

NON-PASTORAL NOMADS AND BIO-DIVERSITY

P.K. Misra

&

N. Prabhakar

**(Sudershan, E-583, J.P. Nagar, First Stage, 17th Main, Mysore - 570 008
pramodkm@vsnl.com)**

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**Sub-Thematic Paper on
Non-Pastoral Nomads and Bio-diversity**

P.K. Misra & N. Prabhakar

Introduction

How are they known:

Non-pastoral nomads have been referred to by a variety of names such as gypsies, travellers, peripatetics, service nomads, commercial nomads, non-food producing nomads, other nomads, symbiotic nomads etc.,.

Their Persistence:

Pre-historical, historical and classical literature have indicated that countless generations of rural, urban and pastoral populations have experienced brief but usually recurrent contacts with spatially mobile people indulging in a variety of occupations. Joseph Berland who has worked for many years among the peripatetic communities in Pakistan writes, “By relying on flexibility and resourcefulness, spatial mobility, and judicious combinations of specialized goods, services, and skills, peripatetic communities of smiths, basket and broom weavers, toy makers, potion and jewelry peddlers, bards, impersonators, trainees of performing animals, jugglers and acrobats, singers and dancers, beggars and prostitutes, have been pervasive and persistent threads running throughout the complex, and protean fabrics of South Asia’s social systems since the dawn of recorded civilization” (to be published in *Nomads of South Asia*, Oxford University Press).

Found all over

They have been reported from Africa, Asia, Europe and America but it appears that they are more numerous in South Asia, particularly in India and Pakistan, offering more kinds of goods and services.

Ancient Indian Literature

Ancient literature like Rigveda, later Vedic texts, Kautiliya Arthashastra, Tamil texts of Sangam period inform us of peripatetic ascetics, traders, craftsmen, entertainers, fortune tellers who travelled through towns and villages and serviced the ordinary folks (Berland not dated; Misra & Misra 1982). In spite of the fact that their presence has been noted widely and through history lack of information about them is surprising.

Lack of Knowledge

The lack of knowledge and general dislike and 'suspicion' about the mobile people have led the sedentary people to frame laws against their moving, camping and so on. Attempts have also been made to 'resettle', 'rehabilitate' and 'sedentarise' them. During the British period many of the nomadic people were viewed with suspicion and they were classified as criminal tribes and their movements were restricted. In spite of pressures the peripatetics have persisted through time in the different parts of the sub-continent. Obviously the question arises as to what makes them so. That is how they subsist, what roles they play, what skills they have, what kind of relationship they have with settled people and the environment and so on.

Over the past several decades, a small number of widely dispersed field studies in different parts of the world have begun to throw some light on these questions. Based on them let us briefly enumerate some general information about them.

Characteristic Features

1. Their presence has been noted all over the world, even in the most industrialised countries like America, but in such places their number is small.
2. They are extremely flexible and adapt different strategies to provide goods and services that are inaccessible to local population.
3. Their multi-resource economic activities compliment rather than compete with trader, pastoral, peasant or even industrial production.

4. Travelling is a condition of their livelihood, but its duration, frequency and mode has a lot of variety.
5. They tend to exploit socio-cultural-economic niche and may also combine it with the exploitation of natural niche.
6. All human settlements are potential opportunities to them. They device ways to gain access to them.
7. They develop appropriate skills to gain acceptance to the settled population.
8. Freedom, flexibility and resourcefulness are their special features.
9. They are generally multi-lingual.
10. Though the members of a group may remain dispersed in wide area for short or long period, they have fairly good idea about the movement of each section of their group and keep in touch with each other. In other words they are not a lost people. They maintain their group and identity.
11. The movements of the peripatatics, are not haphazard, they are well directed. If the two groups have the same occupation, then each group operates in a different territory.
12. All peripatetics identify themselves with some area as their 'home' base.
13. They are endogamous. In traditional rural society of India each group is treated as a caste. Restriction of inter-dining and inter-marriages were imposed on them. Though they were not treated as untouchables they occupied lower position in regional social hierarchy.
14. Generally each group has a strong council of their own. Almost all decisions pertaining to their domestic, social, economic life and about their movement are negotiated in the council. Intervention of secular forces like police and judiciary is not appreciated by them. The intervention however have made dent in the authority of their council and thereby the solidarity of the communities have been weakened to some extent.
15. The settled populations erroneously assume that they are constantly on move and they do not have any domicile. As a result they are deprived not only of welfare programmes, but also of citizenary rights.

NON-PASTORAL NOMADS IN INDIA:

The ethnographic studies of villages in India have made passing reference to the non-pastoral nomads. McKim Marriott while studying a village in UP wrote, "during one period of three months I counted forty-five different specialists coming to Kishangarhi from outside to provide goods and services; probably there were many more whom I did not count" (1955:179).

In June 1967 Misra undertook a quick tour of certain parts of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh to collect some preliminary information about the peripatetic communities visiting the villages. He covered the distance by jeep, and mostly remained on main roads. Altogether he met 40 different nomadic groups. He met them on the roadsides, on move or in camps near the villages and towns. They camped beneath a tree, under a cloth tent, temporary huts or in open. They transported their baggage by horses, donkeys, cows, bullocks, bullock carts, train, buses or as head loads. Some moved throughout the year but with relatively slower speed of movement during rainy season, others moved only in a part of the year, generally returning to their base camps in rainy season. It was found that frequency of movement was more in harvest season. They engaged themselves in a variety of occupations such as hunting, trapping and fishing; crafts such as umbrella repairing, polishing and scrapping of horns of cattle, rope and mat making, blacksmithy; they did many other skilled jobs such as bull and snake displaying, recitation of mythological stories, singing and staging dramas, acrobating, displaying deities, dentistry, veterinarining, forecasting, money lending and various forms of begging; cattle rearing; trading such as selling of perfumes, spices and aluminium vessels. Most of them engaged themselves in more than one occupations.

Apart from those which were actually met, he conducted enquiries in 12 villages in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh about the peripatetics visiting their villages. We came to know about eighty eight different peripatetic groups which included some of whom we had met (Table 7).

Another study conducted at Tarikere (District Shimoga, Karnataka) where a weekly market by Misra showed that the place attracted a large number of peripatetics

for a variety of reasons. Here more than two hundred groups of peripatetics were contacted (Misra 1972).

Objective of study

For the purpose of this paper, the specific focus is to indicate the relationship non-pastoral nomads have with bio-diversity. By definition non-pastoral nomads, are non-producers. For their livelihood they largely depend upon socio-cultural-economic niche of the sedentary populations. Their relationship with bio-diversity is largely indirect except those who are mainly hunters, bird catchers, snake and bear displayers, and healers. In order to understand the relationship with the niche, we have to take into account the traditional social structure of the Indian society in which they operate.

Overview of India's Traditional Social Structure & Non-Pastoral Nomads:

The sporadic studies indicate that non-pastoral nomads have existed through history and widely found in different parts of the country. However they have never been systematically counted and therefore it is difficult to say how many nomadic groups are there and what is their total population. Any estimate would be a guess. However it can be safely stated that in terms of the total Indian population the number of non-pastoral nomads is small. Malhotra estimated that there were 500 different groups classified as nomads (1982). However as per the survey conducted by the Anthropological Survey of India under the People of India project the number of non-pastoral nomadic groups is 276 (Singh 1991). Malhotra estimated their population as 7% of Indian population (1982). Bokil estimated the population of Vimukta Jatis and nomadic tribes in Maharashtra (the nomadic tribes in Maharashtra are known by this term) on the basis of 1931 census as 6.5 million in 1991. He writes, 'this estimate has been on liberal side. It came to about 7 per cent of the state population in 1991 and compared well with 11 per cent SCs and 9 per cent STs' (2002; 149). The estimates of both Malhotra and Bokil appear to be much higher keeping in view the survey conducted by Singh (1991). However, we must add here that estimation of the population of the nomadic groups is problematic because (1) no systematic census of these populations has ever been undertaken (2) there is much room for confusion

about the names of the communities (3) the flexible nature of the communities (4) they have been associated with criminal communities.

The non-pastoral nomads continue to suffer with the prejudices of sedentary population. They tend to cater to the needs of the poorer and unlettered sections of Indian population. They are an overlooked and a marginalised population. However, if one takes the micro situation, they may not be as insignificant as it appears. For example the case 1 (appendix 1) shows that the numbers of three non-pastoral nomadic groups investigated by Malhotra et al namely the Nandiwallahas, the Vaidus and Phaschandis was approximately 153000 in the region of investigation. The Nandiwallas displayed tricks of bulls, the Vaidus dispensed herbal medicines and the Phaschandis hunted, gathered and bartered some of the games for cereals and other goods. Their activities were closely linked with the social, cultural and economic life of the sedentary people in the villages in the area of their operation.

India has a long and continuous history. Its tradition have evolved through interactions between people of diverse cultures, languages and practices. Its classical traditions have grown through interaction with folk traditions. Items of folk practices were refined and systematised and adopted as classical; items from classical practices were often adapted by the folk in their language and culture. One of the reasons of remarkable continuity one finds in Indian traditions is owing to back and forth interaction between classical and folk levels. The continuity was supported by highly decentralised and diversified pattern of life. Variety in all aspects of life - culture, language, diet, rituals, art, dance, drama, music and use of natural resources has been one of the characteristic features of Indian society. This aspect of Indian society is particularly relevant for the discourse on bio-diversity. Therefore it is pertinent to describe the contribution made by non-pastoral nomads in maintenance of the decentralised and diversified framework of the Indian society.. Since overwhelming majority of the people continue to live in villages in India, it will be appropriate to take the village perspective here.

Village population in India were composed of a number of caste/communities (hereafter referred to as 'jati'). The mode of production was basically localised and

catered to a region. Each *jati* had its own hereditary occupation, culture, and even dialect. Each *jati* was autonomous and regulated its own internal affairs yet there was a great degree of social and economic interdependence between *jatis*. Inter *jati* affairs were regulated by village council. The system was well protected against competition and encroachment from outsiders. The system provided security to the people. The most important thing in this respect was the pride people had in their traditional occupations. They were considered specialists of their craft/service they offered to the others. In turn they were duly recognised and customarily rewarded on various ritual and festival occasions. The goods and services were distributed through customary 'jajmani'¹ relationship between different *jatis* in the villages. What was not available in the villages was obtained from weekly markets, regular markets in towns, periodical fairs, pilgrimages and centres of excellence. Whatever goods and services could not be obtained through these sources were provided by non-pastoral nomads. For example, the villagers in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh awaited the arrival of the Gadulia Lohars (the roving blacksmith) to repair their agriculture tools (Refer to Case 2). There were many communities whose job was to maintain genealogies of specific castes. Each *jati* had its own traditions and it jealously guarded its identity. There was enough scope for non-pastoral nomads to find their niche in the decentralized hierarchic caste system. Variety in life-styles of different *jatis* sustained the non-pastoral nomads, that is if one group served one cluster of castes, the other aimed at another cluster. For example there were non-pastoral nomads who served none other than the lowest *jati*. Thus even the lowest *jati* had some stake in the hierarchical *jati* system. Pressure on the resources were minimised because each *jati* had its own taboos and preferences in various aspects of life (Refer to Case 1). Non-pastoral nomads were one of those who facilitated the maintenance of the decentralised and diversified pattern of life. Based on their study of the pastoral and non pastoral nomads in Maharashtra Malhotra and Gadgil have observed the following. (1) Castes living together in the same region had so organised their pattern of resource use as to avoid excessive inter-caste competition for limiting resource, (2) the territorial division of the total range of the caste regulated the inter-

¹ The practice of jajmani relationship between different castes in village society has been reported from different regions of the country. For example in northern Karnataka it is called as 'balutedar' system. There are regional variations in its practices but largely it means exchange of goods and services between the members of different castes and communities on the basis of local norms of exchange.

caste competition (3) these practices favoured the evolution of cultural traditions ensuring sustainable use of natural resource and (4) the collapse of the base of natural resources has, however, shaken and weakened the earlier complementarity between different castes/groups (1998; 402). The observations of Malhotra and Gadgil are supported by numerous anthropological studies conducted in different parts of the country. Different castes and communities had a variety of preferences for their diet, dress, shelter, in short pattern of living. Their technology making use of the local resources also differed (Bose 1961). In short all this reduced inter-caste and inter-community competition and over-use of the resources available locally.

Our over all understanding is that on account of the various factors the diversified pattern of living in modern India is changing very fast. The process of homogenisation and standardisation is sweeping through the country. Obviously this is increasing competition among the castes and communities for the resources. Vast areas of land which were lying either as common land or waste land or marginally used have been reclaimed for cultivation of certain crops only. Diversity in preference for cereals, vegetables, animal food, oils, dress, shelters have got considerably reduced, which on one hand is going to restrict bio-diversity and on the other it is going to cause tremendous environmental degradation. Housing provides a very good illustration of this process. Once again 1961 study of the Anthropological Survey of India showed a wide variety of houses in different regions of India using local resources. But now everywhere cement concrete houses are coming up, changing the living styles and practices of the people and also eliminating the local resource. Even the Toda in the Nilgiris do not anymore make houses of cane and grass.

These changes are likely to make the life of the poor still more difficult. A certain standard of living has been created for them which is no more based on local resources. They have to buy them. That is the cost of living has gone up. To that extent they have very little to spare to non-pastoral nomads who were largely depended on them. In other words stress on some resources have considerably increased which certain other resources are becoming redundant. For instance the study of material traits conducted by the Anthropological Survey of India in 1961 indicated that there was a lot of variety in use of various kinds of oil or cooking

medium. In certain areas people preferred to use sesamum, linseed oils etc. Now most of these oils are not used any more, consequently their cultivation has been given up which means in course of time these seeds would get completely eliminated. Not only that almost all over India, traditional techniques of oil extraction has been given up. People use mill produced oil. Result of this change is that the oil pressers have gone out of business and also the carpenters who produced those devices. When a particular cooking medium is given up it directly effects the cooking practices, food habits and various rituals associated with that. That is a simple looking change has far reaching impact on the cultural life of the people. Industrial production requires standardized requirements of the people. It cannot cope up with the kind of variety traditional India had. The more it standardizes the requirement of the people, the more pressure it is going to cause on certain resources. As it has been stated earlier exploitation of socio-cultural economic niche was more focused on lower class of peasantry. Moreover for non-pastoral nomads there is less and less room for movement and camping. The development process is converting non-pastoral nomads from being highly skilled and innovative people to unskilled population. Our hypothesis is that they are likely to join the overburdened sector of agriculture or become unskilled wage-labourers which in turn would adversely affect bio-diversity.

Methodology

In order to check what is the ground reality regarding non-pastoral nomads we framed following questions:

1. What are the references available about the peripatetics
2. By what names they are known
3. What are their occupations, and whether there is any seasonal variation
4. What is their mode of movement
5. What is the periodicity of their movement
6. Do they serve specific *jati* or all
7. What are their food preferences and taboos
8. What are the languages spoken by them
9. If there is any special information about them
10. What has happened to them in the wake of modern change
11. What is their link with biological resources/bio-diversity

We scanned the literature with the above question in our mind. As has been stated that generally the non-pastoral nomads are overlooked populations. Full length studies on them have been very few. Village studies too generally do not note their presence adequately. They have not been systematically enumerated in census operations. However People of India project undertaken by the Anthropological Survey of India covered them under the category of non-pastoral nomads. The tables that follow have been generated from the volume People of India, Quantitative profile (Singh, 1991).

Distribution of Non Pastoral Nomads Statewise

Table 1 shows the presence of the non-pastoral nomads in different parts of India. People of India project identified 276 non-pastoral nomadic communities in India. This survey confirms the finding of the survey of Misra conducted in 1970. Maximum number of non-pastoral nomadic communities are found in Andhra Pradesh, followed by Maharashtra, Karnataka and Gujarat. Their presence in plains of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan and Punjab is significant but marginal or negligible in the other states.

Distribution of Non Pastoral Nomads Geographical regionwise

If we take into account the geographical regions, the table 2 clearly shows that the non-pastoral nomads prefer plain and plateau regions where there is dense concentration of other populations. Their presence in hill and coastal regions is certainly less but marginal in high altitude and desert regions.

Economic Activities

The strategy for subsistence of non-pastoral nomads is always flexible and they attempt to locate the gaps in the supply of goods and services in the host population. For this reason they often take to multiple occupations and therefore it is not easy to classify them under single occupation. People of India project classified them under 30 traditional occupations and 32 newly acquired occupations. We however merged several occupations and brought them under 10 headings (table 3). The total of all occupations, of course does not tally with the total number of non pastoral communities because in number of cases a community is represented in more

than one occupation. However table 3 shows that most of the non pastoral nomadic communities had hunting, gathering, fishing, trapping of birds and animals, crafts, animal husbandry and begging as their traditional occupations. The data supports our hypothesis that in the changed circumstances most of the non pastoral nomads have taken to service and labour as their occupation. Malhotra and Gadgil (1998) have shown in their study of pastoral and non pastoral nomads that under changed circumstances 60 percent of the Nandiwallas (displayers of sacred bull) have given up their traditional occupation. 50 percent of the Vaidus (dispenser of herbal medicines) have given up their traditional occupation and a significant number of them have moved to big cities. Majority of the Phasepardhis (hunters and trappers) had to give up their traditional occupation and they have taken sundry jobs and some of them have taken to crime. The Phasepardhis are undergoing a traumatic experience in the changed circumstances. Thus the conclusion is that majority of the non-pastoral nomadic people are giving up their traditional occupations which they had cultivated over the years. Precisely because the demand for their crafts, entertaining skill (acrobating, puppetry, magic, bahupriya, etc) traditional herbal medicines are not required by the host society. Hunting and trapping of animals is not rewarding and has become increasingly restrictive. They are joining the ranks of labour where there is stiff competition. Inter-caste interdependence has broken down. Competition has increased. Natural resources have considerably dwindled. All this leads to the loss of indigenous knowledge as well as whatever capacity it had in sustainability of local resources.

Food Preferences

Table 4 gives a broad classification of food preferences of the non pastoral nomadic communities. Overwhelming majority of them are non-vegetarian. A very small percentage of them, however are prepared to take meat of the dead animal. In this respect the paper of Malhotra et al (Refer to case 1 in appendix) is of utmost significant. They found that even when a community was not hunting-gathering a significant portion of their nutritional requirement came from wild animals. The communities, they studied avoided overlap of the hunted animals which in a way assured continuity of food supply. However based on this study they suggested rather strongly that the dependence of non-pastoral nomads and even other poorer

population on wild animals may not be negligible. This is an important observation which needs to be validated by planning a series of similar studies in different parts of the country. Our guess is that hunting, trapping of animals by non-pastoral nomads has become considerably reduced. Malhotra and Gadgil themselves have stated that majority of the non-pastoral nomads have given up their traditional occupations. People of India, the project conducted by the Anthropological Survey of India supports this observation (Singh, 1991).

Symbiotic Relationship

Table 5 shows that 104 out of 276 non pastoral nomadic communities maintain some sort of symbiotic relationship with other communities which clearly indicates that they are a part of the regional social structure. Of course the ground realities for the non pastoral nomadic communities must be changing fast because the life in the rural areas is undergoing rapid transformation. The traditional interdependence between the communities in the rural areas has virtually collapsed which is bound to make serious impact on the non-pastoral nomadic communities also. It may be safely speculated that the interaction between the non-pastoral nomadic community and the host community must have become 'free', based on one to one relationship where traditional expectations and mutual obligations are of minimal consequences. The exchange between them must have become cash oriented. It may be further speculated that since non-pastoral nomads mostly interacted with the poorer section of the rural folks, the cash they are likely to earn in exchange of their services and goods would not be sufficient for their subsistence which would force them either to leave their traditional occupation or supplement them with several other occupations.

Language spoken

The non-pastoral nomads by definition are multilingual and therefore it is not easy to classify them. But most of the non-pastoral nomads speak their own dialect among themselves and tend to develop some secret codes too. Table 6 however has been classified on the basis of the mother tongue by which non-pastoral nomadic communities identify themselves. It is interesting that 64.9% identify themselves with Indo-Aryan languages whereas the presence of most of the non-pastoral nomadic

communities is noted in Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Karnataka. There may be several reasons for them to operate in these regions, one of which is that drought prone areas of Rajasthan, Western Madhya Pradesh pushes these communities to south.

Issues

The situation of the non-pastoral nomadic community is grim. Since their number is not significant and they have always been a sort of a marginal population from the point of view of the sedentary people their role in the over all framework has never been appreciated. They have also not been a target group for planning and development. As we have seen they have been one of the links in the social structure of the Indian society which was highly decentralised and diversified which had significant implications in maintaining bio-diversity. Now all that is undergoing a rapid transformation. Here it will be appropriate to quote from the recent study of Bokil (2002).

“Livelihoods of the pastorals and hunter-gatherers are primarily affected because grazing lands and forests are no longer the open access regimes. The specific reasons for the impact on their livelihoods are (a) overall degradation of natural resources in terms of both quality and quantity (b) emergence of competitive use patterns between various users and sectors (c) increasing privatization and commercialization of resources and (d) restrictions on access to and control over natural resources.

The goods and service nomads have been affected due to the process of mechanization and industrialization characterized by improved methods of production and introduction of newer materials. The mass production of industrial goods and their extensive distribution in rural markets has occurred on an unprecedented scale. Introduction of newer materials like cement, stainless steel, aluminium, plastic, synthetic fibres and various petro-chemical products have made redundant the traditional materials like stone, bamboo, copper, brass, lime, jute and wood. Infrastructural development, particularly the construction of roads, and subsequent growth of automobile traffic have affected the transportation and communication

related occupations of many nomads. The influx of cheap, foreign goods would further aggravate the situation.

The entertainers have suffered mainly because of the spread of modern entertainment media, particularly television, which has spread to the remotest parts of the country in the past decade. Televised entertainment is not only varied and infinite, but also thrilling and hypnotizing. The traditional songs, dances, dramas, acrobatics and magic are no match to the excitement offered by television. Secondly, the entertainers like the snake charmers and bear exhibitors are being forced out of business due to the ideas of wildlife conservation and subsequent restrictions caused by the legislation.

The religious performers are meeting the same fate, albeit due to different reasons. The religious attitudes, beliefs and practices most of contemporary society have been changed due to modernization. Elements of rationality, secularism and modernity have been introduced into traditional society. This does not mean that people have become less religious. The importance of religion in day to day life has not eroded. Blind faith and superstitions are still widely prevalent but the overwhelming importance attached to rites, rituals and religious obligations has reduced. Grahan (eclipses) and Amavasyas are no longer the occasions for 'dan'. Computerised horoscopes have replaced fortune-telling parrots. Earlier, a section of nomads thrived on these activities but now they have lost the necessary patronage. Their vocations have been reduced almost to beggary" (151).

The non-pastoral nomads have responded to the significant changes in the socio-cultural-economic niche and general degradation of bio-diversity by taking new occupations. They are found selling plastic goods, decorative objects and variety of such things in near about district and taluk headquarters. The Anthropological Survey of India data shows that overwhelming number of non-pastoral nomads have taken to labour and service. For Maharashtra Bokil observes "the general response of these communities to the changing situation has been to move into some allied occupations or resort to wage labour" (2002:151). More over there is very little room for them to move and camp. The spaces where they used to camp are getting rapidly filled up.

Standardisation of goods and homogenisation of demands owing to market force are leaving very little scope for them to operate even at micro level. Even the street entertainment they used to perform is no more patronised. In northern Karnataka, the Killekyatha were nomadic entertainers. Through the display of leather puppets they related mythological stories. In 1977 when Morab studied them out of 46 families, 19 had settled down. Those who led nomadic life combined leather puppet shows with repairing of metallised pots, fastening of selvage of blankets, agriculture labour, etc. Their womenfolk stitched quilts, did domestic work, tattooing and buffalo rearing besides some sundry occupations (1977). Demand for leather puppet shows had decreased owing to the popularity of cinema. At that time there was no television.

It is simply not possible to revive their traditional skills or traditional lifestyles. The only way is to educate them and train them into new skills. It is absolutely necessary that specific plans for their rehabilitation, education and care have to be developed, and also the value of conservation is imparted as a popular measure. Traditionally the non pastoral nomads have been playing the role of communicants and also imparting popular religious instructions through their trades like displaying deities, relating mythological stories, puppetry and so on. Their these skills and ability to move from place to place can be imaginatively utilised for communicating modern ideas of conservation and protection of environment. This way they would get constructively involved in conservation which should be the objective of any modern rational society and their traditional skills and knowledge would also not disappear forever.

Significant Special Features of Hunting Practices of the Pardhi Community

The bird or animal is caught alive without causing any injury to it. This fact can be effectively utilized for study and conservation projects.

Intimate knowledge of hunted species, their habits and their ecological niche was a prerequisite for the hunting methods.

All the traps etc are made using very little resource. All the parts of the gadgets are derived from naturally occurring local resource base.

During breeding season the 'Jat-Panchayat levies a fine for this as well.

Traditional methods only are used. Guns and other violent means are not used.

Every family is allotted a particular territory for hunting

Hunting used to take place over a large area, so that overall effect of hunting was minimized.

If excess number of birds and animals were caught, they were released back into the wild.

Symbiotic relationship developed with other hunting tribes to avoid over-hunting of any species and to avoid conflict.

These traditional unwritten socio-ecological rules of the Phase-Pardhis were responsible for sustainable use of the habitat resources over many centuries. Presently, with so many written rules and laws in force and in spite of many enforcement agencies, the habitats are getting degraded at a rapid pace. Can the old order be restored is the all-important question. (Katukh Pandharipande "Livelihood and Bio-diversity relationship in Grassland/Scrubland of Western Vidharbha")

However the point still remains that what roving specialists do when their specialization is no more wanted. The studies indicate that they swell the ranks of wage-labourers. Not only that the labour market is over flooded, the work is not available everyday. In such a situation the question arises as to how they survive? Do they go for hunting and trapping particularly for such animals which are not wanted by other populations. Malhotra & Gadgil's (1983) affirm that possibility. It is also possible that all these populations which are below the poverty line resort to hunting, trapping and foraging. These speculations need to be corroborated by planning a series of studies all over the country. If true, its consequences on bio-diversity could be serious.

Occupation of Hakkipikki

Hakkipikki a tribe are known by different names in different linguistic zones. In their own dialect, the Hakkipikki call themselves as Raj Pardhi. In Gujarat, they are known as Vangri. In Kannada speaking area, they are named as Hakkipikkis. People in Nilgiris call them Guddi Bethe. In Hindi speaking regions they are called as Mel Shikari. In other words they are a fairly spread out community.

The occupation by which they are popularly known is trapping of birds and animals. All adult male Hakkipikki are expert in initiating the sound of birds and animals which they use for trapping the birds and animals.

The Hakkipikkis eat the flesh of birds and animals they trap. They also sell a part of their catch. They sell feathers and skins of the trapped animals. Mann writes, 'Another intimately connected part to Hakkipikki nomadism is their food habit. For centuries together, the Hakkipikkis have been meat eaters and surviving on flesh. In addition to this they never faced shortage of supply, and the flesh has always been available in plenty. The supply was ensured because of their regular trapping. Now when they become sedentary by stopping trapping of birds and animals, they do not get meat, which they relish most. Therefore, to satisfy their desire of meat eating, even the colonized Hakkipikkis switch on to trapping and consequently to their way of life' (1980;17).

**TABLE 1 - NON PASTORAL NOMADS IN INDIA
STATEWISE**

Andaman & Nicobar	1
Lakshadweep	Nil
Mizoram	Nil
Manipur	0
Arunachal	1
Nagaland	Nil
Meghalaya	Nil
Sikkim	Nil
Assam	Nil
Tripura	Nil
Jammu & Kashmir	4
Himachal Pradesh	5
Orissa	8
West Bengal	6
Bihar	16
Uttar Pradesh	18
Andhra Pradesh	56
Kerala	1
Tamil Nadu	11
Pondichery	1
Karnataka	24
Maharashtra	32
Goa	2
Madhya Pradesh	13
Gujarat	24
Dadra	Nil
Daman	Nil
Rajasthan	14
Haryana	11
Punjab	12
Chandigarh	3
Delhi	13
Total	276

TABLE NO.2 - HABITANT BY GEOGRAPHICAL REGION

Sl.No.	Kind of Habitant	No.	Percentage
1.	Hilly Terrain	47	17.0
2.	Plateau	76	27.5
3.	Plains	183	66.3
4.	Coast	36	13.0
5.	Desert (Arid)	5	1.8
6.	Semi-Arid	27	9.8
7.	High Altitude	1	0.4
8.	Valley	8	2.9
9.	Island	1	0.4
10.	Dense Forest	17	6.2

TABLE NO.3 - OCCUPATION

Sl.No.	Kind of Works	No. of Communities (Traditional occupations)	Percentage	No. of Communities (Newly Acquired occupations)	Per Cent age
1.	Hunting, Gathering, Fishing, Trapping of Birds and Animals	60	21.74	3	1.02
2.	Artisan	68	24.63	95	34.41
3.	Other Skilled Jobs	4	1.45	18	6.52
4.	Trading	29	10.51	70	25.36
5.	Animal Husbandry	35	12.68	21	7.61
6.	Begging	53	19.20	-	-
7.	Settled Cultivation	28	10.14	66	23.91
8.	Labour	27	9.78	181	65.58
9.	Service	3	1.08	207	75.01
10.	Others	20	7.23	21	7.57

TABLE NO.4 - FOOD PREFERENCE

Sl.No.	Name of Food	Nos.	Percentage
1.	Roots and Tubers	187	67.8
2.	Vegetarian Community	15	5.4
3.	Non-Vegetarian Community	259	93.8
4.	Non-Vegetarian Carrion	9	3.3

TABLE NO.5 - SYMBIOTIC RELATIONSHIP

Andaman & Nicobar	Nil
Lakshadweep	Nil
Mizoram	Nil
Manipur	Nil
Arunachal	Nil
Nagaland	Nil
Meghalaya	Nil
Sikkim	Nil
Assam	Nil
Tripura	Nil
Jammu & Kashmir	1
Himachal Pradesh	3
Orissa	5
West Bengal	7
Bihar	7
Uttar Pradesh	5
Andhra Pradesh	31
Kerala	Nil
Tamil Nadu	1
Pondicherry	Nil
Karnataka	2
Maharashtra	18
Goa	1
Madhya Pradesh	3
Gujarat	6
Dadra	Nil
Daman	Nil
Rajasthan	Nil
Haryana	8
Punjab	Nil
Chandigarh	1
Delhi	6
Total	104

TABLE NO.6 - LANGUAGE

Sl.No.	Dialect	No. of Community	Percentage
1.	Dravidian	78	28.3
2.	Indo-Aryan	179	64.9
3.	Tibeto-Burman	2	0.7
4.	Dravidian-Central Group	61	22.2
5.	Dravidian-South Group	16	5.8
6.	Indo-Aryan : Central Group	126	45.7
7.	Indo-Aryan : Eastern Group	21	7.6
8.	Indo-Aryan : Pahari Group	6	2.2
9.	Indo-Aryan : Southern Group	22	8.0

TABLE NO. 7 : NOMADS AND SEMI-NOMADS IN MYSORE AND ANDHRA AND THEIR OCCUPATIONS

Sl. No.	Name of the Group	The place where they were met or reported	Occupation by which popularly known	Other Occupations	Mother tongue	Other languages known	Mode of travel	The abode to which they periodically return	Remarks
I	Hunting & Fishing Groups								
1.	Boyi or Karboyl	Nizamabad	Fishing	Selling blankets, purchased from markets, and stitching borders to blankets	Telugu	Kannada & Hindi	Foot	Chandrabaha, Gulbaga	
2.	Bunda Bestha	K.R.Nagar, Mysore	Fishing	Begging	Kannada	Hindi	Foot	-	
3.	Kabbaliga	Okkarabad, Hyderabad	Fishing	Trapping rabbits and rats for own use and begging	Telugu	-	Foot	-	
4.	Mel Shikari	Belur	Trapping and selling of animals	Begging	Gujarati	Hindi, Kannada and	Foot	Angadi halli, Belur Taluk	

Sl. No.	Name of the Group	The place where they were met or reported	Occupation by which popularly known	Other Occupations	Mother tongue	Other languages known	Mode of travel	The abode to which they periodically return	Remarks
						Marathi			
	"	Dasankop, N. Kanara	Trapping and selling of animals	Begging	Marathi	Kannada, Hindi	Foot	Nellore, Sringeri Taluk	
	"	Maddur, Mandya	Trapping and selling of animals	Begging	Gujarati	Kannada, Hindi	Foot	Hunsur	
	"	K.R.Nagar, Mysore	Trapping and selling of animals	Selling pins, needles & bangles & begging	Hindi	Kannada	Foot	-	
	"	Gaddikoppa, Shimoga	Trapping and selling of animals	Begging	Marathi	Kannada & Hindi	Foot	-	
5.	Rajparddi	Belgaum	Trapping and selling of animals	Begging	Marathi	Hindi	Horse & Foot	-	
II	Artisan Groups								
6.	Bail Patar	Lokapuram Bijapur	Making and selling of ear cleaners and thorn removers made of iron	-	Jagannathi? (Rajasthani)	Marathi & Kannada	Foot	ChikkundiBelgaum	
7.	Ghisadi	Belgaum	Blacksmithy	-	Marathi	Kannada, Hindi	Buffalo	-	
8.	Kunchi Korava	Bijapur	Making of baskets, broomsticks, palm mats, etc	Begging; rat trapping, etc.	Korva (Kaikadi)	Kannada & Telugu	-	-	-
9.	Sikligar	Bijapur	Making and selling of hammers, knives and kitchen-ware	-	Punjabi	Kannada & Hindi	Train & Bus	-	-
	"	Nizamabad	"	-	Punjabi	Hindi & Telugu	Train & Bus	-	-
	"	Kurnool	"	-	Punjabi	Hindi	"	-	-
	"	Kothapalli. Karimnagar	"	-	Punjabi	Hindi	"	-	-
10.	Waddar	Dassankop, N. Kanara	Breaking stones and working on road construction	-	Telugu	Kannada	Foot	Chitradurga & Davangere	Waddars are found all over Mysore and Andhra

Sl. No.	Name of the Group	The place where they were met or reported	Occupation by which popularly known	Other Occupations	Mother tongue	Other languages known	Mode of travel	The abode to which they periodically return	Remarks
									and are in various stages of settlement
	"	Nalgonda	"	-	Telugu	Kannada	Cart & Foot	Ramanapet, Nalgonda	
III	Other Skilled Jobs								
11.	Baira Jogi	Tarikere, Chickmagalore	Singing devotional songs	Umbrella repairing and Bhiksha	Marathi	Kannada, Telugu, Tamil & Hindi	Foot	Tarikere	
12.	Bhatraju	Gundaram, Nizamabad	Reciting verse in praise of deities & people	Bhiksha	Telugu	-	Foot	-	-
	"	Cherlapalli Nalgonda	"	Bhiksha	Telugu	-	Foot	-	-
13.	Dasari	Selvapalli, Chithoor	Bhagwath singing	Selling bangles & Biksha	Telugu	-	Foot	Madanpalle, Chittor	-
	"	Gundaram, Nizamabad	Bhagwath singing	Biksha	Telugu	-	Foot	-	-
	"	Kothapalli, Korimnagar	Bhagwath singing	Biksha	Telugu	-	-	-	-
	"	Cherlapalli, Nalgonda	Bhagwath singing	Biksha, trapping, fishing & plammatt making	Telugu	-	-	-	-
	"	Amistapur Mahaboobnagar	Bhagwath singing	Trading in sheep	Telugu	-	-	-	-
	"	Manachil kota, Kolar	Bhagwath singing	Biksha	Telugu	-	-	-	-
14.	Gondali	Kaddiram pura, Bellary	Reciting puranic stories	Biksha	Marathi	Kannada	Foot	Hospet	-
	Gondali	Masaipet, Hyderabad	Reciting puranic stories and fortune telling through parrots	Biksha	Marathi	Kannada & Telugu	Foot	-	-
15.	Bahrupia Nizamabad	Gundaram, Nizamabad	Wearing different make ups	Biksha	Telugu	Hindi	-	-	-
16.	Veshagar	Dasankop, N. Kanara	Wearing different make ups	Biksha	Telugu	Kannada	Foot	Hospet & Bellary	-

Sl. No.	Name of the Group	The place where they were met or reported	Occupation by which popularly known	Other Occupations	Mother tongue	Other languages known	Mode of travel	The abode to which they periodically return	Remarks
	"	Kadirampura, Bellary	"	Biksha	Telugu	Kannada	Foot	Venkatapura, Hospet	
17.	Bairapullolam	Kamareddi, Nizamabad	Wearing different make ups	Biksha	Telugu	Kannada	Foot	Chinchod, Hyderabad	-
18.	Pagati Vesha-gallu	Masaipet, Hyderabad	Wearing different make ups	Biksha and making palm-mats, agricultural labour	Telugu	-	Foot	-	
	"	Kothapalli, Karimnagar	Wearing different make ups	Biksha	Telugu	Hindi	-	-	-
	"	Cherlapalli, Nalgonda	Wearing different make ups	Biksha and palm mat making	?	Telugu & Hindi	-	-	-
	"	Amistapur	Wearing different make ups	"	Telugu	-	-	-	-
19.	Sindalur	Gundaram, Nizamabad	Wearing different make ups	Biksha	Telugu	-	-	-	-
20.	Bawaji	Kothapalli, Karimnagar	Fortune telling	Biksha	Telugu	-	Foot	Cheeravacha, Sirsilla, Karimnagar	-
21.	Budbudki	K.R.Nagar, Mysore	Fortune telling	Agricultural labour and Biksha	Kannada	Hindi	Foot	-	-
	Budbudki	Gadikoppa, Shimoga	Fortune telling	Selling charms and amulets and Biksha	Kannada	Hindi	Foot	-	-
	"	Dasankop, N. Kanara	Fortune telling	Biksha	Kannada	Marathi & Hindi	Foot	Kolapur, Shimoga	-
	"	Kadirampura, Bellary	Fortune telling	Biksha	Kannada	Marathi	Foot	-	-
	"	Muthnad, Belgaum	Fortune telling	Biksha	Kannada	-	Foot	-	-
	"	Korkatti, Gulbarga	Fortune telling	Biksha	Marathi	Kannada	Foot	-	-
	Budbudkala	Gundaram, Nizamabad	Fortune telling	Biksha	Telugu	-	Foot	-	-
	"	Kothapalli, Karimnagar	Fortune telling	Biksha and singing	Telugu	-	Foot	-	-

Sl. No.	Name of the Group	The place where they were met or reported	Occupation by which popularly known	Other Occupations	Mother tongue	Other languages known	Mode of travel	The abode to which they periodically return	Remarks
	"	Cherlapalli, Nalgonda	Fortune telling	Biksha	Telugu	-	Foot	-	-
	"	Amistapur, Mehaboob nagar	Fortune telling	Biksha	Telugu	-	Foot	-	-
	"	Channuar, Caddapah	Fortune telling	Biksha & Palmistry	Telugu	-	Foot	-	-
	"	Manachill kota, Kolar	Fortune telling	Biksha	Telugu	-	Foot	-	-
	"	Avalahalli, Bangalore	Fortune telling	Biksha	Telugu	Kannada & Hindi	Foot	-	-
22.	Garudi	Gadikoppa, Shimoga	Fortune telling	Selling charms & amulets	Tulu/ Telugu	Kannada & Hindi	Foot	-	-
	Garudi	Belgaum	Magic	-	-	-	-	-	-
23.	Kashi Brahma	Cherlapalli, Nalgonda	Fortune telling through parrots	Palmistry and Biksha	-	Telugu	-	-	-
24.	Nadiwala Joshi	Kadiram pura, Bellary	Palmistry and fortune telling	Selling charms and amulets	?	Kannada, Marathi & Telugu	Foot	-	-
	Nadiwala Joshi	Gundaram, Nizamabad	Palmistry and fortune telling	-	Marathi	Telugu	-	-	They collect funds for mutts
25.	Bhainz	Belgaum	Buffalo shaving	Biksha	Marathi	Kannada	-	-	-
26.	Bombulatta	Channur, Cuddapah	Puppet showing	-	?	Telugu	-	-	-
27.	Bondhili	Chotibargam, Nizamabad	Acrobating	-	Marathi	Telugu & Hindi	Foot	-	-
	Bondhili	Kamarpalli, Karimnagar	Acrobating	-	Telugu	Hindi	-	-	-
28.	Dommarra or Doli or Dombari	Gadikoppa, Shimoga	Acrobating	Biksha	Marathi	Kannada, Tamil and Hindi	Horse & Foot	-	-
	"	Dasankop, N. Kanara	Acrobating	Biksha	?	Kannada & Hindi	Foot	Shimoga	
	"	Kaddiram Pura, Bellary	Acrobating	Biksha	Marathi	Hindi & Telugu	Foot	-	They only beg and do not do acrobating
	"	Muthnad, Belgaum	Acrobating	Biksha	?	Kannada, Telugu & Marathi	Foot	-	-
	"	Korkatti, Gulbarga	Acrobating	Biksha	Marathi	Kannada	Foot	-	-
	"	Belgaum	V	Making decorative pieces	-	-	-	-	-

Sl. No.	Name of the Group	The place where they were met or reported	Occupation by which popularly known	Other Occupations	Mother tongue	Other languages known	Mode of travel	The abode to which they periodically return	Remarks
				like parrots etc; collecting and selling dung					
	"	Gundaram, Nizamabad	Acrobating	-	?	Telugu & Hindi	Foot	-	-
	"	Kothapalli, Karimnagar	Acrobating	Women do prostituting	?	Telugu & Marathi	-	-	-
	"	Cherlapalli, Nalgonda	Acrobating	Biksha; women do prostituting	?	Telugu	-	-	-
	"	Amistapur, Mahboobnagar	Acrobating	Women do prostituting	?	Telugu	-	-	-
	"	Chennur, Cuddapah	Acrobating	-	?	Telugu	-	-	-
	" or Jogara	Manachil Kota, Kolar	Acrobating	Women do prostituting	?	Telugu	-	-	-
29.	Pahilwan (Muslim)	Tariker, Chickmagalur	Acrobating	-	Urdu	Kannada	Horse	Bangalore	Main occupation is polishing the horns of cattle
	"	Uduppadu, Cuddapah	Acrobating	Polishing cattle horns and fixing shoes	Urdu	Kannada, Telugu & Hindi	Horse & Foot	Gugur, Anantapur	
	"	Bairapatna, Bangalore	Acrobating	Trading in horse and polishing cattle horns	Urdu	Kannada	Horse & Foot	Mandya	
	"	Mandya	Acrobating	-	Urdu	Kannada	Horse & tonga	Tumkur	They have taken to trading in horses and plying tongas on hire
	"	Gundaram, Nizamabad	Acrobating	-	Urdu	Telugu, Tamil &	Horse &	-	-

Sl. No.	Name of the Group	The place where they were met or reported	Occupation by which popularly known	Other Occupations	Mother tongue	Other languages known	Mode of travel	The abode to which they periodically return	Remarks
						Hindi	Foot		
30.	Durgamuru ga	Angavadi, Bijapur	Deity displaying	Biksha	Telugu	Kannada	Foot	Bilongola, Belgaum	
	"	Gadikoppa, Shimoga	Deity displaying	Biksha	Kannada	Hindi	Foot	-	
	"	Dasankop, N.Kanara	Deity displaying	Biksha	Kannada	-	Foot	-	
	"	Kaddirampura, Bellary	Deity displaying	Biksha	Telugu	Kannada	Foot	-	
	"	Muthnad, Belgaum	Deity displaying	Biksha	Kannada	-	Foot	-	
	"	Korkatti, Gulbarga	Deity displaying	Biksha	Telugu	-	Foot	-	
31.	Gurikkalu	Gurramkond s, Chittoor	Deity displaying	Biksha	Telugu	-	Foot	Madanpalle, Chittoor	
32.	Mutyalama or Peddamalolu	Kothapalli, Karimnagar	Deity displaying	Biksha by whipping oneself.	Telugu	-	Foot	-	
	"	Cherlapalli, Nalgonda	Deity displaying	Biksha	Telugu Hindi	-	Foot	-	-
	" (or Mutyala)	Amistapur, Mahboobnagar	Deity displaying	Biksha	Telugu	Kannada	Foot	-	-
	"	Avalahalli, Bangalore	Deity displaying	Biksha	Telugu	Kannada	Foot	Anantapur, A.P.	-
33.	Urumali	Channa patna, Bangalore	Deity displaying	Biksha	Telugu	Kannada	Foot	-	-
34.	Golla Vaidya	Gundaram, Nizamabad	Selling herbal medicine	-	Marathi	Telugu	-	-	-
	"	Cherlapalli, Nalgonda	"	-	Telugu	-	-	-	-
35.	Kathumbi	Manachil Kota, Kolar	Selling herbal medicine	Selling charms & amulets	Hindi	Telugu & Kannada	-	-	-
36.	Kondaraja	Manachil Kota, Kolar	Selling herbal medicine	Palmistry	Telugu	Kannada	-	-	-
37.	Koya	Cherlapalli, Nalgonda	Selling herbal medicine, particularly for children	Magic and selling animal skin	Koya	Telugu	-	-	-
	"	Chennur, Cuddapah	"	"	Koya	Telugu			
38.	Kuruba Golla	Indi, Bijapur	Selling herbal medicine	-	Telugu	Kannada	Foot	Dhanmatti, Bijapur	
39.	Pakanati Gollakulam of	Kamareddi, Nizamabad	Selling herbal medicine	Making and selling	Telugu	-	Donkey & Foot	Ambarpet, Hyderabad	

Sl. No.	Name of the Group	The place where they were met or reported	Occupation by which popularly known	Other Occupations	Mother tongue	Other languages known	Mode of travel	The abode to which they periodically return	Remarks
	Mandulolum			nagaswara (musical instrument)					
40.	Ramajogi	Gurramkonda, Chittoor	Selling herbal medicine	Selling rangoli, agricultural labour, trapping squirrel, rat & cat	Telugu	Tamil & Hindi	Foot	Chandragiri, Tirupati	
41.	Salamisri or Maratha Taku	Tarikere, Chickmagalur	Selling herbal medicine	-	Marathi	Kannada, Tamil, Malayalam, Hindi & Telugu	Train & Bus	-	-
	"	Korkatti, Gulbarga	Selling herbal medicine	-	Marathi	Telugu	Train & Bus	-	-
42.	Yahudi	Muthnad, Belgaum	Selling herbal medicine	-	Hindi	Kannada	-	-	-
43.	Gangireddulu	Nandyal, Kurnool	Bull displaying	Biksha	Telugu	Kannada	Foot & Bullocks	Nellore	-
	"	Gundaram, Nizamabad	Bull displaying	Biksha	Telugu	Marathi	Foot & Bullocks	-	-
	"	Kothapalli, Karimnagar	Bull displaying	Biksha	Telugu	-	-	-	-
	"	Cherlapalli, Nalgonda	Bull displaying	Biksha	Telugu	-	-	-	-
	"	Amistapur, Mahboobnagar	Bull displaying	Biksha	Telugu	-	-	-	-
	"	Chennur, Cuddapah	Bull displaying	Biksha	Telugu	-	-	-	-
	"	Manachil Kota, Kolar	Bull displaying	Biksha	Telugu	-	-	-	-
	"	Avalahalli, Bangalore	Bull displaying	Biksha	Telugu	Kannada	-	-	-
44.	Garudi (Muslim)	Shimoga	Snake charming	-	Urdu	Kannada, Telugu & Tamil	Foot	Bangalore City	-
	Garudi or Madari	Kothapalli, Karimnagar	Snake charming	-	Urdu	Telugu	-	-	They perform only magic
45.	Bolla Pamula	Chennur, Guddapah	Snake charming	Magic	Telugu	-	-	-	-

Sl. No.	Name of the Group	The place where they were met or reported	Occupation by which popularly known	Other Occupations	Mother tongue	Other languages known	Mode of travel	The abode to which they periodically return	Remarks
46.	Hawadiga	Gadikoppa, Shimoga	Snake charming	Begging	?	Kannada	Foot	-	-
	"	Dasankop, N.Kanara	Snake charming	Begging	?	Kannada & Hindi	Foot	-	-
	"	Kaddirampura, Bellary	Snake charming	Begging	?	Kannada, Hindi & Marathi	Foot	-	-
	"	Muthnad, Belgaum	Snake charming	Begging	Kannada	-	Foot	-	-
	"	Korkatti, Gulbarga	Snake charming	Begging	Hindi	Kannada	Foot	-	
47.	Pamula (Muslim)	Gundaram, Nizamabad	Snake charming	Selling herbs for snake bite	Urdu	Telugu	Foot	-	-
48.	Peddatti Pamula	Chinnamainda, Cuddapah	Snake Charming	Pig-rearing	Telugu	-	Foot	Raychoti, Cuddapah	
	"	Kothapalli, Karimnagar	Snake Charming	Magic	Telugu	Hindi	Foot	-	-
	"	Cherlapalli, Nalgonda	Snake Charming	Selling herbs & medicines for snake bite	Telugu	Hindi	Foot	-	-
	"	Amistapur, Mahboobnagar	Snake Charming	-	Telugu	-	Foot	-	-
	"	Manachilkota, Kolar	Snake Charming	Selling medicines for snake bites	Telugu	-	Foot	-	-
	"	Avalahalli, Bangalore	Snake Charming	Tanning and selling snake skin	Telugu	Tamil & Kannada	Foot	Gokak, Belgaum	-
49.	Helava or Dombidasa	Muthnad, Belgaum	Recording genealogies	Bhiksha	Telugu	Tamil & Kannada	Foot	Cuddapah	They do not record genealogies
	"	Hassan	Recording genealogies	Selling perfumes, veterinarianing & Bhiksha	Telugui	Kannada & Tulu	Foot	Siruguppa, Bellary	"
	"	Kaddirampura, Bellary	Recording genealogies	Giving bag-pipe music and Bhiksha	-	-	Foot	-	"

Sl. No.	Name of the Group	The place where they were met or reported	Occupation by which popularly known	Other Occupations	Mother tongue	Other languages known	Mode of travel	The abode to which they periodically return	Remarks
	"	Belgaum	Recording genealogies	Begging through the help of bullock	-	Kannada	Foot	-	
50.	Katabu	Korkatti, Gulbarga	Tattooing	Bhiksha	Kannada	-	Foot	-	-
	"	Belgaum	Tattooing	Bhiksha	Kannada	-	Foot	-	-
51.	Kattippala or Katti Kappavi	Kothapalli, Karimnagar	Guarding burial ground	Magic & Bhiksha	Telugu	-	Foot	-	-
52.	Kille Kyatha	Kaddirampura, Bellary	Showing Bioscope	Agricultural labour	Marathi	Kannada	Foot	Chinnapura, Hospet	
	"	Muthnad, Belgaum	Showing Bioscope	-	Kannada	-	Foot	Gokak, Belgaum	
53.	Mardari	Cherlapalli, Nalgonda	Magic	Bhiksha	Urdu	Telugu	Foot	-	
IV	Trading								
54.	Chenchu	Kothapalli, Karimnagar	Selling animal skin, nails & herbs	Bhiksha	Chenchu	Telugu	Foot	-	
	"	Cherlapalli, Nalgonda	Selling animal skin, nails & herbs	Palmistry & Bhiksha	Chenchu	Telugu	Foot	-	
	"	Chennur, Cuddapah	Selling animal skin, nails & herbs	Begging	Chenchu	Telugu	Foot	-	They only beg but do not do trading
55.	Gosain	Shimoga	Selling perfumes	Trapping, selling snake's skins, dentistry & Bhiksha	Marathi	Telugu, Hindi & Gujarati	Donkey	-	They also know a little Kannada
	"	Gulbarga	Selling perfumes	Trapping & Bhiksha	-	Kannada	-	-	
56.	Joshi	Nizamabad	Trading in aluminium vessels (selling them in exchange for old clothes)	Palmistry	Marathi	Telugu & Hindi	Bus	-	-
57.	Muthkar	Muthnad, Belgaum	Selling stones for ornaments	-	Telugu	Kannada	Bus		
58.	Pusal	Avalahalli, Bangalore	Selling pins, beades, bangles, tapes, etc.	-	Telugu	Kannada	Foot	-	

Sl. No.	Name of the Group	The place where they were met or reported	Occupation by which popularly known	Other Occupations	Mother tongue	Other languages known	Mode of travel	The abode to which they periodically return	Remarks
59.	Rajannala	Kothapalli, Karimnagar	Trading in bullocks	Money-lending, mat-making & Bhiksha	Telugu	Marathi	Foot	Neerakulla, Sultanabad	
60.	Salunki	Shimoga	Selling perfumes and spices	-	Marathi	Telugu & Kannada	Foot	Ranibennur, Dharwar	
V	Animal Rearing								
61.	Dhanagar	Gundaram, Nizamabad	Rearing sheep & goat	Providing manure to villagers & selling sheep fur & Bhiksha	Telugu	-	Foot	-	
62.	Golla	Chickmagalur	Rearing sheep & goat	Bhiksha by displaying bull & cow & rearing cattle	Telugu	Kannada	Cattle and Foot	Kurnool	They do not rear sheep
	"	K.R.Nagar, Mysore	Rearing sheep & goat	"	Telugu	Kannada	Cattle and Foot	-	"
	"	Muthnad, Belgaum	Rearing sheep & goat	Trapping rabbits, fox, cats, etc. Bhiksha	Telugu	Kannada	Foot	-	"
	"	Amistapur, Mehaboobnagar	Rearing sheep & goat	Providing manure & Bhiksha	Telugu	-	Foot	-	
	"	Korkatti, Gulbarga	Rearing sheep & goat	Selling beads, chains and Bhiksha	Telugu	Kannada	Foot	-	
	"	Chennur, Cudappah	Rearing sheep & goat	Providing manure & Bhiksha	Telugu	-	Foot	-	
	Golla or Yadava	Tarikere, Chickmagalur	Rearing sheep & goat	" and trapping	Kannada	-	Donkey & Foot	Sira Taluk	
63.	Kuruba	Annigere, Dharwar	Rearing sheep & goat	Providing manure to villagers & selling	Kannada	-	Foot	Annigere, Dharwar	They are found all over Mysore & Andhra

Sl. No.	Name of the Group	The place where they were met or reported	Occupation by which popularly known	Other Occupations	Mother tongue	Other languages known	Mode of travel	The abode to which they periodically return	Remarks
				sheep fur & Bhiksha					
	"	Muthnad, Belgaum	Rearing sheep & goat	Providing manure to villagers & selling sheep fur & Bhiksha	Kannada	-	Foot	Raibag, Belgaum	
64.	Shikliga	Belgaum	Rearing buffaloes	Shaving buffaloes & selling vegetables & fruits	Kannada	-	Foot	-	
	"	Muthnad, Belgaum	Rearing buffaloes	Bhiksha from Harijans	Marathi	Kannada	Foot	-	They do not rear buffaloes
65.	Yerukula	Gundaram, Nizamabad	Rearing Pigs	Palmistry, money lending & trading in donkeys	Telugu	-	Donkey & Foot	Kamareddi, Nizamabad	
	"	Duvvur, Cudappah	Rearing Pigs	-	Telugu	-	-	-	
	"	Manachilkota, Kolar	Rearing Pigs	-	Telugu	-	-	-	
	(Kunchi) Yerukula	Cherlapalli, Nalgonda	Rearing Pigs	Making brush used in weaving & Bhiksha	Telugu	-	-	-	
VI	Bhiksha								
66.	Arabar	Muthnad, Belgaum	Bhiksha	Thieving	Hindi	Kannada	Foot	-	
67.	Bairagi	Dasankop, N. Kanara	Bhiksha by singing (on religious ground)	-	Hindi	Telugu & Tamil	Foot	-	
	"	Korkatti, Gulbarga	"	-	Hindi	Hindi & Kannada	Foot	-	
	"	Manachilkota, Kolar	Bhiksha by singing (on religious ground)	Palmistry & selling charms and amulets	Telugu	-	-	-	
	"	Avalahalli	" (Singing)	-	?	Telugu & Kannada	-	-	
68.	Balasanthoshi Joshi	Kaddirampura, Bellary	Bhiksha by drum music (on religious	-	?	Kannada & Telugu	Foot	-	

Sl. No.	Name of the Group	The place where they were met or reported	Occupation by which popularly known	Other Occupations	Mother tongue	Other languages known	Mode of travel	The abode to which they periodically return	Remarks
			ground)						
	"	Korkatti, Gulbarga	"	-	Marathi	Kannada	-	-	
	Balasantha	Kothapalli, Karimnagar	"	-	Telugu	Marathi	-	-	
	"	Cherlapalli, Nalgonda	"	Fishing & trapping	Telugu	-	-	-	
	"	Amistapur, Mehaboobnagar	"	-	Telugu	-	-	-	
69.	Darwesh (Muslim)	Kaddirampura, Bellary	Bhiksha (on religious ground)	-	Urdu	-	Foot	-	
70.	Gopal or Gorakshak	Korkatti, Gulbarga	Bhiksha in the name of cow	-	Marathi	Kannada	Foot	-	
71.	Irani	Dasankop, N. Kanara	Bhiksha by demand	-	?	-	Foot	-	
72.	Jakkula	Gundaram, Nizamabad	Bhiksha from Madiga (Harijans)	-	Telugu	-	Foot	-	
	"	Manachkotta, Kolar	Bhiksha from Adi Karnataka (Harijans)	-	Telugu	-	Foot	-	
73.	Sri Jangam	Kurnool	Bhiksha by Bhagwat singing	Making palm-mats and Bhiksha	Telugu	-	Foot	Narasingapalli, Mehaboobnagar	
	Jangam	Madanpalle Chittoor	Bhiksha by Palmistry & fortune telling	-	Telugu	Kannada	Foot	-	
	"	Kothapalli, Karimnagar	Bhiksha by Bhagwath singing	-	Telugu	Hindi	Foot	-	
	"	Manchilakota, Kolar	Begging	-	Telugu	-	Foot	-	They only beg
74.	Budage Jangam	Kothapalli, Karimnagar	Bhiksha by Bhagwath singing	-	Telugu	-	Foot	-	
	"	Cherlapalli, Nalgonda	"	-	Telugu	-	Foot	-	
75.	Siva Jangam	Eraguntala, Kurnool	Bhiksha from Saivites only	Bhagwath singing	Telugu	-	Foot	Nagar Kurnool, Mehboobnagar	
	"	Gundaram, Nizamabad	Bhiksha from Saivites only	"	Telugu	-	Foot	-	
	"	Cherlapalli, Nalgonda	Bhiksha from	"	Telugu	-	Foot	-	

Sl. No.	Name of the Group	The place where they were met or reported	Occupation by which popularly known	Other Occupations	Mother tongue	Other languages known	Mode of travel	The abode to which they periodically return	Remarks
			Saivites only						
76.	Jogi	Dasankop, N. Kanara	Bhiksha by Singing (on religious grounds)	Selling aluminium vessels and Stationery articles; reciting puranic stories & dancing	Marathi	Kannada, Konkani & Hindi	Foot	Hanagal, Dharwar	
	"	Gadikoppa, Shimoga	Bhiksha by Singing (on religious grounds)	-	Kannada	Hindi	Foot	-	
	Jogi	Muthnad, Belgaum	Bhiksha by Singing (on religious grounds)	-	Kannada	-	Foot	-	
	"	Manchil kota, Kolar	Bhiksha by Singing (on religious grounds)	-	-	-	Foot	-	
77.	Manda Bichavada	Gundaram, Nizamabad	Bhiksha from Dhanagar (Sheep-rearers) only	-	?	Telugu	Foot	-	
78.	Mundi	Cherlapalli, Nalgonda	Bhiksha by threatening to harm ones own self.	Rearing and trading in pigs	?	Telugu	Foot	-	
79.	Muthraj or Mundodu	Jadcherla, Mehboobnagar	Bhiksha by threatening to harm ones own self.	Trapping rat, and cat; women collect pigdung and sell	Telugu	Kannada	Foot	-	
80.	Panasa	Gundaram, Nizamabad	Bhiksha from Lohar, Sonar & Vishkarma Brahmin only	-	Telugu	-	Foot	-	
81.	Peddetti Budukki	Cherlapalli, Nalgonda	Bhiksha from Dhanagar (Sheep rearers) only	-	Telugu	-	Foot	-	
82.	Pichaguntala	Gundaram, Nizamabad	Bhiksha by singing (on religious grounds)	-	Telugu	-	Foot	-	

Sl. No.	Name of the Group	The place where they were met or reported	Occupation by which popularly known	Other Occupations	Mother tongue	Other languages known	Mode of travel	The abode to which they periodically return	Remarks
	"	Kothapalli, Karimnagar	"	Making & selling palm-mats	Telugu	-	Foot	Ramdurg, Karimnagar	
	"	Cherlapalli, Nalgonda	Bhiksha	Making & selling palm-mats	?	Telugu	Foot	-	
	"	Amistapur, Mehboob Nagar	Bhiksha	Making & selling palm-mats	Telugu	-	Foot	-	
	"	Manachil Kota, Kolar	Bhiksha	-	Telugu	-	Foot	-	
83.	Sadhu	Kaddiram pura, Bellary	Bhiksha	-	Tamil	Kannada, Telugu	Foot	-	
84.	Sudugadu Siddha	Lokapuram, Bijapur	Bhiksha by claiming to possess some malevolent powers	-	Telugu	Kannada	Bullocks and Foot	Koppal & Raichur	
	"	Gadikoppa, Shimoga	"	-	Hindi	Kannada	Foot	-	
	"	Kaddiram pura, Bellary	"	Magic	Telugu	Kannada	Foot	-	
	Sudugadu Siddha	Muthnad, Belgaum	Bhiksha by claiming to possess some malevolent powers	Magic	Telugu	Kannada	Foot	-	
	"	Channa patna, Bangalore	"	-	Telugu	Kannada	Foot	Murundi colony	
	"	Korkatti, Gulbarga	"	Magic	Telugu	Kannada	Foot	-	
85.	Vasudev	Gundaram, Nizamabad	Bhiksha from Marathi speakers only	-	Marathi	Telugu	Foot	-	
86.	Veeramurti	Cherlapalli, Nalgonda	Bhiksha from Vaisyas only	-	Telugu	-	Foot	-	
VII.	Labour								
87.	Khairwal	Kazipet	Working as labourers for extracting catechu	Agricultural labour	Hindi	-	Train & Bus	Chittarpur, M.P.	These people come every year in large groups to Warangal side for extracting catechu.

Sl. No.	Name of the Group	The place where they were met or reported	Occupation by which popularly known	Other Occupations	Mother tongue	Other languages known	Mode of travel	The abode to which they periodically return	Remarks
									They are expert in this job.
88.	Lambani	Dasankop, N. Kanara	Working on road construction	Agricultural labour	Kannada	Telugu	Foot	Bijapur	They are found all over Northern Mysore and Western Andhra.

Source: Misra, P.K. 1970 'Study of nomads' in Research Programme on Cultural Anthropology and Allied disciplines. Ed. by Surajit Sinha. Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India

APPENDIX 1

Illustrative Case 1: Hunting strategies to supplement their food supply

Reference : Malhotra K.C. et al 1983, 'Hunting Strategies among three non-pastoral groups of Maharashtra', *Man in India*, Vol.63, No.1

The case has been selected to show the role of hunting in the nutrition and economy of the Non-pastoral nomads. Specifically the study is aimed to document qualitatively the dependence of three selected Non-pastoral nomads on wild animals.

The three Non-pastoral nomads investigated were the Nandiwallas, the Vaidus and the Phasepardis. The Nandiwallas numbered about 3000. They had migrated from Andhra Pradesh. The traditional occupation of the menfolk of the Nandiwallas was to move in a traditionally defined territory with their trained sacred bulls (nandi). The nandi was trained to perform many tricks and answer questions posed by the clients of the Nandiwallas. The womenfolk of these people bartered and/or sold trinkets.

The Vaidus, numbered over 100,000 persons were found in 11 districts of Maharashtra. The traditional occupation of the Vaidu men was dispersing indigenous medicines and their women worked as midwives.

The Phasepardhis numbered 150000 were found in various districts of Maharashtra. They were hunters and gatherers and bartered some of the games for cereals and other goods.

This particular study was conducted in 1978 but the authors had been doing field work among the three Non-pastoral nomads for over 12 years. The data for this study was collected from 48 households of which 43 were Nandiwallas, 2 Vaidus and 3 Phasepardis using a semi-structured interview schedule; specifically the questions were what animals and their numbers they hunted in 12 months. The technique used was by method of recall.

Table (a) list the various animals these nomads hunted in order of their relative importance in terms of bio-mass contributed by each species to the total hunt. The terrestrial animals hunted were largely medium sized, in the range of 1 to 12 kg. The wild pig, the black buck and the wolf were the largest prey which contributed 16 percent of total bio-mass hunted. The medium size carnivores dominated the prey which contributed 43 percent of the bio-mass of their hunt. The fresh water fish, crabs and turtles contributed 18.6 percent while the birds about 4.7 percent. The monitor lizard, porcupine, squirrel and the hare contributed 18.2 percent of the hunt. The five striped squirrel was the only small rodent hunted by them. It was primarily used to reward hunting dogs and as bait to trap other animals.

Non-pastoral nomads rarely consumed its meal. Animals hunted by these nomadic groups in the descending order in terms of their contribution in weight to the diet of the surveyed households.

Table – a

Animals hunted by three nomadic groups in descending order in terms of their contribution in weight to the diet of the surveyed households

	Animal hunted (names in English)	Names			Average weight (kg.)	% of total biomass hunted
		Marathi	Telugu	Zoological		
1.	Jungle Cat	Ran manjar	Kashkyam	Felis chaus	6	14
2.	Black buck	Kalweet or haran	Jhinka	Antelope cervicapra	30	9.6
3.	Crabs	Khedka	-	-	-	9.3
4.	Fish	Masa	Chapa	-	-	6.9
5.	Wild pig	Ran dukkar	Pandi	Sus scrofa	150	6.6
6.	Jackal	Kolha	Nakka	Canis aureus	8	6.2
7.	Indian fox	Khokad	Guntakka	-	3	5.7
8.	Monitor lizard	Ghorpad	Udmu	Varanus monitor	1.5	5.5
9.	Fivestriped palm squirrel	Khadi	Udta	Palmarum	0.2	4.5
10.	Indian hare	Sasa	Kundel	Lepus nigricollis	3	4.3
11.	Indian porcupine	Sayal	Yeddu	Hystrix indica	12	3.9
12.	Leopard cat	-	Botha Pilli	Felis benghalensis	3	3.6
13.	Common mongoose	Mungus	Yentwa	Herpestes edwardsi	1	3.6
14.	Striped hyena	Taras	Korgyad	Hyena hyena	35	3.3
15.	Tortoise or turtle	Kasav	Tolya	Order Chelonia	3	2.4
16.	Domestic cat	Gharguti manjar	Ura Pilli	Felis domesticus	2.5	2.2
17.	Toddy cat	Udd	Marnagi	Paradoxurus hermaphroditus	3.5	2.2
18.	Pigeons and doves	Parva or Hola	-	-	0.25	1.7
19.	Partridges	Teetar	Kamajul	-	0.35	1.5
20.	Peafowl	Mor	Pot	Pavo cristatus	5	1.0
21.	Unidentified bird	-	Karkunji	?	4	0.6
22.	Quails	Laur	Jerjam/Lavkal	-	0.1	0.
23.	Unidentified bird	-	Pakhrudi	-	0.25	0.2
24.	Large Indian Civet	Pan udd	-	Viverra zibetha	4	0.1
25.	Eggs of monitor lizard (see 8 above)	-	-	-	0.04	0.1
26.	Unidentified mammal	-	Kalindar	-	3	0.07
27.	Otter	Pankutra	-	Lutra sp.	8	0.07
28.	Indian pangolin	Khavlya manjar	Valga	Manis crassicaudata	3	0.05
29.	Eggs of turtle/tortoise	-	-	-	0.04	0.03
30.	Wolf	Landga	Todyal	Canis lupus	18	0.01
31.	Small Indian civet	Panmanjar	Manal Pilli	Viverricula indica	2	-
32.	Unidentified mammal	Bhuikaval	-	-	-	-
33.	Eggs of wild birds	-	-	-	-	-
34.	Dhole	Rankutra	-	Cuon alpinus	20	-

Hunting Preferences

The three Non-pastoral nomads show differences in their hunting preferences. The Phaseparadhis were entirely dependent on hunting, gathering and trapping. Their preys were black deers, wild pigs and a variety of birds. They did not use dogs but cows as a cover to set their snares. They did not hunt carnivores or aquatic animals. The Vaidus preferred to hunt jungle cat, domestic cat, monitor lizard and crab. They were specialist in catching domestic cats. They used traps and hunting dogs. The Nandiwallas have the widest range of preferences of the three groups which did not overlap much with Phaseparadhis. The Nandiwallas used traps and hunting dogs but also organised group hunting for the animals like wild pigs and porcupine. Their preys were squirrel, jackal, mongoose, hare, jungle cat, monitor lizard, crabs, fishes, pigeons and doves, which the other groups normally did not hunt much. The study found that 36 households out of 45 obtained 35gms of animal protein per head per day from the meat of the hunted animals which was more than adequate.

The authors came to the conclusion that (a) even when the primary occupation of a community was not hunting-gathering they depended heavily on it; (b) that a substantial portion of their nutritional requirement, in particular protein was derived from wild animals; and (c) if more than one group hunted in the same territory then they tended to avoid overlap in animals hunted. This way they were able to avoid overuse of the resources. Based on this study the authors were inclined to suggest rather strongly that in absence of data it should not be assumed that the dependence of non-pastoral nomads on wild animals was negligible.

APPENDIX 2

Illustrative Case 2: Finding a gap in supply of goods and services:

Reference: Misra P.K. 1977 ' The Nomadic Gadulia Lohars of Eastern Rajasthan', Calcutta, Anthropological Survey of India.

The Gadulia Lohars are a nomadic artisan community. They are mostly found in Eastern Rajasthan and Western Madhya Pradesh. The traditional occupation of the Gadulia Lohars is blacksmithy, however, they also trade in bullocks. Womenfolk, old men and children assist in blacksmithy work. The Gadulia Lohar move in bullock carts which also serve as their homes. Bullock carts are specially built to accommodate their tools of trade, household provisions, and provide shelter from the elements. They camp to work and trade, to have food and leisure, to socialise and meet fellow Gadulia Lohar. They have developed new technology to meet competition from other blacksmiths and industry.

The Gadulia Lohar have developed a speciality in reworking discarded pieces of iron which settled blacksmiths are not prepared to do for economic reason and against their tradition. The women and children of the village smiths do not participate in the blacksmithy since it is considered beneath their dignity. Among the Gadulia Lohars all available persons in a household and in the neighbourhood share in the work.

Besides specialising in the re-use of scrap iron, the Gadulia Lohars have developed techniques for repair of agricultural tools. For example only the Gadulia Lohars undertake the re-cutting of axe blades. The worn edge of the axe is cut away after which the new end is heated and split up in the middle to permit insertion of a piece of steel of the same length as the edge. This segment is then heated and hammered until it is firmly set and the joint is smooth. After the edge is set, it is immersed in cold water to harden and toughen it. The steel used for this purpose is cut from broken automobile spring plates. Fixing a plate like this is a laborious job, as steel requires lengthy heating and heavy hammering. There is much demand for this kind of work for it produces an efficient tool, which does not require frequent sharpening and works out cheaper for the peasants.

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