. Studying on each and every subject is difficult so present study confines to certain areas like ethno-medicine and beliefs in relation to ecology. The knowledge about use of different parts of plants, their medicinal values, how and where to collect and store, the proportion of medicinal values and the processes of manufacturing medicines from the plant, the general therapeutic value of the different parts and the effects of medicine on different part of the human body can only be acquired through sheer experience, consciousness and awareness. Knowledge regarding ecology and ethno-medicine deserves for wider circulation, as medicine is not the preserve of one nation or one community but is for mankind as a whole. If the disease is concomitant with life, then science/knowledge to cure such diseases to preserve life provides remedies for disease. Wherever it may be the growth of knowledge, it is concern of the entire humanity and there is need to know about it. It is nothing but an effort to keep mankind moving forward in the path of civilization. Today dissemination of useful knowledge is a sacred obligation to be discharged by the scholars of the whole world and any medium which effects the widest possible dissemination of this knowledge deserves to be used for this purpose without any pride or prejudice. One more thing that should not be forgotten is to throw light on

those societies that has contributed with their might in this regard as it too forms part of studying cultural history.

Constructing comprehensive cultural history by including ecological history is a difficult task for a historian. For example it would require a special monograph to trace the history of mango tree or of turmeric or of neem tree from ancient time to the present day and their impact on human civilization. So there is need to make study on ecological history for producing more such works. The history of Ecology, particularly of Adilabad District is yet to be studied systematically. Such type of history will have a respectable place in any comprehensive history. For this purpose each and every product that comes across must be studied from the historical and cultural point of view. It help historian even to investigate about internal migration of human beings. The same study also throws light even on migration of plants too. For example if one observe important works on Indian system of medicine, namely the Charak-samhita and Susruta-samhita. The latter deals with about 700 drugs some of these are not indigenous to India with the passing of time, more and more plants found entry into native medicine, taking the number of Indian medicinal herbs to about 1500. Numerous large and small books dealing with medicinal plants of India now exist some of them run into several volumes. The useful properties attributed to one and the same plant in different parts of India sometimes vary greatly.

The history of ethno-medicine on which traditionally the human beings have depended dates back perhaps to the origin of the human race. As there is absence of any mode of recording events in tribal societies, studying their medicine is like

visiting pre-historic days. The subject of human suffering and its alleviation was intimately associated with religion, myth, beliefs, consciousness and last but not least is magic. In addition, there must have been certain rational prescriptions also. In curiosity when we probe into certain cultures and societies then information that we get on the indigenous methods of our ancestors makes our study more interesting and fascinating. Here it is felt necessary to quote one such study from the writings of Urmila Pingle and Furer Haimendorf. Both of them have produced an excellent document on genetics of tribes of Adilabad district. In their study they tried to see genetical relationship between various tribes like Gonds, Mannes, Kolams and Koyas of this district. Mannes live in close proximity to Koyas in the eastern region of Adilabad district, the Kolams are in close contact with Raj Gonds, who practice settled agriculture mostly in black cotton soils of central highlands of the district that support permanent agriculture. The above study also tried to study the geographical proximity between these two paired groups of tribals, the Kolams with Raj Gonds and the Mannes with Koyas is reflected in the close biological relationship between them. The biological distances based on both anthropometric as well as genetic markers indicate that Kolams and Raj Gonds are closer to each other than to the Mannes. But Mannes resides in the immediate neighborhood of Kolams. They also found one common genetic characteristic i.e. absence of G6P Dehydrogenase among Kolams and Mannes. Whereas it is present in the blood of Raj Gonds and Koyas. Both Koyas and Raj Gonds are settled group compared to the Mannes and Kolams. It is said that because of absence of this enzyme Kolams and Mannes are under the less impact of dreaded malaria fevers.¹⁸

Kautilya in his Arthashastra mentions among forest products and also about officer in charge of Forest produce.¹⁹ Even Rigveda refers regarding animals feed and burning of medicinal plants in forest fire.²⁰ Here we can see the commercialization of forests and forest products. But we have scanty information about the same subject in concern with those societies that are transmitting their hereditary know-how in form of oral tradition and are using same forest for survival. It is here the task of historian becomes little bit difficult.

The purpose of the present work is neither to prepare list of prescriptions for different diseases nor to investigate the exact medicinal values but it is an attempt to appreciate the know how of some of the medicinal plants of Adilabad district that are used by few remotely living tribes for treatment of ailments that they had inherited as hereditary knowledge from their ancestors. Some of the knowledge on medicinal herbs has descended through generations and has survived through times among the present day primitive societies, i.e. among the aboriginal tribes living in remote forest areas. This knowledge has come through oral folklore. These studies are now classed as a specialized branch of botany, ethno botany. Contemporary methods of writing cultural history have engulfed various new angles of perception and ethno-botany is one among them.

Field study during the research period in two villages (*Wagdhari* and *Madhapur*) in Neredigonda mandal of Adilabad district helped a lot in understanding

the culture of tribes that is in tune with ecology. The study involving above mentioned villages is designed to assess the contribution of the forest in providing food, medicine and nutrition to the tribes that live in close proximity of forest. Part of this an opportunity of interacting with a tribal medicine man, *Oika Manthu*²¹ was very interesting that he helped in knowing about their traditional knowledge of curing different ailments. He acquired knowledge of identifying and using of various medicinal plants from his father, *Oika Jallu*, who too practiced this profession and served his fellow tribes men in need of hour. Thus, it is being passed from one generation to other as a heritage of concerned tribal society. Here are few names of plants that are available in the forest of Adilabad that are used by tribes. Forest not only provides nutritious food but also medicinal plants for curing diseases. The general consumption of various forest products help tribes in getting different nutrients that are required for human body and in exemption cases only they go for medicinal herbs and shrubs. Here are few names of medicinal herbs and shrubs that are used by tribes of Adilabad.

1. For Bronchitis, respiratory and other chest related problems tribes use wide varieties of herbal medicines. Here are few among many. *Adhatoda Zeylanica* of *Acanthaceae* family known as *Adasaramu* in Telugu, it is a branched green shrub. The decoction prepared from the dried or fresh leaves is used for bronchitis and in case of irritation in the chest. The ground leaves of *Acalypha Indica* (*Kuppipoota*) and *Fiber Beatle* (*Tamalapaku*) are served to Asthma patients and mostly

Gond community uses this as medicine. For relief from respiratory related problems and cough, *Semecarpus Anacardium* (Nallageedi) seeds are swallowed regularly for five days. Leaves of *Tella jilledu* or *Calatropis Procera* plant are chewed by tribes along with betel leaves twice in a day to get relief from whooping cough. To get relief from cough, flowers of a creeper called *Pergularia Daemia* (Dulapati teega) mixed with *Trachyspermum Ammi* (Vama) is used. Another treatment for prolonged cough is taking powder of *Aristida Adscensionis* (Mullachepuru) along with honey. *Solanum Nigrum* (Nallbuddagachi), *Allium Sativum* (vellipaya), *Trachyspermum Ammi* (Vama) and Tulasi (Basil) leaves are ground to prepare the paste and is used for respiratory and other related ailments like Asthma.

2. *Syzygium cumini* or locally called *Allaneredu*, its grounded bark is used for treating gynecological and urinary ailments among women. Tribes even consume *Kalibonde* or *Kalabanda* (Allovera) added with turmeric is used for healing urinary problems and piles.
3. *Andatukula teega* is a creeper found mostly on steep hills or cliffs of forests of Adilabad district and is believed to be useful for healing fractures in both men and cattle wealth. Similarly, another plant locally called *Dumpidi chettu* is also used for the same purpose. Dr. Koppula Hemadri has also commented on such kind of plant called *Sarcostema Acidum* (Immatuku) is also a creeper in his tribal pharmacopoeia, found mostly on cliff like places in the forests of Adilabad district.²² In its

appearance it is similar to *Euphorbia Tirucalli* (*Kadajemudu*). On breaking of its stem milk like liquid oozes out and tastes sour before noon. The crushed leaves of this plant are tied on the ailing organs, for example in chest pains. This plant is also used as bandage in case of displaced bone or in bone breakage. After using a medicine in bandage, it is advised to consume the milk of this plant once in a day for three days. *Eclipta Alba* (*Guntaganeru*) plant with milk and sugar is served for quick cure in case of bone fractures. Today arthritis is one of the major problems in the world and it has overtaken diabetes recently in India. Gond tribes pick out creepers like *Furera Tuberoza* (locally called *Bhooikopal* by Gonds) with roots and make paste from its roots and apply this paste on knees to get relief from joint pains.²³ *Peddamanu* is also used by tribes in Adilabad for relieving from joint pains. Tribes even use bark of *Butea Monosperma* (*Modugu*) for the same purpose. It is properly crushed and mixed with egg and tied around broken bones with help of long hairs.

4. *Azadirachta Indica*, known as *Vepa* in Telugu is one of the most common and widely found trees in Indian subcontinent. Neem is extensively used by tribes as medicine to protect themselves from infections both internally and externally. Generally tribes advise everyone to have neem juice for good health. World today knows about medicinal values of neem. But nobody knows what tribes know regarding its medicinal values. Here knowledge is consciously or

practically gained. Tribes, particularly Gonds of Adilabad believe that consuming of juice extracted from its bark by adding some water and onion will help in healing stomach related ailments. Tribes know how to use every part of this plant right from stem to bark, leaves and root. Bitter paste of leaves are applied on skin related infections and boils. Tribes are equally aware of utility of dried leaves in protecting food grains and are placed in grain storage places (like *Gummi*) to keep away moths and insects. The timber of neem tree is very durable and is used in making agricultural implements. The oil cake and gum which exudates from bark are also used by tribes. The British Pharmaceutical codex and or United States dispensary has recognized the medicinal properties and have proved experimentally on animals or in clinical tests²⁴. Paste of the leaves of a yellow flowered plant *Boddela Allam* is used by tribes of Adilabad in quick healing of wounds and scratches.

5. *Boorugu or Bombax Ceibas* ground bark mixed with curd is consumed to reduce extreme heat present in the body during summer to get protection from sunstroke. But Dr. Koppula Hemadri²⁵ records few other names in regard to sunstrokes. Tribes of Adilabad according to him use leaves of *Cassine Glauca* (*Bootankusham chettu*), *Butea Monosperma* (*Moduga*), *Bahemia Rasimoza* (locally known as *Aare*) for covering their head to protect themselves from sunstroke.
6. Tender bark of teak or *Tectona grandis* and *Burugu or Bombax Ceibas* is made to chew as betel leaves. The combination of two produces red

colored substance and eating them is believed to be healthy for both tooth and gums. *Cleome gynandra* (Tellavaminta) is also used for curing toothache and ailments related to ears.

7. To protect cattle stock from slumberiness and inactiveness leaves of *Buddadarmi* is fed by adding them with fodder.
8. Forest dwelling tribes of Adilabad believe that this *Budime* or watermelon like fruit grown to creeper like plant and it is believed that it grows in the habitat area of Nilgai, i.e., habitat of both species is same. Tribes in order to have this melon fruit search the roaming areas of the wild animal called Nilgai. This speaks about mutual coexistence of flora, fauna and man. Tribes also believed that this creeper receives nutrients from the dung of Nilgai and looks green and fresh even in most of the dry days of the summer. This melon like fruit is consumed for healing of stomach pain. Even the bark of *Gardenia Turgida* of *Rubiaceae* family, locally called *Tellayelakamanu* and *Boswellia Serrata*, locally called *Anduga* is chewed to cure ailments like stomach pain.
9. *Castor oil seeds* (known as *Amdamu* in Telugu) *Ricinus Communis* of *Euphorbiaceae* family. In the early literature it has been referred as *Chitravija*, *panchangula* and *Vatari*. *Vatari* means enemy of rheumatism (*Vata*). The tribes of Adilabad and Bastar rub the leaves of the plant on joints to get relief from pain. They also pound young leaves and use them as purgative.

10. Child bearing Gondi mothers after delivery will be given bath with hot water along with her infant on the first day itself. After bath mother is made to drink liquor made of *Mahua*. The Indian Pharmaceutical Codex recognizes about its nutritive values. *Til*, *Ghee* and jaggery is served along with “*Pezu*” (soup/java made of rice grains). (*Blefarisperma subsesaila*) or *rasnajadi*, *Idkanda* (*chittiitamuvva* in Telugu and *Phoenix Acaulis* in latin) and *Kulasta* (*Ulavalu* in Telugu) are boiled to make a kind of soup only for the mothers for regeneration of lost energy. Small paste balls made from the ground leaves of a plant *Marsdenia Tenacissima* (Locally called as *Doodmangra*) is served to mother so that she get enough milk to feed the infant baby. Women along with infant baby after delivery are made to sleep on the floor. After some rituals and prayer to mother earth both mother and child are shifted to cot made of wood and coir. For some days mother and child are kept away from the contact of other members of the community, may be to keep mother and child safe from infections. The powdered seeds of *Abutilon* boiled in the gum extracted from *Anogeissus Latifolia* are served to child bearing mothers. Gonds and other tribes believe that this helps in regeneration of lost energy in the body. *Jeelugu veru* it is a root and white in look. This root is served to the mothers of infant child who are suffering from dysentery.
11. Women folk of tribal community prepared a paste using roots of *Pindikura* (locally called by tribes), *jeera* and sugar. This paste is

believed to be useful not only in healing gynecological problems but also increases brightness of face and thus this plant became part of beauty items.

12. Juice extracted from ground roots of *Momordica Dioica*'s (locally called *Bodakakara*) is added with pepper to prepare medicine useful for curing few gynecological problems in women. The above said liquid is served to women suffering from over bleeding and pain during menstrual cycle. *Cassytha Filiformis* (*Pachchiteega*) juice added with sugar is also consumed by tribal women for controlling over bleeding during the days of menstrual cycle. In addition to above *Cassia Auriculata* (*Tangedu*), *cuminum Cyminum* (*JilaKarra*), *Metanus Immarjinatus* (*Dante*) are used for abnormal occurrence of menstrual cycle. The house in which a girl has her first menstrual cycle will be burnt and is believed that this will pollute the house. Such girls are kept in a newly made hut outside the hamlet and this will continue every month as a custom. Maybe to provide rest and protection from any infections.
13. *Dendrocalamus strictus* or *Bamboo plant* (*Veduru*) and roots of *Capparis Zeylanica* (*Adonda*) are used for curing *Transils pain*. Two to three drops of *Coccinia Grandis* (*Chedonda*) are dropped in the mouth of newly born baby. Tribes believe that this helps baby to grow better and will be healthy throughout his/her life. Gonds to stop vomiting of milk among pre-natal babies use roots of *Leonotis Nepetifolia*

(*Guguma*). Some more details of bamboo's general usage is listed in the other section of this chapter.

14. Flowers and juice from tender leaves of *Sesbania Sesban* plant also of *Fabaceae* family (locally called as *Tellachettu*) is mixed with flour of *Sorghum Vulgare* (Jowar) to prepare flat baked bread (locally called roti), like chapatti. Gonds believe that this roti is helpful in curing of blood bleeding due to heat in the body.
15. For Dog bite, baked and powdered seeds of *Achyranthes Aspera* (*Uttareni*) are sprinkle on wounds. Later by placing a copper plate, wound is covered by bandage. Tender fruit of *Solanum Surattense* (*Nelamulaka*) is crushed and placed over the injury or wounds created by mad dog. Tribes believe that this will absorb poison from the body.
16. For curing of jaundice, leaves of *Cordia Dichotama* locally called as *Gonnichettu* is served to patient for three days continuously.
17. Frogs are part of their diet all around the year and mostly in the menu of child bearing mothers. Blood and fluid of some specific frog species (locally named *namala kappa*) is used for curing infectious wounds. Tribes cut open the frog and tie it on the infected wound for three days i.e. frogs are used as antiseptic. The liquid extracted from *Abutilon Indicum* (locally called *Kangi*) is used to heal wounds and to protect wounds from infection. Tribal communities protect their cattle wealth using this for healing wounds of domestic animals.

18. A piece of bark of *Semecarpus Anacardium* or *Geedi* in Telugu is chopped and at that chopped place few dry dates are tied for a day. Tribes believe that eating such dates will cure cough and bronchitis related problems. Fruits of this plant are sweet in taste and are very nutritious. Liquid removed from the seeds of this plant/tree is applied to get relief in case of swelling of nerves or pain.
19. Gum collected from forest is taken part of their diet and is collected from different plant species like *Terminelia Tomentosa* and *Anogissus Latifolia* (*Maddi Banka* and *Tirman Banka*). For tribes gum not only have nutritional value but also medicinal. It is for ailments related to chest pain and also for strengthening of muscles. *Paala kandoba* is also used in case of chest pain.
20. Indian Gooseberry or *Emblica* of *Eurphorbiaceae* family (*Usiri* in Telugu and *Amla* in Hindi) occurs throughout tropical and sub tropical India. So it is found abundantly in deciduous forests of Adilabad district. This tree usually reaches 8 to 18 meters in height with a crooked trunk and spreading branches bears fruit around in November. Tribes believe that eating this fruits will help to enhance digestion, cure constipation, reduce fever, purify the blood, alleviate asthma, provide relief from cough, gum diseases, mouth ulcer and tooth related problems. Medicinal values of this plant have been scientifically proved in laboratories. The timber is used for miscellaneous domestic

purposes as it stands well under water. Tribes use its fruits and bark for tanning and dyeing.

21. *Isthikanta* belongs to grass family, grows mostly during monsoon days and bears tiny bluish flowers. It is picked along with its roots and is boiled in water to prepare soup. This soup is served to the person suffering from prolonged illness and fever. Bark of *Plectoria Indicum* (locally called as *Muniyalka chettu*) is also used as medicine for fever.
22. *Madhuca indica* (*Ippa* in Telugu or *Mahua* in Hindi) of *Sapotaceae* family occurs abundantly in Adilabad district. Indian Pharmaceutical Codex, British Pharmaceutical codex and United States Dispensatory have also recently recognized its medicinal values. Tribes prepare decoction from its bark and apply against itching, bleeding gums and ulcers. Leaves are astringent, their ash mixed with butter (ghee) is applied on burns and boils. They even use flowers for getting relief from cough and bronchitis, they are cooling nutritive. Prof. S.N. Ratha, an anthropologist from Sambalpur University in his field research found that the Orissa tribes use this Mahua for curing dental related ailments.²⁶ A spirit prepared from flowers is considered to be tonic and nutritive and is consumed by tribes on general and festive occasions. Its Flowers possess some antibacterial property. Oil extracted from seeds is good for healing skin diseases. Mahua flowers are taken in diet both in cooked and raw form. (little more information in latter sections of this chapter)

23. *Maredu in telugu* or *Aegle Marmelos* of *Rutaceae* family is a nother commonly found plant in the forests of Adilabad district. It is a deciduous tree, tribes of Adilabad and Bastar use its roots and bark in curing fever and body pains. They use the gummy substance or pulp of the fruits as delicious food for strengthening their digestive system. Generally, tribes dwelling in the forest consume this fruit as a part of their regular diet. Knowingly or unknowingly this kind food kept them away from various diseases like diabetes that are rampant in non tribal areas. Tribes of Adilabad believe that on consumption of *maredu* fruits they get relief from dehydration caused by dysentery. Roots of *Aristolochia Indica* (*Nalla Usiri*) and Juice extracted from the bark of *Albezia Amara*, locally called as *Narlingamaanu* is also consumed for controlling dehydration. Bark of *Gigiphus Marishana* (*Regumanu*) is used for curing dysentery.
24. *Putakakaya*, a kind of nut, is crushed to powder and decoction is made by this substance and it is used to get relief from fever.
25. Paste made from the leaves of *Rakta Kandoba*, custard apple and it is mixed with salt and turmeric is tied on the strained muscle for quick relief. This practice is called as *jetti* by tribes.
26. *Rale* (in *Telugu*) known as *cassia fistula* of *Caesalpinaceae* family. The bark of this plant is used in leather tanning and healing the problems related to piles. The bark of this tree is rich in tannins. This tree sheds leaves during spring and is in full bloom during this period.

Though medicinal properties have been attributed to nearly all parts of this tree. Especially, its fruits are most important and are included in the Indian Pharmaceutical Codex. Yellow flowers of this tree are consumed after boiling. The timber of this tree is strong and tough and is suitable for house construction and agricultural equipment.

27. Roots of *Soyimida Febrifuga* (*Raktarohini*) are used in case of blood vomiting.
28. Juice extracted from bark of this *Suluguru* and *Jonju* plant is consumed for healing allergies and itching on body. *Nelavembu* in Telugu and *Andrographis paniculata* of *Acanthaceae* family is also a plant found in Adilabad forests. Tribes pound the plant in mustard (*sarson in hindi and Aavalu in Telugu*) oil and apply for skin allergies such as itching and rashes etc. They also use it as anti venom, though scientifically not proved.
29. *Tella Usiri* plant is a shrub and is believed that its smell is uncomfortable for snakes therefore they don't approach us if we carry small piece of this plant. Tribes go for plants like *Vernonia Cinerea*, *Strychnos potaorrum*, *Gymnema Sylvestre*, *Dregea Volubilis*, *Canavalia virosa*, *Aristolochia indica* and *Adiantum incisum* and use as antivenom for snakebite and also to protect themselves from stings of scorpions and other poisonous creatures. The seeds/fruits of *Chilla chettu* plant are hard and have nutritional value. This plant is used as medicine for scorpion bite. Clinically it is found that the scorpion's

poison consists of Glycoproteins and creates unbearable burning sensation to the victims. Above said plants contains lactin and this on entering body neutralize Glyco-protein and give instant relief. The juice extracted from the mixed leaves of *Achalypha Indica* (*Kuppi*) and *Leucas Lavandulaefolia* (*Tummi*) is used as anti-venom for snakebite.

30. Tender leaves of *Holeptelia Integriolia* (*Nemalinara*) are used for curing fungal infection on the scalp. Fungal infection on scalp or in beard causes hair fall on the spot.
31. *Tridax Procumbens* (*Nalla Allam* also known as *Gaddi chemanti*) along with fibers of *Typha Angustata* (*Neetijammi*) are used to stop bleeding of blood in case of injuries.
32. Tribes aloof themselves away from modern diseases such as diabetes, etc. it is because of their healthy and natural diet. Along with this knowingly or unknowingly they consume some plant related natural products that not only fill their bellies but also work as medicines. Some of them are like *Eagle Marmilas* (*Maredu*), *Jimima Silvestar* (*podapatri*), *Acacia Chandra* and so on. To cure prolonged and constant headache pulp of *Balamites Aegyptiaca* (*Gara Gujju*) is tied to head in the form of a pack.
33. Tribes believe that urine of cow has medicinal properties. Person suffering from eye diseases like blurriness of sight etc are advised to clean his eyes thoroughly using it early in the morning. They even

sprinkle and rub it over the body to have protection from skin infections.

34. Tribes follow their own way of techniques for contraception. Two or three seeds of *Ricinus Communis* (*Aamudam*) are used as contraceptive pill/device by tribal women to prevent unwanted pregnancy for that particular month. If the paste of *Samudrapala* leaves is consumed for three days continuously from the fourth day of menstrual cycle then also pregnancy is prevented and if the same paste is consumed for three months continuously, then there will be no pregnancy for three to four years. *Devdan* (*Oriza Granulata*), also called perantala dhanyam plant found in the surroundings of Sal tree is looks like paddy plant of grass origin and its seeds are also like paddy seeds. If a woman consumes these seeds for three days continuously during her menstrual period then she can prevent her chances of becoming pregnant forever. Tribal men even use these seeds as pills and believe that it has power to make them to have no children.²⁷ Tribal woman to terminate pregnancy, apply the paste made from the roots of *Solanum incanum* around her naval. They call this plant as *rainnabheri* and neighboring Telugu speaking people call it as *Pichchi vankaya* or *adavi vankaya*. Tribal men to increase their sperm count, they consume roots among men tribes use roots of *Sterculia Urens* (tapasi) or *Bambax Ceiba* (Burugu). Leaves of *Lawsonia Inermis* (*Gorintaku*) are ground to paste and this paste is used as healing medicine for sexually transmitted diseases. This

is also used as bleeding control medicine by women folk to stop bleeding from personal organs. Tender leaves of *Tectona Grandis* (*Teak*) are used to strengthen and preserve pregnancy and *Aristolochia Bracteolata* (*Gadidagadapatri*) is used for abortion. Tribal women use bark of *Mangifera Indica* (*Mango/Mamidi in Telugu*) along with *Cuminum Cyminum* (*Jilakarra*) and sugar for Gynecological problems that arise during menstrual cycle. As a heat generating and precautionary medicine, mothers are given *Yachham*, prepared with *sonti* (dry ginger), *Pippali* and garlic and mixed it with gingili oil and sugar to make balls. Two to three of these balls are consumed for five days regularly. Tribes believe that *yachham* helps in secretion of more milk among mothers.

35. *poniki* (*Sterculia Urenes* of *Sterculiaceae*) is a tree found usually in deciduous forests of Adilabad district. This is a middle sized deciduous tree, clearly visible in the forest by its white or greenish white, shining smooth papery bark. The tribals of Adilabad along with Bastar serve pounded bark of this tree to pregnant women to facilitate smooth delivery. The gum exudate from the stem of this tree has medicinal properties. In modern days, wood of this tree is light in weight and is used for various domestic purposes such as doors, boats, carvings, packing cases etc. The bark yields a very strong fiber and is largely used for ropes, coarse cloth etc. The seeds and gum of this plant are a part of tribes general diet.²⁸

Lack of detailed descriptions of above mentioned trees and plants with medicinal values /properties has made it practically difficult to decide the identity. The only source of reference, therefore, in such cases, is the local names for the herbs or drugs said by these aborigines. There is no meaning in keeping a way the traditional and inherited knowledge of the tribes, which has been acquired by personal experience, consciousness, and practical knowledge of their surroundings. Today the growing popularity of Ayurveda or concept of going back to the nature has also brought tribal medicine into lime light, which has been neglected and considered as worthless for the decades right from the colonial rule.

2.2. RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND ECOLOGY:

Tribes traditionally and socially have attachment towards forest and land, for example, *Baiga* Tribes has mythological belief that the ancestors of their community were born to forest and earth. They treat forest as father and earth as mother. Similarly, tribes in Adilabad deify many plants and animals that are found in their natural surrounding. Huge trees like *Pipal* (*Ficus Religiosa*), Banyan, tamarind, Sal and other trees and they even occupies central position in most of the tribal habitats that speak about man plant coexistence. Beliefs to say are Ideas and speculation or expressing an opinion based on incomplete evidence about the physical, social and supernatural reality though not easily supported by facts. They are cultural conventions that are concerned with true or false assumptions, specific descriptions of the nature and the place of human being in it. We notice that the tribal societies in this district are stratified into different clans. Prevalence of Phratries among Gonds is the

best example. To each group one or more totem animals are associated. Such totemic animals should not be killed nor eaten by related wens or phratry. For example, seven brother phratry of Gond tribe deify *Mahak manda* or (*Maredu* in Telugu) *Aegle Marmelos* and hooded Snake (*shrine in Keslapur*), for six brother phratry Mahua tree and Tiger has much importance in their social setup, likewise Sal tree, crocodile, tortoise and monkey for five brother phratry and Teak wood tree (*Tectona Grandis*) for four brother phratry. For five brother phratry monkey is revered as it has saved their mythical heros. Animals related to clan are known as *Tado* by Gond tribes which means Grand father.²⁹ Each saga or clan has its own totemic symbols that are revered. Tribes have strong belief in this totemic culture that has been attributed with divinity. The totemic symbols can be both animals and trees. Prof. Ratha even express that there is intimate relation between the forest and the forest dependent communities that can be seen through the institution of totemism.³⁰ Tribes of Adilabad like elsewhere have totemic culture and adhere totem animals like Tiger and Snake with reverence and sanctity.³¹ Eating, killing or destroying the clan totem is regarded equivalent to the killing of human beings. The construction of mythologies around serpent god i.e. Nagoba and organizing of religious fair (*jatara*) at Keslapur every year with splendor and grandeur is standing evidence of veneration of hooded snake (*Nagoba*). In the words of *Oika Manthu* their coming across or sighting of a snake is believed to be either an omen or as a warning about impending danger in near future. Their belief in totem animals is eco-friendly as tribes like Gonds rely more on agriculture. They have learnt to live along with various species whose presence is felt as important as theirs in their

surrounding, not only materially but religiously. Here are few beliefs and related practices of tribes of Adilabad and their correlation with their ecology.

1. Most of the Bhimanna or *Ayak* shrines are located in secluded and dense forest areas closer to running water. Some leveled area and perennial supply of water are essential features of a Bhimanna sanctuary. Such kind of locations helped visitors especially for the annual feasts, worshippers who come from far off villages camp there for few days. Thus shrines used to be located in natural surroundings. Kolams relied on forest for food supply along with shifting cultivation, they pray to Bhimanna for their success in the gathering of tubers and honey and for also for safety from tigers. But when they go out for hunting they prey *Polam Rajul*. For them both *Polam Rajul* and Bhimanna (*Ayak*) are caretakers of deer and other wild animals. Kolams before removing honeycombs pray Bhimanna for safety to evade any untoward mishaps that may occur while collecting honey from tall trees. The deity Bhimanna is also believed to be the god of living and dead members of community and exert control over the game and the wild produce of the forest. Therefore his help is sought in food gathering like honey and tuber collection. There is annual rite of first fruit offerings among all the tribes of Adilabad district, this practice even can be seen among non tribals of this district. Most of the Kolam and Manne rituals in worshipping Bhimanna are similar to the

rituals employed in worshipping of *Persapen* by Gonds and in *ang* of Muria Gonds³² of central province. After harvest, tribes offer grains first to god and consume latter regarding this some more details are in later pages.³³ Kolams sacrifice animals to please Bhimanna and believe that he eats buffalo, goat, sheep and fowl but not pig and oxen.

2. Neem tree has not only medicinal values but also considered as sacred by tribal societies in this district and it has important place in social life of tribes. Gonds worship most of deities under neem tree and in particular celebrate most of their festivals under this tree. Even the Kolams install the image of deity Bhimanna under the neem tree and celebrate festival in his devotion in the month of Bhave. In the words of *Oika Manthu*, Bhemanna's idol is made of Teak wood and smeared with turmeric to sanctify before installing.³⁴ For making Bhimanna's this idol certain rituals have to be followed to maintain purity and sanctity. We can find similarity rituals in both Kolams and Mannes, as both are said to be related distantly to each other. *Medichettu* (a type of fig family) wood is used by the tribes in making idol of Goddess *Pochamma*. This kind of practice is the result of acculturation that has speculated because of contacts with non tribals.
3. At Keslapur, an annual religious fair is held on a new moon day. On this day tribes in general and Gonds in particular worship *Seshanag* or Nagoba (the Serpent God). It speaks about their devotion towards snake that has been described in one of the above pages.

4. Gonds observe *Rajula* festival for the well being of their cattle as a mark of welcome to the new year in the name of Jungle deity. On this day men and children go to the forest with their cattle and sacrifice a fowl or goat to appease this forest deity, *Rajula* (otherwise known as Nagoba deity) who is in charge of the forest and protects the cattle from the wrath of tigers and other wild animals. By praying this forest god tribes expect their cattle to be safe throughout the year. They also express their devotion to forest at the onset of monsoons. Only men participate in this ritual and women are forbidden from participation.³⁵
5. The most prominent god of Gonds is *Persapen* and the emblem of *Persapen* consists of a bamboo shaft with an iron spearhead on the top and now here one finds human shape. The bamboo shaft is known as *Kathi* and spear-head is known as *salle*. To this spear-headed bamboo shaft, *Chauwar* is tied. Chauwar is the whisk of the wild cow (Nilgai) secured from nearby jungles of Adilabad. This bamboo shaft should have as many nodes as the number of gods worshipped by each saga. Entire things other than metals are available for tribes naturally in the forest of Adilabad. The above said tribal practice or their belief in god is more near to nature and suits their natural surrounding. There is also first fruit rite when mahua (*Bassia latifolia*) and Kernels of Chironji (*Buchanania latifolia*) ripens. The rite of new fruit offerings is carried out by the celebration of the wedding of Chenchu Bhimanna. Chenchu refers to the Gonds role in protector of crops and giver of good

weather. Important to this rite is the offering and ceremonial eating of food prepared with chironji. The first fruit rite takes place at places that are sacred to Bhimanna and this opens the season for eating of mahua and other wild fruits.³⁶ There are even many mythical stories regarding introduction of millet Jowar (*Sorgum vulgare*). Recitation of Pardhan myths reveal that the people in the beginning live on forest produce such as tubers, chironji etc, and God Shri Shembu Mahadeo anxious for their welfare and being skeptical of their survival on these foods decided to send corn queen to feed mankind.³⁷

The ritual eating of new rice precedes Hindu festival of Dassera and in this entire village offers the new rice to *Aki pen* and *Auwal* (Mother Goddess). After Diwali the harvest of rain fed crop ends and the tribes especially Gonds celebrate with *Dandari* dance, it is a feast for the dance gods initiated by the legendary heroes *Dandaria Raur* and *Sipiserma Raur*.³⁸ After harvests and before the beginning of next season Pardhans spend their leisure by singing thanks giving songs dedicated to the dance gods in return of good harvest. Pardhans in order to appease the gods for next harvest offer food, sacrifice animals and liquor at a tree whose wood is used for making a variety of dance drums such as *para*, kettle, *dapna* and *Gumela* drums. Generally the wood of *kursi* (*Gmelina arborea*) is used in making kettle drums. All the tribal instruments like *Gumela*, *para*, *turbil*, *Dhol* and *dapna* are made with naturally available products. Thus ecology is not only revered for production of food but also for providing pleasurable and aesthetical life³⁹.

2.3. FEW SOCIAL ASPECTS OF TRIBES IN CORRELATION WITH ECOLOGY:

Based upon certain aspects we can assess that nature has become part of the cultural system and played instrumental role in shaping and determining behavior of concerned society. Here are few aspects that enable us to know something more about tribal culture in correlation with ecology. Gonds in the beginning practiced shifting cultivation on hill slopes using only the hoes to grow millets. They used to practice rituals like *Durari* rite before the initiation of agricultural activities. The *Durrai Auwal* (mother Goddess) is asked to visit their village and accept the offering in form of ritual food. By the month of March the Gonds abandoned their fields, clearing new land by clearing forest and leaving it to dry during the hot season before it could be burnt to enable them for sowing the seeds in the ashes after first showers. Symbolically this rite indicates the sequence of economic activities. The axe was the most important agricultural implement for this method of cultivation and is hence included along with other ritual objects at the time of offerings to gods. While giving offerings chicken is thrown into the flames and community members stand in front of fire in reverence. Ashes produced from such flames are scared, so with the help of stick ashes are spread over the ground. Who ever participate in this rite will eat ritual food and they belong to that village community for that year and bring the harvest home. The fire ritual is symbolically important as the fire has to be used by the shifting cultivator in a controlled manner to burn the felled logs in order to evenly fertilize the field. Tribes has rightfully learned about the important role of one of the element of nature i.e., fire.

During summer, tribes exclusively use forests for collection of food products. Collection of food items from forest is largely a female job, though men too contribute. The average individual intake of calories by tribes is highest in summer and lowest in winter. This is because of high ratio of exhaustion of energy due to more hot and dry seasons. So, one can assume that a forest dweller's lifestyle is strongly conditioned by the natural environment. Here are some more aspects that show how tribes relied on nature for survival and, that too, without disturbing the source.

1. *Appagadda* is a tuberous root and is believed to be a healthy and nutritious food by tribes, it is consumed mostly during summers and not in other seasons. They don't consume if sprouting found on it. This root is one of the good alternatives to the depleting stocks of food grains during summer and is handy to fill empty bellies during dry seasons.
2. A wooden plank (locally called *Kandi*) made of teak is used by fastening it on the necks of oxen's for dragging the cart. On marriage occasions bride and bridegroom are made to sit on this plank of wood. Important to note is that the tribes use turmeric extensively on various occasions and that works as a good antiseptic in remote areas where availability of chemically made antiseptic medicines are absent. At the time of marriage, father of the groom dips the marriage dress worn by the bridal pair in turmeric water and make it to dry. It speaks about

developing of culture that brings into use naturally available products in scientific manner. On every festive like occasions, vessels are ceremonially applied with turmeric paste and thread is wound five times around the vessels with a turmeric root.

3. *Goodapala chettu* is a plant that is picked along with roots and is boiled in water by adding some sugar. Tribes after boiling it in liquid prepare decoction like drink that has good taste and smell.
4. Whenever their economy permits, tribes relish with meat and chicken and they are forbidden to eat beef, pork and flesh of rabbit and deer. This practice is an eco-friendly attitude of tribes that helped in maintaining of balance of food chain.
5. *Dendrocalamus strictus* or Bamboo plant (*Veduru*), used for making mats, agricultural implements like thorny sticks used for driving oxen's while ploughing and carrying bullock carts. It is also used in making cots, erecting partitions in the house, fencing and in erecting animal sheds. They even store food grains either in *dulle* or in *gunne* which is also made of bamboo. Like the tribes of north eastern India, bamboo rice is consumed by Adilabad tribes. Naturally and logically tribes have brought use of bamboo more economically as its availability is plenty in this district.
6. The pulp and fruit of Tamarind (*Tamarindus Indica* of *Caesalpiniaceae* family) or Chinta in Telugu has medicinal values. This fruit has laxative properties and the timber of this tree is resistant to insect

attacks and is largely used for agricultural tools, domestic articles, furniture, etc. tribes collect its tender leaves, tender fruits to ripe fruits for consumption and for selling in weekly markets and also to exchange for some other goods, as they follow barter system.

7. Honey, which has rich nutritious values, found largely in the forests is collected by the tribes. Along with consumption, it is one of the marketing products of the tribes. It is also used to clean their ears.
8. *Morri* or small berry like fruit is black in colour and tastes sweet. After eating up pulp, hard core is dried and broken to extract seeds (*Chironji* in Hindi) which has good nutritional value. Non tribals use this *chironji* to prepare delicious dishes.
9. The log of *Boswellia Serrata* (*Anduga*) is planted in front of the house on occasion of marriage. Wooden logs of this tree sprout on availability of some humidity or moisture. This is symbolic of growth of family tree.
10. Leaves of *Diospyros Exsculpta* (*Tuniki Aaku*) are collected and dried under the sun. Leaves are used in making of *Beedi* and Cigars. Fruits of this plant taste sweet and are part of tribal diet.
11. Juice extracted from seeds of this *Nall Tumma* plant is dried under the sun. This evaporated and dried extract is used as vermilion by tribal women and children and it is a part of their make up kit. According to Dr. Koppula Hemadri tribes of this district prepare vermilion from *Erythroxylum Monogynum* (*Kanaragandham chettu*). Tribes believe

that placing of vermilion on forehead will provide protection from evil spirits and ward them away.

12. Madhuca indica or Mohua flower, known as *hiruk* in Gondi, forms a part of their meal during dry summer days. They are available abundantly in the month of April and many tribal families collect these flowers, dry them and to preserve in pots or *gummi* (which is made of bamboo). Whenever they are in dearth of food grains, these dried flowers are grinded after boiling. The grinded substance is mixed with Jowar flour to prepare roti (flat baked bread). As Gonds are living amidst the jungle, inclusion of edible roots in their food is inevitable during dry seasons. Some of the roots that are in common use are *nursamti*, *thoudramati*, *duddemati*, *khakhamati*, *madhanjimati* and *palchamati*. They extract Oil from Mohua called as *Eppanune* or *Parkanune* from *garang* which is also known as *garaneyi* in Gondi. The *garang* (nuts) of mahua flower are dried and the inner portion is powdered. This powdered material is tied in a piece of cloth to hang over pot contained boiling water. To keep water boiling, the pot has to be kept on the fire. The *garang* powder will become smooth because of the steam. After grinding it oil is extracted. Every house has a crude oil press from which they extract *Eppanune*. This is used both for cooking and lighting lamps. Even in the modern days Mohua is brought under different use. Flowers are largely employed for making alcohol vinegar, syrups, jams, etc. Mahua oil is largely used in manufacture of soaps and

in cooking. Mahua cake is used as manure and used as feed to cattle. It is also applied to tennis courts to evict earthworms. The timber is used for several miscellaneous purposes.

13. Tribes use leaves of *Adhatoda Zeylanica* (*Adasaramu* in Telugu) as preservatives to protect grains from insects, they place dried leaves along with neem in the pots where grains are stored. The leaves of this plant are today brought in to use as green manure and also for land reclamation for cultivation of crops. (refer to ethno-medicine section)
14. Generally the settlements of tribes have water sources. These settlements consisted of small hamlets. For making dwellings tribes brought into use locally and naturally available materials like wood and bamboo. The walls of the houses are made of wattle and plastered with red earth. The skeleton of the roof is prepared with *mudelu* (wooden pillars) and rafters. It is thatched with *jadi* (forest grass). Floor is plastered with cow dung at regular interval. Tribes in Adilabad keep their dwellings neat and tidy. They don't allow entering into their house with footwear.

A Phenomenon peculiar to India is that older and more static cultures gave way to newer and more dynamic ones always either through a process of destruction or by integrating new things. In most of foreign lands like America, Africa, Australia and New Zealand the whites and primitives developed their culture independently to each other. In India, cultures emerged by undergoing process of acculturation and mutual assimilation. But there are instances of tribal societies in India that developed

relatively indigenous cultures in here and there isolated pockets of India. Let us come to the point. Anthropologists are of opinion that one aboriginal tribal culture appears isolated and without clearly recognizable affinities with other tribal group. This, is to some extent is only due to the gaps in our ethnological, sociological and anthropological knowledge regarding them. But question arises that can the so called civilized societies give guarantee of survival to their independently existing cultural and physical environment. Generally, it is conceived that terms like uncivilized can be used while referring tribes and their culture. So question is on issues that to what extent it is logic to use term like uncivilized and what should be the criteria. Though there are many writings on the diversity of cultures, based on ethnocentric attitudes. William Sumner who coined this term of 'Ethnocentrism', says it is the practice of judging another society by the values and standards of ones own society. This type of behavior has existed throughout history. It develops because of the psychological, egoistic character in every individual. It is also the act of domination or power by which a person feels that he or she is superior. So, the judging parameters make the difference while studying a society or culture carefully. In order to deal with such problem, the concept of cultural relativism should be applied for proper understanding. If we wish to understand culture or sub-culture other than our own, we must examine it in terms of its own values, norms, standards and patterns of living.

The ecology of Adilabad district is one of the distinct, remote and relatively isolate. In such kind of region, medicine prescribed by tribal medicine men to his fellow men naturally earns more favor and reputation. This can be because of cultural

conditions and belief in their knowledge gained through experience and also by their consciousness towards their surrounding ecology, which they think can satisfy their needs. The above line does not mean to discard or support scientificity but is an attempt to see the antecedents of a culture from an ethnocentric point of view. It is possible that such beliefs suited the conditions and mental attitudes of people who were chased by necessity but sheltered by ecology. As time passed on man started weighing everything on the scales of reasoning, several of earlier beliefs seemed unsound and despite their golden past, the use of medicinal herbs declined. Today, the importance and utility of medicinal herbs is a subject more of argument and speech from scientific point of view rather than cultural. No practice can exist independently without the existence of society or social setup. On the other hand, we welcomed the increasing numbers of western molecular drugs with such enthusiasm that we gradually lost interest and importance in our indigenous and traditionally acquired knowledge. This knowledge pool was based on forests that supported it. Because of commercializing of forests, tribes lost right over their habitat and exposed to outsiders resulting in losing of their traditional knowledge due to process of acculturation. Therefore the presence of dense forests till recent times are becoming bygone myths. Most of us never attempt to know or never think regarding the type of medicinal plants that are in our ecology and whether any of these medicinal plants also have real useful properties. We really forget that if our surrounding habitat has not supported or protected us then how cultures have developed and how life has survived and sustained unabatedly. So there is need to brood over such questions. We must make

every effort possible to see that the culture we are interested in, we should see as the members see it.

2.4. NAMES OF VILLAGE IN CONCERN WITH ECOLOGY:

The study of place names is known as toponomy⁴⁰. It has been noticed that every place name is related to one or other aspects like religion, history, geography, ethnology, society, flora, fauna and natural resources. Such classification seems to be arbitrary and unwarranted in appearance but to extent will show the economic and social status of the region. Tribal villages in Adilabad district are mostly named after things of nature like flora, fauna and Physical features. They not only denote wild life but also dense forest suitable to wild life. Prefix or suffix indicates such things. Trees, birds, hills, streams and fruit plants were found to be mostly preferred by the tribes while naming their village. This may be because of their availability in plenty in their surrounding. They thus give us an indication of the extent of ecological influence on tribal way of living and this also helps us to locate the habitations of these aborigines in the district. Though we find few villages or settlements named after their clans but were found in less number. *Darwenguda* is one of them that got its name after *Darve* Gonds. *Kolama* is another village named after Kolams. *Koyepalli*, *koyeguda* means colonies of *ko* yas or *Gonds*⁴¹. There are many village names that carry much relevance and importance from ecological point of view. For example, *Khedda*, means forest for tribes especially, Gonds and it found place in village names. The following are few village names that were named after flora (trees, fruits and vegetables) which are locally found:

1. Arjuni-Terminalia arjuna
2. Belgaon-Aegle marmelos Mahka Mara in pure Gondi
3. Chilatiguda-a thorny plant
4. Chintepall- Tamarind tree-Tamaindus Indica.
5. Dorli-A wild fruit
6. Ghotti-Zizyphus Xylopyra-Ghont tree
7. Harkapur- From the Gulmoha tree- Bassia Latifolia
8. Ichlapur Tamarind tree
9. Irkepalli- from the gulmoha tree-Bassia Latifolia
10. Kesla pur- Grewia Tilleefolia-Dhaman tree
11. Keslaguda- “ “
12. Mangi- Terminalia Arjuna-Koh tree
13. Maralwai-Probably from Mara tree
14. Marka Gondi-from the mango tree
15. Markal Metta- also from mango tree
16. Pipri-Ficus Religiosa also Ali Mara in Gondi
17. Salewada- Teak
18. Serwai-from a kind of grass

Often we also come across the names of tribal villages related to fauna (birds and animals) and geographical locations (hills, mountains, plateaus and passes). To name few here are some village names like:-

1. Pitteguda – ‘pitte’ meaning a sparrow
2. Bhusimetta, Rasimetta- this means small hills
3. Nokewari, Nokari- means hill points
4. Loddiguda, sitagondi, Markagondi, Myakalgondi – gondi refers to valleys and passes
5. Merkalmetta, Yallapathar, panapat har- metta and pathar represent plateaus
6. Jhari, Naghair, Ginnejhari, Palejhari- Refers to rivers and streams
7. Pulimadugu, Puli means Tiger and Madugu means pond.

Therefore, culture that developed in correlation with ecology can be termed as logic coordination between man and his physical environment. This coordination influences not only everyday behavior of man but also his policies of living. Thus every human group or society that is living in different environment develops its own culture that is marked by characteristics of social heritage and uniqueness. There the point of sense of pride lies in every culture though it may be of tribal or non tribal origin⁴².

Even one may think that what is the reason to know specially about this interrelationship. When Alexander invaded India his soldiers became war weary and got irritated and became restless due to the prevailing tropical climate in India. Though they fought successfully many battles to defeat enemies but could not defeat the environment and they pressurized their leader for return journey. Baber in his autobiography “Tuzik-i-Babri” even described Indian environment as unbearable and

unpleasant. Even British officials felt Indian environment as unpleasant one and to escape from harshness took shelter at hill stations. But on the other hand, tribes adopted same nature and lived eco-friendly life. It is necessary to quote here the proceedings of the Chief Conservator of Forests of Upper Godavari division, Waltair circle, 1937. It has been noted in this inspection notes that many subordinate officials died due to unsuitability of forest environment. In the year of 1936-1937 Forest department of Madras Presidency in Upper Godavari division lost nearly half dozen persons aged between 35 and 40 years. Most of them either succumbed to fever or died because of developing abscess of liver. The same report described nature as unhealthy and noxious⁴³. Similar kind of references can be seen in Forest administration reports of 1937 A D⁴⁴. The same report points out that “the tribes in Godavari valley are ignorant of number of plants of medicinal value and suitable for minor forest produce collection but the local people know nothing about them and nobody collects anything out of them”⁴⁵. There is need to think over the notion developed by non tribals in regard to tribal way of living. How far it stands to logic of rationality? Above argument is an attempt to give explanation if not answer.

Thus ecology became an integral part of tribal culture rather than an impersonal habitat of plants and animals. It is that harmony in man, plant and animal interaction that is universal phenomenon and the relationship is largely symbiotic. Each community of tribe inhabiting in a particular geographical area seem to have consciously applied this universal principle to construct a cultural device to ensure reasonable safety not only to their life but also to ecology (flora and fauna) in which they live. This significant element of bond between man and nature should be adhered.

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CHAPTER-IV

COMMERCIALISING WOODLANDS OF ADILABAD: NATURE OF STATE POLICIES (1905-48 A.D)

Nearly 2,000 years ago, the Bible accurately foretold that human beings would reach the point where they would be “ruining the earth”.¹ The above statement seems to have turned into reality. The primary objective of this chapter is to portray the policies followed by the Nizam’s state in management of forests in the erstwhile state of Hyderabad in general and Adilabad district in particular. Human life is closely dependent on the natural resource for its survival. Human beings built great civilizations by exploiting natural resources. Thus man interaction with ecosystem is crucial aspect to be studied. Unfortunately ecological approach to Indian history was largely neglected. Conservation and exploitation of natural resources has been an age old phenomenon. However the quality and magnitude of this exploitation has been different at different points of time. This depended on contemporary necessities, technology, population and the societies attitude towards nature. The question is how the mode of resource use has been carried out at different points of human evolution. The intimate relationship established between tribes and forests forms crucial part in the study of ecological history. The main object of this chapter is to examine how deliberately state introduced policies lead to deforestation and commercialization of forests in the district of Adilabad between 1905 and 1948. Since last two decades serious debate is going on among the environmentalists and intellectuals in India regarding forest policies. After the establishment of Forest Department in 1867, no

other individual or institution or organization has brought such vast area of land under control. Therefore, it has emerged as the biggest landlord. Whatever the reason is, for right or wrong it is influencing life of each and everyone in the country even today. For a long time no one has shown interest in the policies of this department. The recent dearth in the availability of resources and competition over the limited resources both in rural and urban areas has attracted the concentration of common man and intellectuals towards its study. Unlike French, environmental history in India is developing to face the emerging problems posed by environmental degradation². An awareness of this need is gathering importance because of heightening of acute natural resources crises faced by the country in recent years. These shortages have generated a variety of conflicts and collusions as different segments of Indian society exercise competing claims over scarce resources. Inevitably such conflicts show no signs of abating, strongly affect the quality of both human life and of the natural environment³. Till the introduction of forest policies in India, tribes and forests were flourishing. Because of forest policies in the name of conservation and protection, commercialization and exploitation of forests were carried on. This is not only reduced forest cover but also adversely affected tribal way of living. So, under this context, there is a need to study on policies of forests management. Forest policies in Adilabad district under H.E.H. The Nizam's of Hyderabad.

Forests, the nature's gift to human beings, have contribution in the rise of civilizations. With the evolution of state, the political boundaries came into existence. State, then assumed authority over everything that falls in its territory. Along with

other resources, forests now came to be treated as states property. This forest property or a standing crop of trees and forest products handed down to a nation/ state or individual as a gift to succeeding generations. Forests are not a thing but are an accumulated capital or the sum total of growth put on every year during several generations and the annual growth is the interest or increment. In other words, it is a forest bank whose capital (growing stock) has to be maintained, protected and improved and should be kept intact, not to be encroached upon or allowed to deteriorate. But this can be possible under efficient technical administration. This is the general or basic principle of all systems of forestry, prevalent throughout the world. In some European countries, certain portion of this forest bank is reserved and utilized for cases of national emergency which may be termed, "Forest Reserve Fund".

Right from the ancient days, governments are concentrating on conservation of forests but intentions behind its conservation has changed that can be noted from various literary sources that are recorded on the sands of time. In ancient days, forests were protected for availing them as source to survive and eke out living but in latter days commercial attitude guided the human minds selfishly. Human greed, self-interest, ignorance and inept or f law policies of government took the toll. This commercial attitude is still going on and was vigorous till recent times. But impending danger of losing these world lungs is hovering over our heads. Governments are today making loud noise about the need to protect the forests which itself once upon a time left no stone unturned in exploiting it for economic benefits. In

the name of management policies right from the beginning of second part of nineteenth century different governments are reserving and exploiting the wooded lands increased tremendously. This attitude of state brought untold miseries to all those who are born and brought up in forests and depend on it completely for their survival and sustenance and never harmed it. This resulted in friction between the state and forest dwellers. But the state through its men and material power has successfully implemented laws in bringing vast areas of forest tracts under reserve. This was done in the name of saving environment with purely commercial motives. Commercializing or exploiting of forest is the legacy given to princely states by British and continued in post colonial era. By this steps or policies of management, some societies became mute victims and were made to stand at the threshold of extinction. If the acts of state are justifiable then it has to answer certain questions like why there are no forests in non-tribal areas and why they exist in tribal belts. Tribes since colonial days were pictured as root cause in destruction of forests and they were accused as chief hurdle in implementing forest policies.

Focal point of the discussion revolves predominantly around implementation and working of forest policies in the district of Adilabad in the first half of 20th century. Historical construction from inception to consolidation of forest department in Adilabad district helps us in understanding the rise of this department as the biggest land owner in the district. Priority in the discussion will also be on how this new land owning institution has trampled the natural rights of tribes and thus destroyed their way

of life. Before this, let us have a brief outlook over management of forests in pre-British and British period.

1. REFERENCE OF FORESTS AND THEIR MANAGEMENT IN PRE-BRITISH INDIA:

There are many historical references, mentioning about forests (*Aranya*) in Epical and historical texts like *Khandavana*⁴. Indian religion from centuries inculcated a spirit of regard, reverence for the nature and promoted flora and fauna. Trees are worshipped, animals are worshipped, these are not superstitions but hidden interlinks to protect the nature and environment. In Rig Veda, for instance there is reference of *Aranyani*, the lady of forest, a nature goddess of little importance and she is praised in a hymn.⁵ There is term *Maha-Aranyas* (great forests) mentioned in the early Pali texts. It is said that this is referred in context of *Dandakaranya* forest region. On the Fringes of *Dandakaranya*, the forests of Adilabad are located. In third century B.C. itself Kautilya in his 'Arthashastra', has clearly pointed out the relevance of forests. In the same document we come across an official, *Kupyadhyaksha* who is said to be in charge of Forests and looks after the utilization of forest produce to increase revenue of state⁶. Arthashastra mentions that, "For the prosperity of state proper utilization of forest and its products is necessary and it is the duty of the state to protect forests". Romila Thapar in her 'History of India', vol. I has also mentioned regarding superintendents and subordinate staff of Mauryas in reference to Arthashastra. Among the specifically mentioned list of officers, Superintendent of Forest produce has a place in it⁷. Kautilya mentioned economical

and medicinal value of forests and gave description of nearly 21 plant species that should be protected by the state. Similarly, a kind of similar selective exploitation of flora species can be noticed especially in the era of British colonialism. To name few, they are Neem, *Otaja* (Bamboo family), *Tali* (a kind of palm tree) and Banyan trees. Of them some are flower bearing, like *Kishunka*, *Kusumba*, *Vetram* (Neem) and *Kumkum Vriksha*. Making of Ropes, baskets and other articles from bamboo found special mention as they are commonly used in day today life. Kautilya advised the rulers for maximum utilization of rich mineral resource found in the forest like Iron, copper, lead and zinc. For him every part of plant (leaves, roots, fruits, bark and pulpy matter in the trunk) species is useful, they can be consumed as food and also in preparing medicines. Kautilya also mentioned various poisonous plants intended to be used by spies as lethal weapons to eliminate enemies. The poisonous liquid extracted from plants like *Vellataka*, *Gaurartha*, *Baalaka*, *Markata*, *Kalingakam*, *Daradaka*, *Ankolasasra* and *Ushtraka* are mentioned. From writings of Kautilya we come to know about well-maintained knowledge of flora and fauna in the bygone days⁸. In this, it is said that cutting tender sprouts or uprooting of trees especially in forest of hermits, places of pilgrimage and cremation grounds the punishment will be severe. It also says that fines should be the first option and damaging of forest should be considered as severe offence⁹.

There are other references belonging to the dawn of Christian era that speak plenty on existence of forests in ancient India. Kalidasa, a Sanskrit poet of Ancient India probably may have flourished during the reigns of Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya

II (376-415 A.D) and Kumara Gupta (375-455 A.D) has described regarding thickets, flowers, beasts and birds along with men, women and children. One of his greatest works, *Meghadutam* (Cloud Messenger) is a compendium of little over hundred poems and it speaks about the route through which this cloud passes and using this cloud as a medium he speaks about all those areas of central India through which this cloud passes. Initial verses of this work present bird's eye view of Vindhya Mountains, Narmada River and dense forest in its surrounding. In this poem, *Yaksha* sends cloud messenger to inform his wife about his constant love for her¹⁰. Huien Tsang's writings on India in 7th century A.D. too describe the presence of dense forest in Ganga plains¹¹. Thus, we can see the early signs of reference of forests in ancient Indian writing. As time passed on, the heightening demands for human sustenance that has been continuously supported by explosive growth of population deliberately led to clearing of forests and killing of wild animals. From the writings of Kishor Chaudhri,¹² a fellow of Royal Geographical Society, one can guess that the decline in the quality of environment began in India in pre-Christian era. He has provided various examples in support of his argument like Ashoka's installing of rock edicts with specific instructions for protection of biodiversity. He also highlights that in the early days of civilization, religion played a crucial role in disciplining the evolving societies. While, for the first time in world history religious fervor helped the spread of awareness of species conservation. Animals for him were treated with wider economic and social importance which has become mere source of protein in latter days. This is also true to some extent as in olden days animal meat particularly of those species that could not be domesticated were shunned by most of the people in

India. But religion in ancient India was used as an instrument very intelligently than rest of the world in history for preservation or conservation of species (flora and fauna) and their habitat. Ashoka as a part of positive social service, asked his Dharma Mahamatras to develop the cultivation of medicinal herbs so that drugs can be supplied to both men and animals¹³. Many popular practices and folklores in India speak about ecological importance of species that are found in wild by interrelating them with religious pantheons and thus highlight the need for conservation and insists the member of concerned society to make habit of treating all species on this earth with respect.

Atluri Murali presents notion of Vijayanagara rulers on forests and forest dwellers. The necessity for a well defined policy towards agricultural and forest regions and its relevance for political stability drew the attention of Krishnadeva Raya. He also quoted a classical literary text *Amuktamalyada*, written by Krishnadeva Raya that spells out what ought to be the policy of the state towards forests and tribal groups. Krishnadeva Raya is said to be very specific in his policy about the need to avoid hills and forests during military expeditions against rival kingdoms¹⁴. It is said that during Akbar's reign there used to be dense forests in Indo-Gangetic plains. But by the time of Aurangzeb sharp dwindling of forest cover might had happened. The vanishing of species like pachyderms (Rhinos and elephants) from north India completely seems to be happened. In the medieval period the maintenance of well nourished forests, interwoven with hills, was helpful not only as an effective defence against the enemy, but also as a political boundary.

2. A RETROSPECTION ON FOREST POLICIES IN BRITISH INDIA: AN OVERVIEW

In relation to environment and colonialism, Alfred Crosby has authored in his “*White men domination over new world*” that the main reason for success of Europeans over colonies is not only because of their excellent arm power but also because of information and introduction of new varieties of flora, fauna and diseases. He also felt that because of introduction of above said things the native environment of colonies has undergone tremendous change. Crosby has even studied cases of India, China and other Middle East states that have ancient civilizations and said they too were influenced by environmental imperialism of Europe. All these states have made huge contributions in bringing political and economical stability of European nations in 18th and 19th centuries¹⁵. Though Europeans can bring colonies under their control but they failed to transform all colonies (both tropical and temperate) into Europe.

British after battle of Plassey guided destiny of India for nearly two centuries. British introduced sequence of reforms to enable smooth functioning of colonial setup from the beginning of nineteenth century. British officials converted India into a classic colony and as subordinate economy to their mother land. Each and every resource of India for them was for the welfare of British economy. For Depak Kumar, the East India Company was quick to realize that the whole physical basis of its governance depended on a geographical, geological and botanical knowledge of the area it conquered¹⁶. Based on British administrative reports concerned to various

departments he argued that the best use of science for colonial purposes can be found in botanical and geological explorations. In fact, the colonies were originally known as 'plantations'. European travelers were struck by the numerous varieties of flora, and in several early European settlements in India, a few devoted themselves to the study of local plants and their commercial and medicinal uses¹⁷. As a part of colonial programme, British deliberately initiated steps for converting vast tracts of forest, the abodes of forest dwellers or tribal inhabitants and wild species into reserved blocks. Within overnight state became owner of forests and forest dwellers who initially led isolated life in forests has lost their customary rights, over forests and its produce. Forest inhabitants were made as aliens in their own land. It has also brought change in the land usage pattern and this lead to building of stormy clouds of commercialization and exploitation of greenbelts of India. With the sole motive of economic gains British undertook steps to consolidate and commercialize the woodlands of India by promulgating sequence of Acts like 1878 and 1882. To realize the motives, an agency was created by British and that was department of Forests. On the request of Governor General of India, a separate department has been established to supply sleepers to railway companies. This was made necessary for the government to manage forests. By this time Britain too had no tradition of managing forests. Though attention was paid to botanical investigations right from the early years of the company in India, but the educational aspects were ignored. For many years botany as a course was not introduced. In 1873 George Watt was sent to Calcutta to take up as professorship of botany. On arrival he found that the local government had abandoned the idea of teaching botany and therefore he had to teach chemistry. Such was the

pathetic condition of botany, and as a subject it never received a fair position under British administration till the arrival of Dietrich Brandis.

Botany was of great importance to know about forestry. It forms the intellectual basis to undertake experiments in the field of forestry. A British officer, Richard temple realized this and wanted foresters to be trained in botany.¹⁸ In 1878, Dietrich Brandis proposed to establish a central forest school at Dehra Dun and the Government accepted the proposal.¹⁹ The school started to work in 1881. The papers like silviculture, mathematics, surveying, botany and elements of chemistry, physics and law were taught. This course was open only to the natives working for the forest rangers certificate. The superior officials were all Europeans who were trained at the French Ecole Forestiere at Nancy. Theoretical instruction could be arranged at the Cooper Hill College in England but for practical training they had to go to Nancy. Even on a limited scale, the Dehra School proved to be a good experiment and induced foresters to make observations and experiments in a more systematic manner. By 1906, the status of the school was raised to that of a college, and was named as the 'Imperial Forest Research Institute', signaling a shift to research.²⁰ But in British India 'Imperial Forest Department' has been established in 1864 with the assistance of Germany. It emerged as machinery that protects and preserves forests, acts as a legitimate organization on behalf of government to stop reckless cutting of forest tracts and also to see unhindered supply of timber for commercial requirements. To enable and make this department function more effectively, a forest act has been framed in 1878. This act became role model to many colonial states and it is

implemented even today with a little change. This act not only gave the State absolute powers over forests but also laid restrictions for tribes and peasants over using of forest products. Same act enabled government to convert large forest tracts as “reserved forest”. By the end of 19th century nearly 5 percent of total geographical area of India was brought under reserved forest category and this was followed by unabated destruction of forests. Under this scheme, the reserved forests category was proposed for exclusive control of state and peoples’ access was prohibited under the strict regime of conservation. Protected forests were also declared as state property, but peoples’ access was allowed as a privilege or concession allowed to be exercised as long as state permits. The underlying logic of this scheme was to facilitate the monopolistic control of the state over the forest resources by excluding people from accessing. When state became owner of forests, changes in the life of tribes is noticed as they practice shifting cultivation, hunting and food gathering for survival. Prohibition of hunting has shown considerable impact on the survival process of tribes. By bringing forests under the control of government it has commercialized forest resources and this restricted tribes from gathering forest products. Such activities brought declining influence on standards of living of tribes because collecting and selling/exchanging of honey gum, tamarind and other forest products for salt and grains in necessary for survival has become difficult from then.

As said earlier, the conception of department of forest took place in 1864 and Sir Dietrich Brandis, a botanist at Bonn University was appointed as its first Inspector General of Forests of British India. British took the help of German experts because

Germany was at that time the leading European nation in forest management.²¹ Sir Brandis played a very constructive role and established subordinate departments in various British provinces. In front of Brandis there were two questions one was to arrest the continuing deforestation and another was creation of a mechanism for safeguarding state control over forest. D. Brandis, who was projected as the father of Indian forestry played a crucial role in formulating forest policies in India. He forcefully articulated the argument that forest rights in India were user rights rather than property rights. He also argued that village communities in India did not have any sense of scientific conservation and in fact, were responsible for depletion of the forest cover. Thus, he justified the state control over the forests by excluding traditional access exercised by peoples in their neighboring forests. Such kind of thinking was argued for many years and after reaching some sort of consensus was reached among the colonial bureaucracy and promulgated Indian Forest Act of 1865 and 1878 that aimed at creating the state monopolistic control over forests in India. This Act also declared that the forest utilization pattern of people should be treated as privilege or concession granted by state on conditional basis.²² Prior to the establishment of this department, exploitation of forest products was mostly in unorganized manner. It is said that company government encouraged European merchants to acquire control over teak wood trade in order to obtain teak wood from the local sources at a cheaper rate.²³ For wood and other inevitable services government relied mostly on private merchants and contractors. Supplies of wood for various industries like railways, ship building, telegraphs, etc suffered hindrances due to various reasons. The first responsibility of this department after its establishment

was inspection and demarcating of forest areas to notify them as reserved or protected forests. Struggle in relation to environment between India and Britain during colonial period is mostly revolves round forests. After hundred years of their rule, British never shown interest in conservation of forests in India but by 1860 it emerged as top most exploiter of forests in the world. Britain for extension of agriculture, for melting of iron ore, for shipbuilding, paper industry and for railways has massively destructed forest not only on its main land but also in Ireland, America, South Africa, India and in other colonies. In India, in the name of extension of agriculture, most of the green cover has been removed but actually it is to serve interests like laying of railways, to increase income in form of land revenue from agricultural land and even for mining. Destruction of forests in India increased by leaps and bounds after introduction of railways in 1853. Government gave contractors and railway company owners' full-fledged rights for cutting a way of trees in the name of laying of roads, railway sleepers and for energy to run machines and engines. By 1860 India had 1349 Kms of rail line and it extended to 51,658 Kms by 1910. Promulgation of early forest Acts like Indian forest Act, 1865, 1878 and Madras provincial forest act of 1882 came in handy for bringing large tracts under state control. According to Indian forest act, 1927 the forests that are demarcated as reserved shall belong to state²⁴. So, laws in a nut shell to say were framed to transfer the ownership rights to government. That means there will be change in case of users but not owners. Certain selected species like teak and satin were cultured at large scale. Now mono culture in many selected areas were introduced by breaking natural laws. Because of undertaking various steps British brought climatic change in most of provinces that were directly or indirectly

under its supremacy. General Edward Balfour's report on climatic change in peninsular India published by government of Madras presidency is a good example in this regard²⁵. After 1860, England was facing competition with other European powers for new colonies and for resources. So, there was growing fever of imperialism and even rivalry. State that has large extent of resources at their disposal was considered as wealthy and economical powerful as such resources will keep the production process going on without any hindrances. At this crucial juncture forest wealth was proved to be one of the important wealth that caters various needs like ship building, paper production, railway sleepers, packing finished goods and so on. So the percentage of the area maintained under forest in some European countries matters a lot. The table below gives the detail for the years 1921 AD.

TABLE-IV

Name of the country	Proportion of the forest area to entire area of the country in 1921 AD.
British India	23
Sweden	35
Hungary	35
Austria	33
Germany	26
Norway	25
Italy	22
France	18

Source: *Administration report of HEH. The Nizam's dominion 1331 F. (1921-22) p.2 .*

The above table shows about the awareness of forest cover in European societies and this even includes awareness of conservation. It also shows that other than France and Italy the forest cover of Britain was less than other European states. Maybe this might have been one of the causes for British to show more interest in one of its classic colony like India. There is allegation on Britain for playing crucial role in destroying ecology in its American colony. British colonial government mostly followed three methods as a part of their strategy to fulfill their objectives to bring total forest under their control. Firstly, as far as possible ban was imposed by authorities on shifting/slash and burn type of cultivation. Secondly, if complete ban is not possible, then people practicing this mode of occupation should be shifted to other places where less commercial valued forest is available. In the beginning, open and vast lands are shown and later their area of movement was restricted. Slowly tribes were made to accustom for plough cultivation. Best example is Baigas revolt of Mandla District of Central province. Third and last is the introduction of *Taungya* method. This method was introduced at places where partial restriction on shifting cultivation is not possible. Under this method Shifting cultivators are permitted to continue with their practice of traditional occupation. But, the people who do cultivation should also plant useful variety of trees like teak and Sal and by the time cultivators' shift to other place these plants grow into trees that are used for commercial purpose. This technique was for first time has been initiated in Burma to grow Burma teak trees. Under this system government got easy labors and even enabled to have close look (sociological/anthropological study) over tribal areas. Overall strict restrictions were imposed on tribal right from shifting cultivation to

entering forest in order to stop them from cutting trees but it also hampered them from hunting and gathering of food. Thus one after other many laws were introduced that questioned basic existence of tribal communities.

Here let us see the reasons behind the rejection of shifting cultivation by Forest officials in British India. Administration during colonial period might have thought that leaving lands fallow is waste of resources and this lesson they might have learned after agricultural revolution that has taken place in England in 17th century. So officials felt that shifting cultivation not only leaves land barren and fallow but is also not suitable for growth of commercial forest. As burning of forest to clear patch of land suitable for agriculture makes it difficult to procure timber of commercial value. To get good price, timber should be up to the defined measurement that is demanded by market. In the words of first Inspector General of Forests of British India, Dietrich Brandis, "Shifting cultivation is wasteful and unstable form of activity. Ethically, morally and economically such form of activity cannot be improved at all"²⁶. Actually Indian forest department owes its origin to the requirement of railway network i.e., from 1853 onwards resulting in tremendous destruction of forests for sleepers and fuel wood. As already said inexperienced British forest officials called in German experts to commence systematic forest management. Though the Indian forest department was stated in 1864 by Dietrich Brandis, formerly a lecturer at Bonn, as the first inspector General of forests it needed legislative backing to function effectively and in the following year, 1865, the first forest act was passed. The hurriedly passed forest act of 1865 was to facilitate the acquisition of railway sleepers urgently.

Unthought about other factors this act's sole intention was to establish the claims of the state to the forest land. Brandis was not satisfied with the act of 1865. For him it does not enable to have strong control over forest lands. In 1869 he prepared a draft on the defects of 1865 act and circulated among other officials. A conference of forest officers convened in 1874 and on the outcomes of this conference memorandum was submitted to government that in latter days led to the promulgation of 1878 forest act. Presence of shifting cultivation became hurdle and government was incurring heavy loss from two angles. From one side depletion of forest, resulting in difficulty in procuring of timber on commercial scale and on other side plantation industry was expanding without leaps and bounds on hills and forest tracts in eighteenth and nineteenth century. Though by 1870 Dietrich Brandis was strongly against shifting cultivation felt humiliated by his higher officials like A.O. Hume, secretary to the department of Agriculture. A.O. Hume by 1870 gave permission for shifting cultivation in Madras and Bombay Presidency. Hume too in latter days warned the government about future effects for not allowing shifting cultivation in Bombay Presidency.²⁷

From second half of nineteenth century itself British administration thought to use forests more scientifically. The policy adopted in British India shows that in spite of its commercial motives forest department strived to maintain and keep the forests in a proper condition for their indirect beneficial effects and to cater the various needs of the market. The established fact is that the forests greatly influence the storage and regulation of the water supply of a country. So few officials maintained

that for preservation of soil, regulation of water supply and prevention of erosion and denudation undisturbed forest is necessary. Before promulgating any policies, British always tried to study the issue from ethnological point of view, no matter whether British followed it or not. Before making of laws, the opinions of the officials were taken into consideration. Such thinkings were completely found absent in princely states like Hyderabad even by the third decade of twentieth century. For example, at the time of enacting 1878 forest act Administration kept in mind the communal ownership and utilities of local inhabitants. Not to repeat again the development of silviculture on scientific pattern was gaining ground on parallel lines along with other aspects that are concerned with the intentions of preserving and exploiting forests. The enacting of 1878 forest act, itself was the result of a bitter and prolonged debate within the colonial bureaucracy that argued for the protection of communal rights of the people inhabiting in and around forests.²⁸

Internationally much of the forest cover has been dwindled resulting in irreversible loss by the dawn of twentieth century to Britain. By the time Nizam's administration was studying scientific methods of forest conservancy, forest department in British India was far ahead in implementing scientific techniques in soil, climate and forest conservancy. By second and third decades of 20th century forest cover in Nizam's dominion was already reduced to just 11.8 percent (62 lakh acres) of total area.²⁹ Lessons from America were also learnt at this juncture, for profits over cutting led to deforestation and aggravation of soil erosion problems were noticed by Americans.

3. MANAGEMENT OF FORESTS IN THE STATE OF HYDERABAD, (1867- 1900 A.D.) AT GLANCE:

The policies of Forest management in the state of Hyderabad were nothing but simply a n i mitation of B ritish f orest pol icies. P hysically, T he H yderabad s tate, otherwise kno wn a s H .E.H t he N izam's do minions, c ontained a n area of 82,698 sq.miles. It was larger than that of England and Scotland put together and traversed by several forest c laded hill r anges. T he do minion w as di vided i nto t wo main geologically and ethnologically divisions. One was Marathwada and other Telangana. In Telangana, there we re/are fine forests wher e val uable t imber i s found.³⁰ Under Nizam's dominion densely grown jungles were confined principally in the valleys of the G odavari a nd K rishna. The M aratha di stricts we re l ess woo ded than the Telangana. The two districts Osmanabad and Bhir by then had no forest at all, while the f orests i n K arimnagar, Warangal a nd A dilabad (erstwhile S irpur-Tandur) occupied half of t he a rea of t he s tate forest lands. For e ffective management o f forests, the Department of forests w as c reated i n 1867, f ollowing t he foot s teps of British India.³¹ State didn't had any forest policy to reserve tracts and general forest classification was i ntroduced only from 1870's. Till 1890 t he state c oncentrated on protection and disposal of valuable timber. Prior to Hyderabad state we find British in Berar framed early set of rules and regulations in respect to forest conservancy. Berar was c onfiscated b y B ritish i n 1853 i n l ieu of a rrears t hat ha ve t o be pa id by Hyderabad state.³²

The information regarding forests of Nizam's territory since the inception of forest department makes one to brood over the sincerity of state behind the creation of this so called new establishment i.e. Forest department. The financial relations of British and Nizam's of Hyderabad after 1858 has shown indirect impact on commercializing of timber in Forests of Adilabad. In 1870 Sir Salar Jung I was instrumental in concluding an agreement (Aitchison's Treaties, 1929 Edition, Vol. IX) between the British Government and the Nizam. The main points of the agreement was that the Hyderabad state should provide necessary funds for the construction, maintenance and working of the railway including provision of land, payment of compensation, and cost of survey. Thus for laying of railway lines (connecting Madras and Central provinces of British India) there was heavy demand of timber for sleepers.³³ To cater to the needs of railways Government through forest department started exploiting timber from the forests of Adilabad. Adilabad district from the side of Hyderabad dominion was sharing boundary with central provinces of British India and above with this there was presence of dense forest cover. All such factors facilitated government to exploit forests of Adilabad. To serve Balharshah-Kazipet railway, road giving access to Mancherial Railway station to bring sleepers from as far as Kawal reserve was laid by Public Works Department. When L. Mason, the then Inspector General of Forests, Government of India visited Adilabad and said that,

“if Forest Department give assurance or guarantee to supply 1,80,000 cubic feet of timber to Jannaram saw mill then department will find itself having to run the forest for the mill instead of the mill for the forest and it inevitably lead to over exploitation”.³⁴

Prior to the establishment of forest department, the revenue department used to take care of the affairs of income and expenditure on forests. Before 1899, for administrative convenience five forest divisions were created. Latter sixth division was added and it was Nirmal division. Over all the six forest divisions were- Warangal, Indur (Nizamabad), Nirmal, Mahbubnagar, Aurangabad, and Gulbarga – the last two being in Marathwada and remaining in Telangana. Each division was under an Assistant Conservator of forests. From this period itself one can find relationship between forest inhabitants and Government coming to lime light and reflects on the pages of various administrative reports. This interaction resulted in evolution of new kind of strained relationship between state and tribes.

The Imperial Gazetteers of India pictures on forest income and also on Gonds in Orissa on the rail line route between Bengal and Nagpur. After five years of establishment of forest department the state brought nearly 646 sq. miles of forest cover under its control.³⁵ In the administrative reports of 1872-73 there is an early reference of employing Gonds as laborers for protecting forest from fire and other injuries. It is also said that as a result of employing Gonds, work of demarcating and reserving of forest tracts was done not only quickly but also better and at cheaper rates. The same record speaks that “there is a complete understanding between forest department and the inhabitants of the reserve”³⁶. Most of the Gonds under Nizam’s dominion were residing in the district of Adilabad by then. So the above line may refer to the tribal inhabitants of Adilabad on one side and dubious nature of administration on other side and regarding relationship between forest inhabitants and

state we will try to analyse in the next coming chapter. Forest tracts of Adilabad at this period were like hot cakes to the administration that was always looking to fill its pockets without minding its exploitative nature. The income of forest department in eight and ninth decade of nineteenth century is live example. By 1881 AD collected revenue on forests was of 1,28,620 Rs., In 1882-83 earnings stood at 133,281 Rs. and expenditure on forest in the same year was 79,208 Rs. Resulting in surplus balance of Rs. 54,080.³⁷

TABLE-V

Forest Income and expenditure (1872 to 1894)

Year	receipt	Expenditure	Surplus
1871-72	1,55,605	1,09,942	55,925
1872-73	2,56,563	83,056	1,73,507
1873-74	2,61,147	85,609	1,75,538
1883-84	1,68,249	96,001	72,248
1884-85	133,,288	79,208	54,080
1889-90	1,02,651	88,474	14,177
1890-91	95,739	97,289	(-)1,550
1891-92	1,11,909	95,336	16,573
1892-93-	1,28,312	93,208	35,104
1893-94	1,27,862	96,181	31,681

Source: *Administration Report of the Resident of Hyderabad for the year 1871-72 and 1873-74 A.D.; Report on administration of H.E.H. Nizam's Dominion for 1294F. (1883-84 AD.) and 1303 F. (1893-94 AD.), Bombay, 1895.*

Like first half of twentieth century, forest department's revenue collection and expenditure seems to be unstable in pre-1900. The dwindling surplus between early years of 1870's and 1890's reveals this instability in income from forest. This may be because of establishing of infrastructure as a part of states consolidation in interior forest areas. Total forest area reserved at the end of 1307 F. (1897-98 AD) was 4,035 sq. miles. Within next twenty five years from 1873 to 1898 the percentage of area that was brought under forest department increased by more than six hundred times. It speaks plenty about the phase at which forest department was engulfing large tracts of forests. Forest revenue collected in 1307 F (1897-98) was Rs. 2,96,550 against Rs. 2,00,346 in 1304 F.(1894-95)³⁸ The Forest Annual report right since AD 1897-97 states that the forest department realized surplus of Rs. 1,69,734 and it is worthy of notice that the revenue has trebled during a period of eight years.

To make procedure of reserving of new areas more efficient, Nizam's government from 1894 onwards initiated new rules for demarcation. Under this plan state vested forest department with the authority to have complete control over the reserves. Based upon sanctions government allowed for grazing and fee was fixed at 2 *annas* per buffalo, 1.6 *annas* for cow and one *anna* for goat. Persons living in reserves were not allowed from then to have more than a pair of oxen or buffaloes per every five *bighas* of dry land and it was one *bigha* in case of wet land³⁹. Like British, the Nizam's of Hyderabad too treated its wide stretches of woodlands as store houses of valuable timber for commercial exploitation. During the first two decades some of the valuable trees found in the forests were declared as 'reserve' trees and the work of the

department was confined to protect these species while the rest of the species as well as their produce remained under the control of the revenue authorities. Thus there was dual control on forest resources. If this revenue is added, then gross revenue collection of forest department might have increased tremendously. From 1890s, importance of forest conservation was realized but was not materialized. It is in 1900 A.D., a systematic Forest Act was passed with the main objective of developing and conserving the forest areas in the state. The general forest policy of Nizam's of Hyderabad according to Forest Act of 1900 is as follows:

“The future policy of the Government will aim at a voiding premature deforestation and at reserving as quickly as possible all forest areas suitable for conservancy”.⁴⁰

Analysis of decadal forest reports put forward new things, like from the beginning itself the measures of extension and constitution of state forests was undertaken vigorously. Consistently change is noticed as new forest lands were added annually to Reserve forest areas. Thus every one or other area of forestlands was brought under the administration of government. Along with demarcation, steps for regulation of Management of forest laws were also undertaken. Sixteen species of reserved trees were listed by government and were under the control of the forest department in the open forest. Forests were destroyed by a system of rotation felling shows the introduction of new plans for first time on clear commercial lines to exploit forests. Extension of well planned forest laws one by one to nearly all the divisions of forest department. Government use to get revenue basically from selling of timber, especially Teak, Bamboos, Grazing tax and from other miscellaneous both in pre and

post 1900 's. From 1868 the jurisdiction of the department has been confined to control over nine species of trees⁴¹. Later the list increased to sixteen and to 129 in later days resulting in the net increase in income from selling of forest products that was at 94,003 Rupees in the year of 1898 AD. Establishing infrastructure in Adilabad district began by now deliberately with construction of Check posts and divisional offices in the dense forested areas, especially at Nirmal and Sirpur, speak about expansion of authority of state over forests.

4. MANAGEMENT OF FORESTS IN THE STATE OF HYDERABAD BETWEEN 1900 AND 1948:

In the first half of the 20th century especially between 1900 and 1948 systematic programme was developed by state for reaping more returns from forests. Forest department emerged as the biggest landlord and affected the lives of virtually every inhabitant of the countryside, all segments of India society-peasants and tribals who had a heavy dependence on the produce of the forests as the source of fuel, fodder, and timber for construction or raw material. At the beginning of twentieth century i.e., by 1902-03 there were six forest divisions. As said the divisions were in Telangana region as this part of Nizam's dominion had good amount of Green cover. We find sometimes two forest divisions in each district in Telangana region of Hyderabad state whereas in Marathwada and Karnataka regions one or more districts came under single forest division. This speaks about extent of forests in Adilabad district which had two divisions. Latter Nalgonda was created as forest sub-division followed by Medak in 1913 and Khammam division in Warangal district. After

promulgating of Forest Act, 1916 Department of Forest has experienced drastic change like dividing entire forest area of Hyderabad state into two circles (Eastern and Western circle) with twelve divisions. Hanamkonda, Kamman, Karimnagar, Medak and Nalgonda came under Eastern Circle whereas Lakshattipet, Nirmal, Mahboobnagar, Aurangabad, Nanded and Gulbarga came under Western circle. Eastern circle that was in Godavari valley covered large portion of forest in the state. The annual administrative reports of forest department of 1901 reveal that nearly 17,979 sq.kms of area came under forest departments' administration. Nirmal division itself consisted of 6,007 sq. Kms of forest area and that comprised nearly thirty five per cent of total reserve forest area of state. From the dawn of twentieth century shift in the policies of state can be noticed like strictly prohibiting the practice of shifting cultivation in forests. The life of forest inhabitants from then came under the direct impact of state policies. On illicit clearance for temporary cultivation forest department inflicted punishment on the offenders for defying laws. The local communities and agriculturists were receiving free timber for their use before the forest department was regularly organized. But the changing regulations by the government also affected the tribals and the peasants of their food gathering habits and habitations in the forest areas. About 4686 sq.miles of open area has been proposed for reserve forests in A.D.1900 by the forest department. Several grasses are known to possess economic properties and the fibers of few species (*mannakopri* and *modian*) were extensively used for making ropes, stringing cots and various agricultural uses. State felt that if such products economically used then they prove suitable for manufacturing various articles like paper and generate revenue. For the

first time restrictions on the use of various natural resources were imposed that were at the disposal of common men at free of cost. Among other minor products, mahua flowers are of importance as it was generally used for distilling country liquor. Such activities of state not only questioned the culture of forest dwellers but also left no opportunity knowingly or unknowingly to demoralize them socially and economically. Under Nizam's of Hyderabad there were no provisions like that of Madras Forest Act of 1882. According to Madras forest Act there was a provision that three months of period should be given to people for claiming of rights on the patches of land in forests that is under proposal for reservation. To this act rights means only concessions and permits that too based on conditions and can be evacuated if necessary.

The forest Act of 1399.F (1989-90), which empowered the conservator to exercise full control over 'reserved' and protected forests and on reserved species of trees in open forests, guided various agencies of state like Revenue department, forest department, contractors and middle men in exploiting forests. Timber, main income generating resource of forest was supplied to purchasers at prescribed rates. Minor produce, such as grass, branches and leaves and other likewise were also not spared for locals and their cattle. Free grazing was permitted, under many restrictions that too occasionally. After meeting the local demand, timber of various kinds should be exported but this has not happened. Local railways and the military workshop received importance. Introduction of railways and military installations on modern lines is the legacy of British that has been copied by Nizam's of Hyderabad. The

commercial and military importance of botanical investigations came to be realized by British soon after the company secured a firm grip over Bengal and Madras.⁴²

TABLE-VI

Year	Revenue	Expenditure	Surplus
1308 (1898-99)	3,67,720	1,28,438	2,39,283
1309 (1899-1900)	2,88,376	1,41,806	1,46,570
1310 (1900-1901)	3,45,445	1,44,369	2,01,076
1311 (1901-02)	3,51,096	1,46,274	2,01,822
1312 (1902-03)	3,69,511	1,47,125	2,22,386

***Source:** *Administration report of HEH. The Nizam's dominion for five years (quinquennium) 1308 F. – 1312 F.(1898-99 to 1902-03)AD*

The above table shows details about revenue extracted and expenditure of forest department in the last years of nineteenth century and in the first decade of twentieth century. On an average nearly two lakhs of rupees were going into state exchequer annually from forests by then. The surplus that state received speaks on how forests were converted into geese that lays golden eggs. At the dawn of twentieth century or by the end of 1312 F. (1902-03 AD) reserve forest of Hyderabad state increased to 5186 sq.miles, it increased nearly by hundred percent within two decades. The first organized forest act of 1899 F. in Hyderabad state that brought changes in management of forests. The Forest act of 1910 (1320 F.) is a revision to Hyderabad Forest Act of 1900 AD (1310 F.) that was passed by legislative council of Hyderabad state in order to remove the defects that were present in previous act. But

the forest act of 1916 (1326 F.) is more important and has brought tremendous changes not only in the administration of forest but also in the life of those who relied on forests for the survival since time immemorial. All the above forest acts were nothing but imitation of British Forest laws⁴³. The Hyderabad Forest conference, 1923 held the necessity of a definite forest policy since several valuable forests have been and were being destroyed to satisfy the influential citizens in the state⁴⁴. Further, Haimendorf has also pointed out the cases of land allotments to outsiders, Ijaradars, Patels, Patwaris, Jagirdars, etc. The Nizam's government took some measures between 1938-44 by giving "new working plan" for giving impetus for afforestation but has not resulted fruitfully.⁴⁵ Activities undertaken as a part of silviculture can be seen from fourth or fifth decade of twentieth century in Hyderabad state. Such activities of research and development can be seen under British right from the establishment of forest school at Dehra Dun by 1866 itself. Establishment of "afforestation fund" and taking up anti-erosion work by recruiting research officers, sending officers in training to Dehra Dun, starting local forest schools to train subordinate officials began on the advice of Imperial forest officials like L. Mason but the results were not conspicuous as the state was passing through socio-political unrest during this period. Even after thirty years of establishment of forest department, Nizam's administration at every point of time either hired British officials from Dehra Dun or took advice from them. Corruption among the forest guards and lower grade officials was rampant that led to resentment of tribes and peasants in latter days. They were not staying in the areas where they were posted since there was no regular supervision. This was one of the causes of tribal retaliation

in fourth decade of twentieth century that we will discuss in next chapter. Corruption among subordinate officials of forest department was also recorded in British Indian provinces. Hence illicit felling of trees and exploitation of the forests continued. For better administration, a forest school known as 'The Hyderabad Forest School' was established⁴⁶ in 1312 F (1902-03).

After introducing of series of changes, the total forest area in Hyderabad state according to the provincial Gazetteers of 1908 was 18,000 sq.miles; comprising of 5184 sq.miles of reserved, 4408 sq.miles protected, 8387 sq.miles as open forests. The principal forest areas were in the districts of Warangal, Karimnagar, Adilabad and Nizamabad. Out of a total area of 82,698 Sq.miles of the dominions, the total area of forest that was under the control of the department by fourth decade of 20th century was 9,516.87 sq.miles. Prior to 1900 AD forest cover in Hyderabad state was around 30 percent of total area that has been reduced to 11 percent. By 1938 AD. the forests area of Hyderabad state exactly was of about 11.47% of total area against 19.7, 17.1 and 12.2% of the adjoining British India's central province, Bombay and Madras respectively.

It may not be out of place to mention here that in the zeal to develop agriculture in the forest clad areas of Warangal, Asafabad and Karimnagar districts within the Godavari basin, in the remote past, big timber forest areas had been repeatedly scratched up and excised under Ijaras. This is another cause of forest depletion, as many non locals were peopling into dense forests with states

support.⁴⁷ such factors too contributed for sharp decline in forest cover is recorded within quarter century i.e., by 1921 AD. On other side the revenues in the beginning of twentieth century fluctuated between the extreme limits of Rs. 0.8 lakhs and Rs. 6.29 lakhs. Forest department with some pride and prejudice felt that the forest act of 1916 introduced systematic management and indiscriminate exploitation got arrested. May be because of introduction of scientific methods, the income from forest was stabilized and rose to Rs. 7.5 lakhs.

From forests other than economic surplus soil erosion began to worry since the latter decades of first half of 20th century. As far as ecological destruction is concern with depletion of forest, Hyderabad state awakened little bit late compared to its British counterparts. But forest department itself was cause for over exploiting in the past decades. There were no rational thinking officials present in the Nizam's government like Edward Balfour, who warned British administration for ecological degradation due to depletion of forest cover. On the name of conservation it restricted the movement of tribes and non tribes into forests for collecting various necessary produce. By schemes of afforestation, mono species culture has been introduced resulting in destruction of existing ecological or floral diversity. Expenditure of forest department came under two categories, they were establishment and conservation and work. Along with Income the expenditure also increased year after year from the days of establishment of forest department. Years before and during the First World War the demand of forest produce increased resulting in increase of income of forest

department. The table given at the end of the chapter presents the income derived by the department of forest between 1900 and 1948 in the state of Hyderabad.

5. FORESTS AND THEIR MANAGEMENT IN THE DISTRICT OF ADILABAD BETWEEN 1905 AND 1948:

This part of the chapter tries to portray physical description of forests of Adilabad district and also focus on government policies for management of forests in Adilabad district during first half of twentieth century.

5.1. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF FLORA OF ADILABAD:

According to Champion's classification of forests, forest of this district falls under the category of tropical dry deciduous. The forest cover was not less than 40% of the total area of the district even at the beginning of second half of 20th century. But this green cover is fast dwindling and making tribal inhabitants to loose their isolation, culture and identity. Except in extreme west, the forest cover was fairly distributed in the district. These days the forests can be seen only on steep hill and slopes and they are under protection to reduce soil erosion. Since time immemorial this district is graced with dense green cover. The abundant availability of coal deposits on the eastern side of the district is the result of fossilized flora and fauna in pre historic times. This throws some light on the climate and vegetation of this region in by gone period. The luxuriant forests and animal life of the carboniferous period decomposed very gradually and formed peat and then coal in latter days. Forming of coal in this district also indicate how different the climate of this zone must have been

in the Paleozoic era. The most recently palaeobotanists found few wooden fossils in the east of Sirpur and Bellampalli, indicates their belonging to deciduous type of trees. This indicates that climate during the last 200 million years or so has not changed much in the Pranahita-Godavari valley or the present region of Adilabad district. This cannot happen if the climatic conditions had changed violently and drastically. The tropical dry deciduous forest has been stable for centuries as this region enjoys an annual rainfall of around 90 to 100 C ms. on average⁴⁸. The availability of clayey calcareous soils in the district supported the growth of a gregarious crop of *Acacia Leucophloea* (locally called *Tella Tumma*). The eroded sandy soils produce *Acacia Sundra* or *soymida febrifuga* (*somi*). On shallow soils and hilltops, *Boswellia serrata* (*Anduga*) occurs almost as a pure crop, while along the stream banks appears as green line of *Terminalia Arjuna* (*Yerramaddi*) that grows tall. As the monsoon breaks out in June and lasts only up to September, exhausting itself in four or five intensive precipitations, percolation of water into the subsoil is not considerable and as a consequence the subsoil perennial streams are few even in the forest regions. The leaf-fall starts in February and the trees remain leafless until June. As the growing season is limited to short time, Vegetation is not luxuriant and big sized trees that can be seen in evergreen forest are absent. In the eastern portion of the district, on poorer and lighter soils, some species like *Erythroxylon monogynum* (*Devadaru*), *Ixora Parviflora* (*Korivi*), *Memecylon dule* (*Alli*) and *Mimusops Hexandra* (*Pala*). Since teak is the best timber available and all aspects of forest management are directed to improve the quantity and quality of teak, the dry deciduous forests of Adilabad are classified for the convenience of forest management into Teak forest,

mixed teak forest and mixed forest. (A forest in which the incidence of teak is more than 30 percent of the growing stock is called teak forest. Where teak forms only 10 to 30 percent of the growing stock the forest is called mixed teak forest and where teak is less than 10 percent it is a mixed forest.)

The forest of Adilabad has wide variety of plant species. This plant cover has generally of two tiers or two storied. The top storey or tier consists mostly of *Tectona grandis* (*Teak*), *Terminalia tomentosa* (*Nallamaddi*), *Terminalia Arjuna*, *Terocarpus Marsupium* (*Yegi* or *Bijasal*), *Anogeissus latifolia* (*Chiramanu* or *velama*), *Chloroxylon swietenia* (*Billudu*), *Lagerstroemia Parviflora* (*Chinangi*), *Kisspyros Melanoxylon* (*Abnus* or *Tumki*), *Madhuca latifolia* (*Ippa*), *Boswellia Serrata*, *Sterculia urans* (*Tapsi*), *Lannea grandis* (*Gumpena*), *Salmalia malabaricum* (*Burugu*), *Dalbergia latifolia* (*Jittegi*), *Dalbergia paniculata* (*pachhari*), *Soyimida ferbrifuga* and *strychnos Nux-vomica* (*Mushti*). The lower storey consists of *Cleistanthus collinus* (*Kodesa*), *Embllica officinalis* (*Usiri*), *Acacia Sundra*, *Poyalthia cerasoides* (*Chilkaduduga*) *Wrightia tinctoria* (*Palakodsha* or *Reppala*), *Aegle Marmelos* (*Maredu*), *Butea frondosa* (*Modugu*), *Erythroxylon monogynum*, *mimusops hexandra*, *memecylon edule*, *Zizyphus Xylopyrus* (*Gotti*), *Buchanania latifolia* (*Sarapappu*) and *Buchanania angustifolia* (*Sara*), *Cassia fistula* (*Rela*), *Ixora parviflora*., *Gardenia lucida* (*Yerra Bikki* or *Karinga*) and *Dendrocalamus strictus*, bamboo (*chinaveduru*).

The common shrubs are cassia auriculata (*Thangedu*), Nyctanthes Arbor-tristis (*Parijatham*), Gymnosporia Montana (*Danti*), Helicteres Isora (*Gubata or nultada*), Holarrhema antidysenterica (*palabariki*), Grewia hirsute (*Chittijana*), Woodfordia floribunda (*Jaji*), pavetta indica (*papidi* or *papatta*), Webera Corymbosa (*Kommi*) and Bitex Negundo (*Vavili*). The climbers commonly found in the forests causing considerable damage to the tree growth are Butea superba (*Tiga Modugu*), Acacia Instia (*Korintha*), Cryptolepis Buchanani (*Palatiga*), and Calycopteris Floribunda (*Bontatiga*). But they are part of natural formations and carry the work of nature. Amongst the most important economic species is Dendrocalamus strictus, the other commonly occurring being Cymbopogon Martini (*Kachigaddi*), Aristida setacea (*Chipurugaddi*), Chloris incompleta (*Kantharigaddi*), Andropogon contortus (*Edagaddi*), Saccharum spontaneum (*Rellugaddi*), and Cynodon Dactylon (*Garikagaddi*). These types of plants grow naturally but since last hundred years sporadic attempts were made to introduce non-indigenous or exotic species into the forest of Adilabad by planting Dalbergia Sissoo (*Jitegi*) and Eucalyptus of hybrid varieties.

5.2. FOREST MANAGEMENT POLICIES IN ADILABAD UNDER NIZAM'S OF HYDERABAD BETWEEN 1905 AND 1948:

The information provided by Administrative, forest, revenue and other related records of Nizam's period help us to know about the establishment, extension and working of the department of forest in Adilabad district between 1905 and 1948 AD. Adilabad prior to 1905 AD was the only sub-district, known as Sirpur-Tandur

Amaldari and this was constituted in the year 1872⁴⁹. It then consisted of only three taluqas viz. Edlabad (Adilabad), Rajura and Sirpur besides few Jagir villages. It is by 1905 full fledged district was created by name Adilabad, with Adilabad town as its headquarters by including Nirmal, Nasspur taluks from Nizamabad (Indur) and Chennur, Luxetipet taluks from Elagandla (Karimnagar) districts. By bifurcating Nasspur taluk, a new Kinwat taluk was created and remaining villages of the Nasspur taluk were added to Nirmal taluk. In 1906 Janagaon taluk was created and in 1907 it was renamed as Asifabad, under this few villages of Sirpur and Luxetipet taluks were added. Thus Adilabad district was created with eight Taluks (Rajura, Sirpur, Asifabad, Adilabad, Luxetipet, Chinnor, Nirmal and Kinwat). After 1949, Untoor, Boath taluq were formed. In 1913-14 the headquarters was shifted to Asifabad from Adilabad and was once again reshifted to Adilabad by 1940-41.

Coming to the point, until the establishment of forest department, the forests in Adilabad district as in the entire state were under the control of the Revenue Department. Till then there was only a nominal supervision over forest. With the establishment of forests department, increasing efforts were made to get more profits and it was manned entirely by untrained staff. Even by 1294 F. or 1884 AD there was no forest division in Adilabad though forest department was established by 1867.⁵⁰ By 1877-78 AD proposals for nearly thirteen new tracts were kept in front of Government to get permission for bringing them under reserve. The total area of this tract accounted up to 2,629 sq.kms and of this thirteen tracts Nirmal forest tract had 700 sq. kms and it was the biggest of all proposed tracts.⁵¹ Nirmal forest of Adilabad

on one side were proposed to bring under reserve and on other side administration was drawing plans to bring wide forest tracts of Sirpur and Tandur. This Sirpur-Tandur accounted nearly 1500 sq.km of vast area. By the year 1900 most of the valuable forest tracts were still in the open forest and from them most of the revenue from timber was derived. With the Forest Act of 1900, for first time forests around Chinnur (596 sq.m), Lakshetipet (498 sq.m), Sirpur-Tandur (800 sq.m) and Edilabad (1413 sq.m) were brought under jurisdiction of Forest department in Adilabad district.⁵² The constitution of reserve forests was sanctioned in A.D. 1894 and Claudius, official from Survey of India, Dehra Dun undertook an accurate forest survey only in 1914. By 1313F (1902-03 A.D) expenditure in form of salaries on entire forest staff of Hyderabad state for a single month was Rs. 9,544 and on Nirmal itself, salaries of around Rs.1707 were paid in that particular year. By 1314.F, nearly 100 sq.miles of forest tracts were brought under protection of forest department by spending Rs. 8/- on every mile towards maintenance. In the same year Nirmal division as a part of Adilabad district can be seen for first time on the pages of Forest records. Since the conception of Forest department, there were disputes between revenue and forest department. On many occasions overlaps of administration caused problems in revenue collection and demarcation of forest tracts. Until the formation of Adilabad district, Nirmal division was under Nizamabad district (then it was known as Indur).

Forests in Adilabad district for administrative convenience were divided into two divisions (Nirmal Division and Asafabad Division). Nirmal division was in

western circle and Asafabad division in eastern circle. Prior to the establishing of Asafabad division there was Lakshattipet division in Adilabad district. Lakshattipet division was created in around 1905-06 by bifurcating Nirmal division. In latter days of 1913 Kawal reserve was added to Nirmal from Lakshattipet division. Both Nirmal and Lakshattipet divisions were early emerged forest divisions of Hyderabad state. Adilabad district in 1908 A.D. had largest forest cover than any other district of Hyderabad state.⁵³ After 1928 Lakshattipet division was transformed into Asafabad division. Till 1934-35 A.D. both Nirmal and Asafabad divisions of Adilabad district were under Western Circle but as a part of structural change Asafabad division was made part of Eastern circle. Of both circles of Nizam's dominion Eastern circle had extensive forest cover in Godavari valley and on this, state earned huge amount of income for its exchequer.

Here is a table that shows the total forest area of Adilabad district between 1921 and 1935. This table also shows in numbers the area of protected and open forests in the district. In the year of 1924 we can notice the steep increase in forest cover that was brought under control by forest department in the district. I.e., by middle of fourth decade of twentieth century nearly fifteen lakh acres of forest has been brought under cover of protection and nearly four lakh acres of land was demarcated as open or unclassified forest area. Over all on average nineteen lakh acres of forest area of district under various categories was demarcated as states property by forest department. At this time total area of Adilabad district was 46, 68,160 acres.

Nearly 40.42 % of the total districts area was under the control of forests department by 1945 AD.

TABLE-VII

Total Forest Area in Adilabad District.1331-45 F. (1922-36)

Sl.No.	Years	Protected forests in acres	Open or Unclassed forests in acres	Total Forest Area of District
1	1331.F	1134267	462,496	1,596,763
2	1332.F	1134715	572,571	1,507,286
3	1333.F	1134745	572,571	1,507,316
4	1334.F	1309268	389,048	1,707,316
5	1335.F	1293549	398,588	1,692,137
6	1336.F	1293549	398,588	1,692,137
7	1337.F	1293549	398,588	1,692,137
8	1338.F	1413599	279,939	1,693,538
9	1339.F	1383720	384,739	1,668,459
10	1340.F	1433160	284,739	1,717,899
11	1341.F	1464157	290,419	1,754,576
12	1342.F	1475185	304,469	1,779,654
13	1343.F	1480502	348,028	1,828,530
14	1344.F	1502830	370,801	1,873,631
15	1345.F	1492838	394,396	1,887,234

Source: *Hyderabad District Gazetteers, Adilabad, (1930-1936 A.D.) pp.88-97.*

On total forest area state became sole owner of this property and administered it with the help of an agency called forest department. Records of the 1942 AD show that forest department was owner of 17.90 % of total Nizam's dominion. Thus many folds increase in reserve forest area of state is recorded since establishment of forest department. In 1938 a round 8,734 acres/ 13.65 sq.miles of forest area in Asafabad division was declared as reserved and this was a round 20% of total area of eastern circle of Hyderabad state. This speaks about existence of large area of forest cover even in third and fourth decades of twentieth century in Adilabad district. Point to be noticed is that the Forest department has classified and demarcated wide tracts of green cover under category of protected areas than reserved or open/Unclassed forest. Administrative reports show that the officials tried to put forward one or other area for government's approval to declare certain tracts as reserved or protected areas and between 1867 and 1948 year after year many new areas were brought under government control. At no point of time decrease in forest area under state control was recorded in between the above said years.

Protected forest area in Asafabad division (it was Lakshattipet till 1928 AD.) by 1905 AD was 41,2160 acres (644sq.miles) and it was 87432.6 acres (1366 sq.miles), 914569 acres (1429 sq.miles) in 1928 and 1938 AD respectively. Until both Nirmal and Asafabad division were under Western circle of Nizam's dominion, Adilabad was leading in forest cover, receipts and surplus of revenue. Between 1911 and 1924 AD Asafabad division dominated all forest division in Hyderabad state as far as forest cover was concerned.⁵⁴ Government though was speaking regarding

environment and need for protection of forest but never mended its mind from attitude of exploiting forest. For example, in 1928 Raja Dhanraj Siriji was given *patta* (ownership right or title deed) for sisal (Mexican or West Indian plant with large fleshy leaves yielding a stiff fiber used in making rope) plantation. It is an attempt to introduce specific species of plants that brought income has led to monotonous culture of selected species and thus brought change in ecology of district. For providing space to newly or selected species other plant varieties were removed. Though other less economically important plants might not have been useful to state but were very handy for forest inhabitants who depended for everything on this nature gifted treasure. This selective plant culture changed basic character of forest and it also led to vanishing of various wild creatures and thus disturbance occurred in food balance.

Existence of good forest cover resulted in better generation of income to state, both divisions of Adilabad merged as rich income generating spots in entire Hyderabad state. The department of forest was lagging behind three or four (land revenue, excise and customs) departments in collection of revenue in entire dominion and divisions like Nirmal and Asafabad of Adilabad district which was gifted with dense forest cover by nature has contributed significantly.⁵⁵ Government spent enough towards expenditure on maintenance of staff and infrastructure like buildings and roads. In 1911 expenditure in Asafabad division was 28.7% and same in Nirmal division was 20%. Out of revenue received in that particular year less than 49% was spent towards expenditure in Adilabad district. This was seen absent in case of

conservation of forest vegetation. It is crystal clear that the forest department was established with sole aim to get profits out of forests and forest produce and not for its conservation. Like British they never undertook any scientific research and development measures.

On an average this district has contributed nearly 25% to 30% of total income derived on forests of Nizam's dominion. Between 1867 and 1948 because of availability of excessive surplus, forest department never experienced loss financially and expenditure over its maintenance was far less than the revenue spent in neighboring British provinces and princely states, like Madras province, central province, Mysore and Travancore state. In 1938 A.D. expenditure on Asafabad division, Eastern circle and on entire State was 38.61, 40.48 and 73.69 per cent respectively and perhaps it was the highest spending of state. Whereas the same on entire state in 1929 was 25% only. Like Asafabad division, Nirmal division too was not lagging behind in generating huge revenue from forests and forest products. In 1909 and 1911 income derived from Nirmal was more than Warangal division of eastern circle. Warangal district at this time was leading in entire state as far as forest area and income is concerned. Interestingly in case of Nirmal division, in 1921 expenditure was made upto 98% and this was highest as per records on maintenance of staff and infrastructure. The data provided on revenue and expenditure of district and dominion replicate some more details in this regard. As far as income of divisions or district on forest is concerned Adilabad mostly stood second after Warangal district in eastern circle and occasionally first (in 1910 and 1921 A.D.) in entire dominion.

Nearly no division or no district in western circle of Hyderabad state has dominated (Nirmal and Asafabad) divisions of Adilabad district in collection of revenue on forests.

The table at the end of the chapter related to the protected forest areas of Nirmal division shows that by 1907 forests in Nirmal division occupied nearly 10% of total forest area of the dominion. The same in 1928, 1930, 1931 and 1932 was around 12% and in 1937 was around 15% respectively. Similarly the table related to protected forest area in Asafabad division (Lakshattipet division till 1928) of Adilabad district depicts that between 1904 and 1906 a steep increase in protected forest area by around 300% has been noticed and latter never such increase in a short time has been recorded. From 1909 decline in protected area of this division was noticed only to revive deliberately in succeeding years. The share of protected forests of Asafabad division on average was fluctuating between 15 to 20 percent of total protected forest area of the dominion. The contribution of Asafabad division in case of open/Unclassed forest category was also appreciable because this divisions share in entire dominion was hovering around thirty to forty percent. Comparatively as far as two divisions of Adilabad district is concerned the forest cover in Asafabad division was more and thicker than that of Nirmal division. As far as collection revenue is concerned, Asafabad and Nirmal divisions never lagged behind other divisions of dominion as far as area, revenue and surplus is concerned. Other than the year of 1918, the share of revenue of Asafabad division was on average between ten to twelve percent of total revenue collected in the dominion. Collection of revenue in

Nirmal division was little bit less than Asafabad division but was considerable in contribution to the total revenue collected in state. Thus the overall performance of Adilabad with its two divisions was better and stood on average second or just behind Warangal in collection of revenue in entire Nizam's dominion. In support to the above description few tables given at the end of the chapter give Random information on areas of protected and open forests of state, circle and two divisions (Nirmal and Asafabad) of district of Adilabad along with little information on revenue generated and expenditure in both divisions/district and dominion respectively.

The process of consolidation was carried by adopting several steps like demarcation of forest lands through working plans, appointing officers to settle the disputes over boundaries of reserves and by preparing of forest maps. Clear defined boundaries between private and government forests. Even in settled districts the maps are found of very little importance and like British administration was not built on efficient lines. The boundaries were almost invariably disputed. Boundary marks were constantly removed or changed, and often the village maps of revenue department contradicted with the maps of forests. Some times even the water sources in the forestlands too were brought under control while demarcating new tract. For increase of revenue even the common man was not spared, confiscating the natural water bodies in forestlands made life of man and animals difficult. Forest settlements in reserve forests were entrusted to revenue department in Nirmal division unlike other areas that has hastened the problem more.

With the increase in population several islands of cultivable patches were formed and title deeds were granted resulting in expansion of settlements at the cost of declining forests. Either to secure a way to the wild animals or to counteract the naturally invading jungle or to increase the production of *beedi* leaf from *Tumki* or *Abnus* trees or to collect honey and other minor forest produce, the villagers living in the vicinity of forests started setting fire to the forest. Thus devastating efforts of man towards nature was going on and its phase was intensified by agencies of government like forest department.

In simple words government laid roads and on this path non forest dwellers followed and penetrated into deep forests. The men started hacking trees indiscriminately for their various needs. The beasts without number started grazing and browsing the grasses and the virgin and young plants. With such frequent biotic interference the equilibrium of vegetation started getting upset about a hundred years ago. This process got momentum with growing pressure of population and taking over of forests by state in overnight has added to the severity. The tree lands outside the reserve forest continued to be managed by the Revenue Department until 1958 when the government transferred the control over to the forest department. Once again in the name of conservation of the valuable forests, large virgin tracts were pursued vigorously by passing forest Acts. However, very effective steps are being taken by the forest department to see that the tribals or others make no further encroachment. Year after year government brought thousands and lakhs of acres under its jurisdiction. The table provided at end of chapter will give details on

addition of new forests tracts year after year right from beginning of twentieth century. It speaks about Adilabad district in specific and about dominion in general and the statistical details reveal the rise of a big and powerful land lord i.e. forest department supported or legitimized by state.

5.3. FEATURES OF CONSOLIDATION OF STATES AUTHORITY OVER FORESTS OF ADILABAD:

Of total forest area in Hyderabad state, Asafabad and Warangal had maximum percentage of forest with 44.87 and 27.06 respectively. For conservation of state forests, government has strengthened the hands of forest department since the days of establishment of this department. As said early series of Acts were passed in this respect like Forest Act of 1900, 1910 and 1916. The forest Act of 1916 clearly speaks about the constitution, rules and conditions to demarcate and declare forests as reserve, protected, open and village forests. The area that was notified under section 18 of Forest Act of 1916 was considered as reserve forest and if notified under section 7 then it will be protected forests. The same act explains everything about institutional structure of forest department and it even empowers with a kind of authoritative and ownership rights over vast green tracts. The rules regarding forest villages were absent even in third decade of twentieth century where as strong debate went among the British officials on this issue way back in third quarter of nineteenth century.⁵⁶ From the latter reports of administration we can make conclusion that forest department concentrated more on reserved and protected forests rather than open or unclassified forests as it generated more revenue in short span of time. In forest and

general administrative records we find continuous changes under various heads like reserve, protected and open or unclassed forest area was mainly due to transfer from one class to the other. The assistant conservator of Warangal in 1903-04 has written to government and prophesizing something regarding “ timber famine”. But administration was not in an enlightened position to entertain such ideas of officials. The concerned officer was expressing his anguish on lavishly giving away of *patta* rights to peasants in forest areas that would result in dwindling or extinguishing of forest cover. In the same year deep concern was expressed by state administration over working of Nirmal division due to clearing of forest of around six miles and an enquiry was appointed to probe into corruption. This enquiry committee has projected its dissatisfaction over the steps taken by officials in Nirmal division for protecting forests. To bring more forest cover under departments control government left no stone unturned. We have references for such instances like case of jagir in the neighborhood of Nirmal division in the beginning of 20th century. In the words of Assistant Conservator who has written to Government in 1904 that,

“I regret to say that the second Talukdar of Nirmal, changed several dates appointed for the demarcation of a *jagir* named Yelgurup (on the eastern side of Nirmal division) belonging to Sultan-ul-Mulk Bahadur. It should not be any longer postponed as the extensive and valuable forest which it has belongs to the government. Demarcating it as state property is very greatly to the advantage of government.”⁵⁷

W. Fraser. Biscoe, who held charge of conservator of forests to the H.E.H. The Nizam’s Dominion till 31st March, 1905 has retired and Sohrabji Jamshedji was given charge of this department. This was the period when the district of Adilabad and Lakshattipet forest division was created. In march 1905 (1314.F) Mr. Ahmed

Mohiudeen, sub Assistant conservator of Warangal division was appointed for inspection of forests of depopulated villages and *banjar* (barren) lands of Nirmal division, likewise under Mr. Bordey, sub-Assistant in Lakshattipet division. As a result nearly 573 sq miles of forest lands was added into Nirmal division. But in the following year of 1907, deductions in the protected forest by excluding around 475 miles from forest areas of Sirpur and Jangaon (Asafabad) can be noticed. The excluded contained large areas of cultivated and waste cultivable land. The intentions behind this policy of excluding lands of this type is to encourage cultivation and form compact reserves or blocks of valuable forests that are in sound to produce good timber for sale. Only in Adilabad in 1907 year as a part of demarcation 281 miles were covered. Where ever any dispute occurred between revenue and forest department in the process of demarcating the tracts there government instructed both departments to appoint one revenue and one forest officer to demarcate lands by setting aside cultivable. Thus demarcations of forest tracts were carried for consolidation of forest lands. The Forest Act, 1916 of Hyderabad state put forward the actual forest policy of state. Few lines given below that were extracted from forest administrative reports speak plenty on such policy.

“The Forest officers of all grades should bear in view that an increase of revenue is not the only object in view, but rather the objects should be to regulate the working of the forests that they will become a valuable asset of government yielding a legitimate revenue, and at the same time conserving a supply of timber for future years. The same forest policy remarks that the forest department is run to a considerable extent on commercial lines and has to adjust its rates in consideration of the competing rates for timber in other forest areas (jagir forests and British India's forests). The general principle forests in distant parts not readily accessible, should be carefully conserved rather than sold at reduced rates, so that when the more accessible forests are exhausted the others will be available, and by that time it is probable that time

it is probable that road or railway communication will have improved. The system of reduced rates should therefore be confined, as it practically is now to parts where it is desired to clear land for cultivation”.⁵⁸

Comprehensively in the last decades of nineteenth century government through its agency called forest department, followed unorganized path of devastation. Like land hunger beast, brought under its control whatever land it came across in its way of expansion. Extensive surveys to include dense forest were undertaken as a part of working plans that too in latter days. Most of the virgin forest tracts yet to be brought under departments control at the dawn of 20th century. Forest department in this district was closely observing the neighboring British provinces that were systematically colonizing timber lands. By 1905 Teak and Bijasal species were said to be exploited more in both Nirmal and Lakshettipet divisions of Adilabad district. The timber of this plant species was sold at ten to twelve *annas* per cubic foot. Teak at this period was largely exported to Chanda (Present Chandrapur District) and the adjoining districts of British India. Even after three decades of establishment of forest department many blunders were made because of absence of proper working plans. Working plans to make proper study before including new tracts under different category was adopted only on the recommendations of L. Mason, the then Inspector general of forest of British India who visited Nirmal division and advised certain institutional and structural changes in management of forests by states forest department. Every immovable property, private or public should be demarcated was the rule. As a part of it wide forest estates were demarcated to enable it to be identified by the general public, so that in case of trespass,

infringement of rules, or breach of law proper and due action can be taken. The real motive behind demarcating forests is to declare them as states property and to distinguish it from private or personal property.

It is from 1908-09 Forest department showed interest on forests surrounding Uttoor. We can find that process of colonizing forests in Adilabad district went in such a way that forest department surrounded most of the tribal areas from all sides. It seems to be a predetermined plan but might have occurred paradoxically. Tribes in Adilabad led secluded life in hilly forest tracts of central Adilabad. Their life and culture along with their surrounding became easy prey to evil intentions. Unabated expansion of commercially motivated administration supported by state changed the chemistry that has been established very naturally or eco-friendly. Regarding colonization of forest tracts around Uttoor there are good number of references. Like summary of Nizam's government remarks in (Government resolution of 1310.F) No. 43 dated 8th march, 1910 based on the report of conservator of 1317 F. (1907-08) reveals that,

“Adilabad has large tracts of hills covered with large area of open forest and fine teak, which could not be reserved only for want of establishment. Teak being one the reserved species, such forest is practically reserved”.⁵⁹

The above lines speak the States attempt to legitimize its authority over all those areas that have thick forest cover. Even by 1323.F. (1913-14 AD) one can observe that due to the absence or non-existence of any Forest Act, shuffling and reshuffling of forest tracts was going on that led to wastage of time, energy and

money of forest department and above this information was not accurate and empirical. The uncertainty led to recalculation even after eight to ten years of passing of Forest Act of 1916 AD. Recalculation of the area after actual survey resulted in decrease in area under Nirmal division and drawing boundary lines of nine blocks in Lakshattipet division after excluding cultivable land reveals the above said lines. By the middle of third decade we find nearly twelve forest divisions distributed between two circles (eastern and western) that were existing in the state of Hyderabad. This increase in divisions is the result of bringing large tracts unabatedly under the Department of forests. The activities of forest department in bringing total forest of district under control within a short time spread like wild fire that galvanized entire district. As notified under section 7 of Forest Act of 1926 F. (1916-17) forest department has brought nearly 2021 sq. miles of forest (protected forest) under its jurisdiction. The last or fourth type of forest i.e., village forest according to Divisional forest officer of Lakshattipet opined in 1916-17 that the people who are approaching or encroaching into reserved or protected areas of forest should be given land in village forest areas to preserve dense forests. For this title deeds or *pattas* should be provided to legalize such arrangements. This reveals that forest department in this district has forsaken all village forest to keep people away from dense woodlands that are commercially valuable. Similarly, D.Brandis, the main architect of early British forest policies was also not in favour of state or department maintaining village forests.⁶⁰ Protected forests in Adilabad by 1905 A.D were around 644 sq. miles and the same in 1938 AD. was 1429 sq. miles. Open forests or unclassified forest too proved good source of income to forest department and by 1928-29 nearly 439 sq. miles of

forest was reserved under this category in the district. From this year as said above Lakshattipet division was transformed into Asafabad division. Within a span of a decade it increased to 616 sq. miles and 513 sq. miles in 1935 and 1938 respectively in the district of Adilabad. The total reserve forest area of the state was 9,516 sq.miles (11.50 percent) in 1938 and it was around 30 percent in the last decades of nineteenth century.⁶¹

Under management of forests officials never thought of preserving forest from welfare point of view. The department of forest was established not to preserve forests but to extract wealth from it on regular basis. In this direction only steps were initiated i.e. to study on the feasibility of increasing revenue. For this in third decade of twentieth century working plan system was introduced that too after the recommendation of Inspector General of Forests to British India, Sir. Lawrence Mason. In 1932 he emphasized that the urgent need of the dominions was the preparation of forest working plans. When he came back to the dominions in 1937 he found that not a single working plan had been prepared during the preceding five years. By now working plan of Asafabad division was submitted to government (in 1931-32) covering an area of 10,69,085 acres. So he recommended that an experienced officer must be brought from outside to supervise the preparation of the working plans.⁶² At last only by 1942 working plan report of Utnoor tract of Nirmal division was submitted and the working plan report of Nirmal division was also prepared. L. Mason visited the state of Hyderabad to study vegetation in the dominion and also to recommend for the improvement of department of forests of Hyderabad

state. During his tour to Hyderabad Mason during his tour visited Nirmal division and asked Divisional forest officer and revenue officials to work in close cooperation for inspecting forest tracts for demarcation. He advised them to complete the task of inspecting more than a lakh acre of forest land within a week. He recommended the use of Nirmal forest range as nodal nursery for research and experiment on various species. In his report L. Mason said, “forest of Warangal and Asafabad are the most important forest bearing tracts of Hyderabad state”. Leaf manuring, seed collection, tending and soil aeration works got momentum on his recommendations. Species like *Cassia Siamea*, *Albizza lebbak*, *Azardiracta indica*, *Cassia fistula*, *Patrocarpus marsupium* were suggested species suitable for sowing in new areas. Accordingly, bamboo nursery was started in Nirmal division. Nirmal division found suitable for species like Neem, Kodsha, chloroxylon and Abnus. The black cotton soil of the district was selected for Bombax plantation. Mason advised government not to encourage agriculture beyond Utnoor taluka/taluqa as this region has good amount of teak forest. But the thing to notice is that this area is mostly inhabited by aboriginal tribes. Mason opined Utnoor forest should be better converted into game sanctuary (reveals abundance of flora and fauna though inhabited by tribes in large number but government in the name of preservation of forest allegedly abused tribal culture as main cause of destruction of forest) and Lac cultivation should be encouraged. He even advised to establish national parks with objective to afford facilities to general public to see wild life in its natural surroundings. Claiming of ownership rights by forest department by declining natural rights of man on nature or forests is clearly evident in Adilabad district. The so called forest rights are concessions according to

forest department that could be granted or withheld at any time. For Mason, Forest utilization officer might be more useful in looking after revenue collection on forests and forest related produce. Above this such measure will also reduce the pressure on people who if become restless will show resentment on administration. British bureaucrats were always aware while making policies and had belief that if common man become rebel then he will violate the law and there will be no respect to law. In such situation it will become difficult to run administration.

L. Mason in regard said, “Numbers of claims in respect of *pattas* (Title deeds) within the proposed reservation are to be verified at regular interval and for this appointment of forest settlement officers is necessary. For assessing stock, working plan officer of Nirmal has to prepare stock map of Salai and Teak forest”.⁶³

Under such guidance working plans, plans of operations, experiments for both artificial and natural regeneration of commercial valuable species, creating infrastructure like constructing buildings and laying roads followed by general protection of forests from fire, cattle and other natural injuries were adopted in Adilabad district. All this were steps towards consolidation of departments hold on forests. Working plan is a technical arrangement under which the growing stock (the capital) accumulated in forest areas, is not only kept intact and maintained but improved and added to annual increment that is extracted or realized every year so that an annual sustained yield and revenue may be secured. The main intention of working plan is to increase the states exchequer through department of forests in the name of conservancy and to present that the activities of forest department is to satisfy the local requirements and needs and to utilize the surplus for other centers of

consumption and markets at minimum cost realizing maximum revenue. The work of preparation of working plans has been systematized by now under British India in the light of modern scientific, Ecological, Industrial development and protection of wild life. Unlike British even by 1910-11 forest administration of Nizam's of Hyderabad didn't maintained any survey maps. As a part of working plan in 1334 F. (1924-25) in the western circle, Divisional forest officer, Nirmal has submitted Bamboo felling schemes for the two blocks of Mamda and Dedra and one timber felling scheme of Jam block were prepared and sent to inspector general's office for approval. This was nothing but part of preparation and control of working plans. By 1931 working plan for the blocks along the Ka zipet-Balharsha railway line was completed and many coupes were auctioned for timber and generation of revenue.

As a part of working plan and planning operations coupe areas were marked. Coupe is a selected block of forest area that covers some extent of wooded area. Matured and old trees will be marked by officials for cutting or elimination without touching tender or young saplings. Thus, selected felling will be carried along with cleaning and pruning. After the activity of selected felling the land will be left for regeneration. Data shows that in 1933 government has auctioned nearly 737 coupes. Of them 469 coupes were completely felled and 106 were partially felled leaving the rest untouched due to other reasons. Out of 737 auctioned coupes, Nirmal and Asafabad divisions of Adilabad district had 75 coupes. This was one of the good sources for state to make money on forest without harming it.

But most of the plantation in Nirmal forest division was infected by insecticide that hampered the growth of forests. From the early years of second decade of twentieth century Nirmal division was availed as suitable nursery for experimenting on the introduction of new varieties of plant species. For this nurseries were established in Nirmal division. By 1938 AD wet nurseries were established in along with rest houses, range offices and divisional offices in almost all the divisions of Adilabad district. Several indigenous and exotic species raised in them for supply of stumps and transplants. Of exotic species nearly 16 types were sold in good number that has brought forest department hefty profits. As a part of research and experiments the preservation plots in Asafabad and Nirmal divisions were protected and maintained. Measurements, etc, are recorded periodically. Coppice like other places was excellent in Nirmal but newly introduced seed sown for germination proved fail in 1920-21 AD due to scarcity in rainfall and unlimited grazing, whereas same has proved successful in Lakshattipet by 1923. In 1914-15 State authorities tried for natural reproduction of teak and ebony species but due to paucity of rains in this year reduced the plans of government officials into failure. Such activities were also seen repeated in 1930s and 1940s by introducing *rab*, *taungya* and stumping methods. The problem faced regularly by forest officials was from teak defoliation. To speak, forest department under Nizam's of Hyderabad was unscientific in handling such things. Nirmal forests regularly right from the beginning seem to be affected by teak defoliation. The forest records of 1920s, 1930s and even 1940 speak regarding defoliation in Nirmal division. It is an attack by insect causing damage to the bark and eventually killing the trees. Specimens of attacked trees were sent from Nirmal on

several occasions to the forest Entomologist of Forest research institute, Dehra Dun. Generally forest officials used to control this infection either by removing such diseased trees with immediate effect or by setting light ground fire in teak area to kill these insects. In teak the attack by a defoliator will lead to disappearance of chlorophyll leaving only the skeleton of tree. Plant entomologists identified the defoliating caterpillar “Hyblaea puera” belonging to Pyralidae family that discolor the leaves to brown from green. In addition to this climber and creeper cutting was done by forest guards regularly to protect commercially valued timber against injuries.

Government took special care to protect forest reserves in this district from fire accidents. Mr. F.C. Edwards, was appointed as assistant conservator in 1907, he made efforts to reduced expenditure that has to be spent for protection of forest from fire. The same years report too says that in 1904 nearly 12,175 acres of forest cover was burnt. In 1905 Nirmal division of Adilabad district had only two fire guards. Forest officials under Nizam's of Hyderabad followed archaic modus operandi in managing forests. For instance, the eighty members who were trained at forest school, Mahaboobabad in 1934 AD were mostly illiterate and their strength was nearly fifty percent. After receiving scientific guidance from Dehra Dun trained British officials, Nizam's officials made many experiment for artificial regeneration of forest cover. As a part of experiment, preservation plots in Nirmal and Asafabad divisions were kept under observations. In 1936 a sample plot of mixed growth with teak dominating along Basar-Mancherial road in Chintaguda range, Nirmal division was maintained to

make study on growth of plants. The trees of this plot were painted with a ring of tar at breast height and girth and height measurements were recorded. New species like *Bombax Malabaricum* in Nirmal and sesal plantation in Asifabad were planted under agri-cum-sylvicultural system along with Teak and Nallamaddy.

Thus under plantation and afforestation, efforts to replace plant species on commercial scale was taken up on experimental basis. In Hyderabad state where the valuable forest regeneration is felt not possible there artificial methods of regeneration such as “*Rab*” and “*Taungya*” (Agri-cum-sylvicultural) have been adopted that was evolved in Indian Forestry. The *taungy* system is nothing but an imitation of the agricultural system where *Tuar* is sown in lines and cotton or other crops are sown in between. The *Rab* system is also an imitation of agricultural methods, in which forest slash just as used by the agriculturalists in their paddy fields, is collected in strips or patches, heaped up and burnt. This serves as a good seed and germination bed for artificial as well as natural regeneration. Stump planting of teak trees was another method applied for regeneration of commercial species. In Asafabad and Nirmal divisions *Rab*, *taungya* and Stump planting of teak methods were applied. Gandipet, Himayatsagar (on the banks of Esi, a tributary of Musi) and Jidimetla adjoining Hyderabad city were used as forest research and experimental stations for many days. Later, when they proved too small for undertaking research then they were converted as forest parks and farms. At this juncture virgin forest tracts of Nirmal and Asifabad were used for experiments. In this respect officials were sent to get training in Dehra Dun and for attending conferences on artificial

regeneration. Preservation plots in Asafabad and Nirmal were protected and maintained. Attempts were made to sow the seeds brought from Rangoon as Burma teak was sold at high rates in international market.⁶⁴

By the arrival of fourth decade of twentieth century Nizam's forest department started imitating British methods of scientific management in the light of preserving Ecology and also for industrial development. Here and there we can find rational intentions of higher officials in respect to the need of preserving flora and fauna. From 1940 onwards we can see working plans on fodder yielding and water supply sources can be seen. Interest is also shown on creation of game sanctuaries, Game preserves and shooting blocks by excluding breeding places of game from working plan areas. Rapid steps towards adopting of programmes of plantation and afforestation during working plan periods. Investigation about the utilization of forest resources that can generate employment and income to state was studied. As a part of this programme in 1940, revision of Asafabad divisions working plan was entrusted to working plan officers for stock mapping in large area of 230,000 acres. From 1940s sowing of grass species like *tadwad* (cassia auriculata) and *Jangli Anar* (Woodfordia floribanda) to arrest soil and moisture on eroded soils was started along with Tapsi *Sterculia urans* to increase the production of quality gum. Now concentration was zeroed on few varieties of plants. Such activities cause harm to the natural diversity which is the gift of nature. The intention behind this is to preserve soil for better forest growth rather than in the interest of preserving soil erosion from ecological point of view. Forest officials of Hyderabad state very lately realized the need to

redress the malpractices committed in the past by not reclaiming and reforesting the lands for restoring nature to its best.

The department of forest also utilized the service of Public works department. With the help of such departments the administrative apparatus by making deep inroads by percolating deep into forest areas. Unlike the past many roads crisscrossed the district passing and covering many remote, isolated and dense forest tracts. Laying of road from Jannaram connecting Utnoor with Adilabad is one of the good examples. Because of increasing communication facilities the seepage of state administration and other non-tribal inhabitants into nook and corner of district became possible. It resulted in depletion or vanishing of forest cover at much speedier rate and it showed adverse impact on the life of tribes of Adilabad, who depended on forests since time immemorial. Tribes who lived isolated and relatively free life in forests absorbed the tremendous and unbearable pressure created by new immigrants for many years. But they too expressed their grievances by raising the banner of revolt under the leadership of Kumaram Bhimu in 1940. So right from 1908-09 Forest department in coordination with Public works department made efforts to lay all weathered road between Nirmal and Itchora in the Adilabad District, which was continuation of old Nagpur road. In the same year Assistant conservator of forests of Lakshattipet division too prepared a sketch map of road that was laid between hills of Jangaon (Asafabad) and Lakshattipet. In his words,

“I feel that though it is premature to attempt at road making at present but it is necessary for future requirements. Above this it is a requirement to traverse the dense forest tracts and also to bring backward forest settlements into contact with rest of the world”.⁶⁵

In 1321.F (1911-12) the quarters of sub assistant conservator of forests at Chinnur along with Rangers office at Lakshattipet and Assistant conservator's office at Nirmal were constructed by public works department. But forest authorities failed to get a contractor for construction of such buildings in Uttoor because of its extreme interior in nature. Whereas in Asafabad division construction of two range offices buildings were undertaken by public works department in 1929-30 likewise construction of forest houses by forest and other departments in forest tracts of Asafabad was more after 1935. From 1935 famines were ravaging Nizam's dominion so famine relief funds were created to generate employment and income for poor and on other side there was allegation that the public works department kept on using the funds from famine relief fund without hindrances. Rather than state the sincerity of the officials should be questioned. At this period Adilabad district was also reeling under drought like conditions due to scanty of rainfall but in Hyderabad state.⁶⁶ Even Forest department in late 1930s diverted famine funds for development of its infrastructure that actually meant for welfare of common men

5.4. FOREST PRODUCE AND MODE OF EXPLOITATION:

Utilization is regarded as a very important branch of forest economics. Under this the forest department has to find out the inherent or intrinsic value of forest products termed major and minor. Major produce comprised timber and firewood and

minor produce of her forest products.. The special forest officers were entrusted to study the utilization of timbers and other forest products, prepare future policies, arranging forest show room, museums and economic planning to advertise or popularize the timber available in Hyderabad state. Compilation of a commercial directory for the utilization of Hyderabad Timbers and other economic forest products speaks plenty about the above said intentions.

Big centers of consumptions started surrounding the large forest blocks and converted them into small patches like groves scattered here and there. Then forest department emerged as an exploiting agency stated to satisfy the needs and demands of urban centers. Today's patches of reserves forests once upon a time were connected to each other, percolation of human settlements into wooded lands has led to created green islands. In the district itself unabated flow of outsiders from every direction and increasing new settlements also increased the pressure on forests of Adilabad. Now forest and its products came to be more useful to non forest dwellers. With the passing of time pressure created through increasing demands and consumption of forest products, especially timber. The revenue of forests was derived mainly from two different sources. One is from major produce and other from minor forest produce. The revenue from the all kinds of timber and fuel came under Major produce and the revenue derived from bamboos, grazing tax, tendu leaves collection etc came under minor produce. So state through its agency of forest department started reaping good profits and this way of unabated earning has created green pastures a good source of income. The Government Timber Depots and saw Mills at

Mancherial (estd. 1934) and Jannaram fetched Rs. 12,718. However, a business of Rs. 10,4593 in 1938 was transacted in both Mancherial and Jannaram depots as against Rs. 66,002 in 1937 in the local and foreign markets of Delhi and Vijayawada as well as forestless districts of Gulbarga, Raichur, Bidar and Kurnool etc.

MAJOR AND MINOR FOREST PRODUCE:

As far as major produce is concerned auctioning and felling were carried out by the contractors. The coupe system along with departmental working seems to have affected the depot sales, as the contractors, who got timber of standing coupes at rather cheap prices in the auction sales, tried to undersell to the Hyderabad and Secundrabad wholesale timber contractors. Whenever demand for wood increased either for/in Britain or in other parts of world for various reasons then production and income of forest department increased. For instance, the sale of timber increased considerably during Second World War.

Timber undoubtedly was major forest produce that brought huge profits. Teak (*Tectona grandis*), Tirmar (*Anogeissus latifolia*), Satin or *anduga* (*Chloroxylon swietenia*), Somi (*Soyimida febrifuga*), Chinnangi (*Lagerstroemia parviflora*), Nallamaddy (*Terminellia tomentosa*), Kordsha (*Cleistanthus collinus*) and Bijasal were profit earning commercial species. Teak is universally adopted and is of commercial importance. Shisham and satin may be regarded as fancy cabinet and furniture timbers, whilst Bombax is used for match industry, Palakordsha (*Wrightia tinctoria*) and *poonika* for toys and slate frames. The modern style of living has stimulated the

demand for expensive as well as cheap furniture. On major forest produce between 1894 A D and 1902 AD forest department on average received annual revenue of 1,82,299 Rs/- and in between 1903 -07 A D it has received Rs. 4,25,230. The exploitation of timber and fuel was usually regulated in accordance with the prescriptions of working plans and working schemes.

On the advent of Mr. Lodge, the erstwhile Inspector General of forests, indiscriminate and pernicious system of felling of trees in the forest was stopped and systematic felling was gradually introduced since 1915⁶⁷ As the areas of teak and mixed teak under teak working circles are being felled and developed year after year, teak timber flooded the markets, resulted in steep fall in prices and teak is generally used even by persons with comparatively less purchasing capacity and it is also found that the rotation is too short for teak working circles to produce the exploitable girths, suitable to the factors of the locality, hence it is being investigated whether rotations could be increased by reducing the supply of teak so that other timbers may also be brought in to the market and they too find ready sales and the loss of revenue due to the absence teak will be reduced. Teak is durable and fire resistant to some extent and is not normally browsed by the cattle. When the canopy was opened in the felling, the light demanding teak gets fillip to shoot up to the top. In the felled coppices teaks found growing more vigorously than other species and overtake other species in the struggle for existence. The teak seed got scorched in the surface fires and germinated more easily. Fires could not kill teak as easily as the other shade bearers. Thus the biotic factors helped teak to gain supremacy over the other trees and this resulted in

increase teak jungles for certain period of time. There were extensive forests where teak was three to four times more than other deciduous timber and the value of the forest has increased tremendously till its exhaustion or exploitation. Thus due to commercial activities of forest department for a period of time increase in commercial species like teak has increased at the cost of other species and that too for short period of time as this cannot go on forever. Searching for markets for good profits is pure form of commercialization of forests. Salesmen, advertising and publicity facilities were provided and utilized by government departments to gain more profits by 1942, an officer of forest utilization forest products was in full swing. Mr. B.K.R. Aiyangar, assistant conservator of forests was in charge of it in 1942.⁶⁸ When the forest floor is burnt repeatedly year after year, the humus and the leaf litter add necessary fertility to the exhausted soil and burnt. The caked up hard soil does not help percolation of rainwater and the topsoil gets eroded at a rapid rate. With the loss of soil and soil fertility and with the changes induced in the microclimate by the destructive fires, the vegetation tends to become more and more xerophytes and after half a century or less in most of this district only a scrub jungle was left in the place of good timber forest.

Between 1929-30, the coupe selling was at its peak that resulted in heavy flow of revenue to state treasury.⁶⁹ The outturn collection of timber and fuel by 1924 AD was 6,46,755 Rs. in entire dominion. Out of this collected revenue Adilabad contributes lion's shares to states treasury. The total revenue collected from timber and fuel in Adilabad in 1924 was Rs.1,29,990 (Lakshattipet division contributed

70,379 and Nirmal division with 59,611 Rs.). The same in Adilabad district in 1904-05 was just 18,480. This is because of absence of Lakshattipet division in this district. By 1938-39 the total revenue collected by forest department through sale of timber was 7,50,177 Rs. and out of this Adilabad (then Adilabad district) contributed Rs. 1,63,467 towards exchequer.

The other aspect of commercialization and exploitation was supplying of railway sleepers for newly lying off railway lines. Nizam's government undertook constructing of Railway lines from both sides of this district. First one was extension of Kazi-pet-Balharshah railway line on eastern side and the second was Adilabad-Muked railway line. The assistance of forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun under British India was taken for gathering information about the comparative technological properties of Sal, Eppa, Nallamaddi and Bijasal. Samples of Bijasal, Nallamaddi and Eppa sleepers were supplied to the chief engineer, open lines, without cost for test purposes and teak sleepers to the chief engineer, railway construction, Mudhked-Adilabad and railway line from Mancherla and Jannaram respectively. This not only increased the utilization and consumption of local timber but also instigated agencies of exploitation (state and non state) to do their work more enthusiastically because it reaped heavy profits without much investment. Government through forest department gave contractors permission to supply *Eppa* sleepers to the railway department.

Effectively the process of colonization was carried on by state deliberately and opening of Adilabad district from all sides through rail and road ways enabled the state to move effectively in this direction. The introduction of state timber in the foreign markets and the local markets became possible with the opening out of the Kazipet-Balharsha railway line on account of proximity to Delhi, the forest department tried to establish timber business transaction with other big centers of consumption such as Delhi. Teak wood the strongest of all woods that was available in the jungles of Adilabad was precious for the department that brought plenty of profits because of its durability. Its extensive use in construction, furniture making, agriculture implements, Railway sleepers, Rifle butts etc created market for this kind of timber. Satin or *Anduga* is a light wood and therefore it used in paper making, match sticks, packing material. Bijal is a heavy wood but strong and durable. Bijal is also used as a alternative for railway sleepers. It has medicinal properties too and helps in healing blood pressure. (Refer to tribal correlation with nature in previous chapter). Sheesham is black colored timber mostly used in making attractive and beautiful furniture. Nallamaddy also called *vagumaddy* in Adilabad, is known as a second teak for its durability. This wood is used for construction activity, ship building and for railway sleepers also.

The net surplus, that government had was Rs. 16,937 from 1,82,085 cubic feet of timber to this mill. Teak timber from Mancheri was supplied to far away markets like Delhi, the then head quarters of British India. By middle of fourth decade of 20th century Mancheri and Jannaram saw mill has started earning around 75,304 Rs and

50,925 Rs. respectively. It was contemplated to send planks of soft and fancy timbers to the seasoning plant at the Osmania University, but this question was dropped as the cost increased more than eight annas per 12 cubic feet and above this economic depression was prevailing. Exhibits of manufactured articles from timber of this district were displayed in the Osmania university conference exhibition in the year of 1937AD. There was an increase under the head of major produce even though famine like condition prevailed in the latter years of first half of 20th century. The decrease of Rs. 2,58,000 or about 40 percent under minor produce was recorded. The abnormal fall under this was due to the suspension of recovery of grazing areas, low offers in the sale of ebony leaves and on account of scarcity.

The important source of revenue under minor produce came from bamboo, grass, Ebony leaves, Myrobolans, Gulmohwa, fruits, barks and grazing tax. . From 1910 nearly 1685.74 sq. miles of forests were closed from browsing in order to protect premature forest growth from animals. With exception to Nirmal division no other divisions has shown the number of cattle grazing at full rates and free of charge. Cattle generally were permitted to graze in all the forests under individual permit system excepting the exploited coupes which were entirely closed to grazing. In 1932-33 collection of grazing tax brought nearly 3, 80,511 Rs. to the treasury of state. Amazingly most important injury to forest according to forest department is unregulated and unrestricted grazing of cattle. To stop this department has levied grazing fees and on non payment cattle wealth was confiscated by authorities. This culture has never seen before by the people in general and tribes residing in forest in

specific. Tribes eked out their living with much difficulty and brought required material from nearby weekly markets by bartering available forest resources. They prior to this they never were accustomed to use liquid money like their non-tribal counterparts. Above this, forest authority exorbitantly levied taxes of various kinds, like grazing tax, tax on using timber, on clearing forest lands for cultivation etc. Till 1910 government auctioned the right to collect grazing fees and this system was discontinued later on in 1944. This may be because of tribal and peasant resentment. The policy of the government regarding grazing has changed by then as Gond revolt created tremors in the shoes of Nizam's of Hyderabad. Grazing rates were enhanced and a differentiation was made between agricultural and non-agricultural cattle. The grazing revenue of Rs. 9.51 lakhs were collected in 1946. After grazing and *beedy* leaves the sale of leaves of *Abnus* (*diospyros melanoxylon*) is the next important source of income of forest department. It earned revenue of Rs. 27.16 lakhs in the year 1934 AD.

The departments like Public works, local fund and other government departments, such as the Hyderabad Construction company and the Sirpur Paper Mills also consumed good amount of wood and pulp. In the entire state of Hyderabad state, Bamboo is found in abundance in this district. The *Dendrocalamus Strictus*, a fiber yielding variety of Bamboo is found to be the most useful raw material for paper pulp, the richest stock of Adilabad district has encouraged the administration to establishing Paper mill at Sirpur in 1942. Sirpur paper mills Ltd. was the only important large scale industry to be established in Adilabad District. This mill located at sirpur on the

Delhi-Madras rail route began to work since April, 1942, by using bamboo as raw material that is available in plenty in nearby forest areas. Till 1949 the Hyderabad construction company played important role in maintaining it. During the World War II the mills 65 per cent of yearly production was sent to the Government of India whose requirement had enormously increased. Excepting the supply of some chemicals from British India, every kind of facilities like raw material, lime, water, coal for power etc along with nearby rail line were available in Adilabad district. Thus the one and only large industry of Adilabad district was depended on forests in pre independent India.⁷⁰

The amount of grazing fee (*Pullari*) collected in the protected and reserved forests combined is Rs. 1,59,446 compared to Rs.3,31,975 of 1937AD sharp decrease of about Rs. 1,72,529 may due to existence of famine like situation in the state and district as well. The total revenue from minor forest produce under all agencies was Rs. 3,93,385 against Rs. 6,51,779 in 1937. State always was clamoring against the unrestricted grazing of innumerable cattle of tribes and their way of life that depend only on the exaction of forest products. Lac cultivation and manufacture of sealing wax was being undertaken by forest department at M amda, Nirmal division from fourth decade of first half of twentieth century. Attempts to manufacture of Katha has been made in forest divisions where availability of *Accacia Sandra* (Sandra) is in plenty. As usual, grazing was allowed in reserved and protected forests. In divisional working plans it was resolved to place areas that were ecologically fit for grazing grounds or grass lands under fodder working circle.

In toy making industry soft and fancy woods are generally used in toy making. Nirmal is well known for toy making industry. The local carpenters were shown the uses of different soft wooded species for the manufacture of toys, they have been told that the required woods will be given to them at concession rates in order to encourage the industry and a circular to that effect was also issued to all divisional forest officers for introducing this as a cottage industry. Forest department provided raw materials, tools and instruments. Thus toy industry was chosen as one of new sources to create money.⁷¹ But no attempts were done to collect medicinal plants and herb from the forests of Adilabad like what has been done in Amrabad reserve forest of Mahboobnagar district of Nizam's state. Like other forest products, Charcoal industry was another flourishing in the state of Hyderabad.

On the whole forest department in Adilabad has earned Rs. 3,93,385 (1938-39), Rs. 6,51,385 (1937-38), Rs. 1,18,842 (1935-36), Rs. 8,68,412 (1924-25), Rs. 2,02,067 (1912-13 AD), Rs. 3,85,480 (1913-14), Rs. 2,34,434 (1911-12), Rs. 2,04,561 (1910-11), Rs. 65,030 (1907-08 AD), Rs. 38,061 (1908-09), Rs. 2,57,650 (1905-06) respectively on minor forest products. The two divisions of Adilabad district (Lakshettipet and Nirmal divisions) has contributed Rs. 73,000 on average in the year of 1905-06 AD and Rs. 38,636, Rs. 59,621, Rs. 1,29,131, Rs. 72,369, Rs. 95,477 for the years of 1910, 1911, 1914, 1924, 1938 respectively as out turn revenue towards minor forest produce of Nizam's dominion.⁷² Total revenue collected by forest department was Rs. 36,56,902 in 1352 F. and on each sq. mile forests fetched⁷³ about 426 Rs. The surplus derived from forests of the other princely states

and British provinces up to 1941 show that the revenue of the Hyderabad state from forests was the third highest in entire British India. It is obvious that in Hyderabad over felling of forests was seen. Forest department reports itself reveal that the whole machinery of the department has gone so much out of order and felt that it will take some time before over felling are completely stopped. That was the intensity of exploitation. The above data and references speak about the deliberate process of colonization of one of the nature's precious resource i.e., Forests in the district of Adilabad in the first half of twentieth century. The aboriginal inhabitants who lived in isolation became dumb victims of process of colonization set on by the Hyderabad state through its various agencies of exploitations like forest department, middlemen and contractors. Non Tribals and new migrants too contributed their share in exploiting tribals and forests of Adilabad district. Geographical, Adilabad district located between two rivers (River Godavari and its tributary Penganga) was completely covered with forest till the middle of eighteenth century. This cover depleted only due to commercializing of natural resources like forests and minerals. Above effort is a specimen in an attempt to make study in the process of commercializing forests of Adilabad district in the first half of twentieth century. Thus the study primarily documents the process of the evolution of forest policies in the Hyderabad state in general and Adilabad district in particular between 1905 and 1948. The overall examination of the history of Nizam's forest policies helps to get clear picture over forest policies which are continued to be remained in force with slight modification even today. For instance, the Andhra Pradesh Forest Act of 1967 was modeled on the lines of the Hyderabad Forest Act, 1916 and Madras Forest Act of 1882.

Thus the above analysis on forest policies implemented in Adilabad district from 1905 and 1948 enable us to locate the dynamics and mistakes committed by the state forest departments that continues to remain in force even today without much change in its attitude on conservation and in dealing with problems of forest dwellers. After careful study of Nizam's forest policies we can come to conclusions that the contemporary forest policies are nothing but legacy of colonial rule in India. To conclude rationally regarding the management of resources, Vishnu Sharma in his *Panchatantra* has rightly said that, "one who kills a goat can provide food to single person but one who rears the goat can provide milk to many. In the same way state is expected to perform functions that will be in the interests of all its citizens".

TABLE-VIII

Protected forest area in the Nirmal division of Adilabad District between 1907-43 AD.

Sl. No.	Division	District	Year	Protected forests in division in acres	Total forest area in dominion in acres
1	Nirmal	-	1317.F(1907-08)	208000	2108256
2	"	Adilabad	1318.F(1908-09)	181164	2079889
3	"	"	1320.F(1910-11)	395420	5129630
4	"	"	1321.F(1911-12)	395490	5129639
5	"	Asafabad	1323.F(1913-14)	395490	5142889

6	“	“	1329.F(1919-20)	431787	4479126
7	“	“	1330.F(1920-21)	431787	5131547
8	“	“	1331.F(1921-22)	434943	4486125
9	“	“	1332.F(1922-23)	434943	4432655
10	“	“	1333.F(1923-24)	34943	4460593
11	“	“	1335.F(1925-26)	419224	4614230
12	“	“	1338.F(1928-29)	539273	4815338
13	“	“	1341.F(1931-32)	548963	4960878
14	“	“	1342.F(1922-33)	71202	-
15	“	“	1343.F(1933-34)	550991	4964487
16	“	“	1344.F(1933-34)	-	-
17	“	“	1345.F(1935-35)	587646	4902484
18	“	“	1346.F(1936-37)	-	5031595
19	“	“	1347.F(1937-38)	838736	5110567
20	“	“	1348.F(1938-39)	812967	5065678
21	“	Adilabad	1352.F(1942-43)	-	4449828

Source: *Administration Report of the Forest Department of H.E.H. The Nizam's dominion, 1905 to-1942 AD.*

TABLE-IX

**Protected forest area in the divisions of Lakshetipet (1905-1928) /
Asafabad (1928-42) of Adilabad District**

Sl. No	Division	District	Year	Blocks	Protected forests in In division in acres/sq.m	Protected forests in circle in acres	Total forest area in dominion in acres/sq.m
1	-	Sirpur-Tandur	1314.F	-	4,12,160/644	-	2821120/4408
2	Lakshatipet	Adilabad	1315.F	-	4,12,160/644	-	2101576/3283
3	“	“	1316.F	-	11,41,760/1784	-	2101576/3283
4	“	“	1317.F	-	11,41,610/1783	-	2108256/3293
5	“	“	1318.F	-	11,40,902/1782	-	2079889/3249.6
6	“	“	1319.F	-	11,40,734/1782	-	-
7	“	“	1320.F	56	9,23,165/1442	-	5129639/8015
8	“	Asafabad	1321.F	-	11,40,310/1781	-	5129639/8015
9	“	“	1322.F	-	-	-	5112389/8035
10	“	“	1323.F	-	8,14,880/1273	-	4624774/7226
11	“	“	1328.F	-	6,72,040/1050	-	-
12	“	“	1329.F	-	6,72,040/1050	2172717	4510327/7047
13	“	“	1330.F	-	7,00,251/1094	2155129	4476540/6994
14	“	“	1331.F	-	6,99,324/1092	2158554	4486125/7009
15	“	“	1332.F	-	6,99,802/1093	2150120	4432655/6925
16	“	“	1333.F	-	6,99,802/1093	2169107	4460593/6969
17	“	“	1334.F	-	8,71,525/1365	2343512	4637237/7245
18	“	“	1335.F	-	8,74,325/1366	2296437	4614230/7209
19	“	“	1336.F	44 tracks	8,74,325/1366	2298719	4623363/7224
20	Asafabad	“	1338.F	-	8,74,326/1366	2421123	4815388/7523
21	“	“	1339.F	44 tracks	8,68,189/1356	2405495	4828540/7544
22	“	“	1341.F	“	9,15,194/1429	2481434	5031595/7861
23	“	“	1342.F	”	9,15,194/1430	2484142	4964487/7757
24	“	“	1343.F	”	9,15,194/1429	2522507	4964390/7756
25	“	“	1344.F	”	9,15,184/1429	2698529	4898422/7653
26	“	“	1345.F	”	9,15,184/1429	2698229	4902484/7660
27	“	“	1347.F	“	914708/1429	2675929	5110267/7984
28	“	“	1348.F	“	914569/1429	2675954	5065678/7912
29	“	Adilabad	1352.F	-	-	-	-/6952.85

Source: Administration Report of the Forest Department of H.E.H. The Nizam's dominion (1905-1942) AD.

TABLE-X

**Statement of Open/Unclassed forest area in Lakshetipet / Asafabad divisions of
Adilabad District between 1905-42 AD.**

Year	Division	Open/Unclassed forests in division in acres	Open/Unclassed forests in Circle in acres	Total Open/Unclassed forest area in dominion in acres
1314.F	Lakshetipet	409600	-	13,12,472
1315.F	“	409600	-	2050202
1316.F	“	1022080	-	-
1317.F	“	1003242	-	-
1318.F	“	997615	-	-
1319.F	“	-	-	2642858
1320.F	“	985075	-	2642858
1321.F	“	980649	-	2833528
1322.F	“	-	-	2833528
1323.F	“	980649	-	2766344
1328.F	Asafabad	283466	977150	1464495
1329.F	“	283665	947504	1460759
1330.F	“	283665	-	-
1331.F	“	283665	954476	1505004
1332.F	“	393740	1146412	1688045
1334.F	“	219217	956706	1515974
1335.F	“	219217	967686	1521641
1336.F	“	219217	974105	1531529
1337.F	“	-	-	-
1338.F	“	219217	849770	1336587
1339.F	“	219217	851942	1336018
1341.F	“	219217	851004	1290026
1342.F	“	219217	861587	1296995
1343.F	“	219217	862183	1173840
1345.F	“	226012	362760	1030379
1346.F	“	-	-	768608
1348.F	“	231626	362327	736375
1352.F	Adilabad	-	-	

Source: *Administration Report of the Forest Department of H.E.H. The Nizam's dominion, 1905 to-1942 AD.*

TABLE-XI

**Forest Revenue and Expenditure in Adilabad Dist. and Nizam's Dominion between
1331-1345 F. (1922-36)**

Sl.No	Years	Revenue in Rs.	Expenditure in Rs.	Revenue/Expenditure of Nizam's dominion
1.	1331.F	130,304	133,267	957026 / 7,77,973
2	1332.F	240,442	133,537	-
3	1333.F	200,757	144,748	-
4	1334.F	224,139	127,754	1842453 / 6,97,425
5	1335.F	242,387	134,123	1838236 / 7,24,001
6	1336.F	274,632	103,556	1648007 / 5,23,711
7	1337.F	234,680	149,902	-
8	1338.F	314,870	124,342	1,965783 / 7,58,602
9	1339.F	412,520	105,586	21,66760 / 5,53,583
10	1340.F	349,232	111,207	16,88906 / 7,42,495
11	1341.F	312,341	108,937	12,71322 / 5,51,255
12	1342.F	283,948	111,151	13,06358 / 8,10,950
13	1343.F	301,218	118,571	14,44039 / 8,95,200
14	1344.F	291,088	125,857	13,56244 / 6,15,676
15	1345.F	327,631	153,106	13,64356 / 8,87,206
16	1349.F	-	-	14,01,230/-
17	1350F.	-	-	16,26,101/-

Source: *Hyderabad District Gazetteers, Adilabad, (1930-1935 A.D.)* p.88-97; *Report on the Administration of H.E.H. the Nizams dominion, Hyderabad (Dn), 1349 and 1350 F.*

TABLE-XII

**Statement of Revenue and Expenditure of Lakshetipet / Asafabad divisions
between 1905-42 AD.**

Year	Division / District	Rev. collected & Expenditure of Division	Rev. collected & Expenditure of Circle	Revenue collected & expenditure of dominion
1315.F	Lakshetipet / Adilabad	93,443 /27,751		6,50416/193740
1318.F	“	97,516/26,617	-	8,12,777/2,19,054
1319.F	“	87,740/20,508	-	7,24,138/2,19,385
1320.F	“	87,740/20,684	-	6,78,753/2,15,778
1321.F	“	84,321/19,823		8,18,687/2,23,932
1322.F	Asafabad	-	-	9,91,667/2,57,713
1323.F	“	1,28,310/24,239	-	12,52,154/2,74,487
1328.F	“	43,464/34,358	-	9,94,370/5,96,036
1329.F	“	75,647/45,952	-	10,60,929/5,83,750
1330.F	“	54,003/47,495	-	8,14,937/6,33,961
1331.F	“	66,394/70,041	2,69,617/-	9,57,026 / 7,77,973
1334.F	“	1,10977/66,921	4,41,476/2,73,009	18,42453 / 6,97,425
1335.F	“	1,08648/71,466	5,22,070/3,08,227	18,38,236 / 7,24,001
1336.F	“	1,48513/50,675	5,54,167/2,59,806	16,48,007 / 5,23,711
1338.F	Asafabad / do-	1,68949/58,947	7,18,525/2,96,829	-
1339.F	“	2,09992/48,635	8,38,799/2,70,400	21,66,760 / 5,53,583
1340.F	“	-	-	-
1341.F	Adilabad	1,63,934/55,375	5,51,670/2,70,484	12,71,322 / 5,51,255
1342.F	“	1,64,022/55,682	5,77,341/3,05,309	13,06,358 / 8,10,950
1343.F	“	1,75,936/59,070	6,05,122/3,00,642	14,44,039 / 8,95,200
1344.F	“	1,73,910/57,047	5,90,918/2,22,540	13,56,244 / 6,15,676
1345.F	“	2,24,094/83,603	6,22,776/2,85,592	13,64,356 / 8,87,206
1346.F	“	-	-	14,69,304/9,01,162
1347.F	“	2,43,710/91,379	7,13196/2,51,101	14,06,024/9,02,295
1348.F	“	2,27,399/87,814	6,20,217/2,51,110	12,04,852/8,87,864
1351.F	“	-	-	20,88,039/9,62,551
1352.F	“	-	-	37,92,138/9,89,077

Source: Administration Reports of the Forest Department of H.E.H. The Nizam's dominion, 1905 to 1942 AD.

TABLE-XIII**Random statement of Revenue and Expenditure of Nirmal division (1905-42) AD.**

Year	Division / Dist.	Rev. collected & Expenditure of Division	% of Expenditure on Conservation in Division / Dominion
1314.F(1904-05)	Nirmal/Adilabad	-	-
1315.F(1905-06)	“	50339/15002	-/29
1318.F(1908-09)	“	84653/17832	21/26
1319.F(1909-10)	“	10197/20476	20/34
1320.F(1910-11)	“	81734/19054	23/45
1321.F(1911-12)	“	92088/13723	-
1323.F(1913-14)	“	124846/22026	17.64/20.5
1328.F(1918-19)	“	54460/34698	-
1330.F(1920-21)	“	54465/35062	-
1331.F(1921-22)	“	63909/63227	98/-
1335.F(1925-26)	“	133738/62657	46
1338.F(1928-29)	“	145921/65394	-
1341.F(1931-32)	“	148406/53562	36
1345.F(1935-36)	“	103536/69503	67/44
1347.F(1937-38)	“	140486/83450	-/64
1348.F(1938-39)	“	134426/83680	62/73

Source: *Administration Reports of the Forest Department of H.E.H. The Nizam's dominion, 1905 to-1942 AD.*

TABLE-XIV**Revenue of forest department from 1900-01 to 1950-51**

Years	Receipts (in lakhs/Rs.)
1900-01	3.39
1901-02	3.45
1902-03	3.49
1903-04	4.36
1904-05	5.80
1905-06	6.30
1906-07	8.09
1907-08	9.33
1908-09	7.78
1909-10	6.20
1910-11	6.20
1911-12	7.7
1912-13	9.93
1913-14	10.84
1914-15	8.68
1915-16	7.70
1916-17	7.12
1917-18	6.46
1918-19	9.94
1919-20	10.59
1920-21	8.14
1921-22	9.57
1922-23	11.99
1923-24	15.35

1924-25	18.46
1925-26	19.49
1926-27	17.66
1927-28	18.73
1928-29	20.86
1929-30	22.32
1930-31	17.33
1931-32	13.08
1932-33	13.66
1933-34	14.69
1934-35	13.87
1935-36	14.03
1936-37	13.54
1937-38	15.42
1938-39	13.13
1939-40	13.98
1940-41	16.59
1941-42	20.95
1942-43	38.23
1943-44	61.45
1944-45	104.35
1945-46	89.71
1946-47	84.71
1947-48	56.75

Source: *A Review of Hyderabad Finance, Issued by the Economic Adviser, Finance department, Hyderabad (Dn), 1951.*

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CHAPTER-VI

CONCLUSION

The study of Tribes and their culture in correlation with Ecology has become one of the emerging aspects of recent cultural and ecological investigations. The urge to find the relationship between forest dwellers, forests and forest policies in historical context has guided to make enquiry on the Geophysical-tribal and ecological background of Adilabad District. Under present study, efforts were also made to study tribal culture in correlation with nature along with the implementation of Nizam's forest policies in first half of twentieth century from environmental point of view. The final point is the reflection or impact of implementation of forest policies in the form of tribal resentment in Adilabad district. Thus present work concentrates on four wide issues.

Initially study begins with the narration of landscape of Adilabad district along with an overview of tribes residing in the district. History as said earlier is nothing but an enactment of drama on the stage called geography or space. So, before knowing anything about drama it is better to know a little regarding the space for better understanding of the situation in which that particular drama is enacted. So, for having better understanding of culture of tribes of Adilabad and its correlation with nature the knowledge of geophysical-historical and tribal background of Adilabad district is necessary. I.e., the effort has been made to portray the picture of Adilabad

district to highlight geophysical, historical and tribal background. Though the topography and climate of region seems to be distinct and stable since many ages but always was under process deliberate change due to various endogenic and exogenic factors. The natural formations and environment undoubtedly influenced the history and in tune with this environment aboriginals in Adilabad district evolved and developed their own way of life. Compared to the neighboring districts, Adilabad has little historical background. This may be because of its geographical character of having dense woodlands making it difficult for plain area people to penetrate. Geologists have constructed history of this district since Cambrian and Precambrian period based upon layers of soils that has formed. But constructing ancient and medieval history of Adilabad is difficult because of dearth of sources. Few inscriptions related to Kakatiyas and Chalukyas were discovered on river banks that too on fringe areas. Constructing unbroken chronological history of Adilabad district can be possible in modern period that too from eighteenth century. The hills, landscape, valleys and plateaus of this district since many centuries were adorned with forests. This forest clad hills and valleys gave shelter and protection to aboriginal tribes.

There are many tribes residing in India and some of them made Adilabad district as their abode since time immemorial. Tribes like Gonds, Kolams, Mannes, Pardhans, Totis, Koyas are few aboriginal tribes along with some newly arrived tribes like Mathuras and Lambadas who reside in this district. Each tribe has developed its

own culture and way of living. Though, they are living in this forest clad landscape since past but never disturbed or destructed their surroundings. In India, efforts to bring forests under states control has begun soon after British came to power and it is continuing as British legacy. We can see wide varieties of forest policies and even tribal policies in the pre and post independent eras. In colonial period, government machinery has adopted a dominant attitude against traditional practices (importantly shifting cultivation) of tribes and what made them to do so is important aspect of the succeeding chapter. These policies have trampled the rights of tribes and augmented or led to the commercialization of forests. i.e., in this chapter attempt was made to put forward elaborately on how the traditional utilization method of forest was made illegal and in its place how a strong political and economical class interests were introduced and enforced to fulfill the interests. It shows how the various tribal groups followed their traditional technique (Shifting cultivation-hunting-gathering-ethno-medicine-beliefs etc) in utilization of resource and resource management. The above said method of living is completely different from their non tribal counterparts that has its foundation on plough based culture. The methods and techniques of utilization of natural resources by tribes is part of their tradition that was adopted naturally that has not been introduced artificially. All the tribes developed a culture that had respect towards the ecology in which they live. Till recent times research on tribes was mostly confined around socio-religious and economical issues. Studying about tribes from ethnocentric and ecological perception is necessary, for this studying their culture in ecological paradigm is an attempt to go for constructing comprehensive history. In this regard, analytical study of shifting cultivation, Ethno medicine,

religious practices and beliefs towards nature etc were highlighted from ecological framework. Today we are moving away from nature and speak about sustenance but by ignoring or destructing nature we are questioning the survival of many things like survival of tribes who depend on forests, survival of ecosystem and even our own survival. There is need to learn from the knowledge gained by tribal life like ethno medicine. Nature gave all nutrients in the form of fruits, nuts, tubers, roots and so on. That kept them away from modern diseases like Blood pressure, diabetes and other infectious diseases. Other than medicine in relationship with nature tribes has religion that has worship pattern with ecological sense. Belief system that evolved gave high position to nature and may be because of this the same nature came to their rescue. Bows and arrows, huts, ploughs, fruits, nuts, tubers, medicinal plants and what not, every thing was available from forest in return to their sacred attitude towards nature. Belief system and ecological balance coexisted. Tribes passed this treasure of experience that has been gained through their experience to their next generations. By mistake if forests are lost then the acquired experience or lessons will be lost for ever and it result in extinction of tribes who depend on nature. If extinction of various races takes place on this earth much of the knowledge gained through experience will vanish for ever. We should not forget that each community is distinct that gives it an identity. Otherwise greyness of uniformity will prevail on earth as there will be no existence of diversity (culture/knowledge/race etc). The second and third chapter has intricate relationship and highlights the local peculiarities and specificities and their interaction with the broad agenda called States forest policies, which were aimed at transforming the forest landscape in India into resource generating zones. The above

statement does not mean that tribes practice certain type of occupations and non-tribes others. Few aboriginal tribes primarily like Gonds and Santal have well developed plough-based cultivation and in the same manner few caste groups in Hindu society till 19th century has depended on shifting cultivation and hunting. There is a much difference between traditional and commercial utilization of forest resources. From the last two centuries, movements against commercial utilization of forests can be noticed, especially in the form of tribal movements. The mode and form of tribal movements has changed but this topic confines itself to pre independent era.

Thus, forest is one of the inseparable components of nature has played crucial role in survival and sustenance of forest dwelling societies. From 1867, the Nizam's state realized the commercial importance of forest resources and attempted to acquire monopolistic control in order to generate revenue. This attempt was manifested in the form of promulgation of the Forest Act of 1899, 1910, 1916. Thus, on large scale the ruining of forests has started. Under the guidelines of this Act, most of the areas of dominion were brought under control. But this Act tampered with the rights of tribes over forests in Adilabad district. With the penetration of non tribals with the encouragement of government into woodlands, the exploitation of innocent tribes has intensified without any leaps and bounds. They were encouraged to settle in forest regions in order to increase state revenue and for this, state even provided many benefits for new settlers. To enable new settlements, government at the same time brought many changes in administration such as bringing change in the regulation of

forest protection acts, etc. This change was positively used by non-tribes and it resulted adversely on the tribal way of life. Because of introduction of forest regulating act, in an overnight tribes lost their natural rights over forest and other cultivable lands. Henceforth, unregistered lands were declared as states property and tribes lost their natural customary rights unceremoniously. State committed blunder in not identifying their natural right over forest and cultivable lands. For this it had faced series of organized and unorganized revolts. One such revolt has taken place in Adilabad district under the leadership of Kumuram Bhim at Jodenghat in 1940. The ill treatment meted out by tribes on all political and economic fronts resulted in the form of serious repercussions that lashed the state administration like stormy wave. In absence of new alternatives like relying on handicrafts they necessarily had to depend on the mercy of non-tribal. There existed no place on earth for them that can be considered by them as their own. Through all means like police and administration they were evacuated from their traditional home lands and all sorts of administrative apparatus came to the rescue of non-tribes only. According to administration, an ownership right over land is legitimate only if it is officially recorded and such person will be given *patta* or letter stating his ownership right. Those who own *patta* or title deed will be considered as legitimate owner of the land. Tribes vigorously from the beginning of twentieth century started losing their ownership on land. Newly arrived immigrants occupied and brought tribal lands under cultivation. Exploitation undoubtedly added fuel to fury of tribes. On the other side Forest department not allowed them from using lands for cultivation and brought wide tracts of forest in the line of demarcated areas, called reserved forests. Tribes lost their previously enjoyed

authority over the region and resources and they even lost their social dignity. People, who completely depended on forest and used its resources unabatedly henceforth has to take permission from the state authorities even for taking a twig. Forest officials and guards at regular intervals used to visit tribal hamlets to collect every type of cess which their ancestors had never heard. They were grazing tax, plough tax, tax on cattle. If anybody failed to pay as and when they asked, whole huts in the hamlets used to be set on fire by forest and revenue officials. New migrants in the district like peasant castes and money lenders added some more problems in the life of this tribe. Money lenders lend money to Gonds at exorbitant rates of interest and in return used to take away large portion of crop at the time of harvest. Many settlers like land lords and peasant caste used to drive away tribes from their cultivable land by stating themselves as real title (patta) holders of land. On the other side, forest officials used to register cases against innocent tribes that made them to shuttle between hamlets and courts on hearing of cases. This humiliated and pathetic life of Gonds trickled their mind to brood over their lost identity. Tribes like Gonds and Kolams were left with only one alternative to express their grievances in form of revolt in 1940.

Policies for administration and management of forests during the Nizam's regime had shown everlasting impact on environment and forest dwellers. But for good or bad the forest policies were initiated by Nizam's of Hyderabad under the shadow of British colonialism. The impact of such policies can be seen even today in this district. This study though aimed at the evolution and understanding of forest management will help to know the background of few issues that are relevant in

contemporary India, which have roots in the colonial past. Between 1900 and 1948 several forest management measures were initiated in the state of Hyderabad to procure teak and other commercial wood for exporting. The demands for tropical wood was increasing in European countries during inter world war periods for shipbuilding, on Railways and on other construction activities. During this period, forest policies were only confined to conservation for exploitation. Most of the commercially produced timber of Adilabad district went to British Indian territory for sale. It was this appropriation of teak wood that resulted in massive deforestation in Adilabad. The suggestion in the reports of L. Mason, the then Inspector General of forests of Adilabad on his visit to this district in 1936 narrates plenty on existence of dense forests and their large scale exploitation. Compelled with increasing influence of colonial administration, the Nizam's state had formulated interventionist policies for the management of the forests in the Adilabad. In other words, the colonial forest policies were evolved in tune with the timber requirements that were framed by the increasing demands in the areas of infrastructure. But the degree of exploitation of Adilabad forest resources had drastically increased with the introduction and expansion of the railways in Deccan region. Between the later decades of nineteenth century and in the early decades of twentieth century three railway routes crisscrossed Adilabad district. One was Mancherial-Balarshah, Adilabad-Muked and the third is a segment of rail route that connects Hyderabad with Marathwada districts passes through this district. Expansion of the railway network consumed enormous amount of forest resources in the form of sleepers for railway track construction and for fuel wood for engine. The report of L. Mason furnished in

one of the chapter related to government policies provides some valuable information. This increasing need of commercial timber and positively increasing cuts of revenue gave new impetus in exploitation of forest resource in Adilabad district. Initially, the Nizam's Government concentrated on the exploitation of valuable timber and increasing revenue brought from it has compelled the state to expand its authority over new forest tracts. Thus, systematic exploitative measures were carried on in Adilabad for fulfilling market requirements that are in way not related with environment and forest dwelling communities of this district. Under such conditions, competitive atmosphere has been created. In the process of contesting for resources, state through formulation of institutional establishments (Forest and Revenue departments) for the management of the forest resources along with non tribals stood on one side and innocent aboriginal forest dwellers stood on other side in the district. Officials and Government used conservation as shield to accuse tribes. All efforts were made by state authorities to depict the tribes as enemies of forests. In order to strengthen the institutional establishment of the Forest department, the forest officials of British India has propagated the conservation aspect that speaks for conservation of forests, for protection of climate and water sources for irrigation etc. But such kind of effort was seen absent in Nizam's dominion. Officials adamantly implemented policies by forcible enforcement. How state thoughtlessly has legitimized Forest department as an appropriate agency for management of forest resources in Adilabad is narrated through the data extracted from various sources pertaining to the concerned period. Revenue department also played crucial role in bringing most of forest land under cultivation in order to increase the revenue. As said earlier from the

nineteenth century due to large scale of immigration into Adilabad district demands for cultivable land also increased. So, to keep up with rising demands Revenue department brought most of village and open forest tracts along with abandoned land under cultivation. Thus, availability of land for shifting cultivation has also decreased. The present study perceived the forest landscape in Adilabad district of Hyderabad state as a zone of competition. The competition was between various sections of people and administration. The Forest department in Adilabad district was constantly pursued by the Nizam's administration to show surplus or profits on revenue and forest records. In this line guided by the urge of revenue generation, the Forest department with its two divisions (Nirmal and Asafabad) in Adilabad district constantly attempted to generate revenue by exploiting forest resources, rather than conserving them. It also attempted to expand territorial control to meet its objective. Thus, the conception of revenue generation from forests resources by excluding local people from accessing forests was institutionalized in Adilabad district during the Nizam's rule.

The chapter entitled 'government forest policies' documents the range of enthusiasm of State shown in expanding its authority over large forest tracts of Adilabad by forming forest department with new Acts. However, the forest departments' interest in acquiring the monopolistic control over forests was justified by state, the policy maker. The peoples' access to forests was restricted and relaxed conditionally in the form of privilege or concession. The centuries old forest usage

pattern of people that was a natural right now came to be treated as a privilege or concession that could be enjoyed by the people as long as Forest department permits.

The fifth chapter highlights the Impact and Response of Tribal towards commercialization of Forests from the perceptions of economical, social and environment. In response to implementation of forest policies, present study tried to analyse the repercussion seen in the form of public discontent that was expressed against the forest policies in forest areas of Adilabad. Since generations, tribes acquired good knowledge regarding collection and usage of forest products and as a tradition the same knowledge will be transferred to next generation. Due to deforestation or restriction on entering into forests, the tribes were hampered from using of forest products and the above said tradition has ended. New forest policies gave the state of ownership rights over forests and the traditional knowledge to use forest resources by the tribes now transferred to the state. This resulted in expression of grievances by aboriginal tribes in various forms. Tribes like Gonds and Kolams expressed their discontent on forest policies through various methods like petitions, violation of forest laws, damaging reserved forests and attacking the forest subordinates with arms. The public discontent even questioned the very legitimacy of implementing the Nizam's state directly and colonial state indirectly. Thus, the present study proposed to argue that state imposed monopolistic control over forest resources of Adilabad district between 1905 and 1948. However, the fact is that the state initiated the process of the commercialization of forests at the cost of the local communities. This led to the severe conflict of people for the forest resource. As a

part of environment, the role of forest department has been taken as an issue to narrate because its inception brought tremendous impact on the life style of Tribes. Due to extensive deforestation sharp reduction (sometimes extinction) in the growth of different variety of flora species has been noticed. Above this Introduction of new variety of plant species for commercial purpose did not fulfill the needs of tribes. The deforestation has either reduced the green belt or made land bare from green cover. The new forest policies prevented tribes from shifting cultivation and even hunting and thus, left them unemployed. When state and forest department failed to provide redressal of grievances, then it became necessary for tribes to take arms against the state.

The reviving of old traditional way of life may not be possible. In the present conditions reviving shifting cultivation may not be feasible but there is a need to analyse tribal revolt of 1940 from various angles and of them environmental angle is mostly untouched till recent times. The present study, is a drop in the ocean and much research has to be done in this regard. Today many mines extracting wide variety of resources have been sprouted in dense forest belt. This activity once again heralding the old methods of destruction in tribal habitats on one side and by imposing new culture their cultural identity is questioned. Tribes want to have their control over some part of the territory in which they live without any outside interference to lead a peaceful and eco-friendly life.

After seeing gloomy conditions of tribes in Adilabad district, sociologists and environmentalist unhesitatingly feel sorry on their pathetic life today. This is because of their glowing culture that existed in blossomed ecological setup prior to the percolation of forest department deep into their habitats and then into their life. There is much more left to study regarding cultural and ecological aspects from historical angle. Practically this cannot be possible unless necessary protection is provided to aboriginals. Providing natural rights to tribes over forest which they had prior to establishment of forest department is the need of hour.

We should not forget that man today is alive only because of having nature friendly culture that has been adopted in bygone past. So moving away from nature is dangerous for man to survive and sustain. Leading life without eco-friendly culture is like going to battle ground without sword and shield. So there is an urgent need to save such cultures. The present description does not state and pretend to be comprehensive in its coverage, it attempts to outline the geophysical, historical, demographic traits (of tribes in particular), resource-management and their magnitude of exploitation, the dimensions of conflict (its genesis, its geographical spread and its different forms) and the manifestation of conflicts. It is intended to provide a set of detailed findings on the ecological history of one of the remote district of Andhra Pradesh in particular and in general it is study about use and abuse of nature by man.

CHAPTER-V

IMPACT OF GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND TRIBAL RESENTMENT

“There is enough for every man’s need in the world, but not for every man’s greed”

-Mahatma Gandhi¹

Long back, Mahatma Gandhi said that a permanent solution to the problem of environmental decay will however, come only when growing violence in the human heart is arrested. The above line in a nutshell speaks plenty on the availability of resources on this planet for utility and welfare of human beings. The same line also speaks about the share and responsibility of man in using and preserving resources for generations to come. When such kind of balance gets disturbed, the conflicts begin. The present chapter tries to highlight the impact of forest policies that were implemented by Nizam’s of Hyderabad and their adverse effects on forest dwellers of Adilabad district. In the last chapter we have noticed that how year after year the increase was recorded in the area of reserved forests. The increase in area of reserve forest went hand in hand with depletion of availability of resources for tribes and future generations that was unfortunately failed to get noticed. It means the addition of every new forest tract was at the cost of declining tribal habitat. In pursuance of the policy of forest conservancy, large scale evacuations occurred in the 1920s and continued even after 1940s. While promulgating new legislations, administration under Nizams had never thought like officials under British India who never restricted people from having minor forest products. Officials’ prophesied that by not allowing

people to have provisions that are used in day-to-day life will make them to undermine the legitimacy of colonial state and show resentment that leads to revolts. Containing of such resentments will be difficult was the opinion expressed by few British officials. The people who were at receiving end had to live in the atmosphere of unending insecurity. As far as revolts are concerned, Sociologist found that the Aborigines who retained their tribal identity and resisted inclusion within the non tribal fold fared better on the whole than those assimilated groups.² Most of the princely states deprived aboriginal tribes of their autonomy. The result was general discontentment on forest policies and it was expressed in different forms such as petitions, violence and breaking of forest rules. From the records of British India we can notice few British administrators, who had no intentions of interfering with aboriginal natural rights and their traditional manner of living. They expressed that by the establishment of law and order in forest areas will expose the aborigines to the divergent pressures of more advanced populations. No doubt, that British commercial interest was mainly responsible for the initiation of early forest conservation measure that princely states blindly have followed.³ There are references of rational officials who had conscious about importance of forest conservation from scientific perception. The extension of a centralized administration over areas which were previously layed outside the effective control of princely rulers. Previously, the unadministered areas were unsafe for outsiders who did not enjoy the confidence and goodwill of the aboriginal inhabitants. When Nizams Government established its administration in certain central places, the existing colonies of traders and craftsmen swelled gradually and in their immediate vicinity non aboriginal cultivators may have

occupied the land but major change in the life of aboriginals position occurred only when the government made a determined drive to raise the revenue of the Adilabad district by encouraging an influx of new settlers and began opening up the country by improving communications between Mancherial and Rajura in the east and Nirmal and Adilabad in the west. By these two communicable lines immigrants from the south and the north streamed into the district and occupied such lands as had then become easier of access. The projection and later the completion of the Nirmal and Mancherial road encouraged Telugu cultivators from Karimnagar to settle in the triverain tract along the Godavari, and the pressure on the land in the Central Provinces and Berar caused many Maratha peasants, mainly of Kunbi caste, to cross the Penganga and settle in the fertile plains of the Rajura, Adilabad and Kinwat taluqs. Thus traders and moneylenders following the foot steps of forest and revenue officials have established themselves in remote areas under the protection of administration. Actually, the deterioration of the aboriginals' position began in Adilabad district as early as the middle of the nineteenth century and continued into the twentieth century despite the fact that many higher officials in Nizams administration were for the welfare of people.⁴ Their recommendations for welfare proved ineffective as they were not implemented by subordinate officials.

1. IMPACT OF FOREST POLICIES ON TRIBES:

Tribes traditionally are associated with the forests other than those who are living in arid regions. As a part of this, nearly all the tribes of Andhra Pradesh lead their lives in the proximity of trees. May be because of this reason, tribes are often

called as *jangali*, today a derogatory term standing for uncivilized but literally meaning forest dwellers. Ownership over forests was clearly their natural right. Communities living near forests depended on them for building material, fuel, fodder and also for food in form of wild fruits and tubers. Preservation of the resources on which they relied for fulfilling their needs was in their own interest. With the arrival of forest and revenue departments, they were forbidden to take even enough wood to build huts and for making ploughs. But the contractors from the non tribal areas carried loads of trees on their carts with the help of labour brought from outside. On the other side, tribals were allowed for access to some of the forest produce such as grass or dead wood for fuel and this was considered as concession liable to be withdrawn at any time. The traditional de facto ownership of tribal communities was now replaced by the de jure ownership of the state, which ultimately led to the exploitation of forest resources with total disregard for the needs of the tribal economy. Between 1907 and 1938, nearly 29,57,422 lakh acres of forest only in Nirmal division of Adilabad district was brought under protected area of Forest department (By 1942 total protected forest area in Nirmal division was around 4,44,9828 acres). In Asafabad division of Adilabad district, total protected forest area by 1938 was 50,65,678 acres. In Asifabad/Asafabad division, between 1914 and 1938 nearly 22,44,558 acres were brought under protected area of forest department⁵. All the above forests were other than reserve and open forest areas that were brought under the state agencies like forests and revenue departments. As said in the last chapter, state's treasury got a hefty amount from forest department and Adilabad district contributed very richly after Warangal district in entire Nizams dominion⁶. As long as

there was no interference by outside population, the ecological balance existed. This condition prevailed in Adilabad till the latter decades of nineteenth century. With the increasing demands of modern industries located outside the tribal areas the commercial exploitation of forests has started. Forests were converted virtually into revenue generating source⁷. Finance reports of Hyderabad state shows that forest department earnings stood fourth and fifth among other departments in terms of income in entire dominion. Asafabad division of Adilabad district earned Rs. 20,88,039 only in 1941. The revenue of this division increased more than three hundred times between 1905 and 1941. The effects of the reservation of large expanses of forest disrupted tribal life by restricting their agricultural practice or shifting mode of cultivation. The introduction of forest conservancy forced the tribes to adopt new mode of living or to modify the traditional economy. Under this changed circumstance many tribes adopted settled mode of agriculture. Many tribes as early as 1941 felt that the yield of the crops grown during the rains on ever refertilised soil equaled or exceeded the combined harvests (both rainy and winter crops) of settled agriculture. Thus, tribes were more prosperous in pre-settled agriculture days or prior to the introduction of forest conservation policies. Gond prosperity and Gond culture thus began to decline. Under such conditions, tribes hardly recognized their new position. As long as they lived in habitat, protected from the outside world by hills and forests they were economical and culturally safe. After the establishment of forest department, drawing of demarcation lines round the forest tracts has begun that covered tribal habitations. The intention to include all the areas in the reserved forest can be argued from two perceptions. One is to bring all forest

source under states control for revenue generation and other perception might have been liberal rational intention i.e, conservation. The forest officials while demarcating lines for reserving forests included all those abandoned land that were lying fallow and thus deprived tribes from its future use and such lands used to be lost for ever for communities practicing shifting cultivation. Thus, demarcation of forests resulted in confining the movement of tribes to limited area and restricted them to undertake their traditional endeavours. The interference in life cycle has been introduced by foreign elements in tribal home lands. At that time demarcation of forest reserves in many tribal villages, especially, of Kolams and Naikpods were disbanded and the inhabitants were compelled to leave their home. Tribes, who used to move continuously, then had to adopt settled agriculture due to decrease in the availability of free land. Reservation of forest areas and virtual prohibition of shifting cultivation have in many ways revolutionized the economy of the aboriginals, their exploitation of the natural resources of their habitat was further limited by the auctioning of forest produce such as grass, mahua, chironji (*Buchanania latifolia* berries) and bamboo. The contractor who takes the chironji contract for a group of villages usually does not collect the fruits, but some time, after the fruit season he or his servants tour the villages and charge the aboriginals either per house or per tree for the fruit which it is assumed they or their children have eaten. Another method of exploiting a contract is for the contractor to compel the villagers to collect the chironji without paying any wages, taking the services of the villagers as a right of his contract. Similarly Mahua flowers, were auctioned to one who collects from the tribes like Gonds and Kolams. Gonds complained that prior to the percolation of states administration they used the

mahua flowers both for making liquor and also food. These flowers were collected during the season in large quantities and stored them for using them in the days of scarcity. Like on failure of crops, dry summer seasons when no tuber and fruits are available. They used to mix the dry flowers with millet flour and also ate them after boiling. Now excise officials supported by forest officials gathered the flowers and if found in the house, then residents of such house have to pay fine. The next forest produce was grass. Grass was also auctioned and the contractors act on the same principle. In 1911-12, forest department collected Rs. 32,292 on Grazing in Adilabad district (Lakshettipet and Nirmal divisions) and in 1348 Fasli (1938-39) the collection the grazing was Rs.42,324 in Adilabad district (Asafabad and Nirmal divisions). The forest department even levied annual fees per plough for the wood used by the aboriginals for implements and repairs of houses, but the timber and bamboos required for house building must be paid for at the valuation of the forest officers. Apart from legal fees, forest subordinates used to collect fees locally known as 'mamul' from the aboriginals in the form of both kind and cash, such as grain, oil seeds, pulses and cotton and so on. While demarcating forest lines, lower forest officials used to take bribes from villagers and peasants for not including their lands in reserved areas.

Money culture among tribes was not rampant as in plain or non tribal areas. Taking advantage of helplessness of tribes, moneylenders percolated into forest belts⁸. So, in most cases tribes used to loose away their land for not paying bribes. On not bribing, many tribal hamlets were included in the reserved forest and the

inhabitants were mercilessly asked to evacuate their villages. Sir Haimendorf has noticed this issue while making anthropological study on tribes in Adilabad district since 1940s. Attack on entity of tribes was multidimensional in nature. Firstly, on one side agents of the wider money economy penetrated into tribal regions and on other side governments with their system of taxes payable only through money compelled the tribals to acquire at least some small amounts of the official currency from the above. Now, tribes were prohibited from going towards shifting cultivation as pressure on land was created by both forest department and new immigrants, who came to settle there permanently. Self-sufficiency came to an end and tribal communities were sucked into a cash economy that had its roots in materially advanced and socially complex spheres outside the tribal regions. Prevailing ignorance among tribes on money transaction made them more vulnerable to money lenders. On whole the forest dwelling communities were either evicted or denied access to the forest produce on which they had depended for many necessities. Then the conflict for the forest resource between the traditional tribal ownership and the states claim has begun. Numerous revolts in India and few in Adilabad were direct result of the denial of the local tribal right over forests, which they had always considered their communal property.⁹

Even in the early decades of twentieth century, Adilabad district had an extensive area under forest cover. The population was also sparsely distributed and tribes lived in isolation. It gave an ample opportunity for the government to pursue a policy of in the district that raised its income. Thousands of cultivators were

encouraged to immigrate and settle in the district. The census records of Nizams dominion from 1901 to 1941 gives elaborate information of the waves of immigration into Adilabad district¹⁰. Under this policy Hutkars, Kunbis, Lambaras and Marathas from Central Province and Telugu cultivators from Karimnagar and Nizamabad entered the district and acquired rights over the land. Even Muslims were not behind having their share. Many persons were encouraged to settle in villages and cultivate lands on contract of thirty years by providing concessions like freedom from rent, concession of half rents and acquisition of patel and patwarigiri rights. Land in those days was to be had merely for the asking and ownerships (watans) were conferred without any difficulty. In fact, if any new watandar failed either to realize the rents or to pay his own dues, he was deprived of his watans which were practically purchased by other aspirants on payment of the dues, like early Zamindari system under British India. The position of old Rajas and the mokashis were degenerated into insignificance. First of all, the vacant land that outside the forests was granted on patta to the non tribals. Right of ownership to a land is known as patta. This must be first recognized by the authorities and the name of the pattadar entered in the village registers before it is considered as legal. The tribes too had an opportunity of acquiring patta rights in the land but they were unaware of understanding the importance of land ownership. On the whole the tribesmen were slow to realize the necessity of Patta and later when pressure on land grew acute and they did realize the value of documents and title-deeds, they were not well enough versed in dealing with administrative officers and their subordinates to compete successfully with the newcomers from more progressive area and consequently they often failed to obtain

recognition of their claims on the land which they and their forefathers had cultivated. The patwari himself applied for that land and got his rights as pattadar or the rightful owner recognized by the revenue officer, the *Nazim-Jamabandi*. The members of the immigrant communities are not content to dominate the region economically but they were ambitious to gain influence in the local system of authority. This can be done most effectively by achieving appointments as village headmens in the form of patel and patwari. The position of patwari in particular makes it possible for an incumbent to manipulate the allocation and transfer of land a power. In this way, hundreds of tribals who wanted to come back to their lands suddenly found the same in the hands of non tribal watandars. To give one typical example in the words of Sir Haimendorf, ” a tribal of Dugapur in Asifabad taluk was in possession of a land for years. Due to the depredations caused by tigers in those parts, the family went to live in a neighboring village. When they returned after a few years, they found that the land had been secured on patta by the landlord of a neighboring village”¹¹.

Unawareness regarding title deeds or pattas combined with negligent attitude of the subordinate officials, tribes failed to get their names written as pattadars. The result was that even after many years, they were supposed to be wrongfully cultivating land without any right and the rent they were asked to pay was known as *sivai-jamabandi*. A cultivator who held land on the *siwa-i-jamabandi* tenure was liable to get evicted any time and this was the case with many tribal cultivators. In this way thousands of acres passed out of the hands of the Gond into the hands of the new settlers. Resulting in the degradation of tribal position from peasant

proprietorship to that of land less tenants. In relation to this, Sir Haimendorf in his 'Tribes of India' gave an example on a Velma landlord of Mandamarri, emigrated from Karimnagar became the owner of 8000 acres mostly in the tribal belt, and has also purchased the watans of nine villages¹². Like wise, there are many examples that give details about growing absentee land lordism in Adilabad district. Thus, first half of twentieth century has seen rise in many absentee landlords letting out lands to the tribals on rents. Some have even brought other cultivators along with them from near by districts and this has resulted in ousting of tribals from their own homes. If tribes go to some other place and cultivate it on *siva-i-jama-andi* tenure, promptly the nontribals cleverly manages to get that particular land registered in his name. It was observed in the early decades of 20th century that the newcomers used to keep quiet for some time till the tribes have cleared the land and start cultivating it. Then, suddenly they tell them that they have acquired patta right and the tribes should either vacate the lands or pay rent as the tenant to the new pattadar. Under such conditions tribes didn't had enough choice they either had to accept their changed position as tenants at will or have leave the village. Thus, many villages were once purely tribal habitats have grown into big settlements because of their becoming as base to the newly arrived immigrants. Indervelli is a good example. It was a seat of the chakati clan before the settlement of nonlocals. In fact, acquiring a village and forcing the tribals to be tenants at will became almost a fashion of those days. Every one, the prosperous lawyer, the rich merchant, the well to do official and the ambitious cultivator all had a hand in the game of exploitation of tribes. But there is a perception that from 1929 entire world experienced economic depression and India too felt its

tremors as India was made subordinate economy of British and world economy. Adding to the severity of problem commercialization of agriculture transformed many peasants into landless labours. So, in search of new avenues peasants started to migrate to new lands. For such people, vast availability of virgin land became a boon. Above this, it was the time of depression so government wanted to improve its revenue reserves so it too had encouraged poor peasants¹³. But it has shown adverse impact on aborigines of this district regarding which government was unaware. Thus around competition for the available resource base began in Adilabad. All the census reports of Nizams dominion reveal that the first half of twentieth century Adilabad district was leading in attracting immigrants in entire State of Hyderabad. The poor tribes were pushed slowly from their lands and homes only to take shelter in the hills, where the non tribals failed to penetrate and where patches of free of land last was available for them. Thus, friction between various government agencies and the aboriginals became bitter. Tribes in many cases were expelled from many village sites and the continuous encroachment of outsiders on their ancestral land led to a serious clash between administration and tribes. Above this the Administrative records of Forests and revenue departments under Nizams dominion report the existence of famine like conditions continuously for the couple of years in the second half of fourth decade of twentieth century. Even under such conditions the surplus of revenue of forest department has not shown any declination because first half of twentieth century can be called as World war and inter world war period. So, demand of timber has increased for ship building, infrastructure, Railways (sleepers and for fuel) and other commercial requirements. Even though scarcity prevailed in 1930s the

revenue collection of Forest department has never shown any decrease in this decade. The Report on the Administration of the Nizams dominion of 1349 F. (1939-40) shows that there was decrease in average annual rainfall. A year before the revolt i.e, 1939 the revenue collected by forest department was Rs. 14,01,230 and in the year 1940 forest department collected Rs. 16,26,101. This shows how the state was keen on making money from forests and forest produce¹⁴. After 1919 famines, the Scarcity of food and fodder prevailed in entire state of Hyderabad. Government in the welfare of common man pumped money for relief but forest, revenue and public works department channelised funds for other reasons. Many incentives were given, grazing and other taxes were suspended along with loans, famine reserve fund was established. But, due to unorganized spending of relief fund made welfare activities of state null and void. The unsincerity of subordinate officials is one of the causes for it. Thus, situation was further aggravated and their existed dearth of resources and competition over limited resources led to struggle in general¹⁵. The resentment especially among tribes in particular increased against money lenders, against occupation of lands by new migrants with pattas, forceful exaction of taxes by revenue and forest department. In 1323 Fasli (1913-14) on breach of forest rules 2602 cases were booked in Adilabad district. The number of cases are more in Nirmal division than lakshettipet division because of more inhabitation. This was nearly 10 % of total cases registered in Hyderabad state. The cases registered by 1348 Fasli (1938-39) in Adilabad district were 861 and they accounted to 18% of total cases registered in entire Hyderabad state. It speaks on how forest department was taking control of natural resources and restricting common men and tribes from fulfilling their day to

day requirements for survival. Tribes unable to bear the pressure created from all sides ventilated their grievances in form of revolt and 1940 Gond and Kolam revolt is best example.

2. TRIBAL RESENTMENT OF 1940 IN ADILABAD:

In the long and weary march of Man, man did not meet with a much worse enemy than Man. The animal kills a fellow animal only for food, but men destroy fellowmen not for satisfying hunger but for various other reasons¹⁶. Justice in Primitive times was always meted out in some shape or other ever since man took his birth on this planet. It may be that with the emergence of property his litigation might have increased, and the necessity for more elaborate systems of jurisprudence might have been necessitated, but even before this stage was reached, man had his quarrels and disputes caused by encroachments on his personal liberty and later on his limited property. This has been so all over the world where man came into existence in pre-historic times and his latter development. Methods of dealing justice, no doubt, differed from place to place and from country to country, dependent more upon the surroundings, environments, modes of sustenance, availability of food resources and other similar causes though a few common principals can be detected underlying all these differing systems, for example, principle of humanism ¹⁷. Above lines speak about the historically recorded ways of justice in primitive times or bygone days. As a part of it, history has registered many incidents of tribal revolts almost in every major tribe of India, arising mostly from deprivation of land, usury, exploitation by forest department, moneylenders, autocracy of the rich and thoughtless administrators. M.K.

Pandhe in 'Social Life in Rural India' has rightly said that the girijans/adivasis came into touch with the administration only in a state of confrontation when their customary rights and privileges were hampered¹⁸. The great santal revolt of 1855, the revolts of Koyas and Reddies under the leadership of Alluri Sita Rama Raju in 1922-24, the rebellion of the Mundas under their tribal hero, Birsa Munda, Kol revolt of 1833, Gond revolts in Adilabad in 1857 and 1941 and so on are good examples that speak plenty on the wrongs committed by various governmental and non governmental agencies in past. The only way of avoiding a repetition of these outbursts of discontent is to understand them from ethnocentric point of view. Every tribal resentment in the form of revolt is nothing but expression of their grievances against the existing conditions¹⁹.

On the pages of history of Adilabad district, one can find reference of two major tribal revolts in pre independent era. In both cases men from Gond community lead the revolt against British and Nizams government. One was under the leadership of Ramji Gond in 1857 against Nizam supported British government. Adilabad district by 1857 was under Nizam's dominion and had borders with Berar region in Central Province of British India, therefore impact of 1857 revolt might have felt. Adilabad district to some extent, was one of the remotest territory of Nizam's dominions by then, so between 1857 and 1860 AD, it was safe heaven to those who were undrertaking anti-British activities in the neighbouring areas of Adilabad. Though, most of the district of Adilabad by then was covered by forest but the inhabited localities were vibrant in nature and sympathised with all those who were

against British and their ally the Nizams of Hyderabad. Thus, the tremors of nationalism in the form of anti British and anti Nizam were felt in Adilabad. Rohillas in the disguise of Nana sahib followers lead their activities against British from this district as it provided shelter. Most of these Rohillas and soldiers who early worked as soldiers in the British army and who were part of Sepoy mutiny reached Adilabad. Rohillas succeeded in getting the help of Gond sardar Ramji Gond. Gonds had their own grievances against Nizams of Hyderabad. The officials of Hyderabad state started exploiting poor forest dwellers. In order to trample down this revolt, British moved 47th regiment under the leadership of Col. Roberts from Hingoli and Bellari to Adilabad. The movement that carried on in Adilabad district by Rohillas and Gonds between 1857 and 1860 can be perceived from the angle of 1857 revolt. The Resident at Hyderabad took personal interest to suppress Rohilla revolt in the remote areas of Adilabad. The Talukdar of Nirmal strengthened spy system and in 1860 Ramji Gond was imprisoned and was hanged to death²⁰. The second revolt took place in 1940 under the leadership of Kumuram Bhimu is more important as far as the present chapter is concerned as it comes under area of study. The forests of Adilabad in 1940 echoed with a slogan, *Jal-Jangal-Jamin* (water-forest-land). As said earlier, Gond revolt was not simply for forest rights, but more than that. It was something regarding to protection of identity, against cultural domination and nationalism. This rebellion is also known as the 'Babijheri incident'. It is named after the locality in which it has taken place. It reflects the uncordial relationship between the forest dwellers and the forest authorities. The Jodenghat movement of 1940s in the Adilabad district of Nizams dominion was rooted in the self assertion of Gond adivasis²¹. The leader of

the Gonds at Babijheri was Kumram Bhimu, who was born in a village, Sankenapally, in the neighbourhood of Asifabad. The oral stories say that he, like his fellow Gonds, felt deep resentment over their pathetic condition that was caused by the arrival of outsiders like Brahmin, Muslim, Komti and so on. Every outsider was getting enough land with legal right or patta land but Gonds and other tribes could not get the same though they are residing there itself since times immemorial.

The early life of Kumram Bhimu is shrouded with dearth of information. The popular folklore stories inform us that Bhimu killed a man named, Sidhiqui at Sirdhapur. The man quarreled with his brother and claimed that their land belonged to him. In fear Bhimu has ran away for safety and reached a town named, Balharshah after crossing forest clad hills and streams. From there he went to Chanda (it was headquarter of Gond rulers in eighteenth century) and he worked at Chanda as a labour in printing press. There, it is said that Bhimu learned to read and write. Due to certain unprecedented conditions, he left for Assam to work as labour in tea plantations that were under British governance. Condition of labours in tea plantation was pathetic and pitiable due to severe oppression of contractors. Bhimu realized the nature of British exploitation and their relationship with Nizams of Hyderabad. Allam Rajaiah and Sahu in their book on 'Kumram Bhimu', expressed that Bhimu had an opportunity to meet a labour who came from Manyam region of Madras province. It is said that through this man Bhimu learnt about Manyam hero, Alluri Seetarama Raju, who strived for the rights and self respect of agency region of coastal Andhra²². When conditions worsened, he returned only to learn that his family has shifted to

Khakanghat and settled there as tenants. After working there for five years, they were ousted then again question of survival came to limelight. Bhimu, an intelligent young man able to read and write had tried for new settlement. He assessed that most of their ancestral land had fallen into the hands of non-aboriginals. After spending some years by working under various landlords, he finally settled in Babijheri. He organized all the Gonds and Kolams to settle at Babijheri in a forest belt of Dhanora. As this settlement came under the protected forest area, then forest officials asked them to vacate immediately. As they had not left by the date fixed all their houses were burnt by forest guards. Some Gonds and Kolams got permission to settle at Jodenghat, a site east of Babijheri by bribing forest guard with Rs. 500. The Gonds and Kolams with much difficulty borrowed money and paid it to the forest guard and cleared some more land. But after some time, the same forest guard came and said that they have to pay Rs 2000 more to the forester and the forest ranger otherwise they would be evacuated. In those days Rs. 500 is a big amount and two thousand means nearly out of reach of poor forest dwellers. Unable to pay big amount tribes decided to approach the ruler at Hyderabad on behalf of twelve hamlets (Gudem). They were Jodenghat, Patnapur, Babijhari, Murikiloka, Narsapur, Kallegam, Chalbaridi, Toikan movadam, Bhimangondi, Ankusapur, Demiguda and Gogin movadam. In Hyderabad, Bhimu and his followers (Komram Raghu and Madavi Mahad) were not allowed to speak to higher authorities. Vexed with the attitude of higher officials and government the resentment in him reached to its zenith. But Sir Haimendorf recorded that Bhimu has obtained permission to cultivate fifty seven acres at Jodenghat²³. But when they showed the paper to the forest guard he still insisted on the payment of Rs 2000 and

again threatened to burn all their settlements. Bhimu, therefore, tried once again to approach higher authorities, and he sent a petition by register post to the divisional forest officer and a copy to the second Taluqdar (sub-collector) in which he sought for permission to stay and cultivate at Jodeghat. But, the forest ranger sent without the knowledge of the divisional forest officer, a party consisting of several forest guards and an Arab with a gun to enforce the evacuation at Jodenghat. The forest ranger was unhappy about the on going developments at Jhodenghat, so he ordered to burn down tribal settlements. Jodeghat along with other settlements were burned without any prior warning. As a result, cattle tied up in the sheds vanished in the flames as they were trapped. The Gonds, enraged by the firing of the hamlets opposed the party without any firearms. The Arab however, threatened to shoot Bhimu, and finally shot him on the hand²⁴. Having lost their patience, the Gonds came together and gave a good thrashing to the party of forest guards. Forest officials were beaten up black and blue and had to run away from that place to save their life. With this incident, Bhimu organized tribes of all the twelve settlements at a place and gave a call to resist and fight back the state authorities. Kumram Bhimu gave battle cry and with the support of Gond and Kolam tribes declared that the twelve villages comprised as Gond kingdom (Gond Raj). There fore, Ramachandra Guha comments that tribal revolts are not simply armed uprisings but had in depth cultural roots. Because of new policies imposed upon them has restricted tribes from doing their traditional occupation unabatedly since times immemorial, which they don't want to leave. The struggle for survival became an intrinsic part of gonds. Mounting economic crisis and decreasing resources created fear among the forest inhabitants. Therefore, declaring of

independence for them was asserting of identity, culture and economic safety. After declaring independence, he gave warning that from then onwards they would not abide by the laws of the Nizam's authorities. Bhimu has appointed village heads for maintaining law and order in Gudems or tribal hamlets. For consolidating the newly created Gond raj, he organized army consisting of young men from all hamlets for providing defence. Army was equipped with swords, guns, spears, lathis and sling shots. Bhimu even declared that Ragal Jhanda or red coloured flag as their new flag. Sir Haimendorf compared this with the exasperation of exploited and harassed tribals in Srikakulam district who in the 1960s and 1970s joined the naxalite uprising²⁵. Bhimu and his supporters had no revolutionary aims in the beginning and their demands were simply freedom from harassment and extortions by forest subordinates and the right to live undisturbed in their ancestral homeland. Several such activities and incidents created tremors in the shoes of State authorities. The popularity of Jodenghat was spreading like wild fire, officials felt that it was not in the interests of state and it will strengthen all the anti government forces. So administration initiated necessary measures to trample down this rebellion that was lead by Bhimu. Assuming the situation going out of hand official team consisting of DSP, The civil surgeon, the assistant taluqdar and tahsildar along with 94 armed police men marched towards Jhodenghat. In support to large movement of police contingent against Gonds, the official and confidential reports of Nizams government state that Gonds behaved aggressively against sub inspector of police and destroyed government property²⁶. Sensing the impending danger all the gudems or hamlets were asked to gather at Jhodenghat and as a result nearly 500 Gonds reached on the spot. First Taluqdar has

invited Bhimu for negotiation but both parties failed to reach any consensus and the result was battle like conditions. As a part of negotiations, Bheemu in a letter to Talukdar has written (in Urdu) that,

“Forest officials are illegally extracting grazing tax, customary duties, etc. and even filed cases against me and my men. Already we have sent two three letters to Collector and police officer, Asifabad but no reply was given. My only demand is for village certificates. If you don’t accept I come with my flag and men and you come with yours to settle once for all. I won’t ask you to accept me as Gond raja, better you close the forest department otherwise I am ready to fight, as I am fighting on behalf of my men”.²⁷

Inevitably, the struggle between government forces and tribes had begun. Gonds deeply resentful of the policy of government and particularly of the forest officials intensified their anti state activities by taking position from a flat hilltop (*patar*). According to Haimendorf, Police opened fire on Gonds without being provoked and confidential reports contradict such argument. Negotiations with Bhimu and his supporters by the district officers’ were clearly mismanaged and were abortive because there was no one on the side of government who had the confidence of the tribesmen. Unable to get *perwana* of twelve villages, Bhimu refused to give himself up. The men who came on behalf of Gonds were not allowed to return to their base. When their followers were confined with police, Gonds became more restless. Unable to subdue Gonds police opened fire killing Bhimu and thirteen other Gonds on the spot and wounded many more. Similarly, many such cases of high handedness and corruption of forest, revenue and other officials has been observed and reported in 1940s. The struggle between police force and tribes ended with in a short time resulting in the death of Gond leader Bhimu was a blow to Gond nationalism and

their effort to assert their identity. Out of the assembled tribal men ten died on spot, thirteen got injuries and of them four succumbed to injuries that led to increase in the death toll to fourteen. A man by name Kurdu has betrayed their own community members and helped Nizam soldiers against Bhimu. Around seventeen men were arrested and prosecuted. In writings and confidential letters on Kumuram Bhimu there is a discourse regarding the question of truth on the rumors that prevailed among Gonds regarding their immunity from bullets. There is no clear evidence about Bhimu speaking on his possessing of magical powers. The rumor of Gonds immune to bullets can be compared to Koya rebellion in Manyam region where Alluri Sita Rama Raju is said to have preached regarding such kind of immunity²⁸. British thought Sita Rama Raju became mentally unbalanced and bordering on insanity for his intense and unreasoning hatred of anything British. But hill men believed that he possessed power of God²⁹. Such attitude is also seen among the followers of Bhimu. But there is a perception that police before firing live bullets they fired buck shots that only wound men but may be because of their physical sturdiness and strong anti Nizam feelings among Gonds might have made them not to mind buck shot wounds. The ignorant Gonds filled with the desire to liberate themselves from Nizams yoke for ever made them to move forward ignoring warnings and firings. This may also have created an impression among policemen about the existence of magic that gave immunity from gun shots. The revolt was quelled after massacring nearly fourteen innocents. Though Nizam's administration temporarily suppressed the revolt after much bloodshed with its superior and well equipped men and material strength, a kind of prevalence of unstable conditions were noticed by higher authorities. The looming of unstable and

maladministrative features became clear with this event of violent resentment of 1940.³⁰ Regarding the magnitude of Gond revolt W.V. Grigson, I.C.S., Revenue and Police member of the Nizam's executive council, and one of the greatest experts on the administration of aboriginal races said,

“In its essentials the Gond problem is the same in Hyderabad as the aboriginal problem in the central Provinces or other parts of India, though more acute because of the greater neglect and the lower district administrative standards of the past, which have left the Hyderabad aboriginal entirely at the mercy of the exploiter, whether the landhungry Kunbi and Kapu, the Arab and Pathan Shylock, the Hindu money lender, the forest or excise contractor, etc. We have to restore and foster the aboriginals self respect by protecting him from the loss of land, bond service, debt and oppression, to shield him from malaria, yaws and other sickness, to teach him an agriculture and an economic organization suited to his habitat and mentality, and to educate him not only to retain and value his own tribal cultural life of modern India”.³¹

Here we can draw little similarity between Alluri Sita Rama Raju and Kumuram Bhimu, both of them is said to have visited Northern Eastern province of British India. Both before beginning of revolt have visited the places which might have vibrant with movements. It is said that Sita Rama Raju has visited Chittagong and Nashik before starting 1922-24 Manyam Revolt. He praised Gandhi for leading anti British struggle but he had strong belief in violent overthrow of British rule. In the same way Komuram Bhim too had an opportunity to work in tea estates of Assam. Thus Bhimu got himself exposed to the outer world and rose to the occasion to emancipate his men from pathetic life. There is also a difference that exists between them i.e Sita Rama Raju as leader came from outside to lead the movement and Bhimu belongs to the place where he lead revolt. Other than few differences conditions in relation to the management of forest land was more or less similar in

both Manyam and Adilabad. In Manyam, acts like introduction of Forest Act in Agency area in 1906 and the Madras Forest Act No.V of 1882 can be compared to the Nizams forest Acts of 1900, 1910 and 1916 respectively. The nature and character of all the above laws were same as Hyderabad always imitated the policies in management of forests. Unless the forests became commercial products most of the tribal areas were relatively free. Their poverty and their climate might have secured them from the conquest. Forests till then existed as no mans land.³²

Alluri Seeta Rama Raju travelled in the Gudem hills as a sanyasi and according to Venkatarangaiah his austerity and his knowledge of astrology and his reputed ability to tame wild animals made him popular. He served agency people by herbal medical treatment at free of cost. Such activities brought him unending respect and admiration of the tribal people who credited him with magical powers. Even A.J. Happel, the commissioner of operations in the agency area in 1922-23 has reported the above lines in his historical record that was based on newspaper reports and personal interviews.³³ Kumuram Bhimu has learnt Urdu and Marathi when he stayed for a brief period at Balarshah and Chanda. This knowledge of Urdu and Marathi helped him in interacting with Forest and Revenue officials regarding the issues concerning with ownership rights, court cases and so on. He successfully apporched forest officials and presented the problem on behalf of Lachupatel and convinced officials to strike off the cases filed on him. Because of such ability, Bhimu became popular in the sourrounding hamlets and many started approaching him with their problems to find solution.

After revolt at Jodeghat, Government took every step to curb the spreading of information regarding Babijhari incident. Local administration took measures to gag the press. News published in “*Golconda Patrika*” along with article published in “*Rayyat*” was considered with much seriousness and government thought to take legal action against such newspapers and their editors. Government treated it as sedition against state for publishing false reports. At last B.Yella Reddy, who published on Gond revolt in *Golconda Patrika* was made to admit that printing such incident in newspaper was his mistake and he also had to admit that the information furnished, is false³⁴. Home secretary, Azhar Hassan took serious consideration on publishing of article. *Musheer-e- Deccan* of 5th October, 1940, News paper cutting and other information found in confidential reports present that higher authorities at state headquarters in the beginning were kept in illusion by subordinate officials of the district. Government initially went to the extent of punishing all those who has published regarding Babijhari incident. B.Yella Reddy was the first to publish this news in his news paper, *Golconda Patrika* and latter on another Urdu new paper “*Rayyat*” edited by M. Narsingh Rao too published the same. Both of them came under police observation and harassment for such news. When *Nizam’s Gazette*, an another Urdu news paper on 2nd Aban 1350 Fasli too has published an article regarding this under the title “*Two hundred Gonds rebelled in Asifabad, officials threatened, police in action*” government showed signs of looking into other corners and started to probe for asserting facts to find and punish the guilty so that some sort of confidence can be restored in the minds of citizens. The Urdu lines of *Nizam Gazettee* runs like this,

“*Asifabad-2 Aban-* Gonds uprising is the hot topic of discussion among general public. From the safe hills of Babijhari two hundred armed Gonds undertook anti government activities. Two days ago Gonds attacked forest officials and wounded them seriously. Police after some difficulty arrested some of them and released on bail. But they refused to attend court on second call and about 200 Gonds with arms gathered for revenge safe on high hill, which is surrounded with thick forest with only one way to approach. It came to know that, warning letters to threatening local officials were being sent. On 4th Aban 100 police constables along with District Superintendent of Police and First magistrate (Abdul Sattar) visited Babjhari. It is surprising to know that the poor forest dwelling community became cruel and took arms that they have never done before. These happenings are creating suspicion in the minds of general public who are eagerly waiting to know further developments”.³⁵

This was the period when national movement was going on in British India with much vigour. People from various organizations (Congress, Hindu Praja Mandal, Andhra Maha sabha and Arya Samaj) who were against British and British supported princely states started pouring into Adilabad to study Babijhari incident in order to highlight the atrocities created by state authorities. Letter from Nawab Rahmatyar Jung Bahadur, City Police officer, Hyderabad (Dn) with refrence No. 46/470 of 3rd Azar, 1340 F. to Secretary General Police and court wing & General Administration on subject “*Tension between Gond & Police, Dist. Asifabad*” speaks about the movement of people belonging to different organizations³⁶. Letter No. 672/673, dated 14th Aazar, 1350 F. from Chander Rao, Secretary, standing committee member of Andhra Maha Sabha has written to Administrative officer of police, Hyderabad (Dn), and expressed the intrest of the sabha in this connection and asked government to conduct immediate impartial enquiry. Government was concerned about the developments because it may add some more fuel to the on going anti Nizam and anti British activities.

The papers related to apex officials of revenue and Police department reveal that State was not as tyrannical as it is generally thought. The same papers reveal the liberal attitude of higher officials like R.M. Crofton, Director General Revenue, Hyderabad (Dn), Md. Azhar Hassan, Home Secretary, H.E.H. the Nizams Government, Rahmat Yar Jung Bahadur, Commissioner of Police. Men like Kashinath Rao Vaidya, Vakil Shiraj ul Hassan Tirmizi, Editor Narsing Rao of Rayyat, Prem Kumar an Arya Samajist and ex Editor of Masawat, Bombay and Srinivasa Rao have visited Asifabad to have first hand study. They interviewed few police constables and arrested Gonds who were present at the scene to gather information. They unconvinced with the statements from government subordinate officials have submitted a report to Home secretary, Azhar Hassan. Immediately Home secretary, Azhar Hassan and R.M. Crofton, Director General of Revenue sent a letter with set of questions asking clarification from First Talukdar, Abdul Sattar. Higher officials at state headquarter were convinced by actual reports that when Bhimu was shot dead from a range of around eight feet and at that time no weapon was in his hand. Answers to the questions like, was there any real necessity to take about 94 armed constables to execute warrants against a few Gonds with all the paraphernalia of the local revenue officers, a doctor and other? Did the circumstances at Babijhari justify the order of firing? were not answered satisfactorily by first Talukdar and DSP of Asafabad. So higher officials got thoroughly convinced that though tribes have provoked but lower or subordinate officials have committed blunder. To the question, whether Bhimu and his friends have first fired gun shots, both First Talukdar and District Superintendent of Police (DSP) have given contradictory

answers. First Talukdar said yes to the above and DSP replied with no. Thus it becomes clear that blunder was committed by subordinate officials and not the higher officials at headquarters. Mostly lower or subordinate officials kept higher authorities in ignorance with the ground reality. Reserving of forest lands became crux of the problem. Attitude of forest rangers and forest guards added fuel to fire. Forest guards, squeezed the tribals by demanding their mamool (customary payment) either in the form of cash or kind. Now the point to argue is how far the forest department is related with revolt. The points replied by first Talukdar to the questions of Home secretary and Revenue secretary makes the issue clear. The notion presented by Nizams subordinate officials was different. In the words of first Talukdar, Abdul Sattar,

“Before the notification under section 7 of the forest act no strict vigilance was maintained by the forest department. The local gonds used to cultivate patches of land here and there indiscriminately inside the so called reserve. Bhimu, the ring leader, had never obtained lands legally and all his cultivation at Babijhari was illegal. Basically, he came from outside the dominions. Forest at Babijhari was thicker and is not easily accessible and at Jodenghat forest was of lesser value than that at Babijhari. Some deserted villages had existed long ago and there is no doubt that Bhimu wanted to own these five long ago deserted villages as is evident from a letter which he wrote me saying that the parwana of five villages should be given to him. Both Forest department and Bhimu refused to give up the land around Babijhari and at the end forest department had to sue Bhimu and his associates in the district court to prevent him from cultivating the lands without permission. As the land was under reserved forest area therefore no question of giving out lands under the new rules for cultivation. Bhimu has sadly misled his followers by keeping them in trance and by saying that he possessed mystical powers.”³⁷

Gond revolt particularly was guided by two principles one of them was around demand for right to till the land without any interference from administration (Forest officials in particular) and nontribals; and the other demand or issue was to revive

their lost identity by safeguarding their social and cultural aspects. Komram Bhim the leader of 1940 revolt had strong believed that the above can be possible only in independent Gond kingdom. The concept of Gond kingdom to him comprised of all those areas where Gonds are in large number. As a part of his agitation, he inspired his men to liberate themselves for the creation of independent Gond kingdom. Gonds, Kolams and other tribes in Adilabad were crushed between pressure enforced on them in the form of forest acts that restricted their movement and other was in the form of new immigrated non-tribal onslaughts, who in the name of patta (ownership rights on lands) were capturing the cultivable lands. At this juncture lives of Gonds and other indigenous tribes were lingering in vacuum and no ray of future prospects was seen. A kind of uncertain and fearful atmosphere was created that questioned the existence and survival of tribes. Rebellions of aboriginal tribesmen against the authority of the government are among the most tragic conflicts between rulers and ruled. Whatever course it may take, a rebellion is always a hopeless struggle of the weak against the strong and the uninformed against the organized power. The Gond-Kolam uprising was a defensive movement, they were the men driven in despair due to various social and economic causes. As such, they could all have been avoided had the authorities taken cognizance of the aboriginal's grievances and set about to remedy them.

In response to the public discontent, Madras Government initiated the process of devolution of management responsibilities of forests in the plain areas in the form of creation of forest panchayats after 1915. Under this, the forests that are used by people for every day needs were given for the management of the forest *panchayats*

by creating an executive body with the representatives of villagers. After 1925, 'Ryots Forests' were created and their management responsibility was given to elected body under the name of the forest *panchayats*. This measure shows the fact that the communities which have contested and mediated with the colonial state acquired concessions in accessing forests products. But such kind of provisions were absent in Nizams administrative and legal setup even by 1940s. After 1940, Gond revolt in Adilabad, Nizam's of Hyderabad has requested a British anthropologist, Sir Von furer Haimendorf to make a study on the causes of Gond revolt in tribal hinterlands. The then government even asked Haimendorf to suggest steps. Sir Haimendorf submitted in his report after making in depth study on Gonds.³⁸ The Nizams of Hyderabad as a part of reconstructive measures has passed series of Acts like Money lenders Act of 1940, Debt conciliation Act of 1940, and Prevention of Agricultural land alienation Act. In 1944 the Nizam's government was faced with two alternatives. It could follow a policy of *laissez faire* and allow the deterioration in the tribals status to continue with the result that within a few decades the majority of Gonds would have become a floating population of landless agricultural labourers and subtenants devoid of any occupancy rights or it could settle the tribesmen as a stable peasant community secure in the possession of the land they tilled. The government decided on the second alternative and embarked on a bold policy of tribal rehabilitation. This involved above all a solution of the land problem by the grant of patta to as many of the tribals as could be accommodated on land under the control of government.

State administration started the programme with the appointment of special Tribes officer for Adilabad. Even today the tribals immensely adore the activities of

prof. Haimendorf, the then Adviser to H.E.H the Nizam's Government for Tribes and Backward classes in Hyderabad State. He studied properly and devised schemes that could really bring welfare to them. The social service department owes its origin to his interest and intense efforts were made towards tribal uplift. Under this government was advised restore all the cultivable land taken from tribes as soon as possible. He even advised for providing of health and education facilities in tribal areas with immediate effect. The culmination of the entire tribal policy of Hyderabad state was the promulgation of an act known as the 'Tribal Areas Regulation Act', 1356 Fasli (1946).³⁹ This regulation empowered the government to make such rules as appear to them to be necessary or expedient for the better administration of any notified tribal area in respect of tribals and of their relations with non tribals. The substance of this regulation was incorporated in the *Hyderabad Tribal Areas Regulating Act, 1949* and the rules giving effect to this provisions were issued by the revenue department under the title 'notified Tribal Areas Rules 1359 Fasli or 16th November 1949'.⁴⁰ This act provides all necessary provisions and forbids non tribals from occupying tribal lands and state also notifies all those regions where large chunk of tribal population reside to enact this regulation in the welfare of tribes. The revolt of 1940 in Adilabad district has succeeded in jolting the state administration from deep slumber. Unable to bear exploitation and their loss of liberty to outsiders tribes of Adilabad has raised the banner of revolt. Though governments are changing but their treatment towards tribes and forest has not changed. Nothing constructing efforts has been done by any governments (from ethnocentric point of tribes and ecology) and every new law is increasing the intensity of sufferings. As a result many indigenous communities were lead on the road towards extinction.

Wherever in India one goes, the aboriginals were exposed unprotected to contacts with more dynamic races (both tribes and non-tribals), they were losing their land, their economic freedom and often their cultural heritage and self respect only to gain features of a somewhat fuller dress, a taste of new food varieties, household goods and perhaps a familiarity with another language and some rites of another religion. What the aboriginal needs is education, medical help and instruction in better economic methods. Many years of neglect and exploitation has left them wary and weary of outsiders. If we think the protective rules and enactment of laws could solve aboriginal problems then it will be a misconception. The 1981 Gond uprising at Indervelli in Adilabad district is good example that breaks such misconceptions. Therefore, the intention of problem should not be perceived simply from economical angle but it should also be asserted from Psychological, social and ecological angle. Had a policy similar like that of north east been consistently applied to the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh, the fate of Gonds, Koyas, Kolams and Konda Reddis would also have been a happier⁴¹. Tribes such as Apa Tanis and aborigins of Adilabad (Gonds, Kolams, Pardhans, Mannes etc) are two typical examples who stand today at opposite ends of a spectrum which reflects the various possibilities for the development of tribal societies while the Apa Tanis are clearly set on an upward path, the Adilabad aborigins are threatened by an apparently irreversible decline in their fortunes. Even after Independence, Governments have not learnt lessons from past and are contributing for irreversible loss that is questioning the sustenance of aboriginal tribes in this district.

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