

Man and Forest interface and the World View: Tribal People in Pachmarhi Biosphere Reserve zone

Arup Ray* and D. N. Pandey**

*Anthropological Survey of India, Head Office, 27, Jawaharlal Nehru Road, Kolkata-700016.

**Anthropological Survey of India, Central Regional Centre, C.G.O. Complex, Block-A, 1st Floor, Seminary Hills, Nagpur-440006.

Abstract

Worldview may be considered as psychic inertia for driving the life. Thus, the underlying truth beneath worldview in cultural spectrum may give the direction to decide the adaptive strategy in new set up. The main reason is that the culture is a dynamics, which gets reincarnated in changing situation. The worldview is nothing but the inherent doctrine of the people searching the direction of life. It can be concluded that the worldview of the people residing inside a biosphere reserve is regulated by two ways: one is the traditional beliefs and perceptions and second the present circumstances which may bring certain restrictions. This article intends to study the kaleidoscopic spectrum of the life of two tribal communities' viz. Gond and Mawasi inhabiting the core zone of Pachmarhi Biosphere Reserve (PBR) through the study of world view embedded in the cultural horizon.

Key Words: World View, Biosphere Reserve, Core, Buffer, Forest, Timber, Tourism, indigenous.

An active cultivation of peace with an understanding of the underlying causes of conflict to move away from polarising nationalistic or ideological identities may often end in bloodshed"

-Prof. Amartya Sen ('Hitavada', 14th June, 2006).

The issue raised indeed will thrill the mind of anybody. Indeed we are well aware of the situation of displacement of the indigenous people in India due to urge for conservation of biodiversity and various mega projects. Since 1950 to 1990 near about 2 core 13 lakhs indigenous people are displaced due to the above reasons (Goutam Roy, 'Anadabazar Patrika', 14th June, 2006). From a broader perspective the situations prevailing in Pachmarhi area is similar to above pan Indian context.

Conceptual Framework:

There are two approaches in Cultural Anthropology in regard to society and ecology. The first one is "Formal Structural Approach" which emphasis on ideal aspects of society, social system or activity which is thought to be contributing to the maintenance of 'Social Structure' (Radcliff Brown, 1948).

The second one is "Ecological Approach" which emphasis on adaptation of the subsistence technology with the environmental ecology and the on going social system (Steward, 1955).

The two principal approaches have the limitation to project a comprehensive dimension. In both the approaches, the society is conceived of 'Structural - Functional entity with interaction to ecology'. Where as little or no attention is given to the ideas and sentiments of the people towards their society (Adhikary 1984: 5). Beside these two approaches many Cultural Anthropologists have given attention and effort to characterize the whole culture in abstract forms. They derived as many as concepts and technical terms viz. 'Ethos' (Bateson, 1936); 'Theme' (Opler, 1945); 'Pattern' (Benedict, 1949); 'Assumptions' or 'Postulates' (Hoebel, 1958). However, they have not used the term 'World view' to explain the underlying expression of the culture.

The term World View was first used by Sol Tax (1941) in his book "World view and social relations in Guatemala". He defines worldview as 'the mental apprehension of reality', which includes total knowledge and beliefs about nature and man. Later, Redfield used the term 'World View' in 1952-53 in the article "The Primitive World View" (published in 1962).

In nutshell the main contention of Redfield is as follows:

- ◆ Every human being differentiates himself/herself from other human being by classifying two categories viz. 'Intimate and Similar' as well 'Distant and Different'.
- ◆ Secondly, category and classify the non-human entity or nature or space.
- ◆ The crisis management or unresolved entities are considered as supernatural by two ways i.e. religion by virtue of god and occult beliefs or practices.

Similarly, Mendelson (1968) conceives worldview as a combination of three systems - cognitive, attitude and action systems. Geeztz (1968) states worldview is a peoples 'picture of the way things ----- their concept of nature, of self, of society'. Johns (1972) reviews different approaches to worldview and says that at the level of common denominator it involves beliefs. Douglas (1973) in her book "Natural Symbols" equates cosmology with worldview and says that each cosmology and each world view 'has its hidden implications'.

Kearney (1975) defines worldview from a new dimension. He categorically differentiates the cognitive Anthropological approaches and worldview. He stressed that the worldview is different from the principles of cognitive Anthropology (which includes 'ethno science' and 'ethno semantics') in three ways. Firstly, to view culture by giving prominence to non-verbal behaviour; secondly, not entirely concentrating on folk taxonomy or classification rather incorporates other ideas and concepts; thirdly, giving much concentration on underlying implicit concepts on causality, time or human nature etc. Thus, his dimension was based on functional worldview rather static one. Ashim Kumar Adhikary (1984) in his book 'Society and World view of the Birhor' explore the whole meaningful world of the people and comprehend their mental state through the relation between the confronter and confronted forms as an important aspect.

On the basis of the above theoretical formulations the proposition of world view is based on emphasizing three major aspects viz. (a) Society and external domain; (b) People's understanding on non human entity i.e. nature, cosmology and space (broadly the universe); (c) Beliefs associated with the supernatural domain. The proposed study scheme has the objective to look towards the concepts and assumptions of the people on two focal points empirical or real issues as well imagination or ideas belong to abstract level. Therefore, the present study on 'world view of a Biosphere Reserve' is based on both real and supernatural domains.

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Dichotomy between core and buffer: Cultural Anthropology verses Biosphere Reserve:

- ◆ The definition of core in terms of German diffusion school of Cultural Anthropology is meant an area from where specific cultural traits are originated.
- ◆ Buffer in the backdrop of above proposition is the area where the cultural traits diffused from the core or the centre of origin.
- ◆ On contrary, the core in respect of a biosphere reserve is the specific area where effort is being made to conserve the gene pool and the buffer is the area, which gives the conducive support to the core area.
- ◆ Again, this proposition is a paradox when the both core and buffer zones of a biosphere reserve comes under a tiger reserve because human and tiger cannot live side by side.
- ◆ Therefore, it may create confusion while put the core and buffer concept of diffusion school in the context of a biosphere reserve. In a biosphere reserve core and buffer are the administrative demarcation of a forest for conservation purpose. On contrary, in Cultural Anthropology the terms core and buffer are used to understand the propagation of cultural traits.

Mainly two indigenous populations Gond and Mawasi inhabited in the core area villages. They are living in the Pachmarhi forest from the time immemorial. The socio-cultural matrix of these tribal groups is closely associated with eco-cultural set up of the Pachmarhi forest. The periphery of the cultural network of these tribal groups is spread up not only within the vicinity of forest of core area but also towards the villages of buffer zone of Pachmarhi Biosphere Reserve (P.B.R.). Thus, socio-cultural entity of these tribal populations is not only restricted within the core area of the P.B.R. but also spread in entire 'Tiger Reserve' area, as such the core zone and buffer zone is more administrative demarcation rather an eco-cultural division.

Pachmarhi Biosphere Reserve: A brief review:

Pachmarhi is a reputed hill station of Madhya Pradesh. Due to rich biodiversity and unique ecosystem of its adjoining regions, the Government of India has designated Pachmarhi as 'Biosphere Reserve' in 1999 (vide notification No.J-220116/17/94; dated 03.03.1999). Protected area of the Pachmarhi Biosphere Reserve (PBR) lies between 22°11' to 22°56' N latitude and 77°47' to 78°52' E longitude and partially covers three districts of Hoshangabad, Betul and Chhindwara of Madhya Pradesh. Total area of PBR is 4987.38 Km² and it envelops three separate wildlife conservation units, viz. Bori Sanctuary (485.72 Km²), Satpura National Park (524.37 Km²) and Pachmarhi Sanctuary 417.78 Km²). Among them, Satpura National Park has been marked as the core zone of PBR. The remaining area of 4462.93 Km² serve as the buffer zone. All the above stated wildlife conservation units together were declared as Tiger Project Area in 2000.

As per local legend, even 200 years ago, this area was covered with dense luxuriant forest, rich in flora and fauna and contained numerous human settlements in the form of tribal villages. The Mawasi and Gond mainly inhabit this region. This plateau was the summer capital of the Central Province during British period. Remains of the past era are still found in the Pachmarhi. In 1862, the British rulers established their Forest Department in India and observing the dense forest in the region, they decided to extract timber for commercial purposes. A summary of the historical background of the forest (Gazetteer of India, Madhya Pradesh, Hoshangabad, 1997:205-206 and EPCO, 1996:15-18) of this region is given below.

The old Bori forest located in the east of the Sonbhadra River was the first forest in India to be declared as a Reserve Forest. This area was confiscated in 1859 from Thakur Bhabut Singh (a Gond Chieftain) for his disloyalty during Sepoy Mutiny. As stated earlier this area was brought under the management of the newly organized Forest Department in 1862. During that period, the local aboriginal tribals used to practice shifting cultivation inside the forests, locally known as 'Dhaya'. Special measures for protection was taken in 1864 and in the following year the forest were notified as reserved under the Act of 1865. Four years later, a resident forest officer was placed in charge with headquarter at Harapala. Boundaries were demarcated and at Harapala a small teak plantation was established. In 1878, in order that a larger teak producing area might be included in the reserve, the new Bori forest, stretching from Sonbhadra to Kankri was added to the Bori range. Until 1889, practically no felling was attempted. Since then, annual cuttings of mature teak and tinsa (*Ongenia dalbergioides*) have been made in defined areas according to a systematic working plan. The forests of the other four ranges (i.e. Kamti range, Pachmarhi range, Bhoura range and Matkuli range) were first brought under government supervision in 1862 when they were notified under the wasteland rules. The cutting of certain reserved trees namely teak, saj (*Boswellia serrata*), shisham (*Dalbergia latifolia*) and bija (*Pterocarpus marsupium*) were prohibited; but subject to the provision of free access were granted on payment of an annual commutation fee and large areas were leased out in block. The need for closer control was soon apparent and in about 1868, some more forests were notified as reserved and brought under Forest Department. The remainder designated as the District Authority managed unreserved forests until 1878. Later on those too were handed over to the Forest Department. Commutation, except for the aboriginal hill tribes, was abolished and the license system introduced. Forest produce was only permitted to be removed from defined areas by fixed routes and each removal had to be paid for separately. Promulgation of Indian Forest Act was done by the British in 1865. This was again superseded in 1927. In each biosphere reserve, there are different zones which are carefully demarcated for the proper conservation of its natural flora and fauna, such are - core zone, buffer zone and contact zone. PBR has the following zones. PBR has no contact zone.

- a. Core Zone: Present core zone of PBR is about 524.37 sq. km. (i.e. the entire Satpura National Park area)
- b. Buffer Zone: An area of 4462.93 sq. km. around the PBR core area forms the buffer zone.

CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE LIVING IN THE PBR CORE AREA:

Indigenous tribal communities inhabited the entire 'core area' of PBR, from time immemorial. "The Ramayana and Mahabharata speak of the entire tract as a land of wilderness inhabited by demons, while religious hermits of Aryan races dwelt in hermitages in their midst" In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, many Rajput clans, who by Akbar's time probably had succeeded in reclaiming the Narmada valley for agriculture, infiltrated this vast land of the aborigines. The Gonds retired to the higher plateaus or slopes, to continue their hunting, and their own method of "Dhaya" or shifting cultivation.

There are nine villages in the PBR core area. Out of them eight are 'revenue villages' and the rest one is a 'forest village'. * They are mostly inhabited by two tribal communities, viz. (i) the Gond, and (ii) the Mawasi. Besides, a few families of Yadav, Thakur (Rajput) and Muslims live in a couple of villages. They are outsiders who settled there at a later period., we would describe background history of the Gond and the Mawasi only.

Gond

The word 'Gond' might have its origin from the words 'Gund' or 'Kund'. 'Kond' is a Telegu word which means mountain (Agarwal-1999, 300). In the opinion of scholars, they belong to the Dravidian stock and are the second largest tribe in India. Gond settlements in PBR core area are usually small and numbers vary from 20 to 40 odd families. Settlements are uniethnic in nature, except in Bariaam village where a few Rajput and Yadav families are observed.

In PBR core area, Gond clans are exogamous, of equal status and are characterized by the number of deities they worship. They never utter the names of their family or clan deities, not to speak to an outsider even not to another fellow Gond. They only mention their numbers. Numbers of clan deities vary from one to eight. For marriage negotiation, one party asks the other party about the number of clan deities. If they happen to worship same number of deities, then marriages will not take place. Clans who worship odd number of deities (i.e., 1, 3, 5 and 7) are collectively referred as 'Une' group. The worshippers of even number clan deities (i.e., 2, 4, 6 and 8) are referred to as 'Purhe' groups. Marriages among the 'Une' clan members are not allowed as they firmly believe that they have consanguine relation (albeit cannot be traced through genealogy) among themselves, i.e., 'Bhaibandhi'. Similarly the 'Purhe' clans also do not intermarry due to the same social restrictions. Marriage alliances are only allowed between the 'Une' and 'Purhe' clans. During field investigation in the PBR core area, the following clans were found among the Gonds.

1. Une Clans: (i) Arpanche, (ii) Bariba, (iii) Dhurbe, (iv) Erpachi, (v) Imne, (vi) Kakoria, (vii) Marskoley, (viii) Naure, (ix) Padram, (x) Sarbeyan, (xi) Saratia, (xii) Siyarsaran, (xiii) Vallabey.
2. Purhe Clans: (i) Barkare, (ii) Barkey, (iii) Batti, (iv) Eke, (v) Kumre, (vi) Porta, (vii) Tekam, (viii) Ukey.

Gonds are monogamous though polygamy is not prohibited in their society. Cross cousin marriage (MBD) is also practiced. Acquiring mate through negotiation is the usual practice. Gond marriages do not take place in the month of 'Pus' (December-January), 'Fag' (February-March) and 'Chet' (March-April). 'Ujli Pak' (i.e. full moon) period is considered to be auspicious period for arranging marriages. Marriage takes place in a specially constructed arena on the courtyard of the bride's house. Bride price is high among them and has to be paid both in cash and kind. If a youth does not have sufficient money to pay bride price, even then he may approach a girl's father to marry his daughter. If the girl's father finds the youth suitable to be his son-in-law then he makes an agreement that the youth would work for the girl's father as farm labour for 2-3 years without any remuneration. He will be given meals twice daily. During this period the youth, however, is not allowed to meet or talk to his would-be wife. If he can fulfill his agreement, the girl's father arranges for their marriage. The youth then gets two options. He may return back to his native village or settle in the wife's village. This is locally termed as 'Lamjane'. If a man has daughter only, then he may wish to keep his son-in-law in his own house. He may approach a suitable youth for his daughter. If the youth agrees then marriage is solemnized in the girl's house. This is known as 'Palak-beta Sadi' (marriage by adoption of son-in-law or marriage by staying in father-in-law's house). Junior levirate is also found among them. A Gond youth can marry the widow of his elder brother if she is in marriageable age and willing to that alliance. However, there is no social compulsion. But a man is not allowed to marry his younger brother's widow. Remarriage of divorced woman and widows are permissible. This type of marriage is locally termed as 'Ghar-baitha Sadi'. Divorce is permitted. Either of the couple can seek divorce. It is granted in a meeting attended by the village elders of both sides. If the wife is found guilty of

adultery or any type of gross misconduct, then the bride's parents have to return the bride price. Otherwise the bride price is forfeited.

Conception is considered as a natural phenomenon and the pregnant ladies do not face any restriction in food or movement. Only in the advanced stage, they are not allowed to participate directly in village rituals. Gond children are born at home. Older female relatives help in the delivery of the child. Umbilical chord is cut by a sharp knife and is tied by a piece of thread. Placenta is buried inside the labour room. The old lady, who acts as a midwife, digs a hole in the floor and disposes it there. The parturient mother is kept secluded with the newborn for six weeks. She is not allowed to do any household work. After this period, she takes a purificatory bath, worships her household deities and resumes her domestic responsibilities as before.

They usually dispose dead body by burying. They carry the dead body to the 'Morghat' (burial ground). It is generally located near a stream. While taking the dead body to burial ground they sprinkle 'Lajmurmuri', which contain puffed rice and small coins on the entire path. At the graveyard, they give a bath and thereafter place 'Panchmewa' (assorted five types of dry fruits, namely copra, raisin, cashew, almond and groundnut) in the mouth of the deceased as last food. While these are being done, the other people dig a grave. The shrouded body is then lowered into the grave and its head remains in the direction of the stream. Everybody puts a fistful of soil in the grave. Then they fill up the grave with soil. They also cover the grave with big stone boulders so that wild animals may not be able to dig into it. Apart from burial, they may even dispose the dead body through cremation, locally termed as 'Dag', though its frequency is less in comparison. In case of cremation, they collect 'Rakh' (ash) from the cremation spot after three days. It is kept outside in a flat dish for a whole night. Next morning they check that ash. If it contains any impression or footmark of any bird or animal, it is believed that the departed soul will have rebirth in that form. Pollution period due to occurrence of death lasts for three days. It is known as 'Teeja'. All the villagers and the relatives of the deceased visit the graveyard or cremation ground (as the case may be). A special dish consisting of 'Kanki' rice, vegetable curry, fruits and 'Mohua' liquor is offered there in the name of the deceased person. It is believed that, after being content the soul of the deceased starts its journey to the other world. After performing this rite, everybody returns back to attend the communal feast arranged by the family members of the deceased.

The Gonds of the PBR core area believe in many gods and goddesses and a few of them also belong to the Hindu pantheon. For example, they consider 'Shankar Bhagawan' as their prime god and 'Durga Devi' as prime goddess. Besides, they worship:

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| (a) Bari Mata or Bari Devi: | Forest goddess, to protect them inside forest. |
| (b) Chotti Mata or Chhoti Devi: | Forest goddess, to protect them inside forest. |
| (c) Kherapati Bai: | Forest goddess, to protect them and their agricultural fields from the wild animals. |
| (d) Siddha Baba: | Village god, to protect their drinking water sources. |
| (e) Gowal Baba: | Village god, to protect their domestic cattle from wild animals. |
| (f) Saj Ka Ped: | Tree god, a valuable auspicious tree, which has properties to protect them in any sort of problem'. |

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- (g) Hanuman Dada or Bajrangbali: Monkey god, protects them and their abode from any type of distress.
- (h) Seyane Burha: Ancestral god, to protect their families from any mishaps.
- (i) Bagh Deo: Tiger god.
- (j) Nag Deo: Snake god.

The Gond also believe in malevolent or evil spirits like, the 'Churel', 'Dakin' or 'Dain', etc. These spirits are believed to reside usually upon the trees in the jungle. They may cause harm to anybody who unknowingly passes under their abode and make them sick. To get rid of such afflicted sickness they usually go to a shaman ('Parihar').

Following the neighbouring Hindu castes, they also observe Diwali, Maha Shivratri, Nagpanchami and Navratri festivals and attend fairs organized at the nearby urban centres.

Mawasi

In terms of population number the Mawasi are the largest scheduled tribe population in the PBR core area. They live in Badkachar, Binora, Kajri, Ghoranar, Pagara Dhana and Rorighat villages. Besides that, one Mawasi couple live in the multi-ethnic Bariaam village. According to the published literature, the Mawasi happen to be the largest sub-group of the Korku tribes of Madhya Pradesh (Tiwari and Sharma-1994, 74-75). They are also referred to as 'Mowasi'. It means 'the inhabitant of Mowas', a country which in the opinion of the Marathi people situated in the western part of the Satpura Hills. To them, it meant a 'troubled country' resident of which occasionally used to come down from their hilly areas to the rich river valley areas for plundering.

Mawasi are endogamous tribal community divided into many exogamous 'gots' or clans. In the PBR core area, we found the following exogamous clans, viz. (i) Basaria, (ii) Basunda, (iii) Bhopa or Baithak, (iv) Bhusunda, (v) Darsama, (vi) Dhiku, (vii) Loba, (viii) Kajla, (ix) Kalam or Bhabai, (x) Kasda, (xi) Sakam, (xii) Silu, (xiii) Rajkar, (xiv) Takhan and (xv) Valem. However, it is felt that, the above state got list is not exhaustive. Perhaps in the Mawasi villages located in the PBR buffer zone areas many more such gots would be found.

Mawasi society is patrilineal where descent is recognized through father's line. Alike the Gonds, as mentioned before, the Mawasis also of this area refer to themselves as Mawasi Thakur. However, the other neighbouring ethnic groups describe them as Mawasi only.

The local term for pregnancy is 'Amal'. It is a natural phenomenon to them and they do not attach any special importance to it. Pregnant ladies do normal household duties, which includes going to the forest for collection of fuel wood. Delivery of child is called 'Jachki'. Children are born in the house. A midwife or 'Dain' helps in childbirth. An old lady or female relative, having enough experiences of childbirth, usually act as midwife. The midwife severs umbilical chord ('Nara') of the newborn with an iron knife. It is then tied with a thread. Powder of earthen tiles ('Khapra') used for thatching roof, is applied on the umbilical stump. The midwife digs a hole in the floor of the delivery room to dispose off the placenta. This process is known as 'Sudak'. The parturient mother has to remain confined in the labour room for one and a half month. After that 'Chokpai' (purificatory bath) is given to her so that she may be able to return to her normal life. Relatives such as maternal grand parents, maternal uncles, and father's sisters along with other lineage members are invited to bless the newborn child. This occasion is known as 'Badhai'. They unanimously select a name for the baby. In Mawasi family, there is no discrimination between boys and girls.

Negotiation is the most preferred for acquiring a mate. During negotiation, everything is discussed between the two sides in presence of their respective village council members and

elderly people ('Sheyane'). If elders give their consent then they finalize the negotiation by presenting Rs. 50/- or Rs. 100/- to the bride. This is called 'Pakka' or 'Hathlia'. After this, the bride's guardians do not have any right to settle her marriage elsewhere. The next phase is 'Sagai' or betrothal ceremony. It is performed as early as possible. It takes place at the bride's house. His mother's brother, mother's sister's husband, sister's husband and a few elderly persons represent the bridegroom's side from his village. In 'Sagai', the bridegroom's side is called 'Ganga'. Her brother's wife, mother's sister, and father's sister along with their spouses represent the bride's side. They are called 'Sabasan'. Main function of the 'Sagai' is to present a silver engagement ring to the bride. Any of the female members of the 'Sabasan' accepts the ring from the 'Ganga' group and insert the ring to the finger of the bride. After this, actual marriage may take place even after one year as the ceremony is expensive and both the sides have to make some preparation for that. After the finalization of the marriage date, 'Parcha' (formal invitation) is sent to all relatives and to all families in the village. 'Parcha' consists of a betel leaf containing a vermilion dot, areca nut, a few grains of rice and a small piece of turmeric. About two weeks before the marriage date, special protections are given to both the bridegroom and the bride to protect them from any type of evil spirits. To ward off harmful effects of evil eyes or evil spirits, the bridegroom carries a sickle with him in which a piece of red cloth remains tied to the blade. Similarly the bride carries areca nut cutter wrapped up in a piece of red cloth. During this period, 'Marowa' (special arena) is prepared in bride's house. A corner of the courtyard is selected for this. Surface is made smooth and even with several layers of cow dung and mud paste. Surrounding a central wooden pillar of a Sal tree, nine other pillars are erected. The upper ends of these pillars are joined with each other with the help of split bamboo. These bamboo splits form the infrastructure of the roof of 'Marowa'. It is then thatched with green leaves of mango and many other trees, which are locally available. 'Barat' (marriage party) reaches the bride's house one day before the ceremony. Marriage dress has special colours. Bridegroom wears yellow long shirt ('Kurta') and a folded piece of white cloth (1.25 m in length), which is kept hanging from his shoulder while the bridal dress consists of red or pink 'Sari' (loin cloth) and blouse ('Polka'). Both of them wear a special type of headgear made of 'Chhinda Jhar' (a particular type of bush). Properly dressed bridegroom and bride are then brought to the decorated 'Marowa' and they take their seats on wooden planks side by side.

After this, actual marriage ceremony starts. At first, the 'Parihar' (village priest-cum-shaman-cum-medicine man) worships 'Kherapati Bai', a local deity. After invocation of 'Kherapati Bai', the marriage ritual begins. Both the bridegroom and the bride circle around the central pillar of the 'Marowa' in clockwise fashion and tie 'Dhaga' (coloured thread) to the pillar. They do it five times amidst the 'Vamra' (i.e. the recitation of incantations) of the 'Parihar' (priest). By that way the first phase of marriage is completed. The next day after marriage feast, the marriage party returns to the bridegroom's village with the bride. Here the second part of the marriage is solemnized. A 'Marowa' is constructed in the courtyard of the bridegroom's house. Here again amidst 'Vamra' they take two rounds around the central pillar in the same manner as stated above. Altogether seven circumambulations of the central pillar are needed to complete a Mawasi marriage. On the next morning, the bride goes back to her parent's house along with her relatives. After a couple of weeks, the bridegroom's relatives go to the bride's village to take her back. Afterwards, the 'Suhagrat' (i.e. consummation of marriage) is celebrated. In the traditional Mawasi marriage, there is no custom of exchanging garlands between the bride and the bridegroom, which is an essential part of Hindu marriage in the neighbouring areas. In very few cases, the Mawasis at present go to Hindu temples to get married over there, mainly to cut down marriage expenses. As in these cases, they have to exchange garland so they are termed as 'Jaimala Shadi'. Alike the Gond, the Mawasi also practice 'Lamjane' (i.e. marriage by service) type

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of marriage with similar kind of terms and conditions. Beside, 'Palak Beta Shadi' (Adoption of son-in-law in the family), 'Pat Ruti Shadi' (marriage by elopement) 'Ghar Baitha' (remarriage of widow or divorced females) and junior levirate are found among the Mawasi.

The Mawasi are usually monogamous but having more than one wife (i.e. polygamy) is not prohibited among them. Locally this is called 'Patkar Shadi'. In 'Patkar Shadi', the wives may be two sisters or may be two different ladies having no relation between them. Alike the Gonds, the Mawasi also practice cross cousin marriage (MBD).

In Mawasi dialect, death is termed as 'Foth'. Body of the deceased is carried to the graveyard ('Morghat') by the relatives and the villagers on a bamboo stretcher ('Thatri'). Dead body is given a ceremonial bath at burial ground and then covered by a shroud ('Kappan'). In case of male, colour of the shroud is white, while in the case of female it is red. Then the chief mourner (usually son of the deceased) put 'Kutki' rice, ghee, turmeric, betel leaf and water in the mouth of the deceased. While these are being done, others dig a grave in north-south direction. The shrouded corpse is then put inside the grave keeping its head in the southern direction. Everyone offers a fistful of earth into the grave. The grave is then filled up with soil and the loose soil is made compact with the help of spade and stone blocks. They also cover the grave with boulders so that no wild animal can dig into the grave. Everybody then takes bath in the hill stream and return back to the deceased house. Family members of the deceased person offer them cup full of country liquor. On the third day after 'Foth', all the family members again go to 'Morghat' along with a few village elders. They carry 'Kutki' rice, 'Ghee' etc., (as mentioned above) and place those edibles on the grave along with some country liquor. This is known as 'Teeja'. Final post funeral ritual takes place on the eleventh day, which is locally known as 'Egarami' or 'Gatha'. Four days before the ritual, the sons of the deceased person go to every house in their village and put a few grain of rice along with a pinch of turmeric powder on the threshold. They then invite the household members to join in the ritual. On the fixed day, everybody comes to the dead person's house. The seven small pieces of bamboo are to be collected, which symbolizes the bones of the deceased. They are washed thoroughly, dried by a piece of cloth and placed on a new piece of cloth and kept over a mud platform in the courtyard. It is known as 'Jang'. They sacrifice a hen or a goat and its blood is sprinkled over the 'Jang'. They then put some rice over the blood stained 'Jang' and sprinkle country liquor. The sacrificed animal is then sent for cooking. The sons of the deceased make a bundle of 'Jang' by tying the ends of the cloth and carry that ceremonially to a hill stream or river. Adult male members of the village also follow them in a procession. Then the bundle is thrown into water. It is believed that from there, soul of the dead person becomes free from worldly ties with this ritual and starts its journey to the other world. On their return after the immersion of 'Jang', the communal feast begins. Food and country liquor are served to all. They procure a teak plank measuring about 30" in length, 10" in width and 2" in thickness. They scrape its surface with a sharp iron instrument to make wooden plank smooth and even. They then shape it like a flat cricket bat with a very short handle. This wooden plank is called 'Patia'. Then on one side they start wood carving. They carve out many designs, such as the sun, the moon, horse, human figure (single or multiple) in various poses, name of the deceased persona and so on. Making of 'Patia' takes a long time and whole night they remain awake. Next morning they rub turmeric paste all over the 'Patia'. In a basket they carry 'Patia', 'Gur' (molasses), a bottle of country liquor and a coconut. They go to the forest and place the 'Patia' ceremoniously under a special tree and worship it with the things mentioned above. Every function is done under the supervision of 'Parihar' (priest) and he recites incantations on this occasion. Each got (clan) of the village has a separate tree to keep their memorial wooden plank or 'Patia', which may vary according to the convenience of villagers. It may be a banyan or mango or neem and so on. As per their belief, the deceased soul becomes

happy with the offering of memorial plank and even from the other world protects them from any danger or difficulty as an ancestral spirit.

Alike, the forest dwelling Gonds, the Mawasis too worship many deities as mentioned below:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (a) Kherapati Bai or Kherapati Mata: | Village deity protects from disease and looks after all round welfare of the community. |
| (b) Hardul Dada or Hardul Baba: | Village deity protects their crops. |
| (c) Siddha Baba or Sidhmaraj: | Village deity protects water sources in and around the village. |
| (d) Kurupan Bai or Kurupan Devi: | Village deity looks after the welfare of the village cattle. |
| (e) Dongar Deo: | Hill god protects them in the high hills during honey collection and other related purposes. |
| (f) Bajrang Dada: | Monkey god, protects them from all hazards. |
| (g) Doval Deo: | Village deity looks after family welfare. |
| (h) Balkhan Deo: | Forest deity, protects people in the forest. |
| (i) Balkunwar Deo: | Forest deity, protects people in the forest. |
| (j) Badin Deo: | Forest deity, protects people in the forest. |
| (k) Keminte Devi: | Forest deity, protects people in the forest. |
| (l) Mailee Devi: | Forest deity, protects from epidemic. |

Besides, they also participate in many Hindu festivals of this region, such as, Dussera, Diwali, Mahashivratri and Nagpanchami.

THE CORE AREA VILLAGES:

In the PBR core area; there are two types of villages, viz. (i) the revenue villages and (ii) the forest villages. The revenue villages happen to be the old forest settlements. When the British declared these areas as 'Reserved forest', they imposed many restrictions on the age-old foraging system of these villages and at the same time made a thorough survey of these settlements and imposed tax on them to collect revenue. Since then, these settlements have been designated as the revenue villages. On the other hand, the forest villages are temporary villages with no fixed boundary. They were created by the colonial forest administration to get continuous labour supply in the extraction of timber from the forests. They mostly employed local tribes for this purpose. Alike other tribal areas of India in this area too, apart from homestead lands and some permanent cultivation fields, all the natural resources belong to the villages. They have community property rights (CPR) over those natural resources. Their utilization is regulated by the village council, e.g. selection and distribution of shifting cultivation plots among the families, burial ground, grazing ground, shrines of the village deities, and so on. Since 1977, due to various governmental regulations and acts, there has been significant erosion in their traditional communal property rights.

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The core area of PBR contains nine human settlements. These are, (i) Bariaam-Darmarrah, (ii) Jambudweep, (iii) Pagara Dhana, (iv) Ghoranar, (v) Badkachar, (vi) Rorighat, (vii) Kajri, (viii) Binora, and (ix) Pattan (Chittor Pattan). Among them, Ghoranar is a forest village and the rest are revenue villages. The following table (Table-I) will show about the loss of communal property rights among the above-mentioned 'core area' villages.

Table 1: Loss of community property right in the 'core area' villages in PBR

Sl. No.	Name of the villages	Total Area (in Htrs.) before 1977	Present area of the village (Htrs.)	% Of loss in CPRs
1.	Bariaam- Darmarrah	4977.420	110.698	97.78
2.	Jambudweep	180.901	1.986	98.90
3.	Pagara Dhana	2161.295	29.547	98.63
4.	Ghoranar	-	-	-
5.	Badkachar	1854.420	41.005	97.79
6.	Rorighat	829.609	214.891	74.09
7.	Kajri	1005.754	14.629	98.54
8.	Binora	764.202	61.697	91.92
9.	Pattan (Chittor Pattan).	-	-	-

Source: Collected from Satpura Tiger Reserve Project Office, Pachmarhi vide Forest Department Notification, Government of Madhya Pradesh, and No. F-15/22/76-10(8); dated 01-06-1977 (C.P.R= Community Property Right).

Total population in the 'core area' villages' during the present survey was 1451 (Male-745, Female-706), with sex ratio 948 females per thousand males. Village wise distribution of population along with their community, age and sex has been given in the following table (Table-2).

Table 2: Age, sex and community wise distribution of population in the 'core area' villages in PBR

Village	Community	0-5		6-10		11-15		16-20		21-25		26-30		31-35		36-40		41-45		46-50		51-55		56-60		61 +		Total		
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	T
Bariaam-Darmarrah	Gond	-	2	3	3	6	6	6	5	1	2	-	3	1	4	2	5	4	1	2	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	26	34	60
- Do -	Mawasi	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	5	
- Do -	Rajput	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2	7	
- Do -	Yadav	1	-	-	1	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6	5	11	
- Do -	Muslim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	3	
Jambudweep	Yadav	3	2	3	4	9	6	9	6	1	3	1	6	3	6	3	5	6	1	2	1	1	-	1	1	-	3	42	44	86
Pagara Dhana	Mawasi	12	14	8	14	7	7	8	1	2	7	4	4	5	5	4	4	2	1	2	1	-	-	-	2	2	1	56	61	117
- Do -	Gond	1	1	-	2	-	2	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	7	10	
Ghoranar	Mawasi	13	15	8	16	7	9	8	2	3	7	4	5	6	5	4	4	2	1	2	1	-	-	-	2	2	1	59	68	127
Badkachar	Mawasi	8	14	14	8	10	6	5	6	10	6	2	2	2	1	1	5	4	2	4	1	1	1	1	-	-	62	52	114	
Rorighat	Mawasi	17	16	18	17	12	10	8	12	9	13	9	4	3	6	4	5	6	3	2	4	4	3	1	3	4	4	97	100	197
Kajri	Mawasi	25	21	18	25	14	14	14	13	13	11	11	10	10	7	7	8	4	6	8	6	2	1	4	3	-	1	130	126	256
- Do -	Mawasi	24	19	16	20	13	7	8	7	11	10	6	5	2	4	7	4	4	4	1	-	1	1	1	1	-	2	94	84	178
- Do -	Gond	3	-	-	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	4	9	
Binora	Mawasi	27	19	16	22	13	8	9	7	11	10	6	5	3	5	7	4	4	4	1	-	1	1	1	1	-	2	99	88	187
Pattan (Chittor Pattan)	Gond	26	20	23	21	13	22	13	17	9	8	6	4	7	10	8	5	6	5	3	2	2	1	1	2	2	3	119	120	239
TOTAL		143	123	117	123	93	82	72	74	74	79	55	46	45	45	39	43	38	27	29	19	14	10	11	14	15	21	745	706	1451

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Bariaam- Darmarrah Village:

Bariaam- Darmarrah is situated about 9 km away from Pachmarhi town in the northeastern direction. It is a multiethnic revenue village; having 21 families (Gond-15, Mawasi-2, Rajput-2, Yadav-1 and Muslim-1); inhabited 86 individuals. Average family size of the village is 4.1, though different communities show different averages (e.g. Gond-4.0, Mawasi-2.5, Rajput-3.5, Muslim-3.0 and Yadav-11.0). Village huts are mostly mud built, thatched with earthen tiles ('Khapra'). There are a few brick built houses, which were constructed with state governments financial assistance before this village was declared as a part of protected area. Each house opens to the village street and has a sacred basil ('Tulsi') plant in their courtyard ('Angan'). In some huts lower part of the sidewalls are painted with chemical paints. Most of the huts have cowshed ('Sar') attached with them. These have wooden or bamboo sidewalls thatched with straw or dried grass. A few houses have covered latrines and others go to forest for answering nature's call. They collect drinking water from the village well. A tube well is also there. It is out of order for the last couple of years. For bathing, washing and other household purposes they fetch water from the Bariaam Lake. Due to lack of sufficient cultivable land, agriculture is not their primary occupation. They depend mainly on forest for collection of firewood and some other non-timber forest produces (NTFP). Villagers reported that they usually collect mango (*mangifera indica*) and 'Achar' or 'Chironji' (*buchnanania latifolia*) from forest and sell them to the agents at Pachmarhi town. They occasionally work for State Public Works Department during road repairing and for State Forest Department for the clearance of 'lantana bush' inside the Satpura National Park and Pachmarhi Sanctuary. During festivals, such as Mahashivratri and Nagpanchami, when thousands of devotees come on pilgrimage, they go to work in the hotels and shops at Pachmarhi town as daily wage labourer. Every year in May-June, they go to the plain villages around Pipariya to work as agricultural labour during the harvesting of wheat, soybean and so on.

Pagara Dhana Village:

Pagara Dhana is a multiethnic revenue village, situated about 16 Km away from Pachmarhi town in the northern direction. It is situated inside the Satpura National Park. This village show scattered settlement pattern. It has 23 families out of which 2 families are Gond and the rest 21 are Mawasi families. Average family size is 5.5. Each family live in mud huts with attached cowshed ('Sar'). Boundary of each house has fencing. Sidewalls of the mud huts are made of split bamboo strips or long dried branches of tree and plastered on both sides with a thick paste of mud and cow dung. Houses have rectangular ground plan, divided into one main living room and a patio (may be opened or closed on two sides). Main room is partially divided for kitchen and storeroom where grains are stored in big bamboo baskets plastered on all sides by a paste of mud and cow dung. Inside the living room they use string cots ('Charpai') for sleeping but majority of the people sleep on the floor around a fire, kept in the centre of the living room. Patio is an important place to them, where they receive their guests, neighbours and outsiders. It is also used for other purposes. Household grinding instruments both made of stone ('Chakki') and of hard clay ('Kunita') are kept in one corner. Stone grinder is used for making wheat flour and clay grinder is used for de-husking 'Kutki' (a locally grown cereal). On one corner, they make a hole and put a slab of stone inside. It serves as mortar for husking paddy. They use stout and beautifully carved wooden pole as pastel. It may contain mud racks on the sidewalls to keep things and wooden pegs for hanging clothes. Sometimes swings are found, used by the kids and the adults. Rearing of cows, goats and hen is also done. They do not sell milk in the market. They make ghee (clarified butter oil) and sell to the shopkeepers at Matkuli and consume buttermilk themselves. Goat and hen are reared for having cash during emergency. They grow tomato, beans, eggplant and chili in their kitchen gardens in small quantities, only for domestic consumption. They also go to forest in small groups for foraging. Apart from firewood, wild

fruits and other non-timber forest produces are also collected. In reality Pagara Dhana is a 'Dhana' (hamlet) of the Pagara village, which is situated on the eastern side of the Pachmarhi-Pipariya road. This village has no electricity.

Ghoranar Village:

Ghoranar is a uniethnic forest village, situated on the western direction of Pagara Dhana village, about 22 Km away from Pachmarhi town. It contains 17 Mawasi families. Average family size is about 6.7. Ghoranar is a flat village and its northern and southern boundaries are rocky. It has two perennial hill streams on its two sides. Due to rocky terrain, water from these streams cannot be diverted towards agricultural fields. All the agricultural fields are rain fed. Here the villagers depend mostly on foraging, rearing of domestic cattle and poultry birds (as reported earlier in case of Pagara Dhana village). Agricultural fields are protected on all sides by fencing. Fences are made up of thorny branches of trees and bamboo. Local term for the protected cultivation plot is 'Bari'.

Badkachar Village:

Badkachar is a uniethnic village, inhabited by the Mawasi people, situated about 16 Km away from Pachmarhi town in the northern direction. However, the villagers' do not use this route. They usually walk down through a very narrow shorter forest route over a small hill to reach Pachmarhi. It has 35 families. Average family size is 5.6 (for details vide appendix). A hill stream flows along the entire southern boundary of the village then bends towards east and covering the eastern side flows towards Pagara Dhana village. Agriculture is primary occupation of the villagers. They use stream water for irrigation. The other fields located in the central and northern part of the villages are rain fed. They grow wheat, 'Kodo', 'Kutki', gram and potato. They also grow eggplant, flat beans, chilly and a few leafy vegetables in their kitchen garden. Cow dung is extensively used as manure. To supplement their income, the villagers either work as daily wage labourers or collect firewood and other non-timber forest produces (NTFP) from the forest. At Badkachar too, the villages rear cow, goat and poultry birds to obtain cash during exigencies.

Rorighat Village:

Rorighat is a uniethnic revenue village, situated about 18 Km away from Pachmarhi town in southwestern direction. 44 Mawasi families inhabit Rorighat. Average family size is 5.8. Agriculture is the main occupation of the villagers. They grow wheat, 'Kodo', 'Kutki', mustard etc., in their fields. There is a hill stream on the eastern boundary of the village. Its water is used for irrigating the fields, which are on its close proximity. Rorighat is encircled by hills. Density of forest in the surrounding hills is also very thin. Villagers' often-clear lantana infested areas and practice shifting cultivation ('Dhaiya') and produces inferior quality cereals such as 'Kodo', 'Kutki'. Seasonal migration for short period, as has been stated earlier, to work as daily wage labourer is also found in Rorighat village. Besides they sell their NTFP collection regularly in Pachmarhi town.

Kajri Village:

Kajri is a multiethnic revenue village, situation about 25 km away from Pachmarhi town in the western direction. It is a bowl shaped valley inside the PBR core area, surrounded by hills on all sides such as the Nishangarh in the east, the Brijlaldev Hills in the west, the Dhotigarh in south and the famous Nagdwari Hills in the north. It has one Gond and 28 Mawasi families. Average family size is 6.4. Settlement pattern is scattered cluster. Kajri is a very important pilgrimage centre. Every year during 'Nagpanchami' festival (July-August), about 200,000 to

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250,000 pilgrims pass through this village. All the village houses are mud built, thatched with either earthen tiles or straw. Each house has covered patio ('Osari') in front. Size of the patios usually varies from 90 sq. ft. to 350 sq. ft. They maintain these patios carefully; Nagpanchami festival lasts for two weeks only. But preliminary agreements start well before that. Various reputed ashrams of Maharashtra state take part in this festival. Authorities of these ashrams come well in advance to erect their camps in the village. They inform the villagers about their arrival date at Pachmarhi town and the number of porters they require because they bring all food materials, oil, etc., not only for themselves but also for free distribution of cooked food among the devotees. Youths of Kajri village bring those materials as head load on foot from Pachmarhi to Kajri @ Rs. 100/- per head per day. The festival is observed during rainy season. 'Dharamsalas' (free guest houses for pilgrims) do not have sufficient accommodation. So the pilgrims stay on the covered patios in the village. Rent of the sleeping space varies from Rs. 15/- to Rs. 30/- per person per night. Not only 'Osari' and 'Pichhore', during the peak period the villagers even rent out part of their living room also to the pilgrims. On an average depending on the size of their patios, earnings of each family vary from Rs. 300/- to Rs. 500/- per day. They also sell firewood to the pilgrims (@ Rs. 10/- per bundle of 5 kg) who want to prepare their food themselves. The house owner also brings drinking water, etc., for the pilgrims. He gets a portion of food from the pilgrims in return as tips. So for the entire period of Nagpanchami festival, the villagers get free food either from the pilgrims or from the ashrams for which they work on daily wage basis. While leaving village, the pilgrims also give uncooked rice, wheat flour, cooking oil, etc., to the house owner, which remained unconsumed. These items, thus collected, provide food for each family for about 3 to 4 months. During festival time the villagers also set up various temporary shops for the pilgrims. Apart from honey, tea, 'Mohua' liquor, betel leaf, cigarettes, chewing tobacco packets, etc., they also sell candles, vermilion powder and sugar wafers to the pilgrims. They charge Rs. 100/- for a litre of honey-collected from the forest, Rs. 2/- for a cup of tea, Rs. 5/- for a glass (about 100 ml) 'Mohua' liquor or Rs. 40/- for a bottle of one litre and sell the other items with a little premium than the printed prices on their packs. There are two distinct routes for the pilgrims. Those who come from Chhindwara side pass through Imlidhana, Alimodh and Rorighat to reach Kajri on foot. Pilgrims from Maharashtra and other parts of Madhya Pradesh come to Pachmarhi town by car/bus. They come to Dhoopgarh by local jeep and then start journey on foot via Kalajhar, Nagphani to Kajri.

Apart from the religious tourism, agriculture is the other main occupation of the villagers. Majority of the agricultural fields are irrigated. They channelise stream water through plastic pipes to irrigate their fields. Rice, wheat, maize, 'Kodo' mustard seed, etc., are their main crops. They also grow eggplant, different types of bean and leafy vegetable in their kitchen garden. They also supplement their income through the selling of non-timber forest produce, cattle rearing and ghee (clarified butter).

Binora Village:

Binora is a uniethnic revenue village, inhabited by the Mawasi. It is situated in the southern direction of Pachmarhi town. There is a forest route from Rorighat village to Binora. Binora village has 41 families. Average family size is 5.8. The main village street runs from east to west. All the houses are mud built and face towards the village street and exhibit scattered cluster type settlement pattern. Each household has a cattle shed on its side. Agriculture, though soil type is very poor (i.e. sandy and full of gravels), is the primary occupation of the villagers. They use river water for irrigation. River lift pumps are also used in some cases. They grow wheat, maize, 'Kodo' and 'Kutki' in their fields. Even some of them practice 'Dhaiya' (shifting cultivation) by clearing lantana bush in the forest. Besides agriculture, they sell ghee and livestock

etc., in weekly market at Bhurabhat to supplement their income. They also collect other forest proceeds (though there is a ban on some items like 'Tendu' and 'Mohua' leaves, medicinal plants, edible roots etc.) and sell them to the representative of the agents at Bhurabhat. Making of country liquor is another important economic activity of Binora village. They collect 'Mohua' flower from forest. Dried 'Mohua' flower are kept in big vessels like iron barrels or in big aluminum vessels along with water. After two/three days, fermentation takes place. They take out the fermented liquid and distill it to make country liquor with their indigenous technology on the bank of the Denwa River. Mohua liquor has a steady demand in the surrounding areas. Moreover during 'Mahashivratri' and 'Nagpanchami' festival, pilgrims from Chhindwara district (Madhya Pradesh) and Maharashtra state often pass through this area. They mainly come on foot. They consume a lot of this stuff.

Pattan (Chittor Pattan) Village:

Pattan is a revenue village situated on the bank of Denwa River. It is about 126 km away from Pachmarhi town in the western direction. 48 Gond families inhabit Pattan. Average family size is 4.9. Arrangement of houses show linear settlement pattern. All the houses are mud built and thatched with earthen tiles, except the primary school building. In comparison to the other villages of the PBR core area, Pattan appeared to be more economically advanced. Agriculture is the primary occupation of the villagers. Agriculture fields are located both in the northern and southern side of the village. They produce two types of crops - 'Kharip' and 'Rabi'. 'Kharip' crops are 'Kodo', 'Kutki', maize etc. These are cultivated mainly in the northern fields during rainy season and the fields are less fertile in comparison to their southern counterparts situated at the bank of the Denwa River. Kharip crops mainly depend on rain. Occasionally water from the storage tanks is used to irrigate them. They use bullocks to plough their fields and use bullock carts to carry their harvest to the threshing ground, and lastly for threshing purpose also. The 'Rabi' crops are wheat, gram, mustard, etc. The villagers use diesel river lift pumps to irrigate their 'Rabi' crops. As stated before, Pattan too possess village shrine of 'Bajrang Dada', 'Goyal Baba', 'Siddha Baba', etc., which are important landmarks in a Gond village.

Jambudweep Village:

Jambudweep is a revenue village. It is situated about 7 km away from Pachmarhi town in the northern direction. According to the forest officials, Jambudweep is an uninhabited ('Viran') village and the same is recorded in their documents. Jambudweep is a beautiful bowl shaped valley. A single Yadav family inhabits it. Right before independence, a British administrator was in-charge of Pachmarhi area. He had an Indian valet ('Khansama') named Mr. Danish. Local people refer him as Danish Sahib. He was unmarried. He used to accompany his master during hunting. He visited Jambudweep area many times. During British period, a small check gate was constructed on the Jambudweep stream to stop water so that the washer men of Pachmarhi could wash clothes there. Mr. Danish liked the place and wanted to settle there after his retirement. So through his mater's help he was able to register some land in his name. He used to pay revenue taxes for the same. After his retirement, Mr. Danish took up farming at Jambudweep. Though his fields were well irrigated, production was relatively low, due to sandy soil. So he invited a milkman (Yadav) to come and settle on his land with his cattle without any rent. It was agreed upon that the milkman would provide cow dung to his fields and help him in his agricultural operations. It continued for many years and gradually Mr. Danish (in his old days) became fully dependent on the Yadav family. The youngest son (the present occupant) of the milkman was very fond of Mr. Danish and used to address him as 'Dada' (grandfather). Before his death, Mr. Danish transferred all his farms in the name of the present occupant who was a little boy. Since then, the present occupant is living there and paying his taxes and his name is duly recorded in

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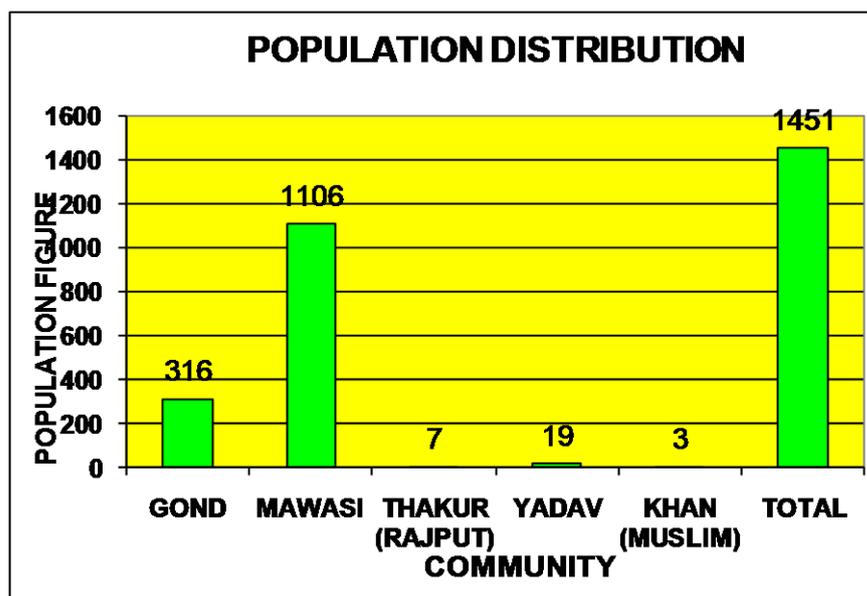
the register of the State Settlement Department. With the creation of Satpura National Park, this area came into core area of PBR. Forest department first dismantled the check gate where the washer men used to come for washing clothes. Then they ordered the Yadav family not to graze their cattle in the forest. Lastly they asked the Yadav family to vacate the land. As the person is having his 'Patta' (ownership record of the land) so the forest department could not evict him. They live in a very dilapidated hut, which may fall at any time. As due to court order, no new construction can be made inside the PBR core area, so the forest department is not even allowing them to repair their old hut.

In half of their land, they have planted mango and guava trees. They have also planted a good number of lemon plants. In the rest of the field they produce various types of vegetables like eggplant, spinach, mint, coriander, gourd, pumpkin, chilly etc. Besides, they sell milk and ghee (clarified butter) in Pachmarhi market.

Socio-Economic Condition Of the Core Area Villages:

To understand the socio-economic scenario of the core area villages of Pachmarhi Biosphere Reserve a total view on population characteristics and economic activities of the people inhabited is necessary. To depict the total picture in this respect a systematic presentation in brief way is furnished below. If we look towards the population distribution it is observed that Mawasi is the largest community (76%). Next to Mawasi Gond is another major community (22%).

Population distribution of the core area villages of the P. B.R.



The civil condition of the core area villages reflects an unique feature. More than half of the population (57%) is unmarried. Where as only 37% is the married population. The picture in respect of widow/widower and divorcee are 5% and 1% respectively. The following table will give a detail clear picture on marital status of the core area villages.

Table 3: Civil condition of population in the P.B.R. core area

Sl. No.	Village name	Community	Unmarried		Married		Widower	Widow	Divorcee		Total
			Male	Female	Male	Female			Male	Female	
1	Bariaam-Darmarrah	Gond	15	18	11	11	0	4	0	1	60
		Mawasi	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	5
		Thakur (Rajput)	3	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	7
		Yadav	4	2	2	2	0	1	0	0	11
		Khan (Muslim)	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	3
2	Jambudweep	Yadav	3	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	8
3	Pagara Dhana	Mawasi	36	37	20	20	0	2	0	2	117
		Gond	1	5	2	2	0	0	0	0	10
4	Ghoranar	Mawasi	39	30	21	21	2	1	0	0	114
5	Badkachar	Mawasi	59	55	37	38	0	7	1	0	197
6	Rorighat	Mawasi	76	68	48	49	6	8	0	1	256
7	Kajri	Mawasi	64	50	27	27	3	7	0	0	178
		Gond	4	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	9
8	Binora	Mawasi	76	76	36	37	4	6	3	1	239
9	Pattan (Chittor Pattan)	Gond	65	40	57	57	8	7	2	1	237
Total			447	385	268	271	24	44	6	6	1451

The economic pursuits of the core area villages are important and reflect the total picture on forest dependency in respect of economy. Except two villages (Bariaam- Darmarrah and Kajri) rest other seven villages are primarily dependent on cultivation. Bariaam- Darmarrah is a village adjacent to pachmarhi town. Due to locational advantage of the village as well as devoid of agricultural lands the village is mainly dependent on collection and sell of fire wood. Again, the Kajri village has taken advantage of assemble of large number of pilgrims due presence of shrine of 'Nag' deity. Religious tourism is the economic pursuit of the people of Kajri village. The supplementary economic activities of the people of core area villages are almost similar in nature. The next table will give a comprehensive idea on that aspect.

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Table 4: Primary and supplementary economic activities in the 'core area' villages in PBR

Sl. No.	Village	Primary Economic Activities	Supplementary Economic Activities
1.	Bariaam-Darmarrah	Collection of firewood from forest and selling it in Pachmarhi market.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Daily wage labour (clearing lantana bush in forest, road repairing, working as helpers in the shops and hotels of Pachmarhi town during festivals). 2. Cattle rearing and selling of ghee (clarified butter) 3. Renting out patios to pilgrims during 'Mahashivratri' festival. 4. Setting up of roadside shops during 'Mahashivratri festival'.
2.	Pagara Dhana	Cultivation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Collection and selling of fire wood. 2. Daily wage labour (clearing lantana bush, cleaner in truck, agricultural labour in plain areas during harvesting season). 3. Cattle rearing and selling of ghee (clarified butter) 4. Collection and selling of NTFP. 5. Selling of fruits (guava, mango, banana, etc.) from Orchard.
3.	Ghoranar	Cultivation	Same as stated above in the case of Pagara Dhana village, except selling of fruits.
4.	Badkachar	Cultivation	Same as Ghoranar village.
5.	Rorighat	Cultivation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Daily wage labour. 2. Collection of NTFP. 3. Cattle rearing and selling of ghee (clarified butter) 4. Setting up of roadside stalls during fairs and festivals.
6.	Kajri	Renting out rooms to the pilgrims during 'Nagpanchami' festival.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cultivation. 2. Collection of firewood for domestic use and for selling to the pilgrims. 3. Daily wage labour (work as porter during 'Nagpanchami'). 4. Collection and selling of NTFP. 5. Cattle rearing.
7.	Binora	Cultivation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Preparation and selling of country liquor from 'Mohua' flower to the pilgrims during fairs and festivals. 2. Collection and selling of NTFP 3. Daily wage labour. 4. Cattle rearing.
8.	Pattan (Chittor Pattan)	Cultivation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cattle rearing. 2. Daily wage labour. 3. Collection of firewood from forest.
9.	Jambudweep	Cultivation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cattle rearing and selling of ghee (clarified butter). 2. Selling of fruits from orchard. 3. Collection of NTFP.

Table 5: Educational status of the core area villages

Sl. No.	Village name	Community	Aganwadi		Illiterate		Can sign		Primary		Secondary		H.S./graduate	
			M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1.	Bariaam-Darmarrah	Gond	0	2	10	11	0	1	11	8	4	8	1	4
		Mawasi	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
		Thakur (Rajput)	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0
		Yadav	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	4	1	1	0
		Khan (Muslim)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
2.	Jambudweep	Yadav	0	0	1	2	2	1	0	0	2	0	0	0
3.	Pagara Dhana	Mawasi	12	14	19	24	0	0	17	19	8	3	0	1
		Gond	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	3	0	1	0	0
4.	Ghoranar	Mawasi	8	14	24	30	0	0	30	8	0	0	0	0
5.	Badkachar	Mawasi	17	16	28	40	1	1	36	34	12	8	3	1
6.	Rorighat	Mawasi	25	21	54	83	0	0	43	22	8	0	0	0
7.	Kajri	Mawasi	24	19	35	45	0	1	25	19	10	0	0	0
		Gond	3	0	1	1	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0
8.	Binora	Mawasi	26	20	50	64	2	0	31	35	10	1	0	0
9.	Pattan (Chittor Pattan)	Gond	24	16	65	70	1	1	34	18	8	0	0	0
Total			143	123	290	373	6	9	229	169	71	26	6	6

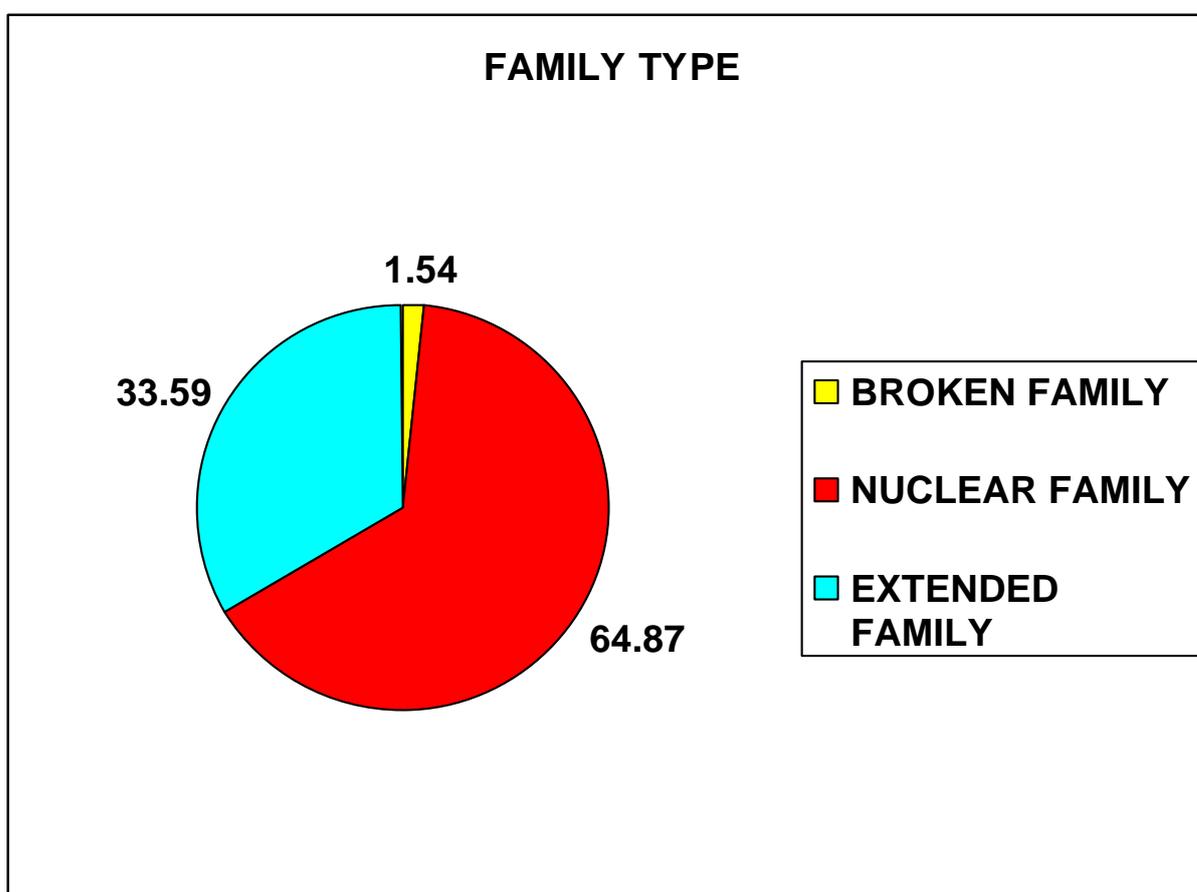
The above table has dealt with the educational status of the people inhabiting in core area villages of P.B.R. The table shows that 266 (18%) persons belong to the age group between 0 to 5 years and they used to go the 'Aganwadi' where they learn by play and get some quantity of nourished food. Thus, the educational status of this age group will be ascertained in future. It is observed that 663 (45.70%) are illiterate. Where as a large section 398(27.40%) are either attending primary classes or passed the threshold of any class between class I to class V. Only 15 (1.03%) are able to sign. 97 persons are either passed secondary examination or any class starting from class VI to class X. Even the students of secondary level classes are included in this figure. A small percentage 12 (0.827%) of the population of the core area villages are able to either cross or study the higher secondary/college level education.

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Table 6: Family size of the core area villages

Sl. No.	Village name	Community	Number of persons in a family				Total
			1	2-5	6-9	10+	
1.	Bariaam-Darmarrah	Gond	0	13	2	0	15
		Mawasi	1	1	0	0	2
		Thakur (Rajput)	0	2	0	0	2
		Yadav	0	0	0	1	1
		Khan (Muslim)	0	1	0	0	1
2.	Jambudweep	Yadav	0	0	1	0	1
3.	Pagara Dhana	Mawasi	0	11	9	1	21
		Gond	0	1	1	0	2
4.	Ghoranar	Mawasi	0	5	11	1	17
5.	Badkachar	Mawasi	0	14	21	0	35
6.	Rorighat	Mawasi	1	17	23	3	44
7.	Kajri	Mawasi	0	11	15	2	28
		Gond	0	0	1	0	1
8.	Binora	Mawasi	1	18	18	4	41
9.	Pattan (Chittor Pattan)	Gond	1	27	19	1	48
Total			4	121	121	13	259

Pie chart showing family type of the core area villages



If we look towards the family size and family type of core area villages we find an interesting picture. A lion share of the families is constituted by 2-5 or 6-9 members (93.43%). On the other hand 64.87% families are nuclear type.

Condition of tourism in Pachmarhi:

According to the old informants, entire Pachmarhi region happens to be a part of 'Shiva Kshetra' (holy area of Lord Shiva), which lies on both the banks of the holy Narmada River. In their opinion river Narmada is the most beloved daughter of Lord Shiva. Important Shiva temples, viz., 'Chauragarh', 'Jatashankar', 'Mahadev cave' and 'Gupt Mahadev' cave are located in this area. In the past these area was covered by dense forest. Even then the Hindu pilgrims used to visit these temples in small groups during festive occasions, e.g., 'Shivratri'. They used to take help of the forest dwelling indigenous tribe for their lodging and to visit these holy temples located deep inside the wild animals infested forest. There is another famous temple of 'Nagdeo', in the 'Nagdwar' Hills of Pachmarhi. Pilgrims used to visit 'Nagdeo' temple during Nagpanchami festival.

After the great Indian rebellion in 1857, the British administrators decided to strengthen their base in Central India. They had information that, Pachmarhi was the hideout of the Maratha soldiers led by General Tantia Tope. The local Gond chief, Babhut Singh had friendship with them. In 1860, the British took control over the entire region. Topography and climatic condition of Pachmarhi attracted them. Like most other hill stations of India, the British administrators started developing Pachmarhi as hill station. Gradually a small town came up with spacious bungalows for the British officers, a church and a cantonment. In course of time it became one of the most important hill stations of Madhya Pradesh. It was the summer capital of erstwhile central province (now Madhya Pradesh). Its reputation spread far and wide and more visitors started to pour in. Thus along with a centre for religious tourism, Pachmarhi also became famous as a centre of leisure tourism. Pachmarhi has more than a dozen of important tourist spots. Among them Forsyth viewpoint, 'Dhoopgarh' viewpoint, 'Handi Khoh' (a deep ravine about 300 m deep), 'Phansi Khad' (a deep ravine like 'Handi Khoh'), 'Bee' falls ('Jamuna Prapat'), Big falls ('Rajat Prapat'), 'Duchess' falls, 'Apsara Vihar' (Natural bathing pool), 'Twynam' pool (an artificial pool fed by natural spring), 'Pandav' cave, 'Mahadeo' cave, 'Gupt Mahadeo' cave, 'Jata Shankar' cave, 'Chauragarh' temple and 'Nagdeo' temple are most important.

After independence control of Pachmarhi town was given to two different organizations, namely (1) the Cantonment Board and (2) the Special Area Development Authority (SADA). In 1977, during the formation of protected area in Pachmarhi, adjoining areas of the township came under the control of State Forest Department and Satpura Tiger Reserve Authority. These continued up to the declaration of the area as a Biosphere Reserve. This arrangement of administration still continues. During this period to stop the damage of local ecology and forest, unplanned construction in and around the biosphere region and to stop the encroachment of outsiders into traditional tribal areas of the biosphere, some legal procedure was undertaken. Accordingly, Hon'ble Madhya Pradesh issued a stay order. Due to that stay order any new construction or renovation of the old structures cannot be undertaken at present. Luckily our period of field investigation coincided with the biggest religious festival i.e. 'Shivratri', in the month of March. It was observed that continuous streams of pilgrims were pouring into Pachmarhi town by various modes of conveyance. The whole township was choking. Some pilgrims stayed in the 'Dharamshalas', some in the open fields, some in the local hotels and so on. It was very difficult to move inside the town. The pilgrims started to come about a week before the actual festival. The local authorities arranged a huge fair on the roadside. They auctioned the

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place to the local inhabitants for the fair, arrangement of electric connections, drinking water, food, entertainment and so on. About 3 lakh pilgrims came during that festival. We were told that during Nagpanchami festival also, 2 to 2.5 lakh pilgrims come to this region. Due to lack of infrastructure these pilgrims usually suffers a lot particularly those who find no place either in the dharamshalas or hotels. These conditions creates health hazard to the inhabitants living inside the core area villages. Pachmarhi town is encircled on three sides by the PBR core area. The Mawasi people told us that after these big festivals, they offer special prayer to 'Mailee Mata' in the jungle so that no epidemic breaks in there because the pilgrims have hardly any proper sanitation system. The pilgrims usually stay near the hill streams. The human waste contaminates the hill streams, which is the source of drinking water for the local. Besides these two festivals, Pachmarhi also receives tourists almost throughout the year. In our modest estimate 8 to 9 lakh of people visit Pachmarhi every year. Due to High Court's injunction and the restrictions imposed by the forest department, infrastructure with modern facilities cannot be undertaken though Pachmarhi has immense potential for the growth of tourism industry. The problem is that some of these temples are located right inside the core area so during festivals lakh of people pass through the core area, which the State Forest Authority of the Satpura Tiger Reserve Authority cannot stop. This is a checkmate type of situation. There should be a balance between the promotion of tourism and conservation of local forest, wild animals and ecology. Unfortunately a considerable period of time has been wasted without any planning or implementation. It appeared that the state government organizations did not have any co-ordination among them.

Earlier it has been mentioned that when the tribal people lost their village land during the formation of sanctuaries and national park, they depended heavily upon cattle rearing, collection of firewood and other forest produces. This is causing huge damage to the local ecology. If this continues for another two decades, then the core area of PBR would face irreparable damages to its ecology. The State Government though decided that the villages would be displaced from the core area, no practical steps have been taken to its implementation. In the case histories reported earlier, it is evident that residents of some villages are willing to change their present habitat as early as possible. In the name of joint forest management, the forest department has prepared eco-development society in all the villages, which are lying defunct for many years. The measures taken for the prevention of soil erosion again are not adequate. Rate of natural regeneration of flora is considerably slow. Under these circumstances, it appears that what should be promoted is not being given due importance, on the other hand, perhaps the Satpura National Park Authority is fighting a losing battle. In our opinion tourism must be given prime importance so that profit generated from these industries could be channelised for the development and preservation of local forest and its ecology.

Tourism and core area villages:

The Kajri village of core area of the PBR has a great significance from religious tourism point of view. Kajri is to be considered as prime centre for 'Nagpanchami' festival where 3 to 4 lakh pilgrims assemble. The visitors from different places viz. Nagpur, Indore, Bhandara, Khapa, Betul, Amaravati, etc. Assemble to Kajri, which is the starting point of the pilgrimage route at 'Nagduary' hills. The visitors from Maharashtra usually come through Chhindawara town from where they start to travel for Kajri village by walk. The pilgrimage route is as follows: Chhindawara * Damua * Jhalmor * Imlidhana * Alimodh * Rorighat * Kajri. The visitors other than Maharashtra usually reach to Pachmarhi by traveling to Kajri through Dhupgarh hills. From Kajri the pilgrims start towards 'Nagduary' hill. At the onset of the route they pass the gate called 'Baraduar', where 'Ganapati' or idol of 'Ganesh' is worshipped. The route is as follows:

Baraduar * 1 km. east Nagduar (a cave) * 1 km. Pichamduar * 5 km. upward south Swargduwar * 1 km. downward * Chintamani * 5 km. south Dhuniwala * 5 km. east downward Nagin padmini (cave) * 5 km. east upward Chitrasala * 5 km. east downward Doodhdhara (river) * 1 km. downward Nandigarh * 6 km. downward Amragiri (cave) * east Kalajhar hill * east Dhopgarh * Nagphani * Pachmarhi. The pilgrims also visit 'Nishangarh' hill where 'Marutibaba' temple is situated. During 'Nagpanchami' forest department allows 20 to 25 days permission to the pilgrims to enter inside the reserve forest. Besides 'Nagpanchami' the forest department throughout the year also allows few other fairs. The list of these fairs is given below. The pilgrims for rest other fairs take shelter at Kajri.

'Rakhabandhan' (held at 'Bhadu' or August month; two days for two hundred persons are permitted for 'Chintamani'). 'Dusserah' (held at 'Kuwar' or October month; nine days for fifteen thousand persons are permitted). 'Shivratri' (held at 'Fag' or February month; four days for five hundred persons are permitted). 'Rangpanchami' (held at 'Chet' or March month; three days for nine thousand persons are permitted). 'Baishaka Jatra' (held at 'Baishak' or April month; four days for five thousand persons are permitted).

The economy of Kajri village is primarily dependent on tourism. The source of income of the Kajri in respect of tourism is manifold. Firstly, their 'Osari' or patio is used for guest room at the time of 'Nagpanchami' and other fairs. They charge Rs. 30/- per person per night. The size of the 'Osari' varies 90 sq. Ft. to 150 sq. Ft. Thus, one 'Osari' can accommodate 10 to 15 persons at a time on average. Therefore, from that source one family can earn Rs. 300/- to 500/- per day at the time of 'Nagpanchami'. The second source is the shops at the village during the fair. Tea and snacks, grocery, liquor, fuel wood is sold to the pilgrims by these shops. The price of these items is as follows: a cup of tea is Rs. 2/-, a glass of liquor is Rs. 5/-, a bottle of liquor is Rs. 40/- and a bundle of fuel wood is Rs. 10/-. The third source is the work of porter. The young generation of the village and other nearby villages engages as porters for the pilgrims at the time of fairs.

Nature of dependency on forest:

The non-timber forest produce is important. 'Mahul patta' or the leaves of 'Mahul' tree are collected from the forest to make plates and bowls. 'Rambauri' is a typical grass, which is used to make broom. 'Mahua' (*Bassia latifolia*) is a plant, which is used in diversified ways. The flower is used for preparation of liquor. The fruits are used after frying. They prepare oil from the seeds or 'Koina' and used to light the lamp in their houses as well to kill the insects. They collect 'Baber' grass from forest to make rope. 'Achar' (*Buchananania latifolia*) is a common tree in the forest. The fruits are collected and kept in water, afterwards dried. The dried fruits after broken create small sweet balls called 'Chirangi'. 'Amre', 'Churna', 'Harre', 'Bahero', 'Jamun' and 'Am' trees are available in large number in the forest. They collect fruits of these trees. They collect the leaves and fruits of 'Tendu' tree. After drying of leaves of the 'Tendu' tree they make 'Bidi'. The fruits are used as food material. They collect the honey from the forest despite the restriction.

Timber Extraction:

The extraction of timber from the forest is most important aspect in respect of forest dependency. One common proverb is applicable to all forests. 'The forest can satisfy the need but not the greed.' the forest department has imposed the prohibition on any type timber extraction for sell to the market. The people living in the core area villages are allowed to collect the dry

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wooden logs for their consumption but in any case the sell of timber to the market is prohibited. We have found a good quantity of wooden logs both dry and wet (collect after cutting of trees) are collected by the people of these villages (particularly Bariam, Pagara Dhana and Ghoranar) and sell to the Pachmarhi market. The most of all establishments and houses in Pachmarhi town use the timber as a fuel to prepare their food.

The people of above mentioned three villages are entirely dependent on selling of the timber wood to the Pachmarhi town due to the locational advantage. We have taken an estimation restricted on three villages on the data in this respect. In Bariam, Pagara Dhana and Ghoranar villages there are 58, 56 and 52 persons respectively (age limit from 18 to 60 years) who used to collect in alternate day 20 kg timber at a time. 166 persons collect 20 kg timber for 144 days in a year means $20 \times 166 \times 144 = 478080$ kg or 4780.80 quintal. Again, in Kajri village (which is the centre place for 'Nagpanchami' festival) the people collect the timber wood throughout the year and store for sell to the pilgrims because the 'Nagpanchami' festival is celebrated at rainy season.

In Kajri village there are 76 persons within the age limit of 18 to 60 years. In the same calculation they collect $20 \times 76 \times 144 = 218880$ kg or 2188.80 quintal timber wood in a year. Summing up the two conditions approximately 7000-quintal timber wood is extracted in every year in the core area. Day to day this quantity will increase automatically. Anyone can assume how much timber wood has been extracted from the forest from the above-mentioned example. Even, beside that we observed a large number of pilgrims have camped here and there in and around Pachmarhi (Pachmarhi to 'Mahadev' hill, 'Bhurabhagat' to Binora) at the time of 'Mahashivratri' festival. They cooked their food by using timber wood available in the surrounding.

The use of forest is not only restricted to the economic activities and material culture level but also in social functions of the people of these villages mainly the Gond and Mawasi. They used the forest to some extent in their rituals. At the time of marriage the arena or 'Mandap' is constructed by the help of 'Sal' tree, 'Chinda Jhar' (a kind of bush) is used as headdress of bridegroom. After death the dead body is carried to the burial ground by a bier known as 'Thatri', which is made up of bamboo and a creeper called 'Kusum'. At the time of 'Gatha' ritual of Mawasi they prepare a wooden structure called 'Patia' which is made up of teak tree.

Table 7: Use of forest material in respect of life cycle ritual

Sl. No.	Community	Type of forest material	Remarks
1.	Gond	Trees viz. 'Am', 'Jamun', 'Gunga', 'Mahua'	To prepare 'Mandap' or arena for marriage ritual
2.	-Do-	Trees viz. 'Khakra', 'Kem'	To make central pole where actual marriage function takes place
3.	Mawasi	'Sal' tree	To make central pole and nine other pillars in regard to marriage ritual
4.	-Do-	Trees viz. 'Am', 'Jam'	To make roof of 'Marowa' or arena for marriage function
5.	-Do-	'Chinda Jhar' bush	To make head dress of groom
6.	-Do-	Bamboo	To make structure of

			'Thatri' or bier to carry dead body
7.	-Do-	'Kusum' creeper	To tie the bamboo strips of 'Thatri'
8.	-Do-	'Charo' wild grass	Spread on 'Thatri' or bier
9.	-Do-	Bamboo	To prepare 'Jang' or idol of the dead person in regard to one death ritual 'Gatha'
10.	-Do-	Teak wood	To make wooden memorial board for 'Gatha'

Worldview of the indigenous people of the core area of the P.B.R.:

The life of the villages is very hard due to two reasons. The first reason is the restriction imposed by the forest department on them in respect of procurement of forest produce and other activity to conservation purpose. The second reason is constrain of lands in the forest for the agricultural activities. Thus, these two vital aspects determine the worldview to a great extent. Few aspects in respect of worldview are common irrespective of community affiliation. These aspects are discussed below. The dissatisfaction of the village people over the way of demarcation of territorial boundary by the help of 'Munara' or pillar by the forest department is one major concern. They termed the encroached land beyond the 'Munara' as 'Thelua Jamin'. They feel that they have no legal right over these agricultural fields, which they have prepared over time and space. This feeling of insecurity hardens their life so much that they could not expand their agricultural fields as well the houses. The first aspect is to determine what their plights are. They are reluctant to answer because they fear that the options, which are still exploring may be stopped. Despite that we were able to find out these options. They still collect the 'Mahul' leaves in forest and prepare plates and bowls in bulk quantity and supply to the market regularly. The forest department has imposed ban on hunting, fishing, and collection of 'Mahul' and 'Tendu' leaves, honey, medicinal plants and fuel wood for sell. They can procure few forest produce only for own consumption. Before promulgation of protected forest the village people used to practice 'Dhaya' or shifting hill cultivation. The 'Dhaya' is now totally banned. However, still they practice 'Dhaya' in certain hills where *Lantena camera* grow. Forest department would not prevent this practice because by virtue of that *Lantena camera* is destroyed. This species is harmful for the growth of forest.

People's view on the changes due to the formation of Biosphere Reserve:

While asked about the changes the general answer is follows. "Before the declaration of park some wild animals used to come near vicinity of the village, now we do not see any wild animal. Where is the density of forest? If you could able to see our previous 'Dhaya' fields, you might understand how dense forest in and around the fields. Unfortunately, you observe thin forest everywhere." The question might be come into mind how far true their version and if it is true then for what. To testify the above proposition firstly, we observed that their huts are in broken condition, secondly, cattle and goats are going to the forest safely, thirdly, even for collection of fuel wood and forest produce they move as a team of husband and wife usually. While put these facts towards them and asked whether they feel safe from wild animals both in village and forest, they replied cum and quite way where is the danger from wild animals. They

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do not see them in recent past. We could not find any case of incidence of wild animal killed their cattle in past five years. During our stay we observed deer, bison, wild boar, monkeys and wild dogs in restricted area. In a forest where the man and cattle freely move, no case of killing of any cattle in recent past, the villages are completely open towards forest; presence of large-scale herbivorous animals put a question mark whether this forest is a real tiger reserve or a myth.

Use of medicinal plants:

The core area villages are devoid of any health centre. The only hospital at Pachmarhi is far from their villages. Thus, they are completely dependent on the medicinal plants, which are exclusively available in forest. According to them the Pachmarhi forest is the heaven of medicinal herbs and roots. They can use these for their own requirement. Under any circumstance they are not allowed to sell these to the outside market. However, we found the shops in Pachmarhi town where the herbal medicines and honey are sold to the local people and tourists. Even, during the 'Mahashivratri' festival a large number of sellers openly sell the various medicinal roots, shrubs etc. The following table will help to understand how they use the herbs and roots for their ailments.

Table 8: The use of medicinal plants

Sl. No.	Name of the Medicinal plant	Parts used	Function
1.	Ghurmar	Leave	Control sugar or diabetes
2.	Sauri ka chal	Skin of a tree	Cure skin disease
3.	Daul chaldi	Root	Purify blood and eye ointment
4.	Brahmi	Leave (paste)	Increase intelligence
5.	Sauri ka gad	Resin (paste)	Cure diarrhea
6.	Chana buti	Leave	Cure urine infection and kidney stone
7.	Kurna chitu	Leave	Cure malaria
8.	Harjuri	Leave (paste)	Heal of fractured bone
9.	Bije ka jhar	Resin (consumed after boiling of water)	Cure internal injury
10.	Maida chal	Skin (powder put into sugar)	Cure diarrhea
11.	Semra chal	Skin (powder put into sugar)	Cure bacillary dysentery
12.	Chiraita	Skin and root (put into water overnight)	Consume the water to purify blood

View on animals of forest:

The core area villages are completely open towards the forest, whereas, the agricultural fields are protected from wild animals particularly deer, wild boar, bison etc. by the fencing. While asked about their view on wild animals and trees they categorically replied on them. These categorizations are summarized in the following tables.

Table 9: Types of birds and their relation with agriculture

Sl. No.	Name of the bird	Relation with agriculture	Nature
1.	Jangli Gega	Eat 'Pisi' or wheat	Harmful
2.	Pipola	-Do-	-Do-
3.	Hariyal	Consume fruits of 'Bargat', 'Pipal' and 'Ghadan' trees	Neither harmful nor beneficial
4.	Knowa	Eat 'Pisi' or wheat	Harmful
5.	Dhan Chiria or Kelai	Consume the guava	-Do-
6.	Tota	Eat 'Pisi' or wheat and mango	-Do-
7.	Galgai	-Do-	-Do-
8.	Forkil	Eat 'Pisi' or wheat after harvesting from field	-Do-
9.	Kakecha	Consume guava	-Do-

Table 10: Animals responsible for destruction of agricultural products

Sl. No.	Name of animal	
	English	Local
1.	Wild boar	Banda
2.	Deer	Hiran
3.	Rabbit	Khara
4.	Antelope	Sambar
5.	Rat	Musha
6.	Porcupine	Sai

Table 11: Types of grass beneficial for agricultural products

Sl. No.	Name of the grass
1.	Gunaya Ghas
2.	Kanda
3.	Sukra

The people of core area villages have a concept on soil types available in the forest. To get an idea on their domain of soil types the following table will help.

Table 12: Types of soil beneficial for agriculture

Sl. No.	Name of the soil type	Colour
1.	Bhurbhuri	Black
2.	Chikta	Black
3.	Teloala	Black
4.	Retili	Black
5.	Lalmitti	Red
6.	Potimitti	White
7.	Pilimitti	Yellow

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They have a traditional method to prevent fire in forest. To prevent the fire they dig a trench horizontally across the earth to a certain distant place from the place of originating fire. Afterward completely clear this so that the fire could not spread rapidly. They not only dig one trench but also repeat this process again and again.

Diagram showing traditional method of prevention of fire;

FIRE ORIGINATING PLACE
DIG THE TRENCH HERE
DIG THE TRENCH HERE

World view of Gond:

They divide cosmological objects into gender basis: Sun - male; Moon- male; Sky- male; Star- male; Earth- female. They consider certain directions as auspicious as well inauspicious: east and north - auspicious; west and south - inauspicious. They divide the whole year into three seasons viz. 'Garmi' (summer); 'Barsat' (rainy season); 'Jara' (winter). They divide the whole day into four parts viz. 'Bhunsar' (dawn); 'Duperi' (noon); 'Sanjha' (dusk); 'Rat' (night). They divide year into twelve months viz. 'Chet', 'Besat', 'Jeth', 'Ashar', 'Savan', 'Bhado', 'Kuar', 'Kartik', 'Aghwan', 'Push', 'Maha', 'Fagun'. They consider certain trees as auspicious for example 'Saj ka Ped', 'Bargat', 'Pipal', 'Tulsi', 'Bil', 'Dhutra' and 'Akauya'. Two trees viz. 'Emlia' and 'Bahera' are considered as inauspicious. They differentiate soil as 'Sera Mitti' (sandy), 'Kali Mitti' (soil for good yield) and 'Kapewala' (water needed).

World view of Mawasi:

They divide the cosmological objects on the basis of gods and goddesses which are as follows: 'Suraj' or 'Dinai' (sun) - god; 'Chandma' (moon) - goddess; 'Tara' (star) - goddess; 'Badal' (cloud) - goddess; 'Dartimata' - (earth) - goddess; 'Tufan' or 'Gaj' (thunder) - god; hill - god. They divide whole day into several parts viz. dawn- 'Bholchar'; sunrise- 'Subha'; noon- 'Din'; afternoon- 'Sam'; dusk- 'Din Bhugol Lago'; night- 'Rat'; mid night- 'Rat Bari'. The directions of earth are as follows: east- 'Kham'; west- 'Janaya'; north- 'Dindube'; south- 'Din'. They differentiate the colours as follows: black- 'Kale'; white- 'Safed'; gray- 'Godhe'; yellow- 'Piro'; blue- 'Lilo'; light green- 'Bhure'; green- 'Haro'; light yellow- 'Kabri'; red- 'Lal'. They consider certain trees as sacred viz. 'Bargat'; 'Mahua'; 'Amm'; 'Achar'; 'Jamun'. They differentiate 'Amm' or mango into following classification viz. 'Naryel 'Amm', 'Bugda Amm', 'Fuppa Amm', 'Mirchi Amm', 'Gayel Amm', 'Peyag Amm', 'Musur Amm'.

At the time of 'Mahashivratri' and 'Nagpanchami' festivals a large number people assemble in Pachmarhi. Mawasi believe that by virtue of that evil spirits enter in their houses. As a result they become ill. To eliminate these evil spirits they have taken a measure. This process or measure is called 'Nikashi'. At dawn they wake up and take 'Birri' or grain, poultry bird, paisa, coconut and a basket. They will go to a river or a stream along with these items. A priest will accompany with them. In the bank of river they sacrifice the poultry bird. All articles along with the sacrificed poultry bird within the basket float into the water. The priest recites the incantation

or 'Verma'. They believe that 'Melimata' will carry all evils and by this process they become free from all evils.

Conclusion:

The core area villages are divided into two categories viz. 'Forest village' and 'Revenue village'. The forest villages were set up at the time of British period to accommodate forest labours for extraction of timber. Thus, from administrative point of view these villages are under control of forest department. The revenue villages were set up in time immemorial and might be long before of British period. The people inhabited in the revenue villages have the right on the agricultural lands and to pay tax or revenue on that land. In any case if government acquires the land they have the right to get compensation for that. On contrary, we found most of the villages have crossed the territorial boundary demarcated by the forest department after the declaration of the protected area under the forest act to sustain their livelihood. The forest department has imposed various bans on them. Firstly, they can use forest resources for their own consumption only. Secondly, hunting and fishing are totally ban. Thirdly, they could practice agriculture within the restricted boundary. The population of these villages is increasing. To sustain in most cases they expand the village boundaries and collect minor forest produce and fuel wood to sell to market, which are strictly prohibited under the forest act. We have not heard any complain on killing of domestic cattle like cows, goats etc. by the wild animals in recent past. We have found a good number of cattle in the villages. The total number of cattle of the villages of the core area (Satpura national park) is 1457 (Ref. Satpura tiger reserve document; dated 01-01-2004). This may put a question mark whether this is ideally a tiger reserve or a myth. From long historical past the forest has been exploited. The density of the forest is becoming thin. The soil erosion is common phenomenon. The forest cannot sustain only on natural way of propagation, it requires meaningful scientific forestation. The contradiction between preservation of the nature on one hand and to protect the humanity on the other makes the situation is very difficult. The confrontation between the government machinery and human habitation in the Pachmarhi forest is one face of the problem. While the other face is the unique urge to sustain within a total adverse situation. These two aspects make the overall scenario of the core area villages as a unique one. The indigenous communities in the core area villages have a positive inclination towards tourism while an indifferent attitude towards act of the protected forest.

Therefore, in present scenario the people of these villages fighting with the adverse situation. They are devoid of any proper health care, education facilities. Even, due to the ban on hunting and fishing they are suffering a protein deficiency and particularly the children are malnourished. These problems cannot be solved in overnight. To solve the problem a careful and speedy measures are required so that both human habitation as well as forest could survive. Motivation is the one way to solve the problem. To continuation of the present state of condition will further aggravate the problem, which may create a social tension. A human face as well as the development of the villages in letter and spirit is required. The only declaration of 'Pachmarhi Biosphere Reserve' will not help to regeneration of forest and subsistence of the core area villages.

There are three areas viz. Biosphere reserve, tourism and indigenous communities living in core area of the PBR. The aim of the biosphere reserve is to sustain and conserve the ecosystem. The objective of the tourism is to provide scope to increase the tourism potential. On the other hand the indigenous communities in the core area villages want more right over the forest. In every sphere there is a dichotomy. The new construction is presently ban in the area due to the matter is in subjudice. This is creating hindrance in propagation of tourism potential. Again, some pilgrimage tourist spots come under the area of the biosphere reserve. Another contradiction is

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the land right of the tribal inhabited in the tiger reserve and ban imposed by the forest department.

As per economic dimension is concerned the core area villages are great extent dependent on forest due to locational advantage. The tourism particularly religious tourism is centred on the two forest villages (Kajri and Binora) and as a result of that these two villages closely related to the tourism activity on 'Nagpanchami' and 'Mahashivratri' festivals. Another village Pattan (Chittor Pattan) is economically very sound by utilizing the land of bank of 'Denwa' river through cultivation of various crops.

The worldview of the core area villages reveals the fact that the forest is the integral part in their life. The trees, mountains, water bodies of the forest are considered as sacred. They have own cognition in terms of season, direction, colour, flora, fauna etc. that shows their inclination towards the forest. The cognition level is centred in respect of the economic dependence on forest. Even, few life cycle rituals are closely associated with certain trees, bush, creeper, grass etc. of the forest, which signify their deep affiliation towards forest.

There is no doubt that forest has a great role in respect of conservation of eco system. At the same time the tribal groups inhabited within the forest may be considered as an integral part of the particular eco set up. The declaration of Pachmarhi Biosphere Reserve in 1999 and Satpura Tiger Reserve in 2000 has changed the social scenario to a great extent. The life of the tribal villages of the core area has been restricted and marginalized due to the declaration of these two conservation units. The presence of religious tourism in the core area forest has a long history. A large number outside people assemble in this forest tract for the two occasion's viz. 'Nagpanchami' and 'Mahashivratri'. Hence, the core area of the P.B.R. cannot be devoid of human activity in overnight.

The dynamics of the dichotomy in respect of human activity in the core area in terms of the existence of the tribal villages and religious tourism in one hand and rigid forest law and protected area prevalence rules and regulations in other hand makes a complex situation. A meaningful mutual solution is desirable. This could be achieved when the human resource of the forest can be utilized in conservation of the eco system. An active role of human resource in letter and spirit is required for that. Only promulgation of strict forest law and set up of eco-development society ('Eco-Vikash Samity') will not help to solve the problem. No body can deny the necessity of conservation of forest as well as the pristine nature of gene pool; at the same time it is necessary to evaluate the role of human set up within a particular eco-cultural set up in conformity with this above objective.

The study which encompasses the ethnographic details of the indigenous communities, the description of nine core area villages viz. Bariaam-Darmarrah, Jambudweep, Pagara Dhana, Ghoranar, Badkachar, Rorighat, Kajri, Binora and Pattan (Chittor Pattan), world view of these communities, tourism of the core area villages, dependency on forest etc. reflecting the spectrum of the core area. The spectrum reveals the fact that human element is the integral part of the entire conservation unit. There is a need to evaluate whether a complete elimination of human element from the conservation unit will be fruitful and conducive or not. Even a complete elimination of human activity from the conservation unit is possible or not is a big question.

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