# CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

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## ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

### ANDHRA PRADESH


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## ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

on

1. **Yerukula or Koracha (Scheduled Tribe)**
2. **Boyas (Denotified Tribe)**
3. **Nirshikaris and Pardhis (Denotified Tribe)**
4. **Balasanthosha (Nomadic Tribe)**


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# 1961 CENSUS PUBLICATIONS, ANDHRA PRADESH

(All the Census Publications of this State bear Vol. No. II)

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*List of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of Andhra Pradesh is given in Annexure II at the end of this volume.

# *FOREWORD*

The Constitution lays down that "the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation".

To assist States in fulfilling their responsibility in this regard, the 1961 Census provided a series of special tabulations of the social and economic data on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are notified by the President under the Constitution and the Parliament is empowered to include in or exclude from the lists, any caste or tribe. During the Census Operations, the enumerators frequently face the problem of identifying the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In the President's Notification, though in some cases, the names of the sub-castes and sub-tribes and synonyms are given, there are many cases where such names have not been provided in the list. The Census enumerators, therefore, require guidance about the acceptance or rejection of claims that they come across during the operations of some communities to be treated as sub-castes or sub-tribes of the notified Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes. For this purpose, the Census organisation has thought it wise to undertake detailed ethnographic studies in respect of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of India. This is also in conformity with the past Census tradition of presenting authentic ethnographic account of Indian communities.

For conducting the ethnographic studies, a number of ancillary operations are undertaken by the Social Studies Unit of the Office of the Registrar General, India as well as the staff of the Directors of Census Operations in the various States. These ancillary operations include; (i) compilation of available information on each Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe and preparation of bibliography in respect of them; (ii) preparation and interpretation of maps showing distribution of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes over time and space; and (iii) special studies on cultural, technological and economic changes taking place among the various tribal communities.

Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, Deputy Registrar General, Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit, assisted by Shri N. G. Nag, Officer on Special Duty, and Shri A. M. Kurup, Research Officer, is coordinating all these studies at the Central level. At the State level, the Director of Census Operations and his staff are collaborating in conducting the field investigations and preparing the report. Shri P.S.R. Avadhany, Deputy Director, supervised the study at the State level and Shri B. Satyanarayana carried out the field investigation and prepared the draft on these communities. Smt. P. Lalitha revised the drafts. I avail of this opportunity to extend my warm thanks to all my colleagues who have undertaken various studies on different aspects of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of India.

A. CHANDRA SEKHAR,
*Registrar General, India*

# *PREFACE*

As an adjunct of 1961 Census, preparation of ethnographic monographs on a number of selected Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and ethnic groups with special status and ethnographic glossaries on all Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been taken up by the Census Organisation.

In India the Census Organisation has a long tradition of undertaking ethnographic studies. Besides, there are certain reasons why, for its own operational purposes, it is necessary for the Census Organisation to take up such studies. During Census Operation, the Census Organisation is required to make a complete enumeration of all the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the country. The ethnographic studies are required to establish the identity of the various communities including their segments. The social boundaries of various communities are not always rigid, they are in a state of flux. Ethnographic studies are required to keep track of these changes as well, otherwise comparison of consecutive census figures would give altogether wrong picture in respect of them. There is another aspect of study in respect of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in which the Census Organisation, as well as the welfare and planning agencies are interested—it is ethno-demography. In 1961 Census, separate tables were prepared in respect of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on the following items :—

i) industrial classification of persons at work and non-workers by sex,

ii) age and marital status,

iii) education,

iv) religion,

v) persons not at work classified by sex and type of activity for Scheduled Castes,

vi) persons not at work classified by sex and type of activity for Scheduled Tribes,

vii) mother tongue and bilingualism for Scheduled Tribes.

The data available in these tables are to be analysed in respect of each Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe, so that the historical and cultural factors responsible for the demographic pattern can be identified and the impact of the emergent demographic pattern on the social structure can be determined.

The insight gained by the Census Organisation, through ethnographic studies of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes will be useful for interpretation of the demographic pattern for the country as a whole. Recent studies show that in India, even now, it is difficult to correctly appreciate the various social and economic processes without reference to caste. On the other hand, in the interest of ultimate national goal, caste is not being recorded in Census, except in case of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The insight gained through ethno-demographic studies of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is, therefore, of invaluable help for Census.

At the same time, such study is very much useful for planning of development activities among the castes or tribes concerned. For instance, if the Census shows that great deal of diversification of occupation has taken place among the Parayans of Kerala, it is important for the planners to know whether the community consists of a number of disconnected segments or whether it means that a great deal of individual mobility is taking place where the main focus of community is other than traditional occupation. Again when among the Bauris of Orissa, it is found that a very high proportion of the population is engaged in agricultural labour and next to them a high proportion is found in cultivation and also that there is considerable diversification of occupation, the following questions of sociological and practical importance arise:—

(a) What is the historical relation between the agricultural labourers and the cultivators among the Bauris of Orissa? The Census data suggests one of the two possible developments, namely (1) bulk of the Bauris were cultivators and by a process of degeneration of their economy have become agricultural labourers, (2) on the other hand, it is also possible that the bulk of them were agricultural labourers and through a process of improvement of their economic condition, many of them have become cultivators.

(b) The fact that a considerable diversification of occupation has taken place, suggests that the economy has not remained in stagnant condition. Here, it is to be examined whether the diversification is the result of upward mobility, or downward mobility, or even horizontal mobility, and what is the actual process by which the diversification has taken place.

(c) That social dimensions corresponding to the diversification in economic life have to be examined. It is also to be examined whether inspite of diversification of occupation, the ethos of a particular occupation, for instance agriculture, continues to be dominant. In that case, diversification might have created problems of adjustment in values and attitudes.

Instances can be multiplied, but it is not necessary. What have been stated above are enough to bring out the significance of ethno-demographic studies for planners.

The above dimensions of ethno-demographic studies have evolved throuh stages. In 1960, at the instance of Shri Mitra, the then Registrar General of India, a questionnaire for collection of ethnographic data was circulated among the Census Directors. In October, 1961, the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit was set up in the office of the Registrar General of India, to coordinate the ethnographic studies and a few other ancillary studies, like village surveys, handicraft surveys etc. In December, 1961 a study camp was organised in Delhi, where the personnel engaged in ethnographic studies, handicrafts studies and other social investigations in the offices of the Census Directors, participated. In the Study Camp, it was considered that the ethnographic notes would mainly aim at making an objective assessment of the state of development of the different Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the context of the changes taking place in technology, economic organisation and total culture pattern of the country. It was further suggested that the primary focus of the study should not be on the exotic elements of the cultures of the different castes and tribes. It should be on the efforts of the communities concerned, to adjust to the modern conditions of life. In the light of the above decisions

of the Study Camp, rapid ethnographic studies have been carried on by the staff of the Directors of Census Operations as well as by the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit of the Office of the Registrar General of India, in different parts of the country. These rapid surveys have brought out a number of methodological and operational problems. In May and June, 1966, two Ethnographic Study Camps were held at Kurseong and Hyderabad, where personnel from the Office of the Registrar General of India as well as from the offices of the Census Directors participated. In the Study Camp at Kurseong, the Secretary, Tribal Welfare, West Bengal, and Director, Tribal Welfare, West Bengal also participated. In these Study Camps, an integrated frame for preparation of ethnographic notes was discussed and adopted. A copy of the same may be seen at Annexure I. In addition to the studies in respect of each Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe separately, a number of subsidiary studies were undertaken by the Handicrafts, and Social Studies Unit of the Office of the Registrar General of India, for gaining insight into a number of problems of general nature, which have bearing on the different aspects of the lives of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of the country. These subsidiary studies are as follows:—

1. Shifting cultivation in Santal Parganas of Bihar and Garo Hills of Assam.
2. Pattern of Rehabilitation of displaced tribals of Rourkela.
3. Socio-economic Survey of the Scheduled areas of Rajasthan.
4. Socio-economic developments among the hillmen of North-East India.
5. Social structure and cultural orientation of Christians converted from Scheduled Castes.
6. Traditional rights of scavenging as claimed by scavengers in urban areas.
7. Grouping of castes and tribes with reference to occupation and inter-group- and intra-group comparative study on the basis of the data available in earlier censuses.
8. Social mobility movements among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

On the basis of each of the subsidiary studies indicated above, a separate monograph is under preparation. It is also proposed to prepare separate monographs on a few Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and ethnic groups with special status in each State. Besides, ethnographic glossaries are proposed to be prepared in respect of all Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. For this purpose about one lakh references have been indexed.

The present Ethnographic Notes on Yerukula or Koracha (Scheduled Tribe), Boya (Denotified Tribe), Nirshikaris and Pardhis (Denotified Tribes) and Balasanthosha (Nomadic Tribe) are the monographs brought out by the Census Organisation in this Volume. Field investigation on these communities was undertaken by Shri B. Satyanarayana of the Office of the Director of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh. The preliminary reports prepared by Shri B. Satyanarayana have been revised by Smt. P. Lalitha of the Office of the Director of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh. It was

finally edited by the Editorial Board consisting of Shri P. S. R. Avadhany, Deputy Director of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh, Shri A. M. Kurup, Research Officer and myself.

I take this opportunity to express my thanks to all the colleagues who collaborated in this project.

Shri H. L. Harit, Investigator, who is looking after the compilation of information from published sources in respect of all Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other special ethnic groups of India deserves mention.

Shri A. Mitra, the Registrar General of India for 1961 Census, whose farsighted initiative is responsible for social investigation in a large number of fields including ethnography, deserves thanks of all students of Indology. I have been benefited not only by his inspiration, but also by his valuable suggestions in connection with the ethnographic studies as well as the other studies, conducted by the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit.

The tradition built by Shri Mitra, has been continued by Shri A Chandra Sekhar, the present Registrar General of India. Under his guidance, the scope of the Social Studies by the Census Organisation has been further expanded. In spite of his other preoccupations, he has gone through the final drafts of the ethnographic notes and given a number of valuable suggestions. I avail of this opportunity to express my gratefulness to him.

B. K. ROY BURMAN

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# YERUKULA OR KORACHA

(SCHEDULED TRIBE)

# YERUKULA

## Name, Identity, Origin and History

The present Ethnographic Note is an outcome of field investigation of Yerukula households of different parts in Andhra Pradesh conducted during March, 1963. The field study is confined to some places *viz.*, Atmakur town, Barnur village and Giddalur village of Kurnool district, Anantapur town, Uppanka village and Ravulacheruvu of Anantapur district, Ganganapalem village of Guntur district and Picket area of Secunderabad City. In all, 37 households are covered while compiling the observations of different areas.

The synonymity of Yerukula, Koracha or Korava of Andhra region and Kaikadi of Telangana region is carefully established. Yerukulas are classified as a Scheduled Tribe in Andhra area of Andhra Pradesh. Korachas (or Koravars or Yerukulas) in Andhra area, Kaikadis (or Korachas or Korava or Yerukulas) in Telangana area are classified as Denotified Tribes. In some areas these Denotified Tribes are called as Donga Korachas or Monde Korvars or Nawabpet Korachas or Urkorachas. They are also called Jakkalas, Pariki-Muggulas and Pedditi Gollas. Even though they have been classified in two lists with different names, these two are ethnically one and the same. The reason for the numerous names of the same tribe can be attributed to the spatial variation. This point of investigation gets manifold support from such authorities as E. Thurston, R. E. Enthoven and A. Aiyappan.

The commonness of the customs and manners of the above mentioned groups tend to support that they are one and the same, though they are called by different names in the different areas. Their nomadic way of life, commensality and inter-marriages have been carefully gone into before arriving to such conclusions.

Yerukulas are known by different names. E.Thurston writes:

> "They are known as Korava from the extreme South to the North of the North Arcot district, where they are called Koracha or Korcha, and in the ceded districts they become Yerukula or Yerakala." [E. Thurston, Vol. III, p. 439].

Field investigation reveals that the name Yerukula has been given to this tribe basing on the profession of fortune-telling which they follow even to-day. Thurston writes:

> "It is in the north of the Cuddapah district that the Yerukalas first appear in co-existence with the Koracha. The Korcha being admitted on all sides to be the same as the Korava, our doubt regarding the identity of the Korava with the Yerukala will be disposed of if we can establish the fact that the Korcha and the Yerukala are the same. The Rev. J. Cain, writing about the Yerukalas of the Godavari district, states that 'among themselves they call each other Kuluvaru' but the Telugu people call them Erakavaru or Erakalavaru, and this name has been derived from the Telugu word *eruka*, which means knowledge or acquaintance, as they are great fortune-tellers." [E. Thurston, Vol. III, pp. 442-443].

Field study conducted in Uppanka village of Kalyandrug taluk of Anantapur district reveals that the tribe which is known as Koracha in the neighbourhood, claims itself to be Yerukulas because they are under the impression that Koracha is a mean and derogatory term. They think that 'Yerukula' is a refined word to Korachas. Also they expressed that Yerukula and Koracha are one and the same tribe, known differently in different regions and in certain areas both the names are in common use. Korachas or Yerukulas of case studies are not known as Kurru or Kurava, while:

> "Dr. Oppert further connects Kurru with the root Ku, a mountain; and in a Tamil work of the ninth century, * Kurru or Kura (Kuramagal) is given as the name of a hill tribe." [E. Thurston, Vol. III, p. 441].

Dr. Oppert further says that the name of this tribe Kuruvandlu or Kuluvandlu and their occupation of the fore-telling might have induced the Telugu people to call them as Yerukulavandlu.

Yerukulas of Ganganapalem village in Narasaraopet taluk of Guntur district where case studies were conducted, expressed their ignorance regarding the existence of community by name 'Koracha'. This may

* *Thirumurukairuppadai.*

be due to their long settled life in those parts whose ancestors never told them about their origin. As told by the informants in other districts, this community is known by Telugu speaking people as Yerukula and referred to by Tamil speaking people as 'Koracha' in the districts near about Madras, *viz*, Chittoor and Nellore. And also, it is known that the Yerukulas of Chittoor and Nellore districts have relationship with Korachas of Madras State.

Thurston records the following to bring out the fact that Yerukula or Koracha are one and the same:

> " One Inspector extracted from his notes the information that, in 1895, marriages took place between the Southern Koravas of a gang from the Madura district and the Yerukalas of the Cuddapah district; and further, that the son of one of a gang of Yerukalas in the Anantapur district married girl from a gang belonging to the Mysore State. The consensus of opinion also goes to prove that they will eat together." [ E. Thurston, Vol. III, p. 444 ].

Hence it would appear that Yerukulas and Korachas have been one and the same since a long time, and inter-marriages are in existence.

In the Volume of R. E. Enthoven, there is some account of Koravas which has been furnished below. Koravas are also known as Korar, Korgar, Kormar (Korama) and Korchar. They are a nomadic tribe of hunters, fortune-tellers, cattle-breeders, carriers, musicians, basket-makers and thieves. They might have been the immigrants from Mysore, and the Tamil speaking districts of Salem, South Arcot and Coimbatore in Madras, where they are generally known by the name of Kuravan. Enthoven also indirectly hints that their places of origin might be Andhra, Madras and Mysore because of their language which is a mixture of the Telugu, Tamil and Kannada [ R. E. Enthoven, Vol. II p. 266 ].

The following information on the origin of Koravas is given by Buchanan. The Koravas, according to him once ruled South Canara under the chieftainship of Hubashika. He describes them in 1800 as wearing a bunch of grass, taking beef and offal, and worshipping a stone called Buta [ R. E. Enthoven, Vol. II pp. 266-267 ].

Enthoven records:

> "Abbe Dubois describes them as carriers and basket-makers, who were perpetually wandering about, and showed much affinity with the Gypsies of Europe, especially in telling fortunes. The women, according to him were skilful as tattooers; but the tribe in his time had an evil reputation for thieving and house-breaking." [R. E. Enthoven, Vol. II p. 267].

Hassan and Aiyappan support the view that Korava, Koracha and Yerukula are one and the same. [1 Hassan S.S. Vol. I, p. 185. 2 Aiyappan, 1948 p. 161 ].

Their variation in name is purely an outcome of regional distance of the areas where they settled. It is mentioned in Aiyappan's report that Korava finds place under the Criminal Tribes Act, quite early. All the severest provisions of the Act, were imposed on them. They were removed in thousands from their homelands in Rayalaseema and interned in the settlements in Nellore and Guntur districts. Aiyappan also records the existence of an Erukula Sangham and its editing a paper entitled 'Erukula' [ pp. 163–164 ].

Ethnographic Survey in Hyderabad city conducted at Picket, Secunderabad area revealed that 'Kaikadi' is a Maratha term for Yerukulas, and that Yerukulas in certain parts of Telangana region are popularly known as Kaikadis.

During the field study none of the informants could give the mythological origin and history of their community.

The following account of the origin of Yerukulas and Koravas is given by Thurston [E. Thurston, Vol. III, pp. 445–446].

It is said that this story is culled from the Sastras and the Ramayana which agrees in most aspects with that furnished in the Bhagavatam. The great Venudu, son of Agneswathu (directly descended from Brahma) and the ruler of the universe could not beget a son to succeed him. His body was preserved after his death and after serious thinking by the seven ruling planets, a decision has been taken to create a being from the right thigh of the deceased, and thus got Nishudu. As Nishudu turned out to be not only deformed in body but ugly in face, they decided to take another chance

of creating a being from the right shoulder and succeeded in their effort. The second creation was named as Proothu Chakravarthi. He was made the ruler. Nishudu became discontented and prayed Gods for justice as he was the first born. Gods could not give him the throne as Chakravarthi was already in possession of it and hence made him a ruler over the forests. Boyas, Chenchus, Yanadis and Koravas were considered as the descendents of Nishudu. Some of the off-spring of Nishudu called themselves Yerukulas (*Yeruka*= to know) as Nishudu watched in solemn silence to know his creator. Another story tells that Koravas are the offspring of Dharmaraja and a woman who loved him and met him in the form of a fortune-teller (*Kuru* meaning fortune telling) while he was in exile.

**Clan and other analogous Divisions**

Bhadur Khan, President of the Andhra Pradesh Adimanivas Sangh at Kurnool, gave the following information on the origin of Yerukulas.

There are two exogamous divisions, each of which is sub-divided into two. These sub-divisions are also of exogamous nature as inter-marriages are prohibited between them, and they are treated as *gotralu.* They are:

| A | B |
|---|---|
| Sathpadi | Nallabotula |
| Manupadi | Mandraguthi |

Persons belonging to the former two groups of 'A' do not marry among themselves, whereas they marry in the other two sections of 'B'. Similarly the latter two groups of 'B' do not inter-marry but marry from the first two divisons.

The above mentioned sub-divisions of this community had emerged from the different duties shared by four groups in worshipping Lord Siva. Those who cleaned the idol of Siva are called as Sathpadis, while the carriers of His chariot are known as Nallabotulas. Manupadis are assigned to bring flowers for the worship of Siva while Mandraguthis helped Nallabotulas in carrying the chariot. Now-a-days these duties are not adhered to, by the people belonging to the respective sub-divisions. Each *gotra* is divided into a number of *intiperlu* (surnames).

The following are the occupational sub-divisions among the Yerukulas.

(1) *Dabba Yerukula:* The occupation of this group is weaving of mats, tatties and basket-making. They are mostly nomadic. But now-a-days, some of them are settled in certain villages where they depend on the above occupation. The nomads among this group move from place to place during the period from October to May, every year.

(2) *Kunchapari Yerukula:* Though this group is also nomadic in nature, some of them are found to have settled permanently. One family of this group was found at Anantapur whose main occupation is pig-rearing and preparation of *Kunchelu* (about 4 feet long big brushes used by weavers for preparing the warp) and selling them. This group is otherwise known as Gadde Yerukula as they are engaged in *gadde* or *sodi, i. e.,* fortune-telling. This is a money fetching occupation and hence the people go about crying *Yeruko-amma-yeruku* (prophecies mother prophecies).

(3) *Jakkala* or *Pariki Muggula :* Women of this division are proficient in tattooing and they will be usually moving from place to place and earn money. Males of this division rear pigs and sell pigs, and pig-manure.

(4) *Pedditigolla*: This division is also nomadic by nature and catch snakes. They are known as Pamula Yerukalas in some parts. These people are in the habit of performing magic activities locally known as *modi.*

(5) *Urkorachas:* Korachas who settle down in a particular place discarding their nomadic life, are known as Urkorachas. They are however synonymous to Yerukulas.

There exists a group among Yerukulas, known as Donga Yerukulas who are supposed to be criminal in nature, as *donga* means a thief. But, this is not a separately recognised sect by itself.

During the field study the following sub-divisions were found to exist among the Korava or Yerukula community out of the numerous sub-divisions found in the extract from the Caste Index of Census of India, 1891 (Volume XV) given in the Annexure.

**Sub-divisions**

| | |
|---|---|
| (*i*) *Bidaru* | (*ix*) *Kaikatti* |
| (*ii*) *Chuvala* | (*x*) *Kavadi* |
| (*iii*) *Dabbe* | (*xi*) *Koracha* |
| (*iv*) *Devarakonda* | (*xii*) *Kuncha* |
| (*v*) *Gadde* | (*xiii*) *Manippadi* |
| (*vi*) *Gampa Yerukala* | (*xiv*) *Mendaguttiru* |
| (*vii*) *Gajjalavaru* | (*xv*) *Pacche* |
| (*viii*) *Jakkula* | (*xvi*) *Pamula* |

Out of the nine sub-divisions given by Enthoven under Koravas, the following are found to be identical with those found in the field study [ R. E. Enthoven, Vol. II, p. 267].

(i) *Dabbe*

(ii) *Kunchi* (it is mentioned as Kuncha in the Caste Index of 1891).

**Appearance**

Usually the Yerukulas are tall and swarthy in skin colour. Generally men wear the hair in a bunch to one side of the head and women in a bunch to the back of the head locally known as *koppu*, while both men and women wear strings of red and white beads and shells round their necks. Some of the Yerukula men wear a cloth round their loins which is locally known as *gochi*. The photographs of typical Yerukula man and woman are shown in Figures 1 and 2.

**Distribution and Population trend**

In Statement-I information on Yerukulas is traced from the available old Census Reports of Hyderabad and Madras States and the statistics of 1961 Census of Andhra Pradesh. In some years the population is tabulated giving sexwise division, while in others they have just given the total figure without the sexwise break-up.

STATEMENT-I

POPULATION OF YERUKULA

| Details | | | Persons | Males | Females |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | | | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| *Year* | | | | | |
| 1881 | Hyderabad | *E ... | 9,867 | — | — |
| | | †K ... | 7,040 | — | — |
| 1901 | Madras | ... ... | 65,513 | — | — |
| 1911 | Madras | ... ... | 88,241 | — | — |
| 1911 | Hyderabad | ... ... | 201 | — | — |
| 1921 | Madras | ... ... | 88,631 | 45,785 | 42,846 |
| 1921 | Hyderabad | *Y ... | 30,385 | 14,937 | 15,448 |
| | | K ... | 24,794 | — | — |
| 1931 | Hyderabad | E ... | 59,172 | 32,002 | 27,170 |
| | | K ... | 9,986 | — | — |
| 1931 | Madras | Total ... | 832 | 424 | 408 |
| Ganjam Plains except, Chicacole, Parlakimedi and Tekkali | | ... | 266 | 145 | 121 |
| | Chicacole | ... ... | 348 | 152 | 196 |
| | Parlakimedi | ... ... | 113 | 62 | 51 |
| | Tekkali | ... ... | 84 | 56 | 28 |
| | Ganjam Agency | ... | 10 | 4 | 6 |
| Salur, Srungavarapukota, Viravilli, Palakonda, Gudem and Golgonda taluks | | ... ... | 11 | 5 | 6 |
| Visakhapatnam Agency | | ... | — | — | — |
| 1961 *Census Andhra Pradesh* | | | | | |
| | Rural | ... | 111,021 | 56,526 | 54,495 |
| | Urban | ... | 17,003 | 8,485 | 8,518 |
| **Grand Total** | | ... | **128,024** | **65,011** | **63,013** |

*E or Y=Yerukula; †K=Kaikadis.

In the Census figures of Hyderabad State 1881, 1921 and 1931, Kaikadis and Yerukulas were enumerated separately. In 1901 no one was classified under these two castes (as it is clear from Appendix II) and the population figure of only Yerukulas was given in 1911 where an abnormal decrease in the population figure of Yerukulas is noticeable. In the Census Report the reason given for the decrease is the strict accuracy followed in enumeration [Census of India, 1921, Vol. XXI, Hyderabad State, Part I, Report. p. 231]. An abnormal increase among Yerukulas in 1931 Census of the same State is noticed for which the reason is not known. With regard to the Madras Census Reports, we find normal rate of increase from 1901 to 1921 and a steep decline in 1931 Census. Only 832 persons were recorded in 1931 as against 88,631 persons of 1921 Census.

According to 1961 Census, Yerukulas who were enumerated as a Scheduled Tribe only in the 11 Andhra districts form 0.36% of the total population of Andhra Pradesh and 9.67% (males 9.7% and females 9.64%) of the total Scheduled Tribes population of the State. It is found that 86.72% of the Yerukula population inhabit rural areas while only 13.28% live in urban areas. Their population is comprised of 50.78% males and 49.22 % females. Districtwise distribution of Yerukula is given in Appendix I. It is predominantly found in Guntur district where 30% of the total population reside. The next 4 places are taken by Krishna, Anantapur, Nellore and Kurnool, where the respective percentages of concentration are 11.31, 10.99, 10.19 and 9.18. In the districts of Chittoor, Cuddapah, East Godavari and West Godavari the percentage ranges from 5.51 to 6.65. The percentage is quite low in Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts when compared to other districts, *i.e.*, 2.06 and 1.77 respectively. The urban population of Yerukulas is respectively 18.33% 17.54% and 16.66% to their total population in the



Fig. 1 An Yerukula man



Fig. 2 An Yerukula woman

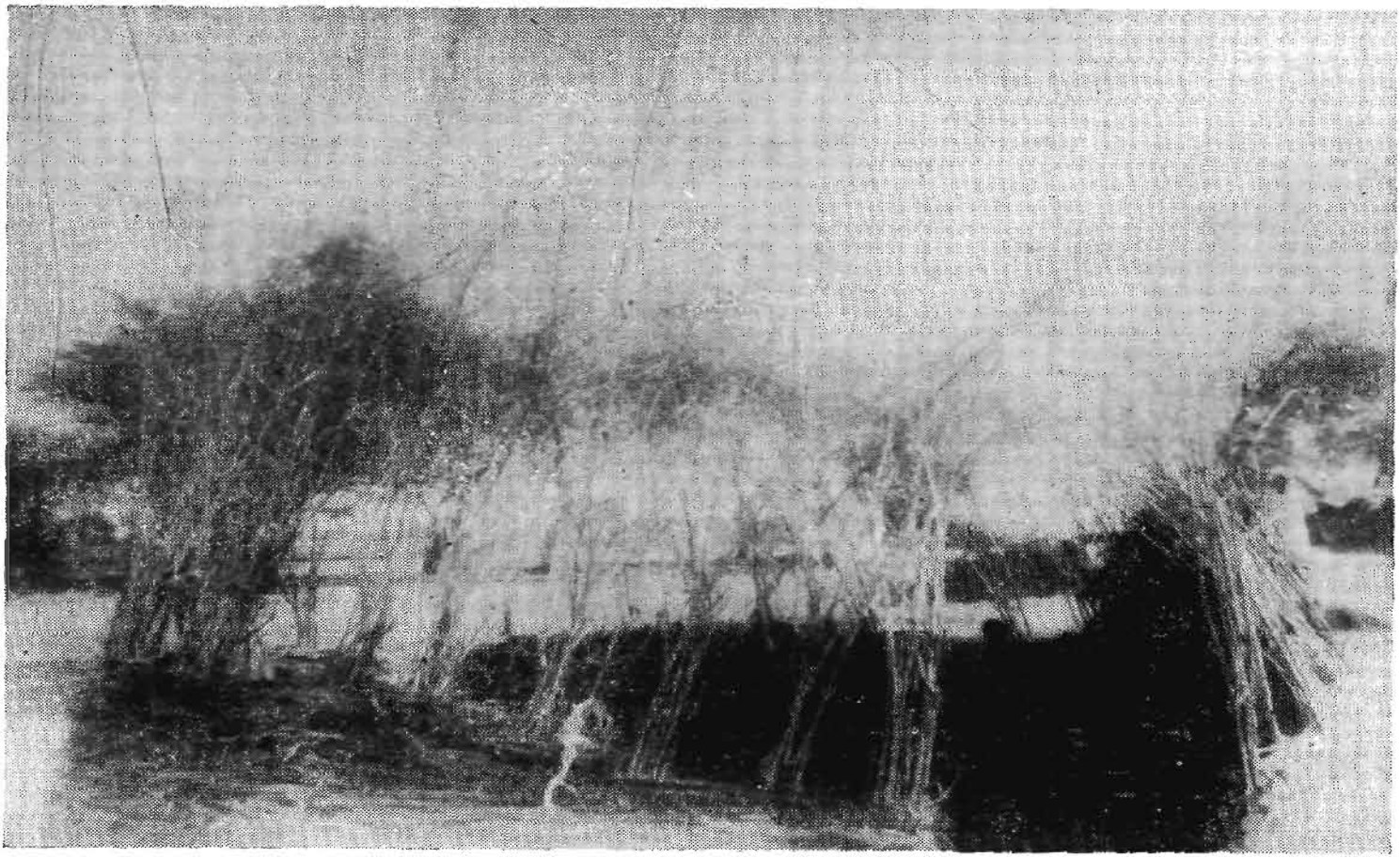


Fig. 3 A temporary *Kottam* of Yerukula under construction. It will be roofed with mats.

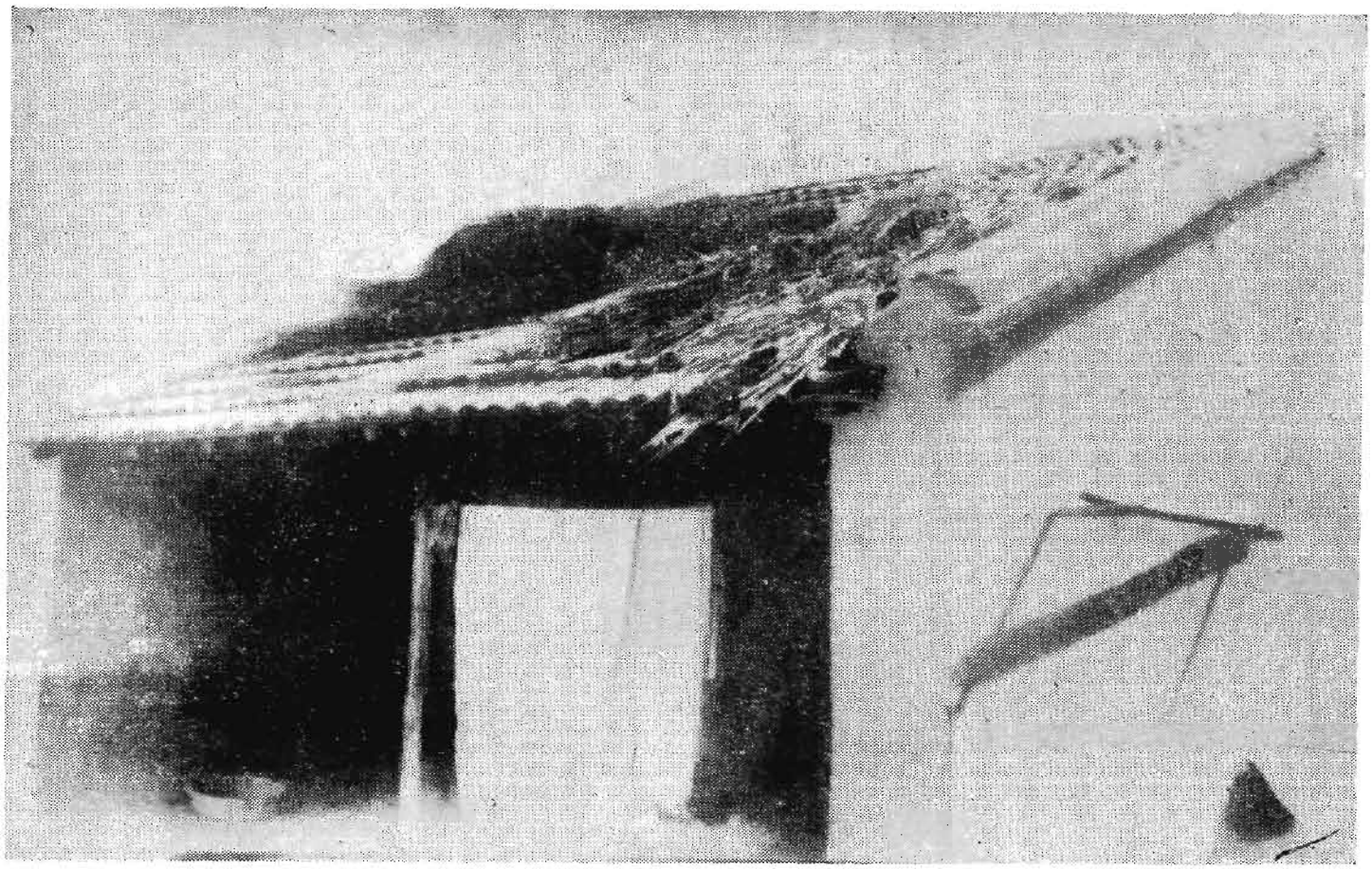


Fig. 4 A tiled house of Yerukulas constructed by the Social Welfare Department at Ganganapalem village of Guntur district



Fig. 5 A tiled house of Yerukulas constructed by the Social Welfare Department



Fig. 6 Utensils

districts of Kurnool, West Godavari and Guntur. It is 8.13%, 7.26%, 6.74%, and 6.37% in the districts of Anantapur, Srikakulam, Nellore and Cuddapah respectively. The percentage of urban population in the other districts is comparatively small.

The sex ratio among Yerukulas is 969 females for 1,000 males while the sex ratio for the State is 981 females for 1,000 males. Males out-number the females in all the districts except in West Godavari and Guntur.

It is also clear from Appendix II that Yerukulas and Kaikadis were separately returned in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions during the decades from 1881 to 1931. There are no population figures for 1891, and 1901 in the case of Yerukulas while for Kaikadis there are no figures *in 1891, 1901 and 1911*. The percentage of increase in Yerukula population is 1,409.4 and 94.7 during 1911 to 1921, and 1921 to 1931 respectively. The percentage of net increase in population from 1881 to 1931 is 499.7 and 41.8 in the case of Yerukulas and Kaikadis respectively,

It is observed from Appendix II that during 1891 Census of Madras both Yerukulas and Kuravans were clubbed while they have been separately tabulated during the Census decades of 1901, 1911 and 1921. There is found a net increase of 22.7% in the population of Yerukulas and Kuravans put together from 1891 to 1901. There is an increase of 34.7% and 0.4% among Yerukulas during 1901 to 1911 and 1911 to 1921 respectively, while among Kuruvans there is an increase of 9.3% during 1901 to 1911 and a decrease of 14.7% during 1911 to 1921.

## Dwellings, Food, Dress and Habits

### Dwellings

They live in huts. A few have houses with mud walls and mat roofs. Though these huts are of permanent nature they require re-roofing every six months or at least once in a year. No plastering is done to the floor. Not much importance is attached to the sanitation of the surroundings or inside the house.

The dwellings are generally thatched and consist of low mud walls. The roofs slope down to both sides. Bamboos are arranged in an inclined plane resting on two side-rafters and one central-rafter in length-wise direction. The central horizontal-rafter is supported by a central vertical pole and two side walls. Wattles are spread on this bamboo structure over which is spread palmyrah leaves or paddy hay.

The wandering Korachas, erect a small temporary *kottam* (hut) of shifting nature, covered with mats, or coconut or palmyrah leaves, not more than 3 or 4 feet height. They live along with other castes like Boya, Balija and Golla, etc.

The Yerukulas of Ganganapalem village were granted subsidies of Rs. 500 each, for house construction by the Social Welfare Department and they have constructed decent houses. In addition to the subsidy they have added their family labour and also some amount ranging between Rs. 200 and Rs. 300 borrowed from local rich people. Figures 3, 4 & 5 give the house types of Yerukulas at Ganganapalem of Guntur district. Figures 4 & 5 show tiled houses constructed by the Yerukulas with the subsidy granted by the Social Welfare Department supplemented by their own resources. The houses are very neatly built with stone foundations, brick walls plastered with cement and white washed and roofed with Mangalore tiles over palmyrah rafters and bamboos slantly arranged towards both ends of the side walls (Fig. 5). Every house is divided into two equal and similar portions each containing a room with a common varandah wherein two families reside. Prior to the construction of these houses they were living in small, poor, circular shaped huts covered with palmyrah leaves. The Kaikadis at Picket in Secunderabad area of Hyderabad district also possess houses which are built by the co-operative society of Yerukulas. There is no separate kitchen and the single room is used for all the purposes. With no back yard and front yard, people owning cattle tether them in open space outside the house. Bachelor's dormitories are unknown to them. There will be no separate well for each household. In urban areas where the discrimination is least noticed, they fetch water from a nearby well or tap. In rural areas they go to the well nearby their hutments which is meant for Scheduled Castes.

They do not observe the ceremonies concerning house construction and house-warming as most of them will be changing their places of residence very often. Even the well-settled Yerukulas of Ganganapalem village of Guntur district do not observe the above ceremonies.

## Food

The staple food of Yerukulas is *sangati* (cooked *ragi* or *jowar)* with *mirupakaram* (chutney prepared with chillies). Rice is also consumed occasionally. Vegetables and certain tubers are freely used. They relish all types of meat such as that of goat, sheep, deer and fowl and also eggs and fish. Pork is also consumed by some. The eating of beef and dead animal's flesh is prohibited. Among the other small animals whose flesh they relish are, hare, rabbit, iguana, cat, field rat, and birds. They eat the flesh of crows, *burralu*, *usuallu*, and *kamjulu*. The food is cooked in earthen pots and they possess one or two aluminium vessels for preservation of food stuffs. Figures 6 & 7 give some of the utensils of Yerukulas. They use earthen pots for fetching and storing water. Some people use earthen plates and some aluminium plates for taking food.

The Yerukulas living in Picket area of Secunderabad in Hyderabad city and at Ganganapalem village of Narsaraopet taluk in Guntur district take rice in the mornings and *jonna annam* or *jowar* bread as the night meal along with *dal* cooked with *gogu* (hibiscus cannabinus) leaves, *mirapa karam* (paste prepared with chillies) or some other chutney. *Rasam* or *Sambar* (a liquid preparation with tamarind and *dal*) is also prepared occasionally. There are no regular food habits for Yerukulas of Anantapur and Kurnool districts where case studies were conducted. Meal is taken thrice in a day. Breakfast is known as *chaddi annam* (left over of previous night's preparation) which will be taken in the early hours of morning. *Vedi annam* (hot rice) is taken in the afternoon when they return from labour and during night they take their third meal. A few cook in the morning only and depend on the begged food in the night. There is no special food prescribed for the festivals. Only those who possess milch cattle take butter milk. Some Yerukulas have taken to the habit of taking tea or coffee.

## Dress

In the areas covered by the Census Investigators for case studies, Yerukula males of the younger generation are found to wear *dhoti* and shirt and generally elderly males wear *gochi* or loin cloth and a shirt as upper garment. Older generation of males wear occasionally *rumala* or turban and some keep only a *gochi pancha* as a substitute for *pancha*. Women wear sarees and jackets. Children have knickers and *langas*, (petty-coats). Since they are very poor, they cannot afford to have more than a pair or two. They are often found wearing tattered clothes. Old People usually cover themselves with a blanket known as *gongali* to protect themselves from chill weather. They select dark coloured clothes because they serve longer and do not appear soiled. There is no special dress for them for any occasion.

No ornaments are in use for males. However, some males are reported to be wearing *munjeti kadiam* or *danda kadiyalu* and *vendi molatadu*. Women wear only a necklace of beads; bangles and *mattelu*. Costly jewellery is beyond their reach. Widows wear brass anklets; some women wear ear-rings of brass metal. These are their customary ornaments.

## Habits

They take bath regularly during evenings and they keep themselves clean and tidy. Soap is rarely used but in its place coconut fibre or a rough stone is used to scrub the body. Those at Ganganapalem village (Guntur district) and in Secunderabad are reported to be using soaps. Tattoo marks are seen on the forehead and fore arms of both men and women. But this practice is disappearing. Usually all males smoke and some chew *pan* also. All women take to *pan* chewing. Taking intoxicants is the habit with almost all elders. Especially during marriage and death occasions they indulge in heavy liquor consumption.

No specific games are practiced by Yerukula children. They play the usual games of *badde-gudu* (game of marbles *chilla catti* ( a game played with sticks, one stick about 6" long called *chilla*, and the other about 1½ ft. long called *katti*) along with the other children of the village. Adults, however, do not indulge in any games. They go to cinemas occasionally. But some women are fond of attending *punyakatha kalakshepam* (narration of mythological tales in song and and speech) whenever arranged in nearby places. The Yerukulas of Guntur district and Secunderabad area are more refined in their practices of food, dress, and habits.

## Language and Education

The mother tongue of this community is Yerukula which is a mixture of Telugu, Tamil and Kanarese indicating the region of their origin. They talk to neighbours in the language of that particular regional language-a basic need to adjust with their nomadic life. In rural parts, this community is not sending its children to schools. Those who inhabit the urban areas however

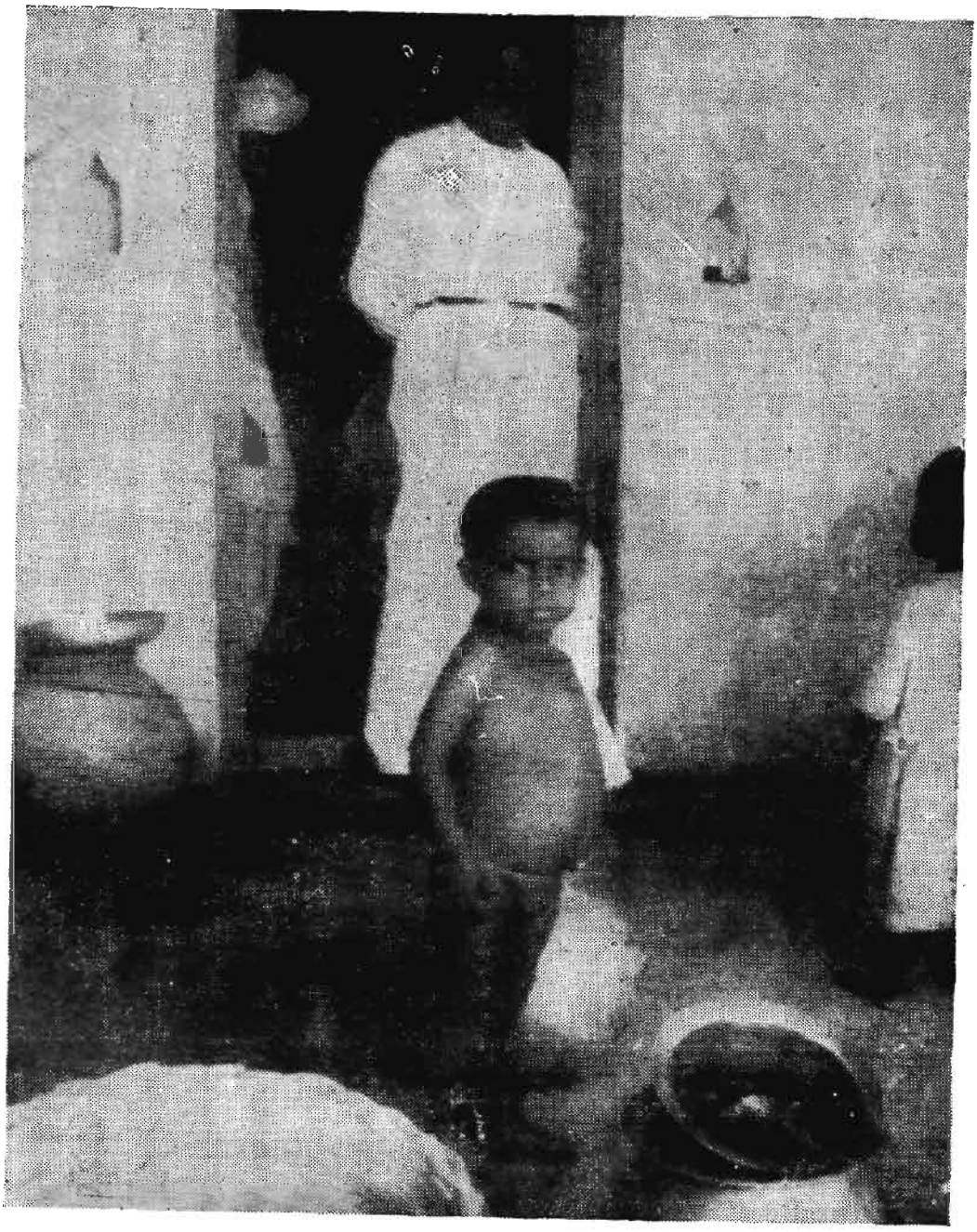


Fig. 7 Utensils



Fig. 8 An Yerukula woman ready to leave for telling *Sode* (fortune telling)

send their children to schools and educate them. Adults in this community are not interested in educating themselves by attending to Adult Education Centres wherever they are provided.

The following are some of the common words of the Yerukula dialect that are collected during the field study :

| *Yerukula dialect* | | *English* |
|---|---|---|
| *Ba* | = | Come here |
| *Kala tingettuva* | = | Come here to eat |
| *Tanni* | = | Water |
| *Chudu gattu* | = | to sleep |
| *Nere pere pe* | = | What is your name |
| *Tasi* | = | Sister |
| *Tambi* | = | Brother |
| *Vedu* | = | House |
| *Meka* | = | Goat |
| *Madu* | = | Cow |
| *Kohi* | = | Hen |
| *Amma* | = | Mother |

The Appendix III gives particulars of the mother tongue and the subsidiary languages spoken by Yerukulas in the Andhra region of Andhra Pradesh State according to 1961 Census.

It is clear from the Appendix III that Yerukulas of Andhra Pradesh have returned 9 languages as their mother tongue. Again they speak a few more languages, subsidiary to their mother tongue. 30.90% of the males and 29.76% of the females. forming 29.92% of their total population, speak subsidiary languages in addition to their mother tongue.

60.19% of the Yerukulas have Telugu as their mother tongue, of whom 4.18% have returned speaking the following subsidiary languages *viz.*, Yerukula or Yerukala, English, Tamil, Urdu, Kannada, Hindi, Oriya, Marathi, Sanskrit, Lamani or Lambadi and Malayalam.

Yerukula is the mother tongue of 38.99% of the total population of Yerukulas of whom 69.08% speak the following subsidiary languages *viz.*, Telugu, English Kannada, Tamil, Urdu, Hindi, Oriya and Malayalam.

The mother tongue of 0.74% of Yerukulas in Andhra Pradesh is Tamil, out of whom 58.98% speak as subsidiary languages Telugu and Kannada.

Kannada is found to be the mother tongue of 0 06% of Yerukulas of Andhra Pradesh of whom 48.72% speak Telugu as subsidiary language.

The percentage of Yerukulas having Korava as the mother tongue is 0.01 of whom 66.67% also speak Telugu and Kannada as subsidiary languages.

Yerukulas having as their mother tongue Korchi, Marathi, Oriya and Urdu put together form a percentage of about 0.01 of their total population and some of them speak Telugu alone as subsidiary language.

The details of literacy standards concerning Yerukulas of Andhra Pradesh according to 1961 Census are given in the Appendix IV.

It is evident from the Appendix IV that 91.97% of the Yerukulas are illiterate in Andhra Pradesh of whom 87.37% belong to rural parts and 12.63% belong to urban parts. Taking into consideration sex-wise break-up of illiterates, 87.77% of total males and 96.29% of the total females are illiterates.

8.03% of the Yerukula population are literates, 12.23% among males and 3.71% among females. This may be compared with the literacy rate of the total population of all the Scheduled Tribes in the State. Only 4.41% of the total tribal population (7.26% of the males and 1.48% of the females) are literates. This shows that literacy rate among Yerukulas is much better than the general average of all the Scheduled Tribes put together.

7.99% of males and 2.41% of females among the Yerukulas are literates without educational standards comprising of 5.24% of the total population.

The next educational standard according to census classification is Primary or Junior Basic which is reached by 3.88% of the total males and 1.25% of total females forming 2.59% of the total. 0.34% of the total males and 0.04% of the total females are found to have attained the level of Matriculation or Higher Secondary forming 0.19% of the total population.

Only one male and one female fall under the educational level of Technical Diploma not equal to degree. Non-technical diploma holders, not equal to degree, are found to be four, while there are six persons possessing University degree or Post-graduate degree other than Technical degree. All of them are found in urban areas only. Literacy standards of

Yerukulas according to case studies is given in the Statement II.

STATEMENT II

LITERACY AMONG YERUKULAS ACCORDING TO CASE STUDY

| Educational Standards | Persons | Males | Females |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Illiterate ... ... ... | 168 | 76 | 92 |
| Literate (without educational levels ... ... ... | 14 | 11 | 3 |
| Primary or Junior Basic ... | 12 | 8 | 4 |
| Matriculation or Higher Secondary ... ... ... | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| Technical Diploma not equal to Degree ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | — |
| Non-Technical diploma not equal to degree ... ... | — | — | — |
| University degree or Postgraduate degree other than Technical degree ... — | — | — | — |
| **Total** ... | **199** | **99** | **100** |

According to Statement II, 84.42% of the total consisting of 76.87% of the males and 92% of the females are illiterates. 7.04% of them are literates without educational standards, while 6.03% of them are educated upto Primary or Junior Basic. 2.01% of them are Matriculates. There is one person who has got Technical Diploma, not equal to Degree.

**Economic Life**

Yerukula or Koracha is a wandering tribe connected with such occupations as theiving, begging fortune-telling and basket making. They do not stick to a single traditional occupation. As found from the field investigation, majority of them live by rope-making and basket making, while women earn by fortune-telling. Women of this community go about in villages carrying a basket made of palmyrah leaves and attracting the children by the toys prepared out of the palmyrah leaves. The very same women move about in the streets crying *yeruko amma yeruku* (prophecies, mother, prophecies) and profess to tell one's future (Fig. 8 & 9). This kind of activity locally known as *gadde* or *sodi* provides them with small amounts which can be used for their daily expenses. It may incidentally be stated that the 'sode woman' often forms a convenient and interesting subject for adoption at many a fancy dress competition.

While mentioning about the occupation of the Yerukulas, Ramesan writes :

> "Before the advent of British in India, these tribes were also used by the Transport Department of the then Governments, to supply cattle to the regiments in the frequent disturbances that occured in the country. A subdivision of this tribe *viz.*, "Kabadi" or "Uppu" or "Bidar Korawar", owned hundreds of assess, bullocks and barren cows, and utilised them in the transport of salt, grain..... The introduction of the railways proved a curse to them, since their traditional job, namely, transport, was taken away by the railways, and hence they had to sell away their animals and reduce themselves to abject poverty. For generations they were not accustomed to heavy manual labour, and hence many of them took to crime, as an easy method of earning money." [Ramesan's article entitled *A Tribe in Andhra*, in daily newspaper The Hindu dated 31-1-60].

In support of the above view, the case studies connected at Atmakur taluk headquarters of Kurnool district, revealed that a sub-division of this community known as Bidari Yerukulas were living in olden days by selling salt, carried over asses and cows. This practice has now however faded away with other modes of transport coming into vogue and hence these people took to alternative occupations.

Some Yerukulas have given up their nomadic life and are found settled in villages. Even though they have settled life in some parts, a few do not seem to have given up the instinct to steal others' property and hence are being looked down upon even now.

Majority of them depend on rural labour for their livelihood. Of course a few of them own dry land of small extents and produce *jowar*, maize, *sajja* (Bulrush millet) *ulavalu* (horse gram) and groundnut. The cultivation mainly depends on rain fall which often fails and disappoints them. Hence the income from agriculture is meagre. They are also found to live by rope-making, wattle-making, goat and pig rearing, snake-charming, fortune-telling and begging. A few of them have taken up Government jobs. It has also been reported that some women of this community are experts in tattooing and earn their livelihood through this. Most of the Yerukulas keep pigs and engage a



Fig. 9 An Yerukula woman—Yerukula women move about in the streets crying *Yeruko-amma-Yeruka* and profess to tell one's future



Fig. 10 Bags containing Pig manure made ready for sale

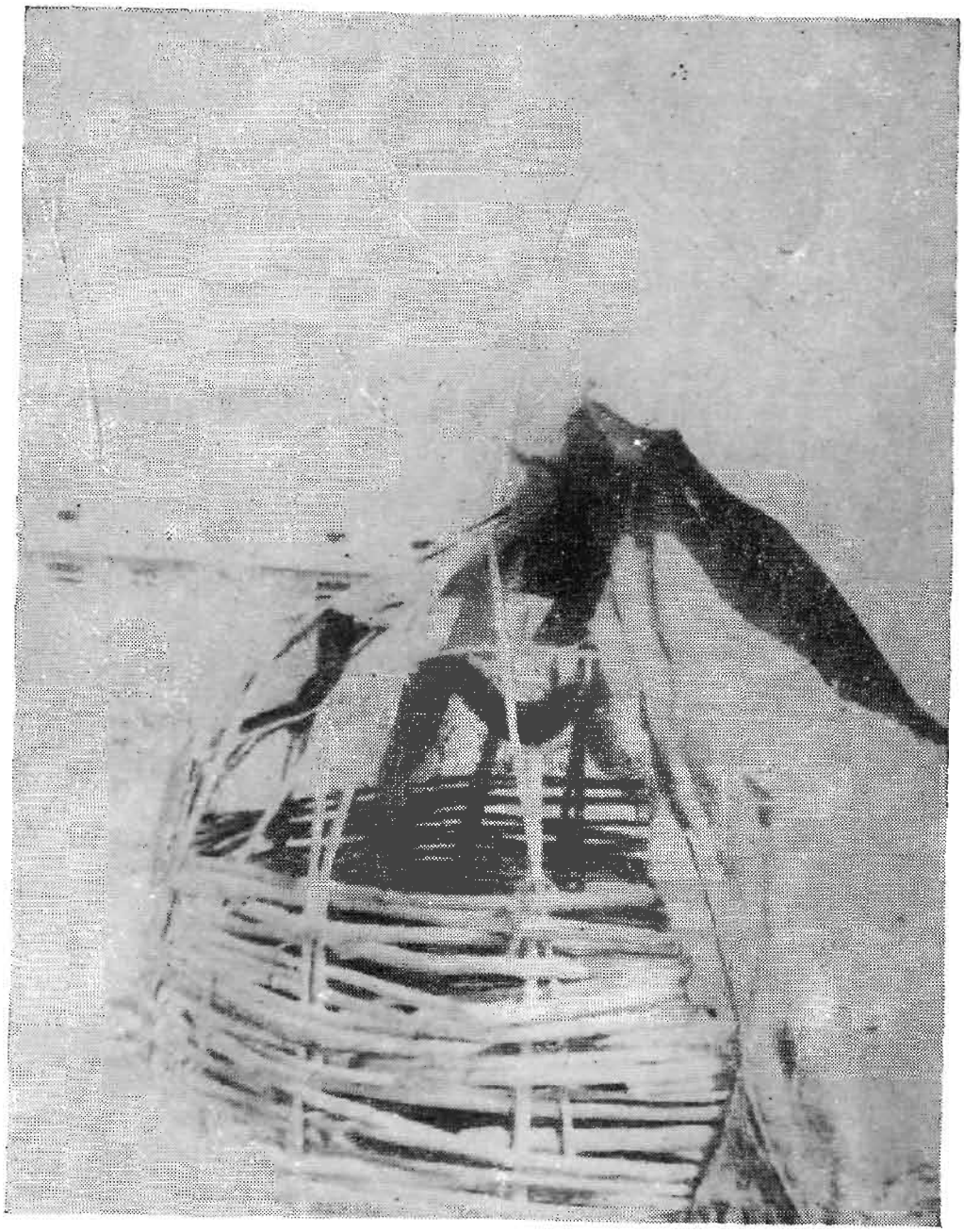


Fig. 11 A Pig sty

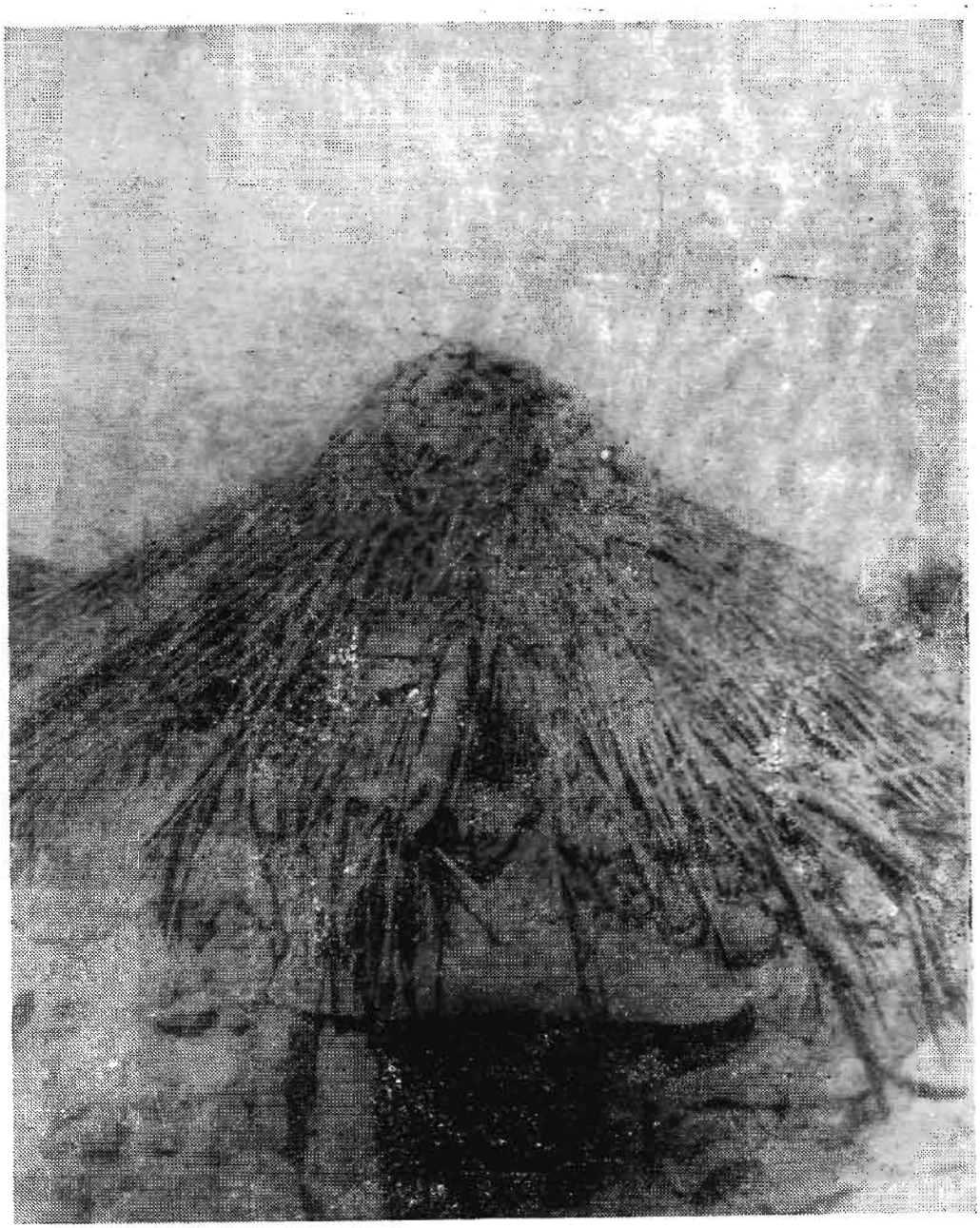


Fig. 12 A Pig sty

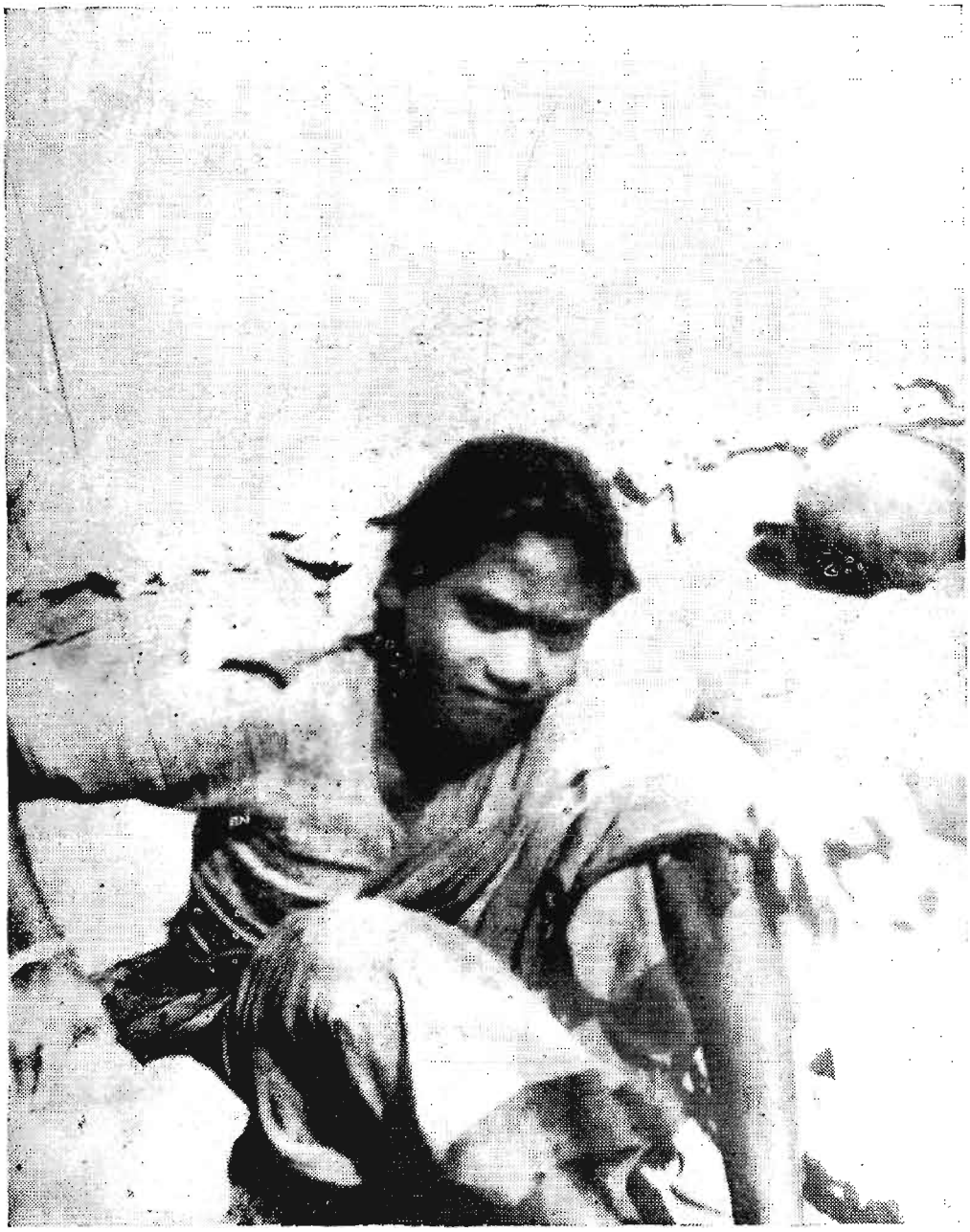


Fig. 13 An Yerukala woman with her two goats

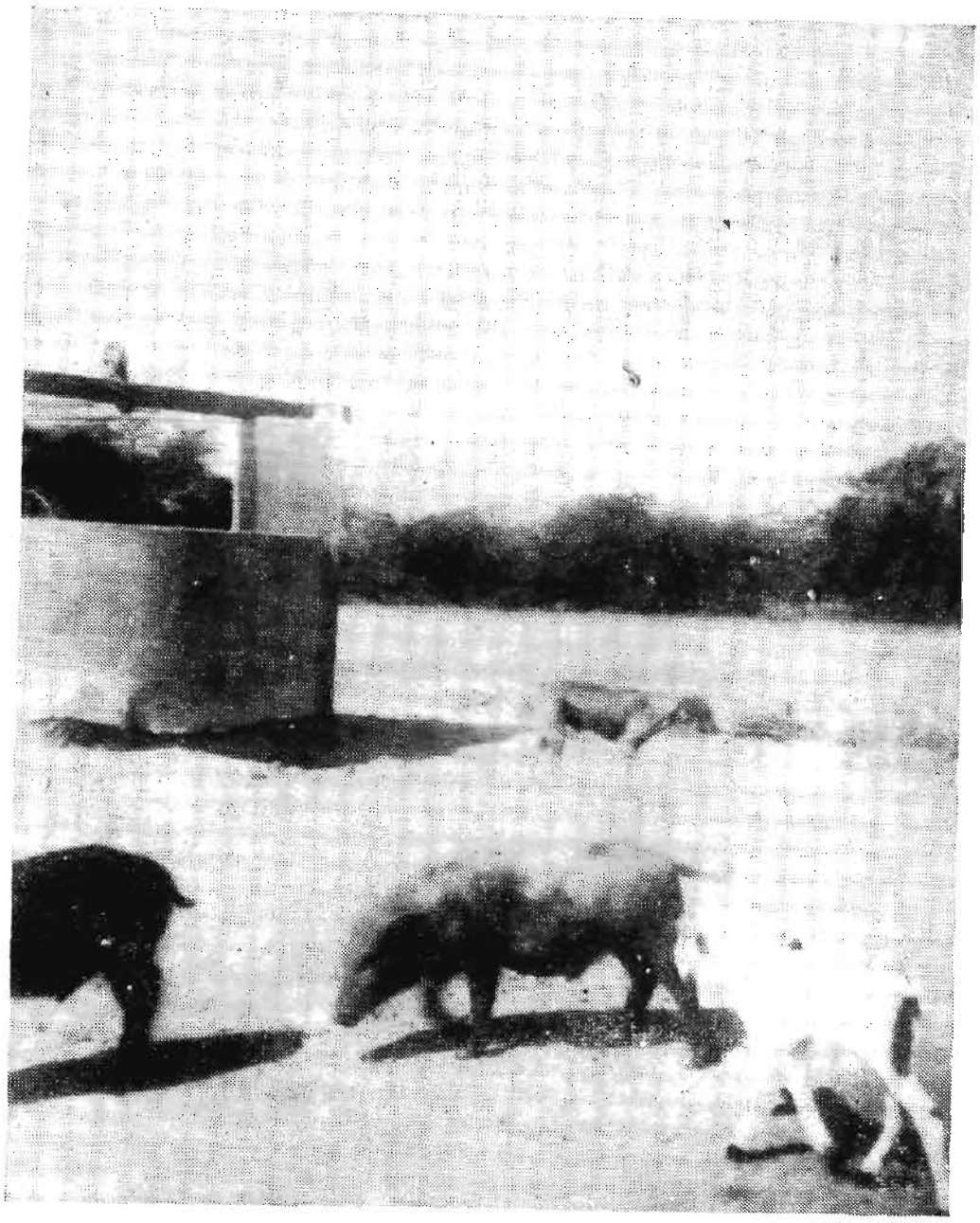


Fig. 14 A Well in Yerukula settlement

member of the family for pig-rearing. They collect the pig manure and sell it in bags. Figure 10 shows the bags containing pig manure ready for sale. Figures 11 & 12 give the typical pig-stys of Yerukulas. A few rear goats also (Figure 13).

Appendix V illustrates the sex-wise distribution of Yerukulas according to different occupations as found from the 1961 Census records. It shows that the total workers among Yerukulas form 57.79% comprising 63.7% of males and 51.68% of females. Majority of the population is engaged in household industry forming 32% of the total population divided into 34.69% of males and 29.22% females. The next major occupation is agricultural labour wherein is engaged 10.25% of the total population (9.83% males and 10.68% females). The next rank in predominant occupations is cultivation in which 7.31% of the total is engaged, comprising 8.95% of males and 5.61% of females. 1.37% of the total population (1 97% males and 0.75% females) are engaged in trade and commerce. The percentage of workers engaged in other occupations is quite small.

STATEMENT III

OCCUPATION OF YERUKULAS ACCORDING TO CASE STUDIES.

| Name of occupation (1) | Persons. (2) | Males (3) | Females (4) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cultivation ... | 5 | 4 | 1 |
| Rural Labour ... | 69 | 31 | 38 |
| Rope-making ... | 16 | 10 | 6 |
| Basket-making ... | 13 | 6 | 7 |
| Goat-rearing ... | 3 | 3 | — |
| Cattle-rearing ... | 2 | 2 | — |
| Fortune-telling ... | 3 | — | 3 |
| Snake-charming ... | 2 | 2 | — |
| Begging ... | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Secondary grade teacher | 1 | 1 | — |
| Driver in Army ... | 1 | 1 | — |
| Painter ... | 1 | 1 | — |
| Clerk ... | 1 | 1 | — |
| Non-workers ... | 80 | 36 | 44 |
| **Total** ... | **199** | **99** | **100** |

Case studies conducted in Anantapur, Kurnool and Guntur districts and Secunderabad areas, cover 37 households consisting of 199 persons *i. e.*, 99 males and 100 females. From the above Statement it can be observed that 40.2% are non-workers and 59.8% are workers. 34.67% of the population covered by case studies (31.31% males and 38% females) are occupied as rural labourers. 8.04% of them are engaged in rope-making while 6.53% are employed in basket-making. The percentage of cultivators and those who are engaged in goat rearing comes to 2.51% and 1.51% respectively. Persons working in other occupations *viz.*, cattle-rearing, fortune-telling, snake-charming etc., are very few. The case studies include one Secondary Grade teacher, one painter who has studied upto H.S.C. (Higher Secondary Certificate), a clerk who is also educated upto H.S.C. and a driver in the army. All these 4 persons belong to Secunderabad area. Perhaps their settled life coupled with educational facilities might have helped them to be in a better economic position. 40.2% of the total are non-workers.

The Appendix VI shows the income and expenditure pattern of the 37 households studied during the investigation.

**Food**

Out of 37 households, 14 households spend annually Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 while 10 households spend about Rs. 401–500 towards the food items. 7 households spend about Rs. 501–600 per annum and 3 households spend between Rs. 601–700 per annum. Three households spend Rs. 900, Rs. 950 and Rs. 1,000 respectively on food per annum.

**Clothing**

Twenty-two households spend between Rs. 15 and Rs. 50 for this purpose and 10 households spend between Rs. 51 and Rs. 90. Three households spend each Rs. 100 while the remaining two households incur an expenditure of Rs. 150 and Rs. 400 respectively on clothing.

**Fuel and lighting**

This is an equally important item of expenditure for each family. There are four households spending each Rs. 42, Rs. 72, Rs. 157 and Rs. 168 towards the fuel and lighting charges per annum. Nearly 26 households spend between Rs. 6 and Rs. 20 and 7 households spend between Rs. 23 and Rs. 35.

Out of the 37 households, surveyed 28 households are debt-stricken whereas only 9 households are free from debt. In majority of the households, it can be observed that total expenditure is exceeding the total income including debt. This inconsistency is either due

to the over estimation of the expenditure or the under estimation of income by the informants.

In general, this community is extremely poor in Anantapur and Kurnool districts but relatively better off in Guntur district and Secunderabad area of Hyderabad district.

## Life Cycle

### Birth

There are no ceremonies attached to pregnancy. Not much importance is given by Yerukulas to the place of confinement. The confinement takes place usually at her husband's house. A few of them send their wives to the latter's parents' house for delivery either in the 5th or 7th month. The first confinement is usually given much care, while much interest is not evinced in the subsequent ones. Well-to-do people among this community observe *seemantham* during the seventh month of pregnancy. It is a celebration at which all womenfolk of the community is invited and offered betel leaves and arecanuts. All women bless the expectant mother for happy child birth. They hardly go to hospital for cases of delivery.

There is no special arrangement for the segregation of the expectant mother. A convenient arrangement is however made in a corner of the house. In the case of Rayalaseema and Telangana regions, an old woman of the caste locally known as *dai* attends on the delivery for which she is paid in cash or kind depending on the economic position of the individual. But the Yerukulas of Ganganapalem engage Yenadi *dai* to attend on delivery cases for which the remuneration paid differs depending upon the sex of the child. Rs. 3 in the case of female child and Rs. 4 in the case of male child is paid in addition to one *seer* of rice, some tamarind, and a measure of *pesalu* (greengram). Usually the reason ascribed for a hard delivery is an unfulfilled desire like not eating a cherished dish during her advanced stage of pregnancy. The total expenditure on this occasion comes to Rs. 20. There are some variations in respect of period of pollution after the delivery, from region to region in Andhra Pradesh. In Rayalaseema districts, Yerukulas observe the pollution for five days, while those in coastal and Telangana districts observe the same for nine and twenty one days respectively. The period of pollution after child birth is 21 days in the Picket area of Secunderabad which might be due to the influence of other castes in the surroundings. Soon after the period of pollution is over, the mother attends to ordinary duties like cleaning the house, etc., but she resumes normal activities only one month after the pollution period. Usually this community does not observe any taboo during prenatal period. But of course during the postnatal period, the mother indispensably takes well boiled rice with garlic, asafoetida, *vattivellu* (dried roots), *thatibellam* (palmgur). She is also forbidden to take stuffs which are hard to digest.

### Custom of Couvade

This peculiar custom seems to be in existence among Yerukulas in the historical past as it is recorded by Thurston,[Vol. III, p. 492-495]. According to this custom when a child is born, much care is bestowed on the father of the child rather than on mother. Not the mother, but the father is given all the necessary medicines and prohibited from taking hardstuffs during the period of pollution. But this particular custom is not prevalent today.

As observed at the field and also as mentioned by Thurston the birth of a child with the umbilical cord twisted round the neck, forecasts the death of the father or maternal uncle [E. Thurston, Vol. III, p. 492]. This unpleasant effect can be prevented by killing a fowl by the father or uncle, and wearing its entrails round his neck, and then burying them along with the umbilical cord.

### Naming ceremony

The next important occasion after child birth is the naming ceremony which is performed on the 4th or 6th day after birth in case of Yerukulas of Rayalaseema, while the same is celebrated on the 10th and 22nd day after birth in case of coastal and Telangana areas respectively. Though this occasion is not celebrated with great pomp, they invite friends and relatives for meal on that day. They consult the elderly men of the caste, father-in-law and mother-in-law of the household head for selecting the name of the child. The typical names are Naganna, Ramudu, Sunkanna and Sayappa etc.

### Tonsure

In the past, Yerukulas used to perform the tonsure ceremony for each and every child within a year or during the third year of the child, for which the barber used to attend. Now-a-days majority of this community do not observe this due to their poverty. In some cases this ceremony is observed for the first child, if only they have got a vow to fulfil to their family God. They consult the elderly members of this community

for an auspicious day, and invite the barber for cutting the hair and pay him 50 P. and one kilogram of rice towards remuneration.

In the same way they do not observe the ceremonies regarding the first feeding of the child and initiating the child to learning.

**Puberty**

Generally girls attain puberty at the age of 13–14 years. When a girl attains puberty, she is made to sit in a corner of the house and she is not allowed to participate in the normal domestic activities during the period of pollution. The period of pollution varies from region to region. In Rayalaseema region, Yerukulas observe pollution for 3 days, while in Telangana and coastal areas, they observe pollution for 7 and 9 days respectively. This shows that Yerukulas in coastal and Telangana areas attached importance to the period of pollution and are conscious of its importance perhaps after having come into close contact with other castes in those parts. Bath is given to the girl on 4th, 8th, and 10th days in the case of the three respective regions mentioned above.

Yerukulas of Rayalaseema do not seem to attach any importance to the ceremony. But as reported by the informants at Picket of Hyderabad district and Ganganapalem of Guntur district, they celebrate a ceremony known as *Peerantam* (inviting the neighbouring women) in the evening of the day on which the final bath is given. The women sing songs and apply turmeric paste to the feet of the girl and vermilion to the forehead. In turn all the invitees are served with betel leaves and nuts, and some sweets. Some well-to-do people cut a fowl and arrange a feast on the day of final bath and enjoy. During the period of pollution the girl is served with *pulagam* (rice and greengram *dal* mixed and cooked and some salt is added to it) in Rayalaseema districts, while according to the information obtained from the investigation at Ganganapalem and Picket, a mixture of rice, coconut, ghee and jaggery is served daily to the girl. On the final day they give rice to the washerman for cleaning the surroundings. This community in general does not observe pollution for subsequent menses.

**Marriage**

It is an important occasion for them to celebrate it with all pomp and splendour. Marriage by negotiation is the only type of marriage in practice among Yerukulas. The usual age of marriage for the girl is between 12 and 16 years while for the boy the age is between 16 and 20 years.

The father of the youth, with some of the elders of his community proceeds in quest of the suitable bride. Normally alliances are favoured with near relatives like paternal aunt's daughter, maternal uncle's daughter and sister's daughter. Marriages among members belonging to the same surname or clan are not allowed. There are two divisions consisting of four exogamous units among Yerukulas *viz.*, (I) (a) Sathpadi (b) Manupadi and (II) (a) Nallabothula (b) Mandraguthi. Persons belonging to first division can marry from the second and *vice versa* while marriages cannot be contracted in the same division. The custom of levirate by which a man is bound to marry his brother's widow is not found during the case studies but its prevalence is recorded by Thurston [E. Thurston, Vol. III p. 485].

Regarding the procedure of marriage ceremony Thurston states :

> "The father of the would be husband of a girl goes with ten rupees, called sullaponnu, to her home, and pays the money to one of several elders who are brought together. Towards evening, the ground in front of the girl's hut is swept, and a wooden plank and stone are set side by side. The bridegroom sits on the former, and the bride on the latter. Two pots of water are placed before them, and connected together by a thread tied round their necks. The pots are lifted up, and water is poured over them. Contrary to the custom prevailing among many castes, new cloths are not given to them after this bath." [ E. Thurston, Vol. III, pp. 484-485 ].

Case studies reveal that the practices as stated above by Thurston are not existing. Presently new clothes are given to the bridal pair at the time of marriage.

The bride price locally known as *voli* differs from region to region. Yerukulas of Rayalaseema districts used to pay *voli* ranging from Rs. 150 to Rs. 250 while those of Guntur district Rs. 202 and in the case of Secunderabad area Rs. 95. Now-a-days the *voli* has gone down considerably and it depends on the economic position of the household.

According to the case studies the marriage is celebrated usually for 3 days at the bridegroom's house. First day is known as *Devuni Ootam* (a feast in God's

name). The bride and groom are prepared for marriage. The ceremony connected with the preparation of bride is known as wearing of bangles and it takes place on the first day only. *Kankanams* are tied to the wrists (right wrist for groom and left wrist to bride) of couple. On the second day, the couple are given oil bath, and are dressed in new clothes. They are taken to the marriage pandal, erected specially for the occasion, and amidst the invitees, the bridegroom ties the sacred thread, *mangala sutram* around the neck of the bride. It is a solemn occasion and all the relatives and friends gather there to bless the couple for a long and happy married life. *Talambralu* ceremony follows, when the couple pour rice on each other's head. A feast, consisting of non-vegetarian dishes, is arranged for all those who attend the function, and liquor is freely consumed. The marriage procession takes place in the night. Musical instruments are engaged and couple go to the temple to prostrate before the God or deity to have His or Her blessings. Consummation ceremony takes place on the same night if she has attained puberty. Otherwise it will be postponed till she attains puberty. On the third day morning after *kankana visarjana* (removal of the sacred thread tied around the wrists), the bridal pair go to the bride's house. The total expenditure on marriage ranges between Rs. 500 and Rs. 600.

It was reported at Uppanka village of Kalyandrug taluk, Anantapur district during field survey that they do not invite Brahmin to officiate but consult him for fixing up an auspicious day for the celebration of marriage. An old experienced man of the community officiates as priest. The marriage takes place in open fields or jungles where a marriage pandal is erected for the occasion or it takes place under an auspicious tree, amidst friends and relatives.

The Yerukulas of Ganganapalem village, reported that the son-in-law is presented with a gold ring and new clothes. No other ornaments are given to the bride except the toe-rings, marriage locket consisting of black beads, ear-rings., nose ring and bangles. Presentations in cash and kind are made by the invitees to the couple. The bride and groom are taken in procession and economically well-to-do people engage orchestra and arrange megaphone and play cinema records during marriage occasion.

The Kaikadis of Picket (Secunderabad area) celebrate the marriage at bride's house. Elderly people of the community themselves perform the ceremony. They spend about Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 for the marriage ceremony.

Both child and adult marriages are in vogue in the community. Pre-marital sex relationship is tolerated. One special feature in this community is that lending one's wife is practised by those who cannot afford to repay the debts incurred. At times they sell their wives too. In some of the families, it is reported, that there is a practice of sending the girl to her husband's house, even before she attains puberty. Polyandry is not in vogue. Polygamy is practised, and a man can have as many wives as he can afford to maintain. Inter-caste marriages are not censured, though they rarely take place.

According to Thurston :

> "If the marriage is arranged, a pot of water is placed before the couple, and a grass (Cynodon dactylon) put into the water. This is equal to a binding oath between them. Of this grass it is said in the Atharwana Veda: "May this grass, which rose from the water of life, which has a hundred roots and a hundred stems, efface a hundred of my sins, and prolong my existence on earth for a hundred years." It is noted by the Rev. J. Cain that "at the birth of a daughter the father of an unmarried little boy often brings a rupee and ties it in the cloth of the father of the newly born girl. When the girl is grown up, he can claim her for his son. For twenty-five rupees he can claim her much earlier." [E. Thurston, Vol. III, p. 487].

It is also said by Thurston that a woman can marry for seven times either after the death of the husband or after divorce, and she is treated with respect and is called as *Pedda Boyisani* [E. Thurston Vol. III, pp. 488–489].

The informants at the present field survey are ignorant of the above said practices. A woman marrying many times is not considered anti-social. However, no such cases have been reported at the places of survey.

Widow remarriage known as *Cheera Kattimpu* is in vogue subject to the approval of the Tribal Panchayat the only condition being that some fixed amount has to be paid towards bride price to the former father-in-law of the widow. If the widow has any children they are left to the care of her former husband's relatives. Case studies reveal that divorce is granted by the Tribal Panchayat on reasonable grounds like wife's unfaithfulness or husband's incapacity to protect her, impotency, incurable disease, etc. A divorced wife or husband can remarry. If a girl is abducted, the young man who

carries her away is forced to marry her. If the male refuses to marry her, a fine as deemed fit, is levied by the Tribal Panchayat.

Thurston's observations in regard to abduction holds good even today. He says that in the case of abduction, the elders of the caste meet and decide that a man who carried a woman, must marry that woman and the marriage will be performed on the lines of widow remarriage. If the man refuses to marry her, he is fined [E. Thurston, Vol III, P 490].

Another practice which is rarely found among the other Scheduled Castes is that a woman among Yerukula is allowed to select some partner who would act as her husband, during the period of her husband's incarceration and on his release he has to admit the wife along with the children born during the intervening period.

**Marital status**

The Appendix VII furnished the marital status of Yerukulas according to 1961 Census distributed in different age-groups. The following inferences are brought out from the Appendix VII.

*Age-group of 0–14 years*

The percentage of total Yerukula population placed in this age-group is 40.85. In this group 99.47% of the males and 96.17% of the females are never married while 0.53% of the males and 3.69% of the females are married. The percentages of females, placed in the category of divorced and widowed are negligible. The percentage of the child marriages in the Yerukula tribe is 1.83 while the percentage of the same, is 1.54, if all the Scheduled Tribes are put together.

*Age-group of 15–44 years*

42.60% of the total population belongs to this age-group. 73.74% of the males and 87.91% of females are found to have been married in this group. 22.43% of males and 3.81% of females are never-married. 2.24% and 1.59% of males, and 6.06% and 2.22% of females are respectively widowed and divorced.

*Age-group of 45 and above years*

16.54% of the total population is classified as belonging to this age-group, of whom 82.42% of males and 49.68% of females are married. 14.88% of males and 47.55% of females are classified in widowed state while 1.66% of males and 1.46% of females belong to divorced status. Only 1.04% of males and 1.31% of females are found as belonging to the never married class.

The following Statement gives the details of marital status among Yerukulas of case studies.

## STATEMENT IV

### MARITAL STATUS OF YERUKULAS ACCORDING TO CASE STUDIES

| Age-groups (in years) | Total | | | Never married | | Married | | Widowed | | Divorced | | Un-specified | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Person | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) | (13) | (14) |
| 0—14 ... ... | 90 | 42 | 48 | 42 | 47 | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 15—44 ... ... | 80 | 37 | 43 | 7 | — | 29 | 42 | 1 | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| 45 and over ... ... | 29 | 20 | 9 | — | — | 16 | 5 | 4 | 4 | — | — | — | — |
| Total ... ... | 199 | 99 | 100 | 49 | 47 | 45 | 48 | 5 | 5 | — | — | — | — |

**Death**

Case studies conducted in Anantapur, Kurnool and Guntur districts reveal that the dead are generally buried. Neither bath is given to the corpse nor any decorations are made.

At Ganganapalem (Guntur district) it is reported that the corpse is given a bath and is decorated with a *bottu* on the forehead. A new coarse cloth is wrapped round the dead body and is carried by four people to the burial ground on a bier. The corpse is kept down on the ground twice before reaching the burial ground with the hope that the departed might get back his life. Clothes of the dead body except the coarse cloth in which the corpse is wrapped, are removed at a place known as *dimpudu kallam* and they are given away to the *Byagara* who digs the pit. People dying during pregnancy and of infectious diseases like leprosy, etc., are cremated. The body is kept in a lying posture with the head to the south in the pit and is covered with earth.

The practice of burning the dead body in a state of nudity as recorded by Thurston, which according to him prevails at Visakhapatnam is not found among the Yerukulas surveyed, [E. Thurston, Vol. III, pp. 498–500]. Thurston also records the practices of Yerukulas in Nellore district. According to him the elders of the community are cremated while others are buried. Married people are taken to the grave on a bier where as the unmarried are wrapped in a mat. These practices are in vogue even now as found from the sample study.

Mourning is observed for 5 to 12 days by all the members of the family. Obsequies are performed on 3rd or 5th and 10th or 12th day. Performance on the 3rd or 5th day is known as *chinna divasam* (initial obsequies) and that on the 10th day is known as *pedda divasam* (final obsequies). A non-vegetarian feast is arranged for the invitees and intoxicants are also served. The Yerukulas of Ganganapalem of Guntur district reported that Jangam, who officiates as priest during such occasions for some caste Hindus is invited by them also to conduct the proceedings. He does not dine at their house. He is paid Rs. 2 and 2 kilograms of rice as *dakshina* (towards his fee). Persons belonging to other exogamous groups (they should not possess the deceased man's surname) offer liquor to all the people connected with the dead on the day of burial. People who wish to erect tombs do it but it is not compulsory. As a mark of reverence every year or once in three years a feast is held by the family of the deceased to relatives and friends.

**Religion**

It has been reported during the field survey that Korachas or Yerukulas are Hindus by religion. They are all devotees of Hindu Gods and do observe all Hindu festivals according to Hindu mythology. There are *Saivaites* and *Vaishnavaites* worshipping Siva and Vishnu respectively as their family Gods.

Thurston has also observed that Koravas are also devotees of Subrahmanya, the son of Siva, while Yerukulas worship Vishnu in the form of Venkateswara and his wife Laxmi [E. Thurston, Vol. III, P. 442]. In an early Sanskrit drama it is recorded that the Brahmin thief mocks Subrahmanya as being the patron saint of thieves.

Visiting temples and offering prayers are not forbidden. They do not have any religious insignia of their caste and sect. They do not put any caste marks on their forehead like *vibhudi, namam, tilakam etc.*, The usual offerings to God at the time of worship or performance of *puja* are coconut, betel leaves and betel nuts, camphor, *agarbatti, kumkuma* (vermilion) and sacred rice (*akshintalu*). Saturday is considered to be an auspicious day for them to go on fasting or to worship Lord Venkateswara. They have firm faith in the Supreme Being who is the creator of the entire universe without whose guidance, no human activity can succeed.

Every one has got his own household deity. Almost all Korachas are devotees of Maremma, their village deity. But the Yerukulas of Atmakur (Kurnool district) worship local deities like Sunkalamma, Kanakamma *etc.* They also celebrate annual *jataras* in the name of the goddess Maremma and on this day sheep, goat or buffalo, depending on the economic status of the individual, is sacrificed. They believe that these village deities are responsible for all the good as well as bad that befalls the village. They believe that the village would be free from epidemics such as Cholera and small-pox and perform the *jatara* of Maremma who otherwise may show her wrath in the form of epidemics.

They do not have any spiritual advisers, priests or *gurus*. For any spiritual advice they seek the help of a local Brahmin Purohit or other learned man. It is reported during case studies that some of the Yerukula

consult Brahmins and some do not consult to fix up the auspicious time for marriage etc., Instead of, a learned man of the community is sought in these matters.

Case studies reveal that they consider the sight of a cat crossing the way, fuel, pots, widow, owls cry etc., as bad omens while they start on any expedition, whereas the sight of a married woman, marriage party, corpse, etc., are good omens.

Birth of a child on a new-moon night is believed that the child would become a great thief as stated by Thurston and this belief is held by Yerukulas even to-day as confirmed during case studies, [E. Thurston, Vol, III, p. 492].

Worship of deities while starting on criminal expedition is not in vogue now-a-days as the informants reported that they have given up these criminal acts, in which their forefathers indulged.

**Important Festivals**

Yerukulas, just like any other Hindu community regard festivals as an occasion of joy. They celebrate Ugadi and Dasara festivals with great enthusiasm. On these days they take bath, wear washed clothes (some go in for new clothes) and enjoy a feast consisting of some sweet dishes usually *paramannam* (a liquid preparation with *dal* and jaggery or sugar) and a curry *dal*, pepper water and rice. Generally meat is not cooked on festive occasions, but it is eaten on the next day of the festival.

Though they would like to celebrate the festivals magnificiently they cannot go beyond their means, since they lead extremely poor lives. They can hope for a full meal only on days when they have got handful of work which lasts only for 6 or 8 months at the most, in a year. They enjoy *veta* (hunting) on the following day of Ugadi (March-April). On this day they enjoy the menu prepared of pork. In addition, Yerukulas of Secunderabad indulge in the gayful activities during the Mohammadan festival of Moharram, locally called *peerla panduga*. This new phenomenon of following Muslim festivals entered the Yerukulas culture as the Yerukulas are living amidst the Muslims. The friendly atmosphere between them sponsored the Yerukulas to celebrate the Muslim festival along with their Muslim brethren. It is said that before commencing any festival some Yerukulas worship the goddess Kollapuramma. On Srirama Navami (March-April) day they perform *bhajans*.

The Yerukulas residing at Ganganapalem in Guntur district visit Kotappakonda shrine 6 miles away from their village during Sivaratri (February), when people from various corners flock to enjoy the fair and nearly 6 to 7 lakhs of people gather to have the *darshan* of Koteswaraswamy who is supposed to be the very *avatar* (incarnation) of Lord Siva. Yerukulas in Kurnool district celebrate annual *jataras* in the name of goddess Maremma, as described in the previous Chapter. They do not have any ceremonial or recreational activities on any other festive occasions.

**Structure of Social Control and Leadership**

Yerukulas are bound by common rules and regulations which are framed by the village panchayats, as they live along with other communities. Usually they refer to the village panchayats for certain difficulties regarding the space for house construction, etc.

In addition to this, they have got a separate Tribal Panchayat at the village level, consisting of the elderly members of the community. There is no Tribal Panchayat at the regional level. The Community Panchayat is informal and the tribunal head wears a ring as an insignia of his being the head. To decide the disputes and other social irregularities, the Tribal Panchayat meets and awards decisions. Certain occasions are there, when the panchayat levies fines on the party concerned which is used for the enjoyment among their tribal people. Also during the celebration of marriage or at any other important function the tribal head is first served with food and *pan*.

Yerukulas inhabiting rural parts do not know of the existence of the Panchayat Samithis and Zilla Parishads. It is rarely seen that persons of this community are found to serve as members of the village panchayats.

Yerukulas of Ganganapalem of Guntur district do not have any traditional Tribal Panchayat or tribal council as such. They all lead a harmonious life and in case, any dispute arises, they seek the assistance of the village panchayat.

Yerukulas of Picket in Secunderabad area (locally known as Kaikadis) have formed into a Yerukula

Sangham, and this co-operative organisation, which also acts as Tribal Panchayat looks into the needs and requirements of their people and strive for their welfare. The important achievements of the Sangham are that due to its efforts: (i) the amount of bride price which was in hundreds previously, has been reduced to Rs. 95 (ii) all the members of the tribe are made to observe prohibition and (iii) most of them have avoided the practice of consuming pork during marriage occasions.

The peculiar custom of Yerukulas to lend their wives to the creditors when they are not in a position to repay the loans is slowly disappearing.

The one important event which bears on the social and cultural status of the tribe is that they have given up the criminal activities and thefts.

It has been observed by Aiyappan :

> "Yerukula youths preached Gandhism for which the management punished them. They formed an Yerukula Sangham and are editing a paper entitled Yerukuls." [A. Aiyappan, p. 163]

**Inter-Community Relationship**

It has been made quite clear by the field study that Yerukulas do not accept either water or food from the Scheduled Castes like Mala. Madiga, Dhor, Mahar, Dakkal, etc., and Chakali (washerman) and Mangali (Barber) castes. Boya, Chakali, Mangali and Balija do not accept food or water from this community. But this community takes food from the hands of Boyas and Balijas. Their touch is not considered to be unclean or polluting by other castes.

Previously Yerukulas were not allowed to sit on cots or mats in the company of other higher caste people which evidently proves their inferiority in the social structure and the same is not so rigid now-a-days. Every crime committed in and around the village was first attributed to a Yerukula as they were treated to be criminals. But now the educated among them are treated on par with other caste people.

Brahmin priests do not serve them during the ceremonial occasions. But Enthoven's observations reveal that in Kanara, the day for the marriage will be fixed in consultation with the Brahmin (R. E. Enthoven, Vol II, P 269). Now-a-days consultation with Brahmins are also stopped in some areas where they consult the elderly man of the community for such purposes. Barbers do not render the service while washermen do it if the dirty clothes are brought to their house. They have free access to both temple and common well. The traditional occupation of this community is sooth-saying and basket-weaving which they never refuse to any person on the grounds of caste.

There exists a well established colony for Yerukulas at Ganganapalem of Guntur district which has been constructed by the Social Welfare Department. Figure 14 shows the surroundings of Yerukulas at Ganganapalem. The well is also seen there. If invited, Brahmin priests and Jangams attend to the ceremonies of Yerukulas at Ganganapalem but they do not accept food and water from these house holds.

The people are slowly getting educated, though their economic progress is painfully slow. It is a noteworthy feature that the Social Welfare Department is taking much interest in uplifting the community at least in certain aspects, like providing housing facilities, etc., which create encouragement among the people to improve themselves further.

A deviation can already be seen in their well habituated tendency of nomadic life. This tendency can be strengthened further, if their household industries of basket making and rope making are given proper encouragement. The possibility of deriving a substantial income in one place certainly makes them stick to one place and give up nomadic life.

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# APPENDICES

[The Appendices I to V & VII presented in the following pages are based on data collected in 1961 Census and Appendix VI is based on the data collected from field study. Appendix VIII contains the extracts relating to Yerukulas from old published literature and Census Reports].

## APPENDIX I

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION OF YERUKULA ACCORDING TO 1961 CENSUS

| District | Persons | Males | Females |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Srikakulam district | | | |
| Rural ... | 2,440 | 1,224 | 1,216 |
| Urban ... | 191 | 97 | 94 |
| Total ... | 2,631 | 1,321 | 1,310 |
| Visakhapatnam district | | | |
| Rural ... | 1,875 | 943 | 932 |
| Urban ... | 395 | 213 | 182 |
| Total ... | 2,270 | 1,156 | 1,114 |
| East Godavari district | | | |
| Rural ... | 6,630 | 3,376 | 3,254 |
| Urban ... | 858 | 408 | 450 |
| Total ... | 7,488 | 3,784 | 3,704 |
| West Godavari district | | | |
| Rural ... | 5,819 | 2,919 | 2,900 |
| Urban ... | 1,238 | 439 | 799 |
| Total ... | 7,057 | 3,358 | 3,699 |
| Krishna district | | | |
| Rural ... | 11,639 | 5,962 | 5,677 |
| Urban ... | 2,840 | 1,473 | 1,367 |
| Total ... | 14,479 | 7,435 | 7,044 |
| Guntur district | | | |
| Rural ... | 32,006 | 15,948 | 16,058 |
| Urban ... | 6,400 | 3,201 | 3,199 |
| Total ... | 38,406 | 19,149 | 19,257 |
| Nellore district | | | |
| Rural .. | 12,168 | 6,464 | 5,704 |
| Urban ... | 879 | 486 | 393 |
| Total ... | 13,047 | 6,950 | 6,097 |
| Chittoor district | | | |
| Rural ... | 8,135 | 4,230 | 3,905 |
| Urban ... | 374 | 206 | 168 |
| Total ... | 8,509 | 4,436 | 4,073 |
| Cuddapah district | | | |
| Rural ... | 7,786 | 4,015 | 3,771 |
| Urban ... | 530 | 289 | 241 |
| Total ... | 8,316 | 4,304 | 4,012 |
| Anantapur district | | | |
| Rural ... | 13,923 | 6,583 | 6,340 |
| Urban ... | 1,144 | 572 | 572 |
| Total ... | 14,067 | 7,155 | 6,912 |
| Kurnool district | | | |
| Rural ... | 9,600 | 4,862 | 4,738 |
| Urban ... | 2,154 | 1,101 | 1,053 |
| Total ... | 11,754 | 5,963 | 5,791 |

## APPENDIX II

VARIATION IN THE POPULATION OF YERUKULA SINCE 1881 TO 1931

| Caste/Tribe/Race | Persons (in thousands) | | | | | | Percentage of variation increase(+) or decrease(—) | | | | | Percentage of net variation from 1881 to 1931 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1931 | 1921 | 1911 | 1901 | 1891 | 1881 | 1921 to 1931 | 1911 to 1921 | 1901 to 1911 | 1891 to 1901 | 1881 to 1891 | |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) | (13) |
| **Hyderabad State* | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kaikadi ... | 10 | 25 | — | — | — | 7 | — | — | — | — | — | +41.8 |
| Yerukula ... | 59 | 30 | — | — | — | 10 | +94.7 | +1,409.4 | — | — | — | +499.7 |
| †*Madras State* | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kuravan ... | — | 132 | 110 | 100 | 135 | — | — | −14.7 | +9.3 | +22.7 | — | — |
| Yerukala ... | — | 89 | 88 | 66 | | | | +0.4 | +34.7 | | | |

Source:—*1931 Hyderabad State Census—Part I—Report, pp. 253-254.
†1921 Madras Census—Part I—Report, p. 161.

## APPENDIX III

### MOTHER TONGUE AND BILINGUALISM OF YERUKULA ACCORDING TO 1961 CENSUS

| Mother Tongue | Total speakers | | Total No. of persons returned as speaking a language subsidiary to the mother tongue | | Subsidiary Language |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Males | Females | Males | Females | |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| 1. Kannada ... | 47 | 31 | 23 | 15 | Telugu (M-23; F-15) |
| 2. Korava ... | 12 | — | 8 | — | Telugu (M-7), Kannada (M-1) |
| 3. Korchi ... | 1 | 8 | 1 | 6 | Telugu (M-1; F-6) |
| 4. Marathi ... | 5 | — | 1 | — | Telugu (M-1) |
| 5. Oriya ... | 2 | — | 2 | — | Telugu (M-2) |
| 6. Tamil ... | 477 | 464 | 302 | 253 | Telugu (M-302; F-252)<br>Kannada (F-1) |
| 7. Telugu ... | 39,618 | 37,443 | 1,921 | 1,298 | Yerukala/Yerukula (M-1,162; F-983)<br>English (M-431, F-88)<br>Tamil (M-190; F-178)<br>Urdu (M-64; F-50)<br>Kannada (M-38; F-20)<br>Hindi (M-23; F-14)<br>Oriya (M-8; F-5)<br>Marathi (M-1; F-3)<br>Sanskrit (M-2; F-1)<br>Lamani/Lambadi (M-1; F-1)<br>Malayalam (M-1) |
| 8. Urdu ... | 2 | 2 | 1 | — | Telugu (M-1) |
| 9. Yerukala ... | 24,847 | 25,065 | 17,300 | 17,180 | Telugu (M-16,762; F-17,012)<br>English (M-365; F-13)<br>Kannada (M-112; F-118)<br>Tamil (M-28; F-19)<br>Urdu (M-21; F-15)<br>Hindi (M-8; F-1)<br>Oriya (M-2; F-2)<br>Malayalam (M-2) |
| Total ... ... | 65,011 | 63,013 | 19,539 | 18,752 | |

## APPENDIX IV

### LITERACY AMONG YERUKULA ACCORDING TO 1961 CENSUS

| Educational Standards (1) | | | Persons (2) | Males (3) | Females (4) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Illiterate | Rural | ... | 102,871 | 50,248 | 52,623 |
| | Urban | ... | 14,867 | 6,812 | 8,055 |
| | Total | ... | 117,738 | 57,060 | 60,678 |
| Literate (without educational level) | Rural | ... | 5,602 | 4,328 | 1,274 |
| | Urban | ... | 1,110 | 864 | 246 |
| | Total | ... | 6,712 | 5,192 | 1,520 |
| Primary or Junior Basic | Rural | ... | 2,397 | 1,819 | 578 |
| | Urban | ... | 918 | 706 | 212 |
| | Total | ... | 3,315 | 2,525 | 790 |
| Matriculation or Higher Secondary | Rural | ... | 151 | 131 | 20 |
| | Urban | ... | 96 | 92 | 4 |
| | Total | ... | 247 | 223 | 24 |
| Technical diploma not equal to degree | Rural | ... | — | — | — |
| | Urban | ... | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| | Total | ... | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Non-technical diploma not equal to degree | Rural | ... | — | — | — |
| | Urban | ... | 4 | 4 | — |
| | Total | ... | 4 | 4 | — |
| University degree or Post graduate degree other than Technical degree | Rural | ... | — | — | — |
| | Urban | ... | 6 | 6 | — |
| | Total | ... | 6 | 6 | — |
| **Total** | | | 128,024 | 65,011 | 63,013 |

## APPENDIX V

### OCCUPATION OF YERUKULA ACCORDING TO 1961 CENSUS

| Name of occupation (1) | Persons (2) | Males (3) | Females (4) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cultivation ... ... ... ... | 9,355 | 5,821 | 3,534 |
| Agricultural Labour ... ... ... ... | 13,123 | 6 392 | 6,731 |
| Mining, Quarrying, Livestock *etc.*, ... ... ... | 4,345 | 2.959 | 1,386 |
| Household Industry ... ... ... ... | 40,971 | 22,551 | 18 420 |
| Manufacturing other than Household Industry ... ... | 1,199 | 622 | 577 |
| Construction ... ... ... ... | 302 | 203 | 99 |
| Trade and commerce ... ... ... ... | 1,751 | 1,281 | 470 |
| Transport, storage and communication ... ... | 469 | 462 | 7 |
| Other Services ... ... ... ... | 2,464 | 1,123 | 1,341 |
| Total workers ... ... ... ... | 73,979 | 41,414 | 32,565 |
| Non-workers ... ... ... ... | 54,045 | 23,597 | 30,448 |
| **Total** ... ... ... ... | **128,024** | **65,011** | **63,013** |

## APPENDIX VI

### STATEMENT SHOWING THE ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF YERUKULA IN KURNOOL, ANANTAPUR, GUNTUR AND HYDERABAD DISTRICTS FOR THE PERIOD FROM FEBRUARY 1962 TO JANUARY 1963 AS PER FIELD STUDY

| Sl. No. | Name of the head of the household | Income | Debt | Total expenditure | Expenditure | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | on food | on clothing | on fuel and lighting | on miscellaneous |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| | | Rs. P. | Rs. P. | Rs. P. | Rs. P. | Rs. P. | Rs. P. | Rs. P. |
| | *Atmakur Town, Atmakur Sub-taluk, Kurnool district* | | | | | | | |
| 1. | Yerukula Hussainappa ... | 900.00 | 50.00 (old debt) | 953.12 | 550.00 | 90.00 | 72.00 | 241.12 |
| 2. | Chittoor Naganna ... ... | 630.00 | 200.00 (current year) | 757.00 | 500.00 | 60.00 | 30.00 | 167.00 |
| 3. | Avula Ramudu ... ... | 1,000.00 | — | 1,092.00 | 550.00 | 60.00 | 42.00 | 440.00 |
| 4. | Chittoor Linganna ... ... | 430.00 | — | 455.00 | 300.00 | 60.00 | 35.00 | 60.00 |
| | *Barnur village, Nandikotkur taluk, Kurnool district* | | | | | | | |
| 5. | Sunkanna ... ... | 400.00 | 50.00 (current year) | 471.00 | 300.00 | 60 00 | 24.00 | 87.00 |
| 6. | Bolluru Linganna ... | 3,150.00 | 1,000.00 (5 years back) | 3,229.00 | 450 00 | 100.00 | 24.00 | 2,655.00 |
| | *Giddalur village, Giddalur taluk Kurnool district* | | | | | | | |
| 7. | Ganta Pamula Lachmaiah ... | 510.00 | 30.00 (current year) | 687.00 | 500.00 | 30.00 | 10.00 | 147.00 |
| 8. | Avula Chinna Hanumanthu ... | 565.00 | 200.00 (current year) | 774.00 | 600.00 | 50.00 | 9.00 | 115.00 |
| 9. | Avula Hanumanthu ... | 700.00 | 100.00 (current year) | 819.00 | 600.00 | 60.00 | 12.00 | 147.00 |
| 10. | Gantakaki Hanumanthu ... | 520.00 | 50.00 (current year) | 576.00 | 450.00 | 30.00 | 9.00 | 87.00 |
| | *Uppanka village, Kalyandrug taluk, Anantapur district* | | | | | | | |
| 11. | Sathapadi Peddanna ... | 580.00 | 250.00 (current year) | 925.00 | 600.00 | 60.00 | 10.00 | 255.00 |
| 12. | Pusala Ramappa ... | 465 00 | 200 00 (current year) | 800.00 | 450.00 | 40 00 | 10.00 | 300.00 |
| 13. | Mandragurthi Sayappa ... | 700.00 | 300.00 (current year) | 1,050 00 | 650 00 | 40.00 | 10.00 | 350.00 |
| 14. | Kavadi Subbanna ... | 820.00 | 300 00 (current year) | 1,027.00 | 700 00 | 50.00 | 12.00 | 265.00 |
| 15. | Gidda Gangappa ... | 700.00 | 150.00 (current year) | 805 00 | 650 00 | 40.00 | 10.00 | 105.00 |

## APPENDIX VI—*(contd).*

### STATEMENT SHOWING THE ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF YERUKULA IN KURNOOL, ANANTAPUR, GUNTUR AND HYDERABAD DISTRICTS FOR THE PERIOD FEBRUARY 1962 TO JANUARY 1963 AS PER FIELD STUDY

| Sl. No. | Name of the head of the household | Income | Debt | Total expenditure | Expenditure | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | on food | on clothing | on fuel and lighting | on miscellaneous |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| | | Rs. P. | Rs. P. | Rs. P. | Rs. P. | Rs. P. | Rs. P. | Rs. P. |
| | *Uppanka village, Kalyandrug taluk, Anantapur district*—Contd. | | | | | | | |
| 16. | Mandragurthi Yerrappa ... | 585.00 | 200.00 (current year) | 815.00 | 450.00 | 40.00 | 10.00 | 315.00 |
| 17. | M. Thimmappa ... | 875.00 | 400.00 (current year) | 1,190.00 | 900.00 | 80.00 | 12.00 | 198.00 |
| 18. | Mandragurthi Sunkappa ... | 450.00 | 150.00 (current year) | 690.00 | 500.00 | 50.00 | 10.00 | 130.00 |
| 19. | Pedda Thimmappa ... | 500.00 | 550.00 (current year) | 1,055.00 | 500.00 | 40.00 | 10.00 | 505.00 |
| 20. | Kavadi Sanjappa ... | 500.00 | 300.00 (current year) | 800.00 | 600.00 | 50.00 | 10.00 | 140.00 |
| | *Ravulacheruvu village, Dharmavaram taluk, Anantapur district* | | | | | | | |
| 21. | Devara Narappa ... | 450.00 | 20.00 (current year) | 477.00 | 300.00 | 50.00 | 12.00 | 115.00 |
| 22. | Sake Ramanna ... | 450.00 | ... | 445.00 | 350.00 | 25.00 | 6.00 | 64.00 |
| | *Anantapur town, Anantapur taluk, Anantapur district* | | | | | | | |
| 23. | Sake Kathalappa ... | 750.00 | 100.00 (current year) | 908.00 | 600.00 | 150.00 | 8.00 | 150.00 |
| 24. | Nalla Pothula Nagappa ... | 500.00 | ... | 550.00 | 400.00 | 50.00 | 10.00 | 90.00 |
| | *Ganganapalem village, Narsaraopet taluk, Guntur district* | | | | | | | |
| 25. | Mogile Subbayya ... | 400.00 | 400.00 (Last year) | 480.00 | 350 00 | 30.00 | 20.00 | 80.00 |
| 26. | Kumbha Venkataiah ... | 420.00 | 100-00 (Last year) | 455.00 | 350 00 | 15.00 | 15.00 | 75.00 |
| 27. | Kumbha Venkataiah ... | 490.00 | 50.00 (current year) | 542.00 | 400.00 | 25.00 | 12.00 | 105.00 |
| 28. | Kumbha Muttaiab ... | 450.00 | 300.00 (Last year) | 445 00 | 300 00 | 25.00 | 15.00 | 105.00 |
| 29. | Kumbha Kotaiah ... | 450.00 | ... | 505.00 | 400.00 | 40.00 | 20.00 | 45.00 |
| 30. | Mogile Satyam ... | 300.00 | 100.00 (current year) | 494.00 | 350.00 | 50.00 | 20.00 | 74.00 |
| 31. | Mogile Chinna Kotaiah ... | 750.00 | ... | 788.00 | 450.00 | 100.00 | 32.00 | 206.00 |
| 32. | Mogile Pedda Kotaiah ... | 590.00 | ... | 587.00 | 300.00 | 80.00 | 32.00 | 175.00 |

## APPENDIX VI—*(concld.)*

STATEMENT SHOWING THE ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF YERUKULA IN KURNOOL, ANANTAPUR, GUNTUR AND HYDERABAD DISTRICTS FOR THE PERIOD FROM FEBRUARY 1962 TO JANUARY 1963 AS PER FIELD STUDY

| Sl. No. | Name of the head of the household | Income | Debt | Total expenditure | Expenditure | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | on food | on clothing | on fuel and lighting | on miscellaneous |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| | | Rs. P. | Rs. P. | Rs. P. | Rs. P. | Rs. P. | Rs. P. | Rs. P. |
| | *Ganganapalem Village, Narasaraopet taluk, Guntur district*—contd. | | | | | | | |
| 33. | Mogile Nagaiah ... | 630.00 | 50.00 (current year) | 706.00 | 450.00 | 90.00 | 23.00 | 143 00 |
| 34. | Mogile Kotaiah ... | 400.00 | ... | 503.00 | 300 00 | 50.00 | 18.00 | 135.00 |
| 35. | Mogile Muttaiah ... | 400.00 | ... | 403 00 | 300.00 | 50.00 | 8.00 | 45.00 |
| | *Picket area, Secunderabad City Hyderabad district* | | | | | | | |
| 36. | S. Rajaiah ... | 2,192.00 | 500.00 (current year) | 2,927.40 | 1,000.00 | 400.00 | 168.00 | 1,359.40 |
| 37. | Kurakula Pochaiah ... | 1.290 00 | 500.00 (current year) | 1,885.00 | 950.00 | 100.00 | 157.00 | 678.00 |

## APPENDIX VII

MARITAL STATUS OF YERUKULA ACCORDING TO 1961 CENSUS

| Age-groups (in years) | Total | | | Never married | | Married | | Widowed | | Divorced | | Unspecified | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Persons | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) | (13) | (14) |
| 0-14 ... | 52,293 | 26,571 | 25,722 | 26,430 | 24,737 | 140 | 949 | 1 | 23 | — | 13 | — | — |
| 15-44 ... | 54,544 | 26,622 | 27,922 | 5,972 | 1,063 | 19,631 | 24,545 | 596 | 1,693 | 423 | 621 | — | — |
| 45 and over ... | 21,168 | 11,800 | 9,368 | 123 | 123 | 9,725 | 4,654 | 1,756 | 4,454 | 196 | 137 | — | — |
| Age not stated ... | 19 | 18 | 1 | 3 | — | 8 | — | 6 | 1 | — | — | 1 | — |
| **Total** | 128,024 | 65,011 | 63,013 | 32,528 | 25,923 | 29,504 | 30,148 | 2,359 | 6,171 | 619 | 771 | 1 | — |

# APPENDIX VIII

## ERAKALA

AN EXTRACT FROM CASTES AND TRIBES OF H. E. H. THE NIZAMS DOMINIONS, BY SYED SIRAZUL HASAN, (BOMBAY, 1920) VOL. I, PP. 185–195.

**Erakala, Kaikadi and Korwah**—A vagrant gypsy tribe, bearing an evil reputation as professional criminals and infesting the country between the Krishna and the Narbada rivers. For the purposes of crime, the country is divided into districts and sub-districts, to each of which a gang is sent, headed by a *naik*, whose authority over his gang is absolute and who is always regarded with extreme reverence. Ostensibly, the men of the tribe work as basket and mat-makers, day labourers and musicians, while the women wander from village to village as fortune-tellers and tattooers.

In physical appearance, the Erakalas seem to be non-Aryans. Their irregular features, dark complexion and coarse, unkempt hair may lead to the conclusion that they belong to the aborigines of Southern India. They speak a mongrel dialect, which appears to be a mixture of Tamil, Telugu and Canarese, with a preponderance of the first. Their huts, generally funnel shaped, are made of date mats and twigs, and are carried from place to place on the backs of donkeys. The men are scantily clothed, wearing a piece of cloth about the loins and a dirty old turban on the head. The women wear saris, after the manner of the Telugu females, and have brass bangles on both arms. Their extremely untidy appearance has become proverbial, so that a very dirty girl, with dishevelled locks, is called a "Kaikadeen".

Widely distributed as the tribe is, it bears different names in different localities, being called Erakala in Telugu, Kaikadi in Marathi and Korwah or Kurwi in Carnatic districts. The Erakalas derive their name from Eruka–knowledge or acquaintance–as the females of the tribe profess to be great experts in fortune-telling, which they have adopted as a profession. The derivations of the names Kaikadi and Korwah are obscure.

*Origin.*—Regarding the origin of the tribe, several stories are current. A legendary account tells how Renuka, the wife of Jamdagni and mother of Parshuram, while bathing naked in the sacred waters of the Ganges, was beheld by a Dher and, being thereby deprived of the power which she had possessed in virtue of her chaste and meritorious life, failed to turn the holy sand into pots to carry water home. Jamdagni, observing the failure, and suspecting his wife to be guilty of a liaison with the Dher, had them both beheaded by his son Parshuram, and thus the pure-minded and innocent woman succumbed to the rage of a jealous husband. Parshuram implored his father to suspend his wrath, and to show mercy to his mother by restoring her to life. At his entreaty, the sage relented, and desired Renuka's trunk and head to be brought in contact. Parshuram, in his haste adapted the Dher's head to the trunk of his mother, which so enraged the irascible sage that he cursed his son and doomed him to be the procreator of the vile race of Kaikadis. Renuka, who came to life with a male head, became, under the name of Ellamma, the patron deity of the tribe.

**Internal structure.**—Owing to the unsettled state of the tribe, and the wide range of country over which it is scattered, its internal structure is extremely intricate and complicated. A number of sub-tribes into which the tribe is divided, is given below :—

*Erakala* sub-tribes

1. *Kunchal* (brushes)
2. *Pungi or Pamb* (blow-gourd)
3. *Butti* (Basket)
4. *Mide*
5. *Gampa* (basket)
6. *Bidigal*
7. *Tatta*
8. *Badigi*
9. *Balari*

*Korwah* sub-tribes

1. *Kunchal*
2. *Pungi.*
3. *Butti*
4. *Kalla*
5. *Belgar*
6. *Wajantri* (musician)
7. *Pathar* (prostitute)

*Kaikadi* sub-tribes

1. *Kunchi*
2. *Pungi*
3. *Kothi* (monkey)
4. *Deccani*
5. *Belgar*
6. *Sunat* (musicians)
7. *Kut Kaikadi* (prostitutes)
8. *Kamathi*

It will be seen at a glance that one and the same name represents two or more groups which are endogamous. Thus, the name 'Kunchal' denotes the three sub-tribes, Kunchal Erakala, Kunchal Korwah, and Kunchal Kaikadi, the members of which do not intermarry. This may be due to the reluctance of the members of the same sub-tribe to intermarry, when at a distance from one another. It will also be seen that the sub-tribes are functional groups, following the occupations indicated by their names.

*Kunchal Clans* are engaged in making brushes for weavers' looms and snares for catching game.

*Buttin Clans* are a wandering tribe, making baskets and children's toys from the twigs of the wild date palm, telling fortunes and selling medicinal roots.

*Pungi Clans (Pambal)* are snake-charmers and exhibitors, jugglers and showmen. They travel about playing on the pungi or blow-gourd. They are suspected by the police of being gang robbers and burglars and of passing base metals for gold.

*Belgar Clans* own donkeys which they let on hire. They deal in betel-nuts.

*Sunai Kaikadi* or Wajantri Korwah are reported to be habitual criminals, highway robbers, dacoits and burglars. It is said that they have adopted crime as an hereditary profession and are under the strict surveillance of the police.

*Kut Kaikadi* or Pathur Korwah earn their livelihood by purchasing girls and prostituting them. They live in towns and are reported to kidnap and sell children.

Besides these there are the Bidigal Erakalas, who are lime-carriers; the Gampal Erakalas, who are basket weavers; the Kothi Kaikadis, monkey-showers; the Bellari Erakalas who make slings for hanging up cooking utensils; and several other sub-tribes.

Each of the sub-tribes is divided into two exogamous groups : the Korwah and Erakala tribes into (1) Kawadi and (2) Satpadi and the Kaikadi tribes into– (1) Jadhav and (2) Gaikwad. The latter names are evidently borrowed from the Maratha Kunbis, probably to suit the community among whom the Kaikadis dwelt. The section name goes by the male side. A man cannot marry a woman of his own section. Thus, a Satpadi may not marry a Satpadi girl, but he can marry into the Kawadi. The marriage of two sisters to the same man is permitted, provided the elder is married first. The marriage of first cousins is not allowed, exception being made in favour of a man marrying the daughter of his father's sister. According to a custom prevalent among the tribe, every man has a right to claim the first two daughters of his sister, as wives for his sons. If being sonless, or for any other reasons, he is obliged to renounce his claim, his right to the girls is valued and the money paid to him by the parents of the girls before they are married. The bastards among the tribe are not allowed to marry the legitimates and have, consequently, formed a separate class divided into exogamous sections : (1) Kotadi and (2) Manpadi. But the offspring of bastards are not illegitimate and must marry the legitimate members of the community.

The Erakalas admit into their caste, members of any caste higher to them in social standing.

*Marriage.*—Marriage is either infant or adult. A price is paid for the bride, which varies in amount from Rs. 14 to Rs. 196 (fourteen fourteens), rising by a multiple of fourteen, according to the means of the bridegroom's parents. If the full amount (Rs. 196) is agreed upon, the maternal uncle of the girl claims Rs. 70 (five fourteens) as his share (which is, however, liable to vary as the bride price) which must be paid to him prior to marriage. The bride price may be reckoned either in cash or in asses. Half the amount at least must be paid before marriage, to enable the girl's father to pay off her maternal uncle and to make wedding preparations. The balance may be liquidated after marrriage, either in a lump sum, or by instalments. Sexual license before marriage is tolerated and in the event of an unmarried girl becoming pregnant, or having children, her lover is called upon by the Caste *Panchayat* to take her to wife. Husbands may even be obtained for women who have had children before marriage by members of the higher castes. Courtship is said to prevail and girls, when of mature age, are

married to men of their own choice. In fulfilment of vows, girls are dedicated to temples and some times to trees, the ceremonial of dedication consisting of the girl's marriage, with all the usual rites to the temple image, or to the tree which represents the bridegroom. Such girls subsequently become prostitutes. The Pathur Gorwah (Erakala prostitutes) wed their girls to a dagger before initiating them into their occupation.

On an Erakala youth attaining a marriageable age, his parents look about for a suitable bride. A selection having been made, and the proposal having been accepted by the girl's parents, a day is fixed for the performance of the *Agu Madu* (betrothal) ceremony. On the appointed day, the parents of the boy, with their relatives, set out for the girl's house, taking with them a new mat of date palm. On their arrival, they spread the mat in the open, before the house, and on this mat the bride's father and the members of the Caste Panchayat (Council) are seated. The question of the bride-price is opened and discussed and on its final settlement (to the satisfaction of both the parties) eight rupees are paid, as earnest money, to the bride's father. Liquor is ordered at the expense of the bridegroom's father and distributed to the assembly, the first cup being presented to the girl's father, whose drinking of it symbolises the ratification of the alliance, which can on no account be broken.

On the wedding morning a marriage shed is erected at the bride's house and the betrothed pair in their own houses, are smeared five times with a paste of turmeric and oil and are then bathed. Towards evening, the parents of the girl, the father carrying on his head a new earthen pot and the mother holding in her hand a lighted lamp, proceeed in procession to the village tank or river. A twig of the *pipal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*) with five offshoots, previously concealed under water searched for and when found, is worshipped and placed in the earthen jar. The jar is then filled with water and carried back to the marriage booth, where it is kept covered, by the bride's mother, with a light-fed lamp, which is not allowed to go out so long as the marriage lasts. At the auspicious hour appointed, the bridegroom, dagger in hand, is taken in pomp to the bride's house where, on arrival, he is joined by the bride coming from the inner part of the house. The couple, dressed in white, are seated facing the sanctified pot, the bride to the left of her husband, on squares of rice drawn on a date palm mat spread underneath the bower. The consent of the Caste *Panchayat* to their wedding having been solicited and ~~and~~ secured, the bride's father, who officiates as priest fastens the ends of their garments in a knot and ties *tila* (one rupee) in the turban of the bridegroom. This tribal ceremonial, which forms the binding and essential portion of the marriage ceremony, is followed by certain Hindu rituals, *viz.*, *Talwal* or the throwing of turmeric-coloured rice on the wedded pair, first by their parents and then by the wedding guests and *Pusti Mittal* or the placing of a black bead necklace round the girl's neck and toe rings on her toes. The ceremony continues until the small hours of the morning, the bridal pair sitting up all the while. Next morning, the married couple are bathed, auspicious lights are waved round their faces by married females and milk and curds are given them to drink. *Dandya and Wadibium* bring the celebration to a close. Among the Korwas, a curious ceremony is performed on the second day of the wedding. The bride is concealed in a neighbour's house by her mother and the bridegroom starting out on foot, seeks her out and carries her home in his arms.

*Widow-Marriage :* A Widow is generally required to marry her late husbands younger brother, even though he be younger than herself. Her choice of a second husband is not, however, fettered and she may marry an outsider, provided he does not come within the prohibited degrees of relationship. In either case she forfeits all rights to her late husband's property. The ritual in vogue at a widow marriage is simple and consists in dressing the widow in new clothes, putting bangles on her arms and taking her home. A feast to the relatives closes the ceremony.

*Divorce :—* Divorce is allowed on the ground of the wife's barrenness, or unchastity, or disobedience, and is effected by turning her out of the house in the presence of the Caste *Panchayat*. She is permitted to remarry by the same ceremony as a widow, and in case she re-marries, her second husband is compelled to refund to the first the amount, or a portion of the amount, which the latter paid to her parents as bride-price.

*Inheritance :—* The Erakalas very seldom resort to the courts of law, but have their disputes settled by the Caste *Panchayats*. In matters of inheritance, they are governed mostly by tribal customs of their own. In the absence of any male issue, daughters are said to inherit and the fact that a girl is dedicated to a temple

and has become a prostitute, does not debar her from inheriting the ancestral property.

*Child-Birth:*— A singular custom, of great antiquity, which still survives among the Erakalas, is worth recording. The moment labour begins, the woman communicates the fact to her husband, who immediately retires to a dark room and lies on a bed, covering himself with his wife's clothes. When the child is born it is placed by the side of the father, who has his teeth daubed with dentifrice and his eyelashes smeared with lamp-black, while all the prescribed medicines are given to him and he is not allowed to leave his bed for three days, during which period he is regarded as being impure. No attention, on the other hand, is shown to the mother, who lies neglected on the ground. She is given no medicine and no food except bread. The Erakala tell the following story to account for this singular practice. In days of yore, the donkeys of a certain Erakala used to wander into fields and do considerable damage to the crops. Thrice was the Erakala punished for this offence by the owners of the farms. On the fourth occasion, the damage wrought by the beasts to the crop was so heavy, that the Erakala afraid of a sound beating, took to bed, and turned the occasion of the confinement of his wife to his advantage by declaring that he was being treated for her. It was to this event that the Erakala ascribe the introduction among them to couvade, known among savage tribes.

*Religion:*— The religion of the Erakala is animism, overlaid by a very thin layer of popular Hinduism. Their favourite and characteristic deity is Ellamma, represented in various forms and worshipped on Fridays and Tuesdays with offerings of flowers and sweet meats. Among the Korwas, the goddess is represented by an earthen pot set up in a hut specially built to serve as her sanctuary. Early on Tuesday morning, the Korwa female who is selected to officiate as Priestess of the divinity bathes and fills the sacred pot with water. Incense is then burnt, flowers presented, auspicious lights, placed in a shallow dish of palm twigs, solemnly waved and prayers offered in front of the Goddess. The water contained in the sacred pot is then distributed and with this water cakes are prepared and eaten by the votaries. Pigs, fowls and goats are sacrificed to the deity on special occasions, the slaughtered animals furnishing a feast to her devotees after the sacrifice.

Among the other animistic deities that are honoured by the tribe, may be mentioned. Pochamma, the goddess of smallpox and Balamma, a deity of vaguely defined functions, who are appeased with the offerings of ewes, while to Mahalaxmi, the Goddess who presides over cholera, are offered pigs end fowls on the *Dassera* Holiday (September). At the worship of Bhavani, a *gondhal* (sacred dance) is performed and ewes are sacrificed on her altar.

The Erakalas are a spirit-haunted and ghost-ridden people and ascribe every disease or malady, misfortune or calamity, to the action of some malevolent spirit, or of some troubled ancestral ghost. The influence of evil spirits is averted by sacrificing to them such animals as goats, pigs, fowls &c. The services of an Erakala priestess are called in to identify and to lay the ghosts of departed ancestors. When a ghost is to be appeased, the following ceremony is performed; some *jowari* is spread on the ground and a small earthen pot, surmounted by a lighted lamp, is placed upon it. The priestess, having bathed and seated herself, facing the lamp becomes possessed and goes on playing on a musical instrument called a *tingari* (a sort of fiddle), singing, one by one, the names of all the deceased relatives, until the flickering flame of the lamp becomes steady. The image of the deceased person whose name has steadied the flame, is embossed upon a silver plate which being hung round the neck of the sufferer is supposed to cure him. Garlands made of pieces of leather and *cowrie* shells are also worn in the name of Ellamma by men and women to ward off evil influences proceeding from spirits and ghosts.

In addition to these elemental deities and departed ancestors, the Hindu gods Hanuman, Rajanna and Mahadeva are also honoured, though in a scanty fashion, by the tribe, more particularly by those who have given up their wandering habits and settled down in villages and towns. Brahmans have not yet been introduced either for ceremonial or religious functions which are discharged by their tribal priests. The growing influence of Hinduism may be traced to the fact that a few of the Erakalas have divided themselves, like the Hindu castes of Telingana, into Namdharis and Vibhutidharis.

*Disposal of the Dead*:–The dead are usually burnt but occasionally buried in a lying posture, with the head pointing to the south. It is said that the members of the Satpadi section bury their dead and those

of the Kawadi burn them. The ashes are either left at the place of cremation or thrown into a running stream. Mourning is observed for five days, during which time the principal mourner is regarded as unclean and abstain from flesh. On the fifth day after death, a swine is killed, its flesh is cooked and a funeral feast is given to all the relatives. In the name of the deceased, birds are fed with the food placed on a leafy plate. No *Sradha* is performed for the propitiation of the manes of the departed. If the spirit of the deceased person is suspected of having reappeared in a ghostly form, a small metal plate, with his image engraved upon it, is placed in the God's room and worshipped on every festive occasion.

*Social Status*:—The social status of the tribe is very low. No castes, other than the lowest unclean classes of Mahar (Mala), Mang (Madiga), Chambhar, &c., will take food or water from their hands, while they will accept food from all Hindu classes except the lowest unclean castes. The members of the tribe are not allowed to enter the court-yard of great temples. They have few scruples regarding their diet and will eat fowls, pork, scaly and scaleless fish, field rats, jackals, foxes, cats, mongooses, carrion and the leavings of the higher castes. They indulge freely in strong drink and the tumult that ensues therefrom generally ends in a fight.

*Occupation*:—The vagrant Erakalas are professional burglars and highway dacoits and are under the strict vigilance of the police. They commit burglaries by digging through the walls of houses with a sharp iron instrument and after the depredations have been committed, move away many miles from the scene of the crime, disposing off or secreting the plunder very quickly. Their highway dacoities are marked with extreme violence and ruthlessness ending not infrequently, in murder. They are very superstitious and never commence their predatory incursions unless the omens are favourable. Their ostensible means of livelihood is to make mats and baskets of date palm, ropes and twines from jungle fibres, slings for hanging cooking utensils and clothes and ropes for drawing water and tethering animals. With these commodities the women of the gangs wander from village to village and, under the pretext of selling them collect information which helps the men in organising crime. The Erakala females are petty thieves and as they go about begging from door to door they make away with pots and clothes they can lay their hands upon unnoticed. Sometimes they are so bold as to open and plunder locked houses situated in unfrequented lanes.

As a fortune teller, an Erakala woman is in great favour among all the Telugu castes. She carries, in a date basket, her patron deity Ellamma, in the form of a small circular plate embossed with *cowrie* shells. She invokes the deity and, as if acting under its influence, tells fortunes and reveals the future. Sometimes possessed by the goddess, she discloses the name of the evil spirit that haunts a family and prescribes remedies for its pacification.

The settled members of the tribe are peaceful cultivators and village musicians. They also work in date palm leaves, making brooms, baskets, mats and toys for children. They have not yet thoroughly repressed their criminal instincts and are frequently suspected of helping their nomadic comrades in the commission of crime.

## YERUKALA

AN EXTRACT FROM THE TRIBES AND CASTES OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA BY R. V. RUSSEL, VOL. II PP. 606-608

A vagrant gipsy tribe of Madras of whom a small number are returned from the Chand district. They live by thieving, begging, fortune-telling and making baskets and, are usually treated as identical with the Koravas or Kuravas, who have the same occupations. Both speak a currupt Tamil, and the Yerukalas are said to call one another Kurru or Kura. It has been supposed that Korava was the Tamil name which in the Telugu country became *Yerukalavandlu* or fortune-tellers. Mr. (Sir H.) Stewart thought there could be no doubt of the identity of the two castes, though Mr. Francis points out differences between them. The Yerukalas are expert thieves. They frequent villages on the pretence of begging, and rob by day in regular groups under a female leader, who is known as Jamadarin. Each gang is provided with a bunch of keys and picklocks. They locate a locked house in an unfrequented lane, and one of them stands in front as if begging; the remainder are posted as watchers in the vicinity, and the Jamadarin picks the lock and enters the house. When the leader comes out with the booty she locks the door and they all walk away. If any one comes up while the leader is in the house the woman at the door engages him in conversation by some device, such as producing a silver coin and asking if it is good. She then begins to dispute, and laying hold of him calls out to her comrades that the man has abused her or been taking liberties with her. The others run up and jostle him away from the door, and while they are all occupied with the quarrel the thief escapes. Or an old woman goes from house to house pretending to be a fortune-teller. When she finds a woman at home alone, she flatters and astonishes her by relating the thief events in her life, how many children she has, how many more are coming, and so on. When the woman of the house is satisfied that the fortune-teller has supernatural powers, she allows the witch to cover her face with her robe, and shuts her eyes while the fortune-teller breathes on them, and blows into her ears and sits muttering charms. Meanwhile one or two of the latter's friends who have been lurking close by walk into the house and carry away whatever they can lay their hands on. When they have left the house the woman's face is uncovered and the fortune-teller takes her fee and departs, leaving her dupe to find out that her house has been robbed. The conjugal morals of these people are equally low. They sell or pledge their wives and unmarried daughters, and will take them back on the redemption of the pledge with any children born in the interval, as though nothing out on the ordinary had happened. When a man is sentenced to imprisonment his wife selects another partner for the period of her husband's absence, going back to him on his release with all her children, who are considered as his. Mr. Thurston gives the following story of a gang of Koravas or Yerukalas in Tinnevelly: "One morning in Tinnevelly, while the butler in a missionary's house was attending to his duties, an individual turned up with a fine fowl for sale. The butler, finding that he could purchase it for about half the real price, brought it, and showed it to his wife with no small pride in his ability in making a bargain. But he was distinctly crestfallen when his wife pointed out that it was his own bird, which had been lost on the previous night. The seller was a Korava." In Madras they have also now developed into expert railway thieves. They have few restrictions as to food, eating cats and though not dogs. The Yerukalas practised the custom of the Couvade as described by the Rev. John Cain, of Dumagudem: "Directly the woman feels the birthpangs she informs her husband who immediately takes some of her clothes, puts them on, places on his forehead the mark which the woman usually place on theirs, retires into a dark room where there is only a very dim lamp, and lies down on the bed, covering himself up with a long cloth. When the child is born it is washed and placed on the cot beside the father. Asafoetida, jaggery and other articles are then given not to the mother but to the father. During the days of ceremonial impurity the man is treated as other Hindus treat their women on such occasions. He is not allowed to leave his bed, but has everything needful brought to him.

# EXTRACT OF THE CASTE INDEX FROM CENSUS OF INDIA 1891 VOLUME XVI

## Caste and Sub-Caste

### KORAVA OR YERUKULA

Adakanti
Adal
Adumi
Agasala
Alli
Amberi
Andi
Angadi
Angasan
Aragari
Arava
Are
Aruttu
Atagara
Attu

Badda
Baddala
Badiga
Bajantri
Balanatlu
Balija
Bandala
Bandaram
Bandi
Bandimikkar
Barigina
Batla
Bedallaru
Beride
Beri
Berike
Bhumikasura
Bichi
Bidaru
Biveni
Bogam
Bogatiyaru
Bontala
Bonta
Boya
Boyala Batta
Brahmakkal
Budama Yerukula
Buvva

Chachuha
Chadaru
Challani
Chape Madiga
Chatti
Chenchu
Chuma
Chitra
Chuppa
Chuvala
Chuvvalle

Dabbe
Dagidi
Daivarakodi
Dandi
Darmakkaval
Dasari
Daya
Desadimmari
Desasta
Devarakonda
Devarakhiya
Doddi
Domban
Donala
Donta
Dudikankana
Dumpa
Dutta

Edakala
Eddula
Elkundar
Embeli
Enda
Eneti
Enimilu
Erapadi
Erra
Erukamagal

Gabbili
Gadde
Gagula
Gajvalu
Galabalu
Galala
Galitolladaru
Gameti
Gampa Yerukala
Gattu
Gatti
Golla
Gosari
Gotita

## Caste and Sub-Caste

### KORAVA OR YERUKULA—*Contd.*

Grama
Guddanesi
Gujjalavaru

Halumati
Hande
Hattikankana
Hindu
Idakuttam
Idaloru
Ilaimagal
Inaga
Injinattu
Inju
Intipalla
Iranipuni
Isanganadu
Jadakattyar
Jakkula
Jadakattyar
Janadirvi
Janalkattu
Janappan
Jatangi
Jatilli
Javadi
Jogamalai
Jogi

Kadaveru
Kadukatti
Kaikatti
Kakanlapichai
Kakka
Kalaba
Kaladiyan
Kalakalaminopudiar
Kalali
Kalinmada
Kalingi
Kalku
Kambi
Kamsala
Kanakana
Kandapadi
Kanji
Kanka
Kanna
Kannadi
Kanni
Kanuga
Kapadi
Kapu
Karadiyar
Karaikatti
Karamakka
Karaniyachi
Karar Maladian
Karatti
Karepaku
Karigaru
Karna
Karnakuruba
Karya Biliji
Katagotram
Katte
Kattumarattiyan
Katuveikkira
Kavadi
Kaval
Kavarai
Kavattiyar
Kavattan
Kalitikkaran
Kenchiga
Kicchular
Kilakkuravar
Kiratakalu
Kocchi
Kodadi
Kodikkal
Kokku
Kolunangam
Kollar
Kolnapuri
Konda
Konga
Konjavan
Kopurasale
Koracha
Kotta
Koyya
Koyyalukotte
Kozhi (cock)
Kudaikatti
Kudalana

Caste and Sub-Caste

KORAVA OR YERUKULA—*Contd.*

Kudi
Kulalar
Kulipadi
Kumba
Kumara
Kuncha
Kungabaganta
Kunna
Kuppa
Kuraba
Kurasetti
Kurra
Kuruvikkar
Kuruvikkai
Kuruvupillai
Kutta
Kuttadi
Kuttattirundavar
Kutti

Lambadi
Landan

Macchararu
Magapati
Magidu
Malai
Malaiyarmagan
Malakustu
Malappondi
Malapucchari
Malayalam
Malla
Man
Manchi
Mandai
Mandi
Manduyaru
Mani
Manippadi
Mannabadi
Mannammani
Marameri
Maranga
Marathi
Marattu
Mari
Masti
Mayitta
Medara
Melakulam
Melkutti
Melapavaduvaru
Meli
Mellakudi
Melkavar
Melpada
Melpatti
Melur
Membadiya
Mendaguttiru
Mendi
Metaparayan
Metragutti
Mettu
Metuparu
Minadala
Minapadikulam
Modminattu
Mokutar
Molakanatu
Mondagota
Mondi
Mondra
Moragaguttadasam
Morasakulam
Mottipetanagaram
Mucchi
Muchu
Muluka
Mullikodi
Mumpadi
Mundla
Mungil
Murigonda
Mutadabba
Mutta

Nadadi
Nagara
Nalaliadi
Nalla
Namburivar
Nanji
Narikuravan
Nativata
Nattan
Natti
Nayanar
Nepat
Nettakancharakatti
Nilapatri
Nokki
Nottikavidi
Nulachayakurama
Nulakanesukoni

Ondiyar

Caste and Sub-Caste

KORAVA OR YERUKULA—*Contd.*

Oppala
Ottiyar

Pacche
Padikati
Padma
Paidi
Pakanati
Palagadavaru
Palanattuvar
Palappakal
Palavanta
Palladandla
Pallaku
Pallati
Palle
Pambai
Pamula
Panakkuravan
Panchala
Pandilladar
Pandiyar
Panikkan
Parasurama
Pasalasutu
Pasapunati
Patravaru
Patta
Pattikankana
Pavadi
Payakkara
Pazhukkakuravan
Pedakanti
Penda
Pedadegadi
Pendrakuttar
Pennimagal
Pilkattu
Pinchanu
Pitta
Podikkara
Pollamkulam
Pollampotti
Polu
Ponai
Ponnampoti
Pottipottu
Puja
Pukkala
Pulikurava
Pulla
Palpayi
Punaikutti
Pungolli
Punvakamsara
Puri
Pusari
Putta
Putti
Puttisuthavaru

Racchi
Radara
Ragi
Raja
Rangari
Relli

Saivan
Sakega Koracha
Sakkili
Sakupalu
Salaka
Sale
Salimantam
Samapaud
Sanakuravar
Sanan
Sanda
Saranamdari
Sare
Sarige
Satalari
Satani
Satapalle
Satupadi
Sekusi
Selnattu
Sembattar
Senapan
Sengu
Seraman
Setti
Seyyala
Shikari
Sikidi
Sirangam
Sippu
Siri
Sirutalikatti
Sittan
Sivigaiyan
Somakulam
Sonayada
Sozhia
Sukkavaru
Sulaka
Svajati

Caste and Sub-Caste

KORAVA OR YERUKULA—*Concld.*

Tadika
Tadu
Taikali
Talayari
Tallam
Tamar
Tamba
Tamil
Tappai
Tattalalle
Tayyal
Telugu
Terkatti
Thyami
Tinavettumugam
Tiruttu
Tombai
Tondamandala
Tota
Toti
Tubari
Tudam
Turivandlu

Uddaikantam
Urijakattu
Unnadorasaivam
Uppara
Uppu
Ura
Urugojjalu
Utaku Brahman
Uttu
Utya
Uzhanda

Vadagattan
Vadavar
Vaduka
Vagala
Valle
Vamanagan
Vanhikankanamollu
Vandi
Vanta
Vedalar
Vedan
Vegna
Velamati
Velar
Velli
Velloru
Venar
Vetagiri
Veti
Vettai
Vilkuttu
Visaiyar
Vopata
Vucchili
Vudalu
Vulli
Vunna
Vyapari

Yachada Koracha
Yatana Koracha
Yatida Koracha
Yatina Koracha
Yanadi
Yogiya

# BOYA

(DENOTIFIED TRIBE)

# BOYA

## Name, Identity, Origin and History

Boya is a Denotified tribe in Andhra Pradesh. It is surveyed from the Ethnographic point of view at Madakasira, Ravulapalem in Dharmavaram taluk of Anantapur district and in Kurnool in October and December, 1962 respectively. This community is known by different names such as Valmiki, Chundinayakulu, Donga Boyas, Doras, Gentu, Gurikara, Kalawathila Boyas, Kavalivaru, Kirata ( Kiratakas ), Mondi Boya, Nayakulu (Naidu), Nishadhas, Sabari, Sunkulamma Boya, Talari and Yellapu or Ellapi (day dacoits) perhaps in view of their different occupations in different parts of the State. The various terms mentioned above are synonymous; they denote one and the same community and marriage alliances are accepted among them.

During case studies in Kurnool district, it was stated by Mr. Y. V. Subbaiah Naidu, Organiser, Andhra Pradesh Valmiki Association that Boyas are called by different names. These names are either derived from their own theory of origin or from their occupation or by their nature of residence or behaviour. There are different theories regarding their origin.

The word ' Valmiki ' comes from ' *Valmikam* ' an ant-hill which in Telugu called *Putta*. It is common knowledge that the great sage Valmiki the author of Ramayana was so named after the great penance during which period an ant-hill grew over him. The details of the story are that in former days a Brahmin who lived as a highway man, looted the seven Rishis who were the incarnations of the seven main planets. On their advice he called on his God and sat at the place where he had committed grave sins and did penance while ants came out of the ground and gradually enveloped him in a heap. This heap or ant-hill is called *Valmikam* in Sanskrit. After he came out from his penance, he became a Rishi and was popularly known as Valmiki. Boyas believe that they are the descendants of Valmiki. Believing this mythical origin, Boyas claim that their community is very primitive. They are called as Sabaris because they are considered to be the descendants of Sabari of Ramayana. They are also known as ' Nishadhas ' as they are considered to be the descendants of a hunter 'Nishadha'. Because of their employment in the village service, the name 'Talari' is given. As the caste was accustomed to committing robbery in the day time the name 'Yellapu' or Ellapi (day dacoits) was given. Because of their proficiency in hunting, they are known as Gurikaras. Some of them used to head certain groups and also soldiers. Hence they are called Nayaks. Some of the Boyas were considered as legal heads for certain regions and hence were called as Doras, otherwise known as Boya Doras. As they used to live in forests and hunt animals, the caste got the name Boya. They are also kown as 'Kiratakas' as they are not supposed to have sympathy for others.

## Clan, Kinship and other Analogous Divisions

All Boyas are divided into four divisions *viz.*, Sathupadi, Manupadi, Nallabothula and Mandraguthi. Persons belonging to Sathupadi and Manupadi can marry from among those belonging to Nallabothula and Mandraguthi. But marriages between Sathupadi and Manupadi cannot take place and similar is the prohibition between Nallabothula and Mandraguthi. These divisions are said to have come into existence on the basis of their taking part in the worship of Lord Siva. Sathupadi cleaned the God, Manupadi brought flowers for the worship, Nallabothula took the God on a chariot, and Mandraguthi worshipped the God. Thus these four divisions came into existence.

They observe *gotra* exogamy while negotiating marriages. Marriages are performed between persons of different *gotra* only. The following are some of the *gotralu* of Boyas found in the field survey.

1. *Ankelollu* (Anka Boya)
2. *Bhogi*
3. *Boggula*
4. *Chinna*
5. *Gujjalollu* (Gujjala)
6. *Magelu*
7. *Magilollu* (Magli)
8. *Mallela*
9. *Mandla* (Mandala)

10. *Mannalollu* (Manalu)
11. *Meniga*
12. *Mollalollu*
13. *Pikkili* (Pikkala)
14. *Sakelollu* (Sake)
15. *Satharla*

An excerpt from the Madras Caste Index of 1891 gives 280 sub-divisions of Boyas. In these subdivisions the synonyms *viz.* Ellapi (Ellapu), Gurikara, Mondi, Nayakulu (Nayakudu), Sunkalamma (Sankulamma), and Talari mentioned in the first para of the note and all the above *gotralu* except Bhogi, Meniga, Mollalollu and Satharla are found. The other subdivisions of the caste index have not been reported during case studies.

**Appearance**

Men keep a knife in their waist, a stick on their shoulders, a silver armlet round the left hand and a silver anklet to the right leg. They wear a silver pendant on which the figure of 'Hanuman' is carved, which is known as *Hanumanthu Billa*. The men get the hair of their heads cut close having semi-cirular clean shave in the front portion. This is locally known as *Kathera Juttu*. They have long moustaches. Figs. 1 and 2 show an old Boya man. The elderly generation grow their hair and knot it in the back. Fig. 3 shows a Boya female.

**Distribution and Population trend**

Boyas are found in Anantapur, Guntakal, Penukonda, Settur, Kambadur, Madakasira and Kadiri of Anantapur district and in all parts of Kurnool and Nellore districts of Andhra Pradesh.*

The Madras and Hyderabad Census Reports give the following population figures of Boyas for the previous decades.

STATEMENT I

POPULATION OF BOYAS

| Year | Total Population | Males | Females | Percentage decade variation |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| *Madras* | | | | |
| 1891 ... ... | 351,523 | 177,500 | 174,023 | — |
| 1901 ... ... | 397,189 | 201,259 | 195,930 | + 13.0 |
| 1911 ... ... | 425,862 | 216,732 | 209,130 | + 7.2 |
| 1921 ... ... | 440,298 | 226,701 | 213,597 | + 3.4 |
| 1931 ... ... | 545,066 | 274,256 | 270,810 | + 23.8 |
| *Hyderabad* | | | | |
| 1881 ... ... | 93,478 | N.A. | N.A. | — |
| 1891 ... ... | 134,282 | N.A. | N.A. | + 43.7 |
| 1901 ... ... | 142,179 | N.A. | N.A. | + 5.9 |
| 1911 ... ... | 177,004 | N.A. | N.A. | + 24.5 |
| 1921 ... .. | 267,378 | N.A. | N.A. | + 51.1 |
| 1931 ... ... | 285,273 | N.A. | N.A. | + 6.7 |

*Source: Inspector-General of Police, Andhra Pradesh.

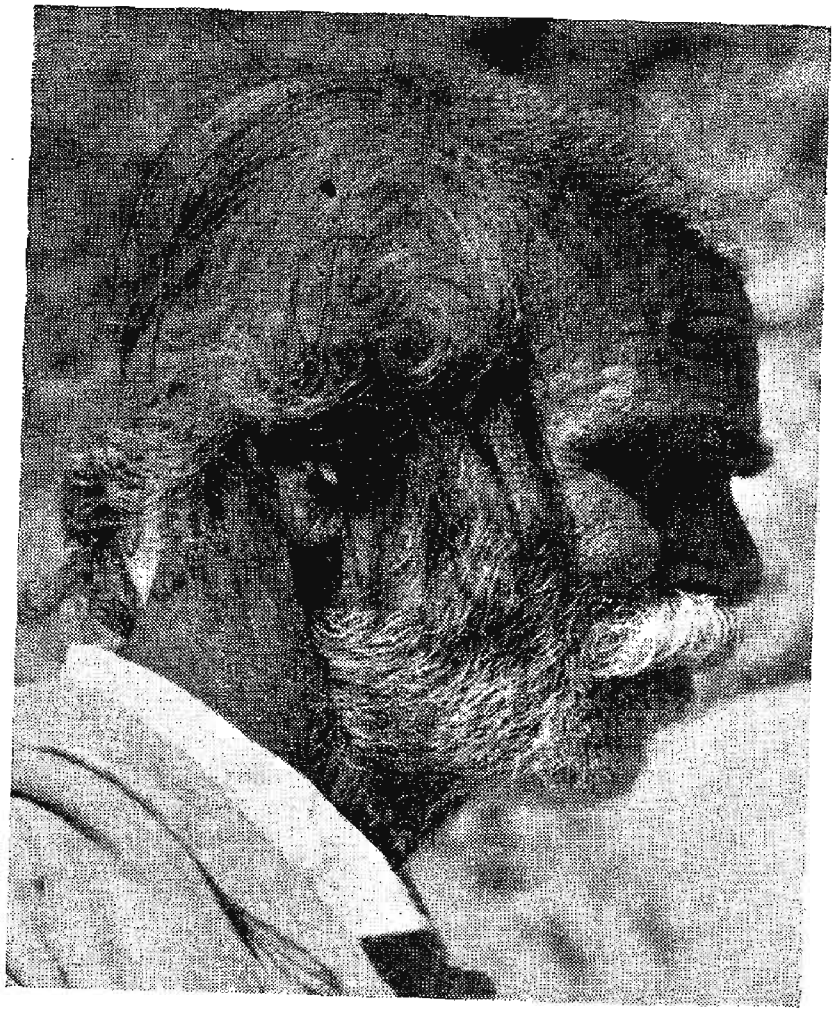


Fig. 1 An old Boya man—Profile

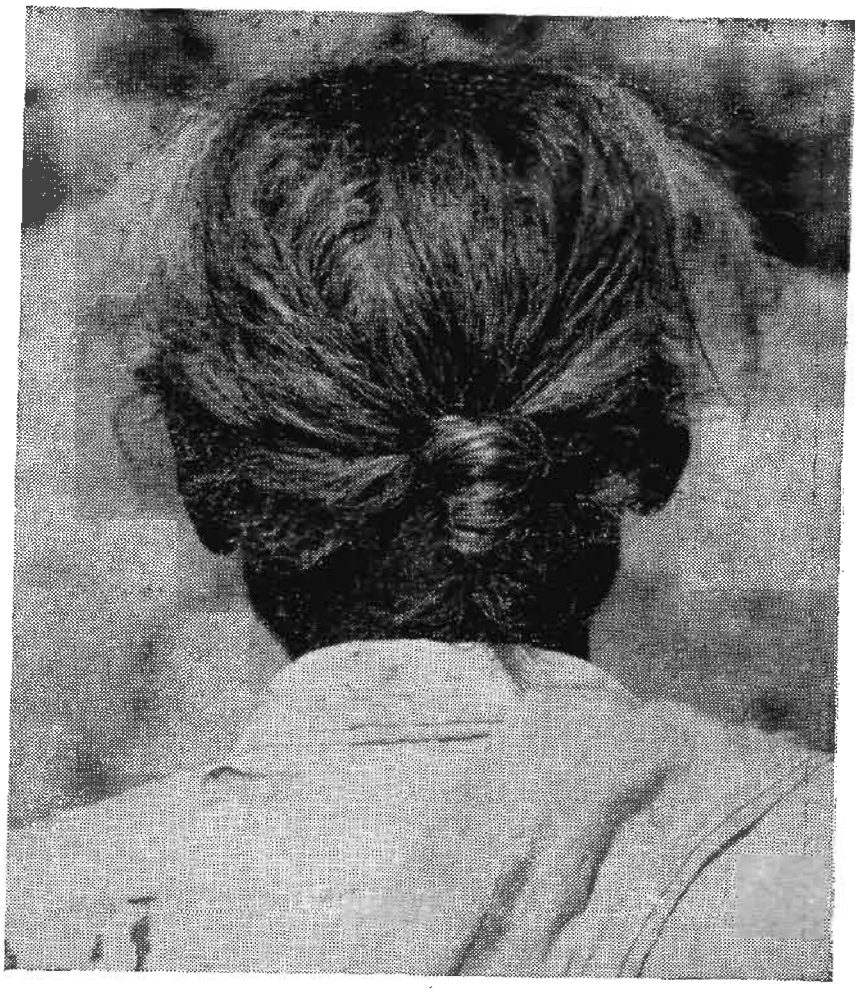


Fig. 2 An old Boya man—back



Fig. 3 A Boya woman

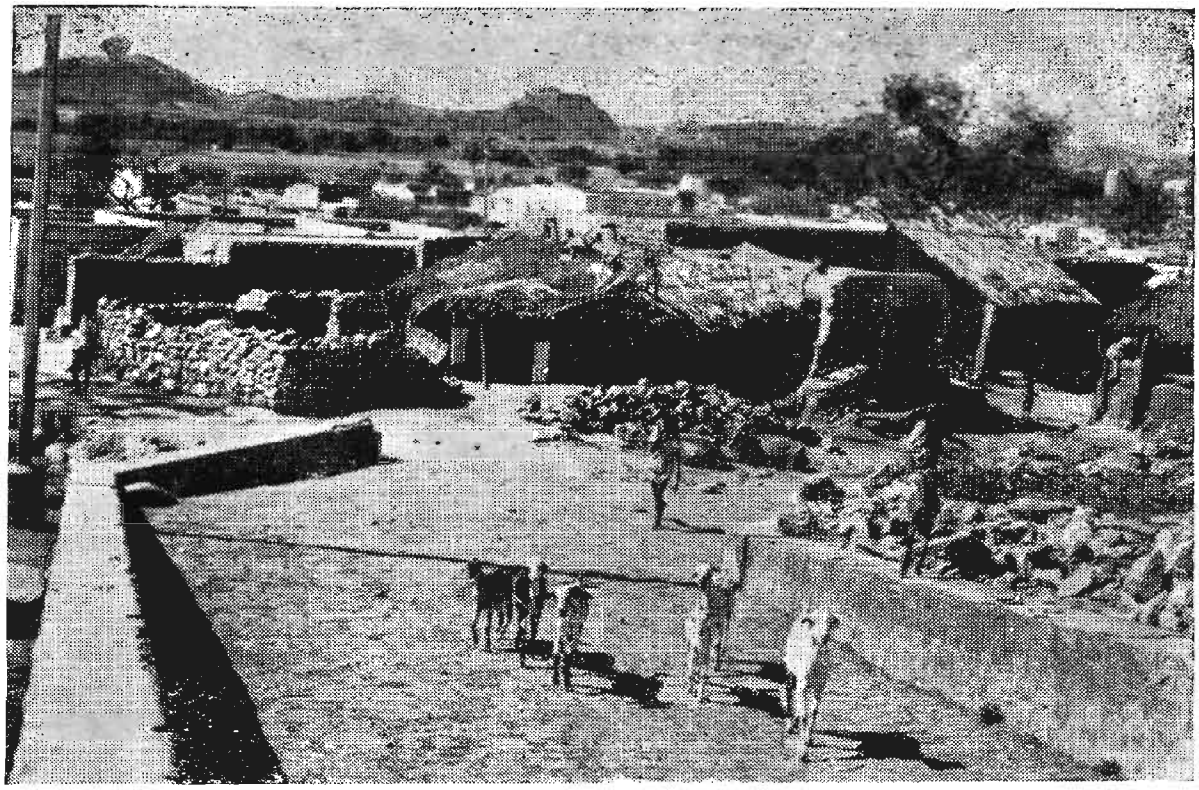


Fig. 4 The Houses of Boyas

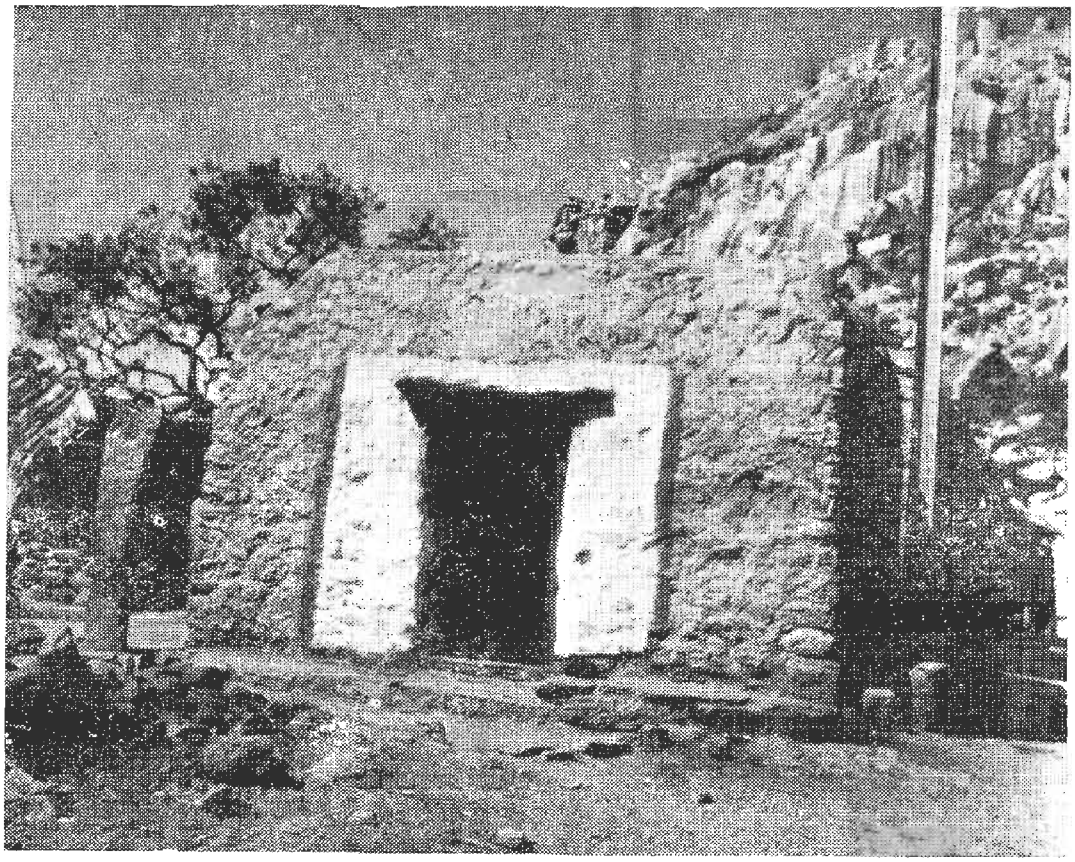


Fig. 5 *Midde* type of house

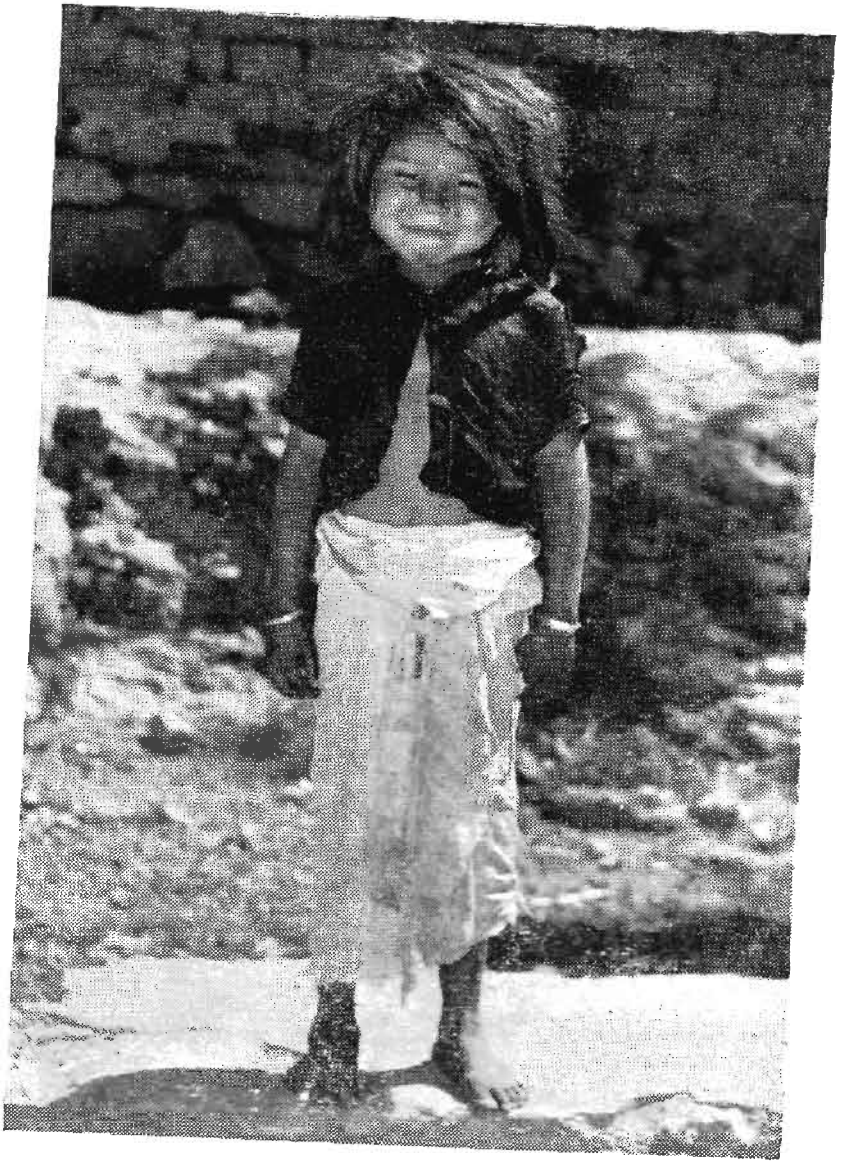


Fig. 6 A little Girl from Boya Community—
Dressing pattern can be observed

In 1941 detailed Tabulation of Census data was not done due to the II World War. Castewise populations figures have not been collected from 1951 onwards and therefore it is not possible to give separate population figures of Boyas for the Census years 1951 and 1961.

## Dwellings, Food, Dress and Habits

### Dwellings

During the case studies it is observed that they live in huts locally called *Kottams* or *Gudiselu.* Fig. 4 shows hutments of Boyas of Madakasira. They are small and untidy. Some of the huts have mud walls whereas some others are enclosed by frame work of bamboo pieces. The walls are white washed inside and red coloured mud is applied outside. In the case of huts enclosed by bamboo frame work, cow dung is plastered to the frame work and red mud is applied inside upto a height of 1½′ from the floor, the remaining portion of the frame work being white washed. The walls are generally 4½′ x 6′ in height. Country wooden poles are inserted into the walls to support the roof. The roofing is done with country wooden rafters and palmyra leaves or a kind of grass locally known as *Boda Gaddi.* The roof is in inclined plane on both sides resting on the walls. The supporting poles end in 'Y' shape and a big rafter is placed on these poles. Wooden bamboos are arranged in inclined plane and *boda* grass is spread.

Usually the houses have only one room partitioned into two, the one of the interior being used for cooking and the other for storing food grains as also for sleeping. The floor is plastered with cow dung once in a week. A hearth, a big pot for storing water known as *Pontha*, a mortar (*rolu*) are usually kept in kitchen. There are big and small pots for storing food grains called *gadelu.* The south-east corner of the house is set apart for worship. Walls are white washed once in a year. It is found from the case studies that the construction charges of a house range from Rs. 200 to Rs. 250. Out of the 13 households surveyed, 12 are living in huts and one is living in a rented house at Kurnool. Very rarely a few Boyas possess *Midde* (terraced) type of house (Fig. 5).

At the time of commencement of constructing a house or after the completion of house, no ceremony is observed and no reason has been given for this. Usually members of the family themselves construct the house except spreading grass or palmyra leaves as roof which is attended to by an expert in that work. Previously they used to have the entrance to their houses open without doors. But now-a-days they too are fixing doors to the entrances.

### Food

Jowar, *Ragi* and *Korra* constitute their staple food. Rice is seldom taken by them. They take Jowar *roti* almost every day. All kinds of pulses, vegetables and greens are consumed. They eat beef and this practice is continuing still. They eat the flesh of sheep, goats, fowls and of field rats too.

Utensils of earthenware and aluminium are used and the following are some of them in daily use.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Buvva Kunda* (a mud pot) | ... | For cooking |
| *Pallem or Kancham* (Aluminium plate) | ... | For eating |
| *Muntha* (a small mud vessel) | ... | For drinking |
| *Mukati* (a lid made of mud) | ... | As covering lid |
| *Neella Kunda* and *Pontha* (mud pots) | ... | For fetching and storing water |

### Hygienic Habits

Poverty prevents most of the Boyas from using toilet and washing soaps. Only one household uses toilet and washing soaps. They take bath once in a week preferably in the afternoon before taking meals. Both men and women have tattoo marks. A nomadic tribe called *Pacha Bottollu* visit the villages occasionally and attended to tattooing. The Boyas do not attach any special significance to tattoo marks but consider them as purely dacorative.

In the past as none would dare to steal in the houses of Boyas who themselves were notorious burglars, they were not in the habit of closing their doors. However, now-a-days many of them close their doors when they go out. Daily in the early hours of the morning the Boya men go to the forest to get grass. Smoking is a common habit with most of the males who also chew *pan* along with tobacco. Females use tobacco powder locally known as *katlapodi* with *pan*. Boyas are in the habit of taking liquors now and then. Drinking country liquor is indulged in during marriages and death ceremonies.

The boys play *Chillakatte*—a play with sticks and *Baddigundlu*,—a game of marbles.

**Dress and Ornaments**

Case studies reveal that men wear knickers upto the knees which are locally called *Salladams*. About 2½ yards of cloth is required for a *salladam*. Usually men do not wear shirts. In some cases, men use a piece of cloth one yard in length passing it over their waist string in between the loins which is locally known as *gochi*. They also keep a head gear known as *rumal* which is 4½ yards in length. Women wear sarees which are 8 yards in length and jackets called *ravikalu*. Boyas wear knickers and bush shirts. Girls wear frocks, skirts and jackets. Some girls wrap a cloth round their waist and wear jacket (Fig. 6).

There is no special dress for the bride or bridegroom. Only men use foot wear prepared locally. Regarding ornaments, women wear *Kammalu* (ear rings), *Nanu* (necklace), which are made of gold and *Golusulu* (chain like anklets) made of silver. Married women wear *puste* (marriage locket) made of gold and toe-rings made of silver. Generally women tie their hair in the back into a knot (Fig. 7).

**Language**

The Boyas in Andhra Pradesh speak Telugu. The Boyas of Madakasira which is adjacent to Mysore State speak Kannada too. The following Statement shows the educational standards of Boyas enumerated in the 13 households.

STATEMENT II

LITERACY STANDARDS OF BOYAS ACCORDING TO CASE STUDIES

| Educational Standards | Persons | Males | Females |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Illiterate ... ... ... | 73 | 33 | 40 |
| Literates (without any educational standard ... ... | — | — | — |
| Primary or Junior Basic ... | 7 | 6 | 1 |
| Matriculation or Higher Secondary ... ... ... | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| **Total** ... | **82** | **40** | **42** |

It can be seen from the above Statement, that out of 82 persons, only 9 persons are literates with educational levels ranging from Primary to Higher Secondary Certificate course. Among them one is the daughter of the Organiser of Valmiki Association. She is studying Pre-University course at Kurnool. The Boyas are slowly realising the importance of education in these days. The proportion of literates among males and females is 17.5% and 4.76% respectively. Nobody is reported to have been benefited by the Adult Education Scheme and they seem to be ignorant of the existence of Adult Education centres.

**Economic Life**

In the past they were very much prized as fighting men and they used to serve in the military. In the Gazetteer of the Anantapur district it is noted that "the Boyas are the old fighting caste of this part of the country, whose exploits are so often recounted in the history books. The Poligar's forces, and Haider Ali's famous troops were largely recruited from these people, and they still retain a keen interest in sport and manly exercises." [E. Thurston, Vol. I, p. 181].

According to the field investigation, they are a good enterprising community engaged in different kinds of activities such as cultivation, agricultural labour, *talari*, domestic service, hunting, selling grass for cattle, selling firewood etc., The subsidiary occupation of most of the Boyas is either hunting or plucking of tamarind fruits. Figure 8 shows the trap arranged for hunting rabbits. Boyas with their special sticks intended for plucking tamarind fruits can be seen in Figure 9. Figure 10 shows a close view of the tamarind plucking stick with its special iron hook.

It is observed from case studies that the main occupation of Boyas is domestic labour and cultivation. In all the 13 households atleast a few members attend to labour. Some are engaged as regular servants in the households of rich landlords. Some of them are engaged as village servants, who are called *Talaris*. All of them know how to cultivate land. Five households are owning land. Some of them cultivate leased land and pay half of the produce to the lessor. The chief crops raised are *Ragi*, *Jowar*, and *Korra*. Early in the morning they go to the hills to collect grass and firewood. After selling the grass and firewood they return home. Then they take their first meal in the afternoon. They go to work in fields and return late in the evening.

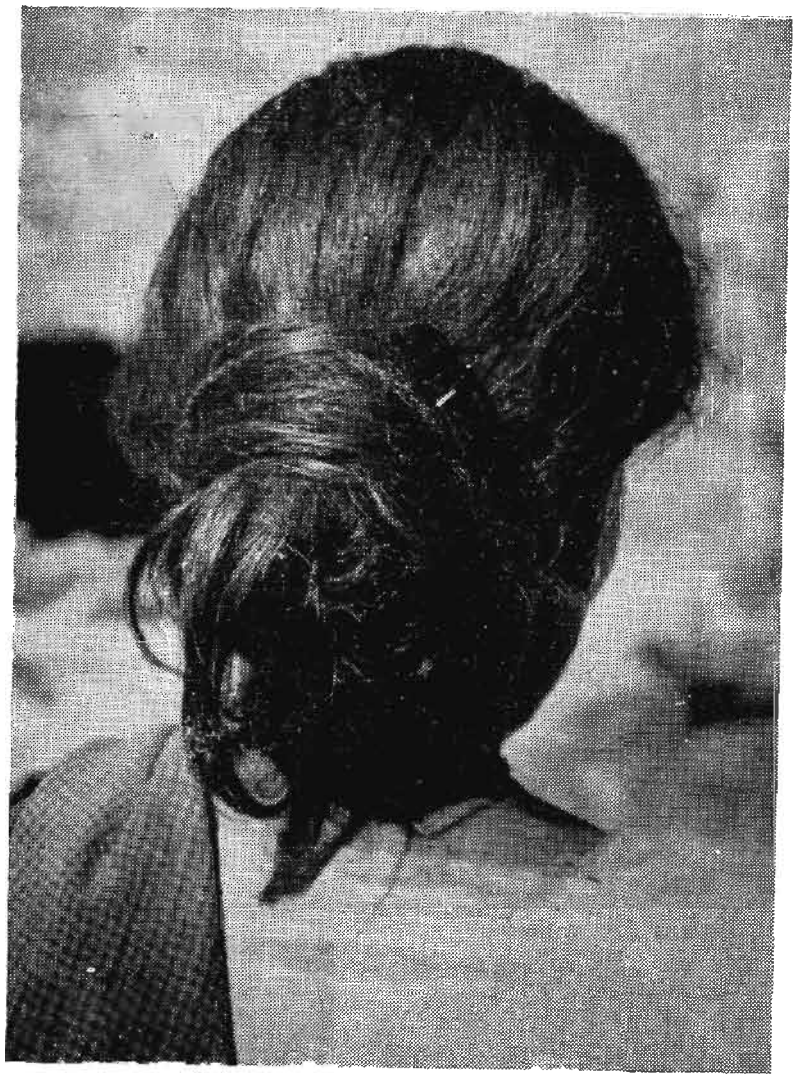


Fig. 7 Hair style of a Boya woman

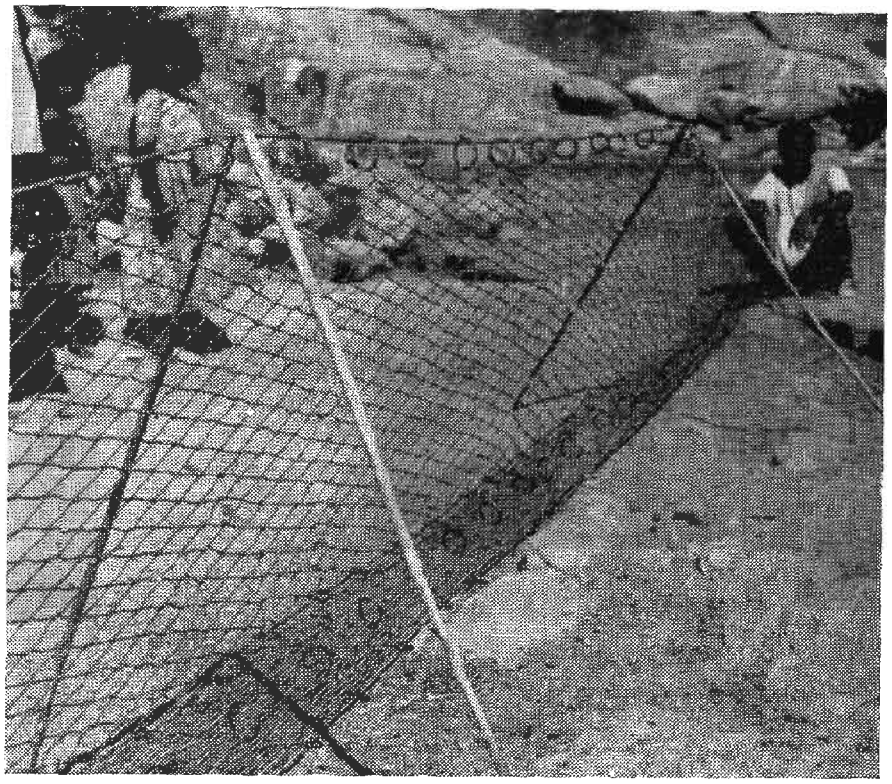


Fig. 8 A Trap for hunting rabbits

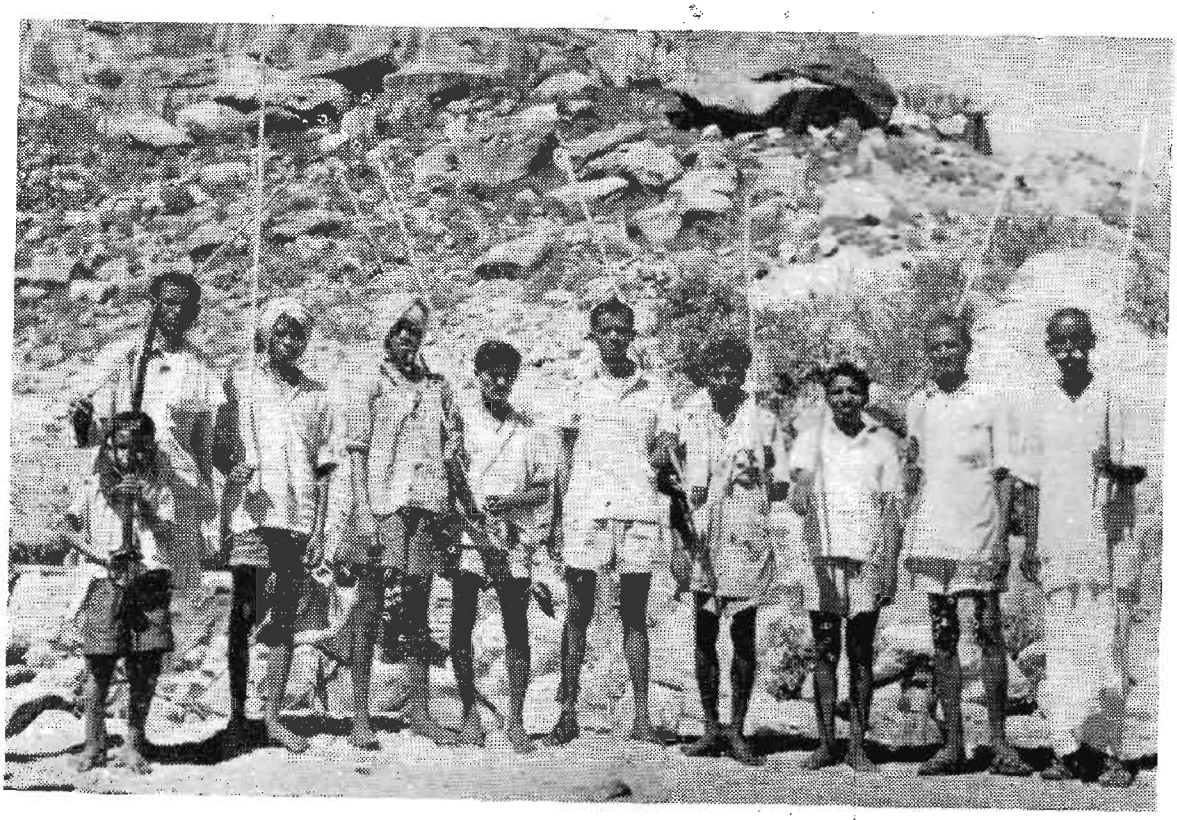


*Fig. 9* Boyas with their sticks to pluck tamarind fruits

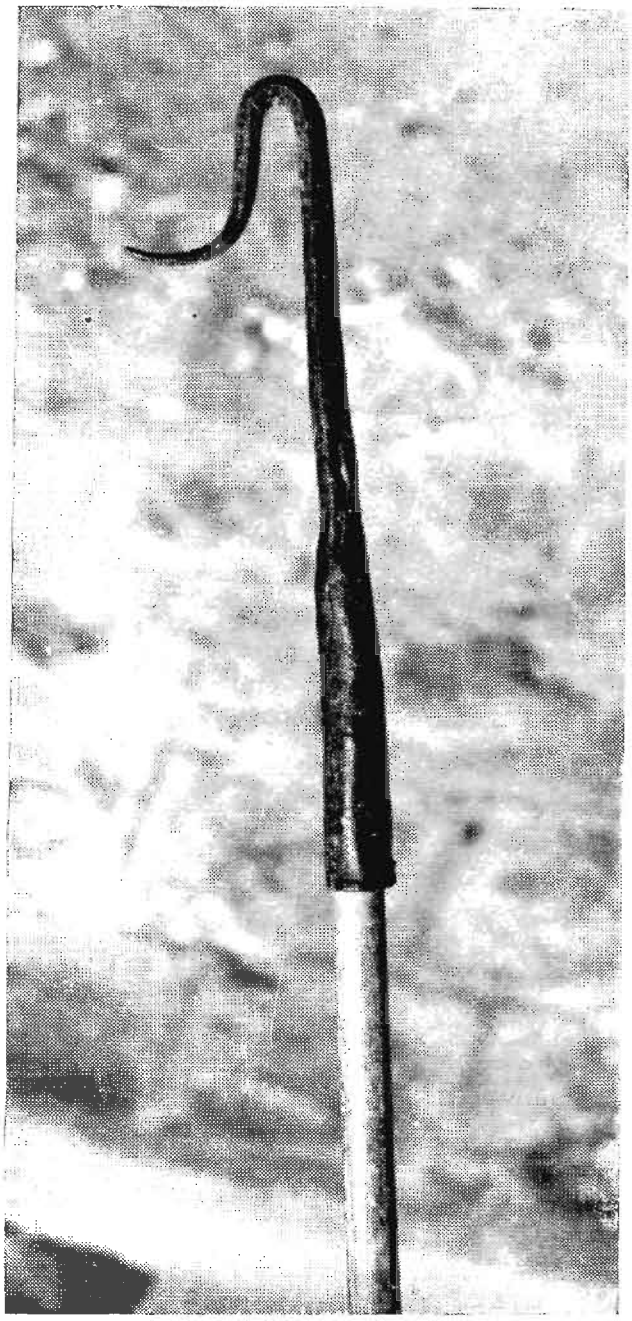


Fig. 10 A close view of a tamarind plucking stick

The Statement below gives the statistics relating to males and females engaged in different occupations according to case studies.

STATEMENT III

OCCUPATION OF BOYAS ACCORDING TO CASE STUDIES

| Name of occupation (1) | Persons (2) | Males (3) | Females (4) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cultivation ... | 5 | 5 | — |
| Agricultural Labour ... | 6 | 1 | 5 |
| Domestic service under rich land lords | 10 | 5 | 5 |
| Rural Labour ... | 27 | 14 | 13 |
| Cattle-rearing ... | 1 | 1 | — |
| *Talari* ... | 1 | 1 | — |
| **Total** ... | **50** | **27** | **23** |

It is evident from the above Statement that there are 50 workers out of 82 persons in the 13 households selected for case studies; that is to say 61% are workers. Inspite of the fact that most of them are earning members, they lead a poor life and are inadequately clothed and fed. For atleast 4 to 5 days in a month, every household goes without food. It was reported during the field study that a few of the Boyas at Madakasira, not being able to afford two meals a day, go without food during the nights. The income and expenditure particulars of Boya households in Madakasira village of Anantapur district for the period from November, 1961 to October, 1962, were collected during the field study. The average annual income of a Boya household works out to Rs. 595 which covers all the income accruing from different sources. The income ranges from about Rs. 400 to Rs. 2,500 per annum. The budget is not balanced except in the case of two households. Out of 13, seven households are debt stricken. Though an attempt is made during the survey to get a clear picture of their economy, it has to be accepted that the informants did not furnish the correct figures of income and expenditure. The period of the survey is too short to get the information by observation method.

## Life Cycle

### Birth

Boyas are patrilineal in descent. In case of the first confinement the expectant mother is usually taken to her father's house. If the parents are poor, the confinement, however, takes place at her husband's residence. No special food is prescribed for the pregnant woman. The delivery takes place in a dark room and is attended by a village *Dai* who is paid in kind *viz.*, rice, old saree and *dhal.* An amount of Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 is also paid in some cases.

On the 9th or 11th day after delivery the mother and the child are given bath. After bath the child is named. The elderly men of the caste or Yerukulas are consulted in selecting the names. No one is called to officiate at the ceremony. An elderly man of the caste of the mother or father of the child first calls the child with the selected name. Usually names of gods and ancestors are given. Sweets are distributed to relatives and friends on such occasions.

### Tonsure ceremony

Tonsure ceremony is also in practice and is done either in the 3rd or 5th year among Boyas. The mother's brother attends the ceremony and first cuts the hair for 5 times. The rest is cut by the barber, who is paid 50 paise in the case of a male and 25 paise in the case of a female child. One yard of new cloth is also given to him. Usually the ceremony is performed in any local temple. On that day the *Archaka* is given some provisions which are to be cooked and offered to the God. Food is served to friends and relatives who attend the function.

### Puberty

The attainment of puberty is an occasion for celebration among Boyas. Pollution is observed for 5 days in the case of Boyas at Madakasira (Anantapur district) and for 15 days in the case of Boyas at Ravulacheruvu (Anantapur district). Boyas of Madakasira celebrate the ceremony by erecting a small hut with margosa (*Ayadirachta indica*) and *Kanuga* (Pongamia glabra) branches and the girl is seated inside the hut. She is prohibited from moving about freely. On the 5th day she collects those branches and kindles them. Others do not touch them as those are considered to be impure. Boyas at Ravulacheruvu and Kurnool make the girl sit on a

palmyra mat in a corner of the hut or house. On the 15th day the mat is taken away by the washerman.

The girl is given bath on the day of the ceremony. *Perantam* ceremony is celebrated on the 16th day when the girl is given new clothes. After expiry of 5 days she is served delicious food daily by the nearest relatives and friends. All friends and relatives who are invited on the evening of the 16th day sing songs in praise of Gods and give presents to her according to their capacity. Betel leaves and areca nuts are distributed to those who attend the function.

### Marriage

It is observed during investigation that there is only one kind of marriage in practice, that is marriage by negotiation. They marry within their own sub-caste. The clan should of course be different. The most favoured alliances are with the paternal aunt's or maternal uncle's daughters. Usually the marriageable age for males is between 20 and 25 years and it is between 12 and 20 years for females. Premarital sex life s not allowed. The offer of marriage comes from the boy's father and it is said by the Boyas at Ravulcheruvu that a bride price of six rupees, 21 seers of rice and a sheep have to be offered. The Boyas at Madakasira said that they pay Rs. 12 towards bride price and receive Re. 1 in token of betrothal. Marriage expenses should be borne by the bridegroom's father. The day for the marriage is fixed in consultation with a Brahmin. The ceremony is conducted by the Brahmin who recites *mantralu.* Musical instruments are also played.

The marriage lasts for 3 days. Booths are erected at the houses of both the bride and bridegroom. 4 new pots are brought from the potter which are known as *arivenikundalu* (decorated pots). They get the earth known as *puttamannu* (earth from ant-hill) and a branch of a tree known as *palakomma.* These four pots are arranged in the four corners of a rectangular dais and a thread is wound connecting the four pots. The pots are painted with turmeric and vermilion. A *palakomma,* the branch of a tree by that name, is kept on the *puttamannu.* The bride is brought to bridegroom's house in a canopy. The foreheads of the bride and bridegroom are marked with vermilion. *Bhasigams* (tinsel chaplet) are tied to their foreheads. The Brahmin makes the bride and bridegroom worship the *arivenikundalu* and *palakomma.* All the relatives and friends dine after worship.

In the morning of the second day *talambralu* ceremony is performed. The Brahmin attends the ceremony and the bride and bridegroom enter the rectangular dais. The bridegroom enters the dais first by putting his right leg. Then the *puste* or marriage locket is sanctified by the Brahmin by chanting *mantralu* and is shown to the assembled. They all express their consent by touching the same and showering their blessings. The bridegroom ties the *puste* round the bride's neck. The Brahmin recites *mantralu* and musical instruments are played on that occasion. The assembled shower *akshintalu* (rice smeared with turmeric) on the couple. Then the bridal pair is seated, one facing the other and pour rice on each other's head which is called *talambralu. Katnam* (offering gifts) ceremony is celebrated when friends and relatives give presents to the bride and bridegroom. A feast is arranged in the afternoon. On the same evening the newly wedded couple are taken in a procession to the local temple accompanied by music.

On the third day, after taking their food, they start for the bride's place. The couple spend a week there and return to bridegroom's place. If the girl has attained puberty the nuptial ceremony takes place after one week of marriage. Usually the consummation ceremony takes place at the bride's residence. Chlid marriages are rare.

The Brahmin who officiates at the marriage is paid Rs. 2, one seer of rice and ½ seer of *dhal.* In addition to this, a pair of *dhoties* are given if the party could afford. He does not take either cooked food or water. He sits at a distance and officiates at the marriage by giving directions. The approximate expenditure on a marriage is Rs. 700.

The following Statement gives the number of persons married, widowed and divorced among the Boyas covered by case studies.

STATEMENT IV

MARITAL STATUS OF BOYAS ACCORDING TO CASE STUDIES

| Age-groups (in years) | Total | | Never married | | Married | | Widowed | | Divorced | | Un-specified | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) | (13) |
| 0—14 ... | 16 | 17 | 16 | 17 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 15—44 ... | 14 | 20 | 5 | 5 | 9 | 12 | — | 3 | — | — | — | — |
| 45 and above ... | 10 | 5 | — | — | 6 | 3 | 4 | 2 | — | — | — | — |
| Total ... | 40 | 42 | 21 | 22 | 15 | 15 | 4 | 5 | — | — | — | — |

Out of the total of 82 persons, 30 are married, indicating 36.59% in the married state and only 9 persons forming 11% of the total are in widowed state. There are no cases of divorced at all. 52.44% are not married. In the age-group of 0-14 there are no married people. In all there are 4 widowers and 5 widows.

**Widow remarriage**

Widow remarriage is allowed though it is not very much in prevalence. It is locally known as *cheera kattinchuta.* The probable expenditure on widow remarriage is Rs. 150. A person who is interested in marrying a widow with no children must obtain the permission of the Caste Panchayat. He can then take her to his house after giving her a saree and a blouse.

**Divorce**

Divorce is permitted with the approval of the Caste Panchayat on the grounds of the wife's infidelity or the inability of the husband to maintain her. If the woman claims divorce, she has to pay the sum received by her from her husband at the time of her marriage with him.

**Death**

It is found from case studies that the dead are buried. When one is about to die, a few drops of water are poured into his mouth either by his wife or son by keeping the ailing man's head on her or his right knee. When he breathes his last, the woman of the house raises a loud wail. The dead body is given a hot water bath and vermilion is applied to its forehead. It is carried to the burial ground on a bier, made of two poles of six or seven feet long each with three or four small cross pieces. Two new earthen pots, a large one for water, a small one for fire and a cloth about 7' long are brought. Excepting the face, the whole body is completely covered with the cloth. The corpse is carried by 4 kinsmen of the deceased and the son bathes and walks in front carrying the fire pot. *Dasari* (community priest) follows the party with his *jagati* (a flat bronze thick circular disc beaten with a small stick to produce sound). Half way to the burial ground, at a place called *dimpudu kallam* or rest place, the party stops, the bier is kept on the ground and the persons carrying it, exchange sides and again carry it to the burial ground. Some *sambrani* (frankincense) is put in the fire and the corpse is taken in the smoke. The pit is dug by Mala and the corpse is kept in the pit with the head pointing to the south and the leg to the north. In the case of married people usually the corpse is kept in such a posture that the belly faces to the top of the pit and in the case of unmarried people, it is kept in a posture that the back faces to the top of the pit. The pit is then filled with earth. After burial, they return home and enter the house after taking bath. In the evening a lighted lamp is kept on the spot where the

deceased breathed his last. On the morning of the third day after death, the son of the deceased with some relatives and friends goes to the burial ground and keeps food and milk on the grave. Death ceremonies are officiated by *Dasari*. Obsequies are performed on the 9th or 11th day in the presence of *Dasari* and all take bath and wash the clothes. The *Dasari* repeats verses and sprinkles cow urine in the house as a sign of purification. He is paid Rs. 5 and a pair of *dhotis*. They invite relatives and friends to a feast. A black sheep is sacrificed on that day. They also indulge in liquors. Previously Boyas used to vacate the house for 6 months in which death occured and reoccupy it afterwards. Such a habit is not in vogue now.

**Religion**

and Vishnu besides their favourite gods like Rama, Obulesu, Hanuman, Venkateswarlu and Ahobilam Narasimha Swamy. The favourite goddesses are Gajjelamma, Maremma, Sunkalamma, Kollapuramma and Gangamma. Goats and fowls are offered to these goddesses on the occasion of village *jatarlu*. Usually such celebrations take place once in 3 or 4 years. When cholera rages in the village, an offering of a goat is made to the goddess Maremma. The Boyas of Ravulacheruvu of Dharmavaram taluk, (Anantapur district) consider Sri Chennamma Naidu as their *guru*. He belongs to Yekili caste. He lives at Arivenicheruvu, 30 miles away from Ravulacheruvu. He renders advice to the Boyas on all matters.

**Superstitious beliefs**

They believe in omens. Seeing a cat or empty pot or a single Brahmin or hearing the sneezing when one is about to start is considered to bring ill-luck while the sight of a fox, or potful of water is considered to be lucky. They protect themselves from the possession of evil eye by performing *disti* (a practice to ward off the evil effect) for which some chillis or salt are put in the fire. They do not believe in witchcraft.

**Important Festivals**

Boyas celebrate all Hindu festivals like Ugadi, Sri Rama Navami, Dasara, Deepavali and Sankranti. They celebrate Ugadi and Dasara with great enthusiasm. On these days, they go on hunting and usually succeed in getting a few animals like hares. In the afternoons they conduct cock fights.

There is no prescribed dress for any festival but those who can afford, purchase new dresses. They take part in all the fairs connected with the worship of deities like Pochamma, Peddamma etc.. Both Madigas and Boyas have equal share in the sacrificed animals.

**Inter Community Relationship**

It is observed that Boyas inspite of their low position in the society form a part and parcel of the village community and come within the jurisdiction of village institutions such as the statutory village panchayat etc. Nevertheless, they have their own community panchayat headed by a gentleman agreeable to all who in consultation with a few caste elders, decides the disputes concerning divorce, partitions etc. If any body cannot repay the loan taken from another, he has to give away his wife as decided by the Caste Panchayat. This is known as *maru manumulu*. It is reported that such a practice is still in vogue but instances of this type were not found during the field study.

Brahmin officiates at the marriages only sitting at a distance. *Dasari* officiates at the death ceremonies. Only Madigas, and Malas eat their food. Even Mondi or Bandas (Nomadic tribes) do not take food with Boyas because they take beef. Such is the social position of Boyas. All the higher castes do not allow them to take food with them. They also do not allow the latter to enter their houses without permission as this community was once known for robbery and murders.

**Social awareness**

From the case studies conducted in Madakasira and Ravulacheruvu of Anantapur district, it is found that they are not aware of the existence and the functions of the Zilla Parishad which do not appeal to them much, but on the other hand they are satisfied with the functions of Panchayat Raj at the village level since a few wells were dug in their locality by the Panchayat Samithi. They know the headquarters of the district and taluks in which they are living. The names of the rivers flowing nearby are familiar to them. Out of 82 persons, 2 are in the habit of reading newspapers

in Telugu. None of them is interested in hearing the radio programmes and none of them owns a radio set. None of them is aware of family planning but after being informed of the inherent advantages, many expressed their willingness to implement the same.

Boya (Chundinayakulu, Donga Boyas, Kavalivaru, Nayakulu, Kalwathila Boyas) is a Denotified tribe in Nellore, Anantapur and Kurnool districts of Andhra Pradesh. Valmiki is declared as a Scheduled Tribe in the Agency tracts of Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari and Khammam districts of Andhra Pradesh. Boyas of field study strongly wish that they should be included in the list of Scheduled Tribes.

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# NIRSHIKARIS AND PARDHIS

(DENOTIFIED TRIBES)

# NIRSHIKARIS AND PARDHIS

**Name, Identity, Origin and History**

Nirshikaris and Pardhis are considered as synonyms. They are ex-criminal tribes. The abode of Nirshikaris is Rayalaseema while that of Pardhis is Telangana. The case studies on Nirshikaris were conducted during November, 1962 in Kurnool district while Pardhis were studied during December, 1962 at Fatehnagar area of Hyderabad. Their socio-economic conditions are brought out in this Ethnographic Note.

Nirshikaris and Pardhis are Denotified tribes in Andhra Pradesh and now mostly found in Kurnool and Anantapur districts. Both are one and the same and social bonds like marriage and interdining exist between them. They are mostly found in urban areas. Their preference for urban life is reported to be due to the opportunities in urban areas for thieving in which they are considered to be experts by the Police Department. After committing a number of crimes in a particular area, they shift to some other place. Thus this tribe is partly nomadic in character. In this note the differences between Nirshikaris and Pardhis in their customs and habits which are purely due to the spatial variations are apparent.

According to the Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee Report of 1949-50 :

> "Nirshikaris were notified as a criminal tribe in Kurnool and Bellary districts of the composite Madras State. They are the same as Haran Shikaris or Pardhis who were notified as a criminal tribe in Madhya Bharat under the name Pardhis. They are a wandering tribe and are found in the Madras, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and in the Hyderabad States. They live by hunting, begging, collecting and selling forest produce and are experts in snaring birds". [p. 32].

Though the full name of the tribe is Nirshikaris, it is generally and popularly known as Shikaris. The name *shikari* which means hunter is derived from the hunting profession they follow.

According to R. E. Enthoven:

> "The word Pardhi is derived from Paradh, hunting. The tribe is also known by the name of Phanse Pardhi and Adivichanchar. Phanse means a noose, and this implement is used much by the Pardhis in catching game. The name Adivichanchar like 'Phanse Pardhi' is descriptive of the life of the tribe. For example the term Adivichanchar is derived from Atavi (Kan, adivi) meaning forest and Sanchar meaning wander". [Enthoven, Vol. III].

The derivation of the word Pardhi is known to the informants at field study. But of the above two names by which the tribe is known, only *Phanse Pardhi* is known to the informants.

Both Nirshikaris and Pardhis claim their descent from a certain Kshatriya family. One of the informants of Nirshikaris of Pasupula village in Kurnool district reported a small legend to substantiate that they are the descendants of a Kshatriya family. Their ancestor, a Kshatriya man had married seven wives and the Nirshikaris are the children of the fourth wife. The children of each wife formed into a section which now has become a community. These communities are:

Children of the 1st wife are called Marwadis (Harwaris)
Children of the 2nd wife are called Sugalis
Children of the 3rd wife are called Marathis
Children of the 4th wife are called Nirshikaris
Children of the 5th wife are called Dommaris
Children of 6th wife are called Bangaris
Children of the 7th wife are called Memadas.

According to another informant of the same village in Kurnool district, Nirshikaris are said to be the offspring of the concubine of a Marwadi Seth. Both these legends are not known to the Pardhis of Fatehnagar area except that their descent is from Kshatriya family. Nirshikaris of Kurnool narrated how they acquired the proficiency in hunting. Once they came across a deer with golden horns and killed it after great pursuit. By selling these horns they received a huge sum and it gave an incentive for them to go in for hunting which ultimately led them to achieve proficiency in it.

Enthoven reports:

"The tribe claims to have once been Rajput. This may be taken to mean that they have at times received Rajput recruits; and this is suggested by the existence among them of the five clans or exogamous divisions known as Dabhade, Chavan, Powar, Solanki and Sonavani". [Enthoven, Vol. III].

According to Hassan:

"They (Pardhis) belong to the great predatory Bawari tribe of Gujerath, scattered under different appellations all over India". [Hassan, Vol. I, p. 558].

**Clan and Analogous divisions**

Six endogamous divisions, *viz.*, Pardhi proper, Phanse Pardhi or noose hunters, Haran Pardhi, Mir, Korchar and Vaghri are found among the Pardhis of Fatehnagar. Enthoven also records the same (Enthoven, Vol. III). The exogamous sections among Nirshikaris are Khodvavli, Pavar and Ratodi.

According to Enthoven, besides the above endogamous divisions, there are five exogamous divisions, *viz.*, Dhabade, Chavan, Powar, Solanki and Sonavoni. He has also given the important totemistic groups, *viz:*

1. Thorns of the arai shrub (*Mimosa rubri Caulis*)
2. Thorns of the bor tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*)
3. Leaves of the shami tree (*Prosopis spicigera*)
4. Mango
5. Jambhul (*Eugenia Jambolana*)
6. Umbar (*Ficus glomerata*)

Each totemistic group worships a *devak*. The worship of the same *devak* is a bar to inter-marriage. According to Hassan, Pardhis are divided into two classes, namely, Pal or Langota Pardhis and Chitewale Pardhis. These two sections can be treated as endogamous because Langota Pardhis do not have marital alliances with Chitewale Pardhis and the former section is considered superior to the latter one. Hassan gives the following names of exogamous sections among Pardhis *viz.*, Pawar, Dongle, Jadhawa, Chavan, Kave (Hassan, Vol. I, p. 559). The family is patrilineal and patrilocal in all aspects.

**Physical Characteristics**

Both men and women among Nirshikaris are good looking. They are fair in complexion. They are tall, strong and able bodied and resemble Rajputs (Figs. 1 and 2). Hassan has stated:

"The Pardhis are a fine race of men with physiognomy peculiar to themselves and very similar to that of the Northern India people". [Hassan, Vol I, p. 558].

**Population and Distribution Trend**

The population figures of Nirshikaris and Pardhis are not available. During 1961 Census, Caste-wise figures were not collected except for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. According to the information supplied by the Police Department of Andhra Pradesh, they are found in Anantapur, Guntakal, Penukonda, Setur, Kambadur, Madakasira, Kadiri of Anantapur district and in all the parts of Kurnool district. It is understood from the informants that Pardhis are found in almost all the Telangana districts and particularly found in large numbers in Hyderabad district. They live on the outskirts of the city. Pardhis of Hyderabad city lead an almost settled life with fruit-selling as their occupation.

**Dwelling**

Nirshikaris living in the rural areas rear pigs and keep poultry and generally have their abodes on the outskirts of the villages as stated by Sri V. Raghavaiah in the Andhra Pradesh Tribes Enquiry Committee's Report of 1949-50 (p. 65). Their dwellings are huts made of *jammu* (a kind of water weed that grows in tanks and river beds) mats. The sides are covered with bamboo thatties or mats. Some people live in huts formed by bamboo pieces, whose cross section is in the form of a semi circle over a rectangle. Some have got a single door made of bamboo wattles whereas some others cover the openings with gunny bags. There are no ventilators and windows to their huts. The floor is plastered with cow dung once in a week. Figure 3 shows the hut of a Nirshikari in Kurnool district.

The Pardhis of Hyderabad are living on the outskirts of the city (Fig. 4). The dwellings are huts with walls made of mud and stones. The roof contains a frame work of bamboos and bambo opieces over which palmyra leaves are spread. Sometimes tin roof is also found. The roof is of inverted 'V' shape. The huts have usually one room. Some huts are provided

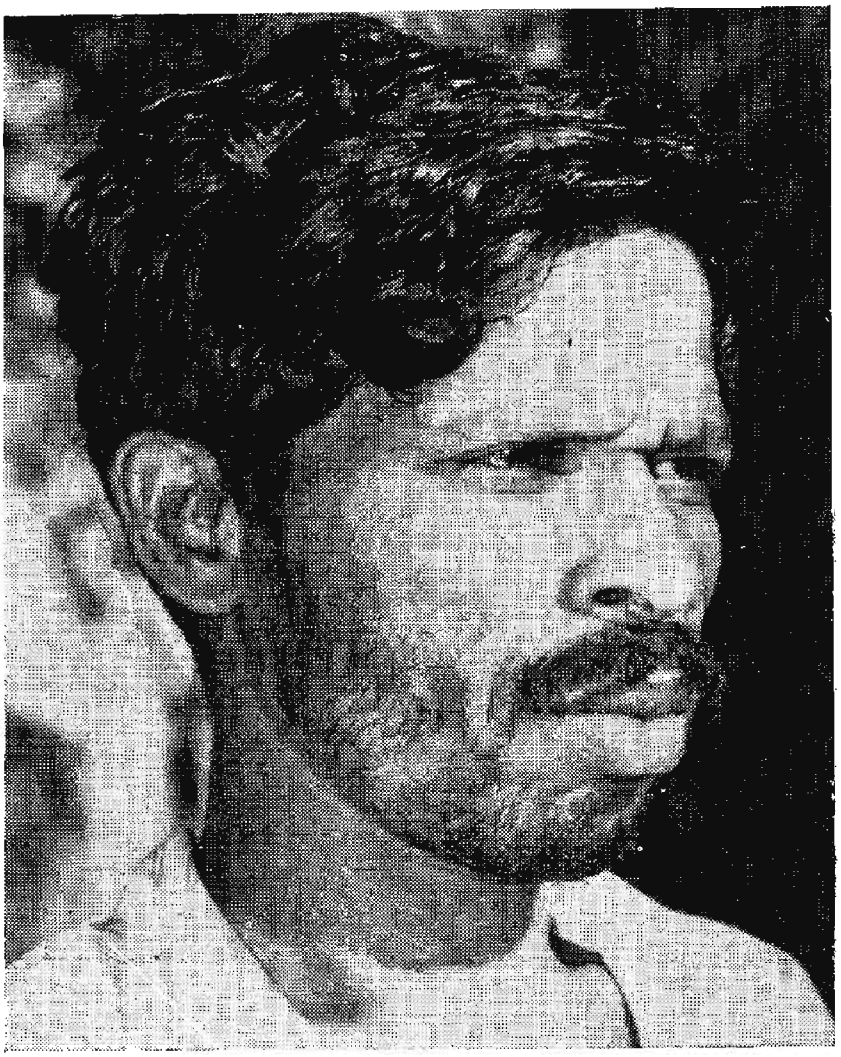


Fig. 1 A Pardhi man

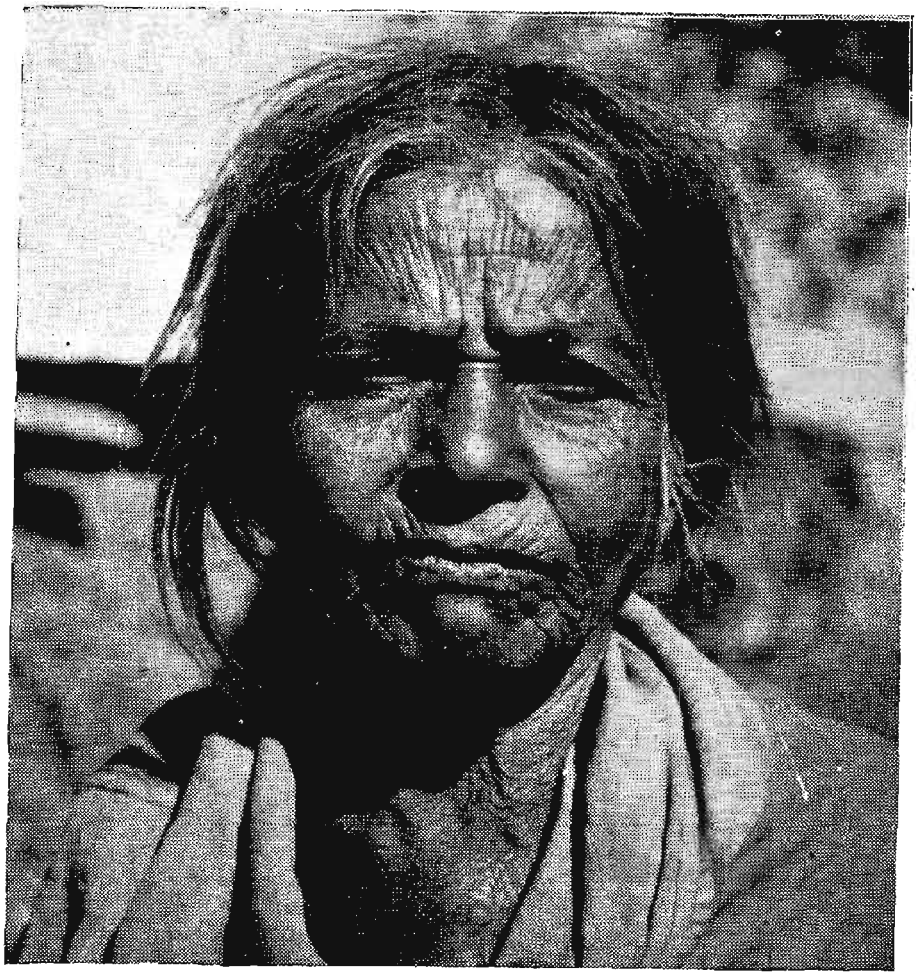


*Fig.* 2 An old Pardhi woman

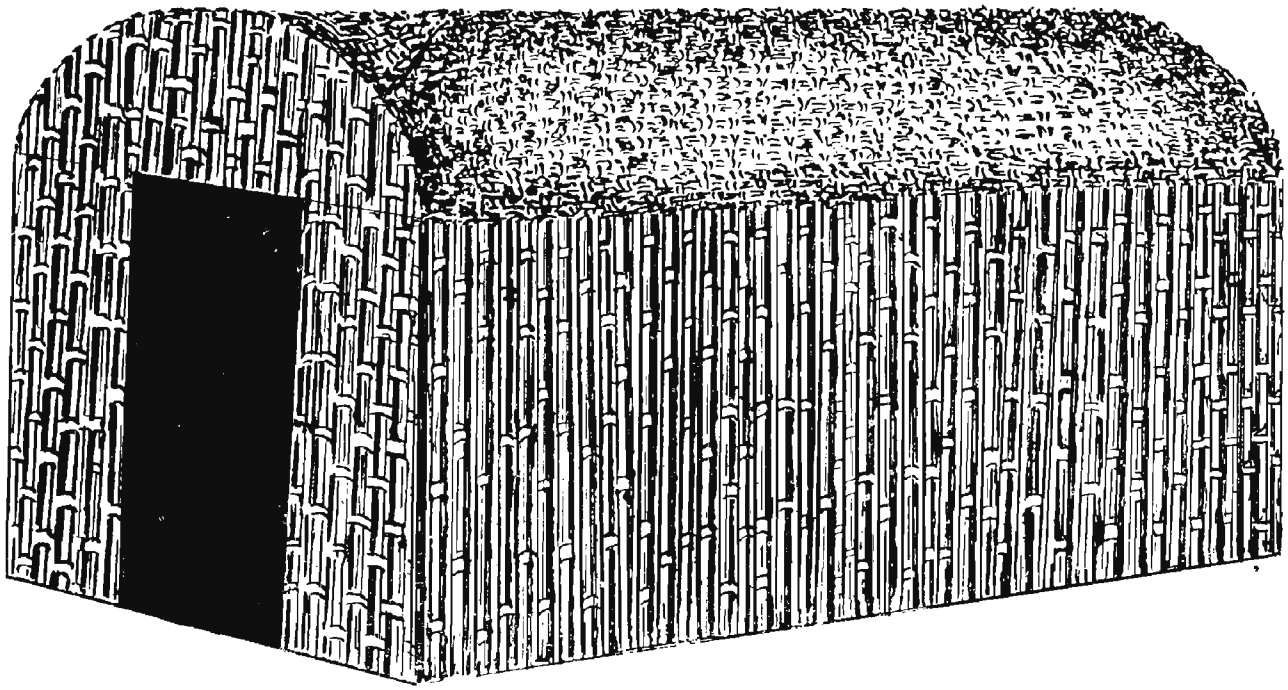


Fig. 3 A typical hut of Nirshikaris of Kurnool

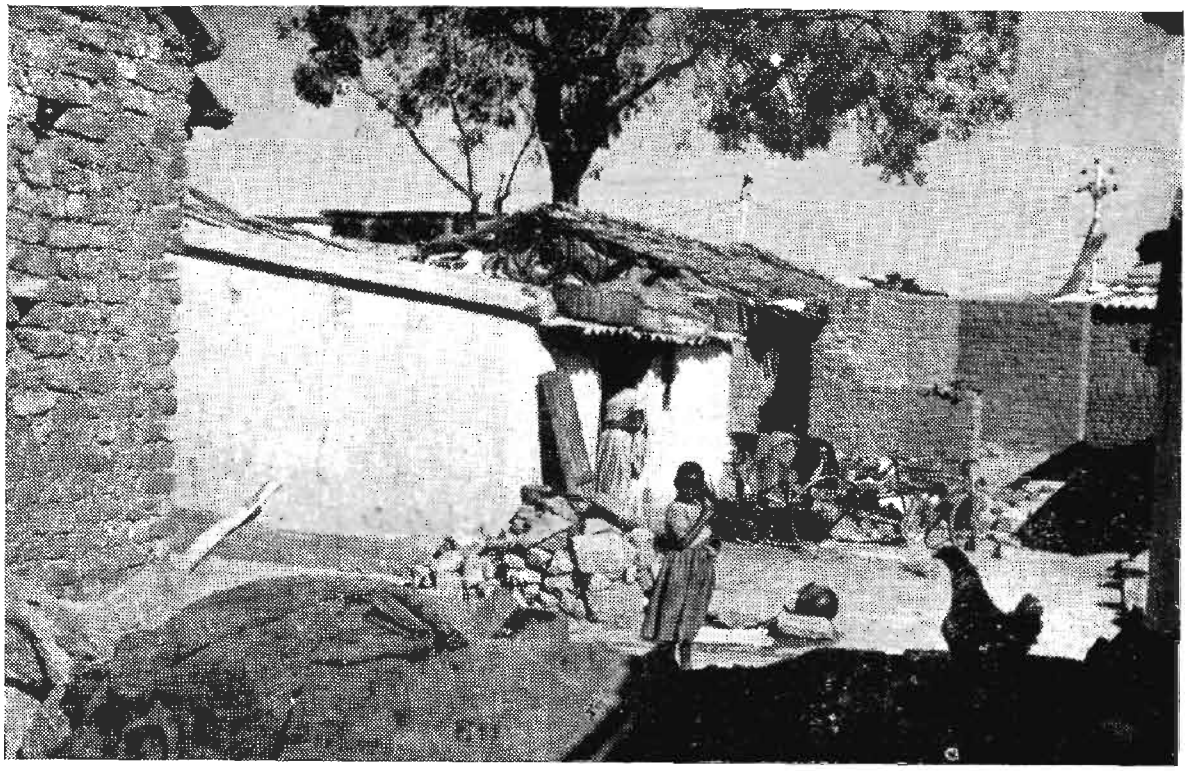


Fig. 4 Housing pattern of Pardhis of Fatehnagar Colony



Fig. 5 Dressing pattern of Pardhi women



Fig. 6 Dressing pattern of children

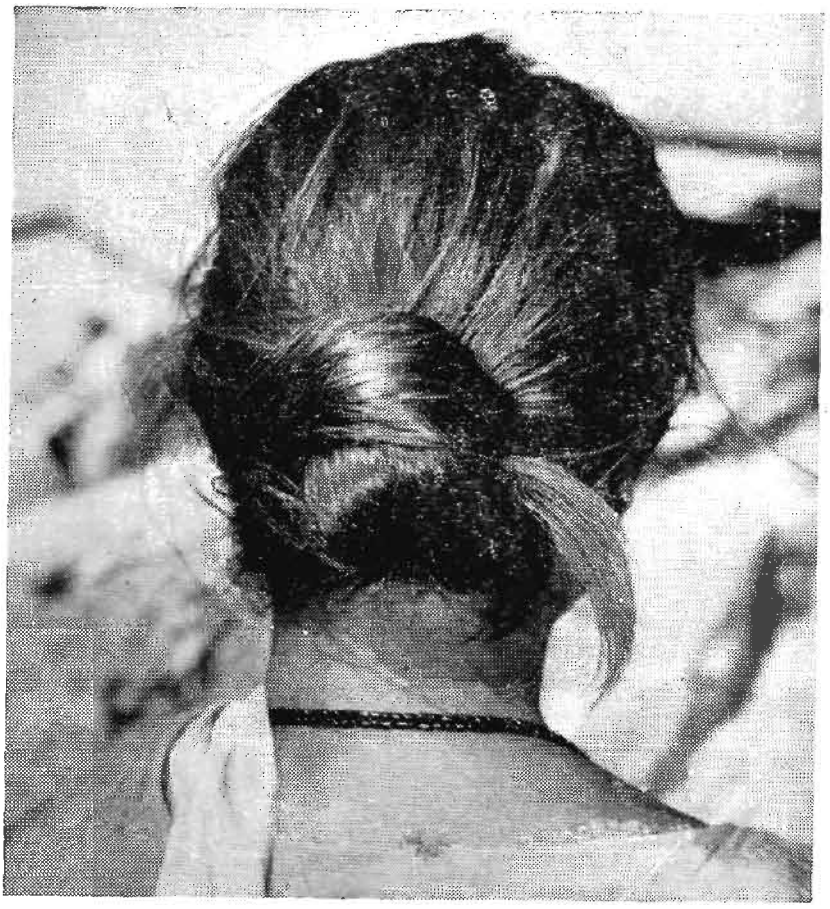


Fig. 7 Hair style of Pardhi woman

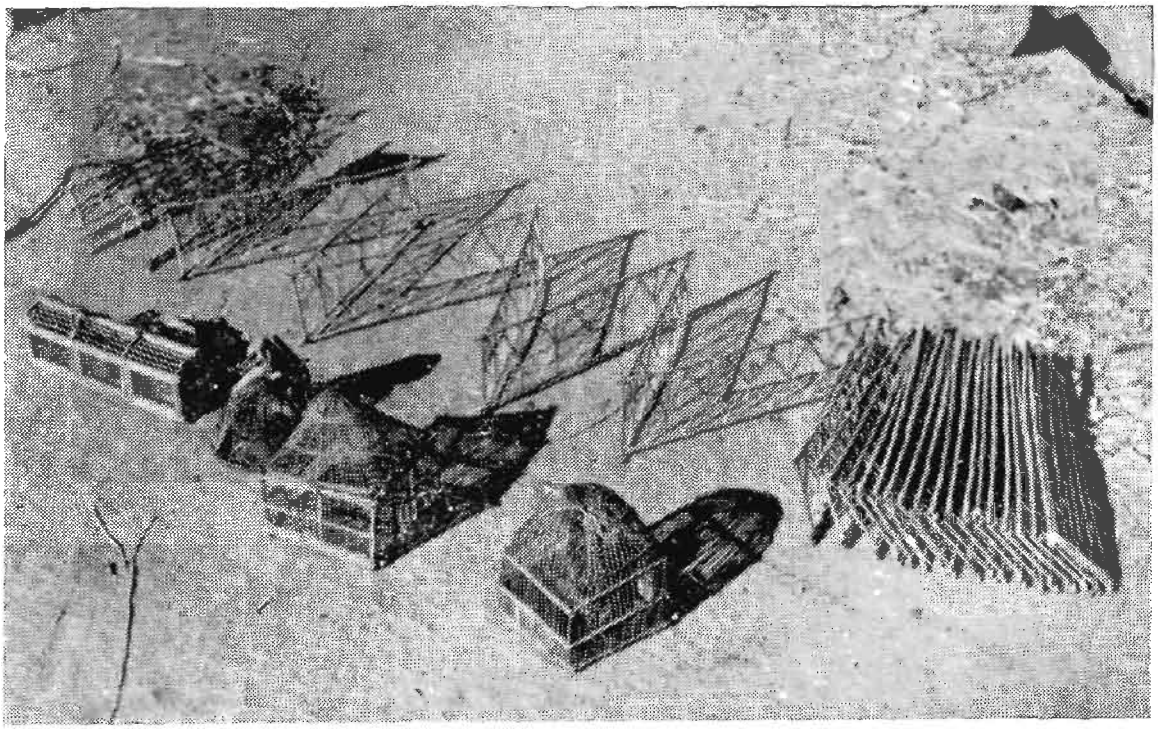


Fig. 8 Cages and Traps

with doors made of planks and some with thatties. The floor is plastered with cow dung which is done once in a week. There is no practice of observing the ceremonies connected with house construction and house warming in these tribes.

R. E. Enthoven has stated that :

> " During fine weather, Pardhis wander from place to place in bands of three to six families. The men walk ahead carrying nets and baskets, followed by the women with the wooden cots and mats, huts and children carrying earthen pots and pans. Occasionally they own a bullock or buffalo on which blankets, baskets, bamboo sticks, nets and mats are loaded. While on the move, they stay one or two days at the outskirts of the villages under bamboo frames covered with matting or under the shade of trees. Their huts are seven feet by four feet and or five feet high with walls and slanting roofs of straw matting which they roll up and carry off in a few moments. If overtaken by rain, they take shelter in the nearest village ". [R. E. Enthoven, Vol. III ].

The practice of moving from place to place during fine weather by Pardhis reported by Enthoven is not found now-a-days. Case studies in Kurnool district and Hyderabad City revealed that both Nirshikaris and Pardhis use kerosene lamps for lighting purposes.

**Food**

Both Nirshikaris and Pardhis are non-vegetarians. Their staple food consists of Jowar (*Jonna*), Italian millet (*Korra*), finger millet (*ragi*) and rice. Nirshikaris often prefer to take *jowar*, *korra*, and *ragi* whereas Pardhis take *jowar* and rice. Both Nirshikaris and Pardhis prefer to take *jowar* roti every day.

They take food three times a day. They rarely use vegetables. They go for hunting and snaring of birds and thus greatly relish the meat. Nirshikaris are still found eating the refused food from the leaf plates thrown off in the streets by the higher castes.

According to case studies both Nirshikaris and Pardhis eat the flesh of fox, hare, goat, pig, hen and all types of birds and also field rats. They eat the flesh of all the above which die a natural death. Nirshikaris eat the flesh of buffalo but not that of sheep, cow and ox. Pardhis eat the flesh of sheep but not beef.

**Dress**

Among the Nirshikaris the males wear a dhoti and a shirt whereas females wear a saree and a blouse. At home males use a small piece of cloth known as *gochi* instead of dhoti. The dress of a Pardhi man is very scanty, consisting of a piece of cloth round the waist and a turban on the head. Occasionally a white sheet is thrown over the shoulders. The females used to wear *langas* (petti coats) but contact with Marathi speaking people have brought about a gradual change in thier mode of dress and they now wear saree and choli after the Marathi style (Fig.5). Girls wear frocks and boys wear shirt and knickers (Fig. 6). Women generally knot their hair in the back (Fig.7).

Their dress is very dirty. Because of poverty, they do not engage the services of washerman, though both the barber and washerman render their services to them. They do not own any of the following *viz.*, cot, carpet, bed, quilt, bed sheet, pillow, etc. They sleep on mats made of palmyra leaves.

**Ornaments**

Nirshikaris do not own any ornaments except *puste* ( marriage locket ) and Pardhis wear bead necklaces, also.

**Habits**

They take bath once in a week or in a fortnight. Whenever they take bath they take it in the evening. Generally they do not use toilet soaps. Both males and females smoke beedis. Females chew *pan* also. They indulge in drinking.

**Tattooing**

Some of the Nirshikaris have tattoo marks on their hands. Except for decoration there is no other special significance attached to these marks. According to Hassan :

> " They have their bodies tattooed in different designs". [Hassan, Vol. I, p. 558].

**Language and Education**

Shikari, a language which is a mixture of Parsi, Urdu, Gujarathi and Marathi, is the mother tongue of Nirshikaris. They also speak Telugu and Urdu with outsiders. Very few are educated in this tribe.

R.E. Enthoven has observed that the Pardhis mostly speak Gujarathi, indicating their Northern origin;

but in the Southern Maratha districts they speak Kanarese (R.E. Enthoven. Vol. III). But the case studies reveal that the mother tongue of Pardhis is also a mixture of Urdu, Gujarathi and Marathi which resembles that of Shikari.

The following are a few sentences spoken in their dialects by Nirshikaris and Pardhis, collected during the field study.

**Shikari**
1. *Dhan Khans*– Have you taken your food?
2. *Panee Peel*– Take water.
3. *Tar Namsir*– What is your name ?

**Pardhi**
1. *Dhan Khan*– To eat
2. *Tar Namsir*– What is your name ?
3. *Pani pidosa*– You are drinking water.

Out of the 72 persons among Nirshikaris ( 36 males and 36 females ) covered during case studies, only 2 males have studied upto Primary and there is not even a single literate among women.

Of the 41 persons among Pardhis (18 males, 23 females) covered during case studies, only one male studied upto Primary and there is no literate among women.

It is evident from the case studies that educationally these tribes are very backward. It is distressing to note that even those living in urban areas like Fatehnagar of Hyderabad area have not thought of education so far, inspite of numerous facilities extended by the Government. They have not yet realised the importance of education. But the main crux of the problem is poverty. They feel that their children would better stay at home and contribute their mite to family economy by helping the elders in their work rather than going to school.

**Economic life**

It has been reported in the Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee Report (1949–50):

> " That Nirshikaris live by hunting, begging, collecting and selling forest produce and are experts in snaring birds. In Madras they commit house breaking, cattle-lifting, theft of standing crops and pass spurious jewels and gold as genuine". [p. 32].

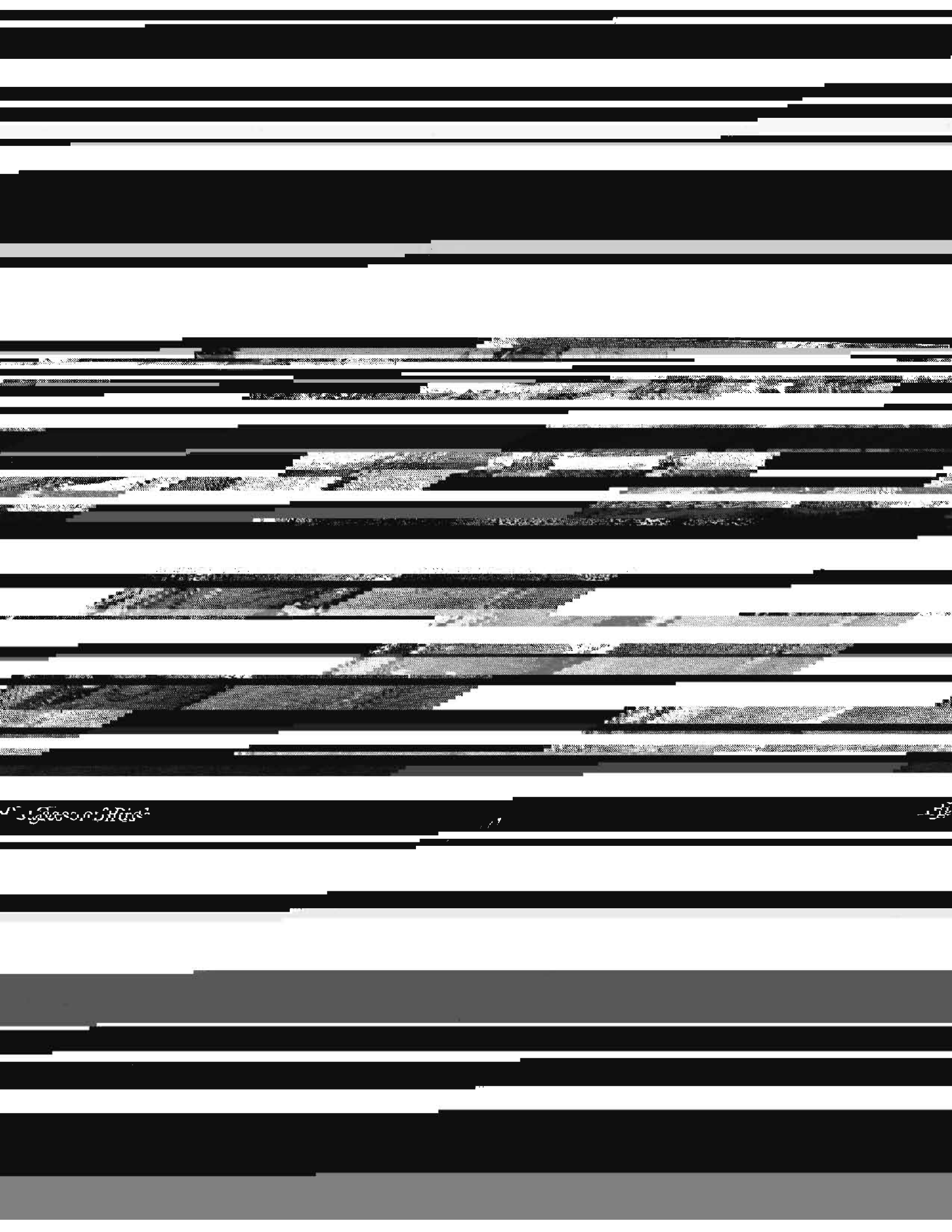
It is reported in the Andhra Pradesh Tribes Enquiry Committte's Report that Nirshikaris eke out their livelihood by begging (p. 65). They rear pigs, while poultry keeping is their subsidiary occupation. According to Hassan, Pardhis are engaged chiefly as fruit sellers and bird snarers and he also says, that they never cultivate lands but work as day labourers (p.561).

Case studies reveal that the main occupation of Nirshikaris is hunting. The name of the tribe seems to have been derived from their main occupation. Nirshikaris are good Shikaris. Their traps and cages are shown in the Figure 8. Figure 9 shows the cages *gutur* and *lavvare* clearly which are used to keep birds. Every household keeps a net to catch foxes, hares, etc. They also use spear to kill the wild dog. They fix small leather rings (which can be contracted) with a gap of 3 to 4 feet on the ground where foxes usually move about. When the leg of the fox just falls in the ring, the noose tightens the leg of the fox, which happens to be entangled in the noose, while the animal tries to escape. As a subsidiary occupation they keep poultry.

Nirshikaris are still considered to be criminals. It is said that the males indulge in theft and are notorious as high class burglars. Even though it is now a Denotified Tribe, it has been reported during the case studies that police still keep a watch over some of them who are required to report to the police or the village headman about their movements. Females are usually engaged in agricultural labour, begging and household duties.

Case studies revealed that 3 males are engaged as watchmen in the fields at the time of harvest and they are paid Rs. 35 to Rs. 50 per month. All the 12 households own dry land ranging between 2 and 5 acres; they, however, are dependent upon other sources of livelihood such as labour, as the lands are saline and do not yield much.

Five families earn money by distilling intoxicating liquors. The average income per annum is Rs. 144 per family. When they are caught by police they pay the penalty and in addition at times they are sent to prison. They do not take these things seriously and it has become a routine for them either to pay the penalty or go to prison. Soon after their release they start their old practices again as if nothing has happened.



Pardhis were engaged in making horse hair nooses in the past but they have given it up and now catch pig. peafowl, and parrots. There is only one household head by name Hukumlal, who is a husbandman and owns 3 acres of land and gets an annual income of Rs. 900. During day time, some of them work as labourers and also beg.

Pardhis of Fatehnagar area of Hyderabad where case studies have been conducted, are fruit-sellers and it is only when they are free they go in for snaring of birds.

The following Statement gives the occupational pattern of the Nirshikaris and Pardhis according to case studies.

## STATEMENT I

### OCCUPATION OF NIRSHIKARIS ACCORDING TO CASE STUDIES

| Name of occupation (1) | Persons (2) | Males (3) | Females (4) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cultivation and hunting | 7 | 6 | 1 |
| Agricultural Labour | 11 | 5 | 6 |
| Servant | 1 | 1 | ... |
| Cleaner in P. W. D. | 1 | 1 | ... |
| Non-workers | 52 | 23 | 29 |
| Total | 72 | 36 | 36 |

Out of the 72 Nirshikaris, 20 persons (13 males, 7 females) are workers. Of the total workers, 7 persons are engaged in the agriculture and hunting and 11 persons in rural labour.

The following Statement shows the occupational pattern of Pardhis.

## STATEMENT II

### OCCUPATION OF PARDHIS ACCORDING TO CASE STUDIES

| Name of the occupation (1) | Persons (2) | Males (3) | Females (4) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cultivation | 1 | 1 | ... |
| Agricultural Labour | 5 | 4 | 1 |
| Sale of Fruits | 14 | 6 | 8 |
| Coal merchant and Fruit-Seller | 1 | 1 | ... |
| Non-workers | 20 | 6 | 14 |
| Total | 41 | 18 | 23 |

Out of the 41 Pardhis, 21 persons are workers. Majority of them are engaged in fruit-selling. Statement III gives a picture of the income, debt and expenditure pattern of Nirshikaris of Kurnool district for the period from November, 1961 to October, 1962.

## STATEMENT III

### INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF NIRSHIKARIS OF KURNOOL CITY AND PASUPULA VILLAGE IN KURNOOL TALUK AND DISTRICT, FOR THE PERIOD FROM NOVEMBER, 1961 TO OCTOBER, 1962

| Sl. No. | Name of the head of the household | Income | Debt | Total expenditure | Expenditure | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | on food | on clothing | on fuel and lighting | on miscellaneous items |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| | *Kurnool City* | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| 1. | Shikari Rali ... | 900 | Nil | 940 | 700 | 40 | 40 | 160 |
| 2. | N. Jogivada ... | 600 | 100 (Current year) | 755 | 500 | 80 | 35 | 140 |
| 3. | Pedda Jagana ... | 600 | Nil | 780 | 600 | 50 | 10 | 120 |
| 4. | Shaikari Punnu ... | 400 | Nil | 404 | 300 | 15 | 9 | 80 |
| 5. | Roop Singh ... | 900 | Nil | 887 | 700 | 40 | 12 | 135 |
| 6. | Shaikari Govindanna ... | 620 | Nil | 617 | 500 | 30 | 12 | 75 |
| 7. | Chinna Jagana ... | 650 | Nil | 780 | 600 | 50 | 10 | 120 |
| 8. | Sona Singh ... | 750 | Nil | 810 | 650 | 30 | 10 | 120 |
| | *Pasupula village of Kurnool taluk* | | | | | | | |
| 9. | Mukunda Rao ... | 800 | Nil | 735 | 600 | 30 | 12 | 93 |
| 10. | Tandu ... | 660 | Nil | 755 | 600 | 40 | 12 | 103 |
| 11. | Chinna Tani ... | 600 | Nil | 652 | 500 | 40 | 24 | 88 |
| 12. | Jalsingh ... | 1,350 | Nil | 1,355 | 1,000 | 200 | 40 | 115 |

Of the 12 households of Nirshikaris, the expenditure of nine families has exceeded the income. One of the reasons for the excess of expenditure over income may be the over estimation of expenditure and the under estimation of income. Another reason for unbalanced budget is poverty. Another important observation is that Nirshikaris do not reveal the amount acquired from robbery and theft. Except one household which has taken a loan of Rs. 100, all households are free from debt. They somehow meet their deficit and are not able to say how exactly they manage. They are not able to borrow money as they are considered most unreliable by the public in general. Miscellaneous expenditure includes the expenditure on travelling, recreation and social ceremonies.

Statement IV gives the income and expenditure of Pardhis of Hyderabad for the period from December, 1961 to November, 1962.

## STATEMENT IV

### INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF PARDHIS OF FATEHNAGAR AREA IN HYDERABAD CITY FOR THE PERIOD FROM DECEMBER, 1961 TO NOVEMBER, 1962

| Sl. No. | Name of the head of the household | Income | Debt | Total expenditure | Expenditure | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | on food | on clothing | on fuel and lighting | on miscellaneous items |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| *Kurnool City* | | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| 1. | Nizam Singh ... | 1,110 | 200 (Current year) | 1,380 | 1,000 | 40 | 20 | 320 |
| 2. | Hukumlal ... | 1,300 | 200 (2 years back) | 1,390 | 1,100 | 40 | 20 | 230 |
| 3. | Pittala Chandraiah ... | 400 | 500 (2 years back) | 427 | 300 | 50 | 10 | 67 |
| 4. | Pittala Nizam Singh ... | 620 | Nil | 685 | 400 | 100 | 70 | 115 |
| 5. | Pittala Jayaram ... | 1,000 | 50 (Current year) | 1,012 | 700 | 80 | 12 | 220 |
| 6. | Pittala Venkataiah ... | 1,000 | 300 (Current year) | 929 | 700 | 60 | 24 | 145 |
| 7. | Tirupathaiah ... | 700 | Nil | 708 | 500 | 50 | 10 | 148 |

Out of above seven households, the expenditure exceeds the income in six households. Five households raised debts ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 500. Pardhis are able to raise debts unlike Nirshikaris due to their fruit-selling business and settled life. When a comparative study of the Statements of III and IV is made, one is likely to conclude that the economic position of Pardhis is better than that of Nirshikaris. But in fact the economic position of both is, more or less, the same. Pardhis living in the city require more amount than Nirshikaris even to satisfy their basic needs of life.

### Life Cycle

It is not customary for the parents of the expectant mother to take her away to their place for confinement. The confinement may take place either at the husband's place or at her parent's place. There are no food taboos and no special food is served during prenatal period. Poverty precludes them from celebrating the ceremony of expectant motherhood even for the first time. There is no special arrangement for segregation of the expectant mother. Some experienced old woman of the caste usually attends on all cases of delivery and she is not paid remuneration in cash; however she is served food on those days.

The pollution on account of delivery is generally observed for four days and on the fifth day bath is given to the mother and child. The naming ceremony also takes place on the same day and the caste people are invited to shower their choicest blessings on the child. The caste elders are consulted for choosing a name to the child and preference is always given to the names of their ancestors. The descent is patrilineal.

**Tonsure ceremony**

A special feature among Nirshikaris is that they observe both the ceremonies, *i.e.* tonsure and naming on the same day. But this is not rigidly followed by Pardhis. For any reason, if they fail to celebrate the tonsure ceremony on the 5th day, they celebrate it either during the 1st or 3rd month. The local barber who attends to them is paid a nominal fee of 25 paise. Another peculiar custom among Nirshikaris is that unless tonsure ceremony is celebrated, the child is not touched by any one in the community, whereas this is not followed among Pardhis. Among both, the maternal uncle of the child does not attend to the tonsure ceremony as in the case of other Scheduled castes like Maladasu and Maladasari where the maternal uncle cuts the hair of the child four times initially.

**First feeding and initiation of the child to learning**

*Annaprasana, i.e.*, first feeding of the child with semiliquid food and *Aksharabhyasam* (initiation to learning) are not observed by Nirshikaris and Pardhis. Seldom they send their children to school.

**Puberty**

A girl, when attains puberty, is made to sit in an enclosure especially arranged for the purpose. The period of pollution observed by them is five days and on the sixth day an oil bath is given. No special food is served during this period. No special ceremony is observed.

**Marriage**

Among both Pardhis and Nirshikaris the permissible partners are mother's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter and own sister's daughter. Two sisters may be married to the same man provided the elder is married first. Two brothers may marry two sisters, the elder brother being married to the elder sister and the younger to the younger. Polygyny is allowed and practised but polyandry is unknown to them. The only form of marriage in existence among Nirshikaris and Pardhis is marriage by negotiation.

Premarital sex relations are not permitted. If any such intercourse occurs before marriage, it is tacitly recognised and if the girl becomes pregnant she is married to the father of the child. The marriageable age for girls and boys is 15–16 years and 20–25 years respectively. According to Enthoven, child marriages were in vogue (Enthoven, Vol. II). At present child marriages both among Pardhis and Nirshikaris are very rare.

The system of bride price exists both among Nirshikaris and Pardhis. Generally the amount is fixed at Rs. 80. The initiation in the transaction is always from the bridegroom's side. After successful negotiations they fix the *muhurtham* in consultation with a Brahmin to celebrate the marriage. The marriage procedure both among Nirshikaris and Pardhis is the same except for some minor variations. The marriage takes place at the bride's house only.

Just before the *muhurtham* on the marriage day, the bridegroom accompanied by some followers with sticks enters the house of the bride and takes her to his house. In the meantime, a mimic fight would be staged between the groom's party and the bride's party. To ensure that the mimic fight does not develop into a serious one, as all the participants would then be under the influence of intoxicants, the village headman keeps a watch over the fight which is stopped soon after he offers them a rupee.

Then the bride and bridegroom are seated side by side, with the bride seated to the left of the groom. *Ragi* (*ficus religiousa*) leaves are used as *bashigam* and tied to their foreheads. *Puste* along with small black beads known as *nallapusalu* (black beads necklace) is tied around the neck of the bride by the bridegroom at the time of *muhurtham*. Soon after, *talambralu* ceremony (pouring of rice mixed with turmeric powder on each other's head) is performed. The bride wears bangles. She does not wear toe rings (locally known as *mattelu*). The duration of the marriage ceremony is only one day. Musical instruments are played.

The following differences between the Pardhis and Nirishikaris are however, existing in the case of marriage.

Nirshikaris insist on mutual exchange, *i.e.*, a girl of a family is given in marriage to a boy of another family provided a girl of the latter family is given to a boy of the former family. This is not in practice among Pardhis.

Pardhis begin the marriage with the sacrifice of a sheep to their patron goddess Mari Ai (the deity presiding over cholera) and a portion of the blood is sprinkled over the stone, representing the goddess. It has been reported by Hassan that the blood is drunk by the persons present but such a custom is not found now-a-days (Hassan, Vol. I, p. 559). The above custom is not known to Nirshikaris.

Pardhis at present do not invite a Brahmin to officiate during the marriages. But in the past as observed by Hassan a Brahmin was invited to officiate at marriage ceremonies (Hassan, Vol. I, p. 560). Nirshikaris never go in for a Brahmin to officiate on such occasions.

**Consummation**

The consummation ceremony is celebrated on the same night if the girl has already attained puberty. If not, the ceremony takes place on some other day after attainment of puberty.

**Widow remarriage**

Widow remarriage is allowed both among Nirshikaris and Pardhis for which the acceptance of Caste Panchayat is indispensable. A widow cannot marry her father's sister's or mother's brother's son. R. E. Enthoven has reported that if a Pardhi widow has no children by her deceased husband, her intended husband has to pay her a sum of Rs. 60. This is not in vogue today.

Usually widows are accepted after performing a simple ceremony locally known as *Cheera Kattinchuta* when she is offered a new saree by the bridegroom. Hassan has observed that widow remarriage is permitted and it is incumbent on a widow to marry her late husband's younger brother or failing him, the nearest younger agnatic relative of her husband. The ceremony is simple and consists in tying the clothes of the pair in a knot by a barber (Hassan Vol. I, p. 560). The same custom is followed even at present as found from field study. But the tying of the clothes by the barber is absent now-a-days.

**Divorce**

Divorce is an accepted institution among them. But such cases are rarely seen. Even though the legal dissolution of marriage is known to them, the case of its occurrence is very rarely found. Generally women are loyal and honest to their husbands.

R. E. Enthoven has observed that a Pardhi husband can divorce his wife if he cannot agree with her or her conduct is bad (Enthoven, Vol. III). A wife can divorce her husband if he is impotent or is suffering from an incurable disease like leprosy. In both cases, the sanction of the Caste Panchayat is required. A divorced woman can marry again after paying a fine to the Tribal Panchayat. Though the practice is still in existence among Pardhis, divorce cases are rarely seen.

Hassan has stated that divorce is allowed and in the case of a divorced woman marrying a second time, her first husband is entitled to recover from her second husband the amount he paid to her parents as bride price (Hassan, Vol. I, p. 560). This custom is still in practice among Pardhis only.

**Death**

Nirshikaris cremate the dead. They do not give bath to the corpse before taking it to the burial ground, They keep the corpse on the bier and cover it with a new cloth. It is carried by four people to the burial ground accompanied with two more persons who carry water, ghee and fire. Friends and relatives also follow the corpse. No musical instruments are engaged on this occasion. On the way before reaching burial ground the bier is lowered three times so as to rest on the ground and every time the cloth on the face of the corpse is removed and closed. When the corpse is brought to the burial ground the ornaments if any on the dead body are removed and after applying ghee the corpse is given hot water bath and is finally cremated. The chief mourner will be the eldest son of the deceased or in his absence the nearest relative. Though they do not perform obsequies, they celebrate *sradhdha* ceremony every year when *pindams* (balls of rice) are offered on river banks or on the bunds of tanks.

The dead among the Pardhis are buried in a lying posture with head to the south. Women who die in child birth and persons who have visited the shrines of

their family goddesses, are burnt. Immediately after death, the body is washed and taken to the burial ground on the bier by four persons. Musical instruments are not engaged while the corpse is taken to the graveyard. The dead body is kept in a pit, made ready for this purpose. Along with the corpse are buried a small quantity of sugar, rice and tobacco. This is done to satisfy the departed soul and to ensure that it does not have a rebirth. Two flat stones pasted with red earth are laid to cover the grave.

On the third day they perform the ceremony similar to the *sradhdha* ceremony. Five earthen pots each smeared with vermilion and filled with water are covered with lids and are arranged in a line. A cotton thread is wound round the pots. Balls made out of wheat flour are placed on each of these pots and the whole structure is worshipped in the name of the deceased and subsequently the contents are thrown away. On a convenient day, within a period of two years from the date of death, the eldest son of the deceased or in his absence, the nearest relative visits the grave and sacrifices a goat to satisfy the deceased. A feast is arranged to the relatives on that day.

**Religion**

Both Nirshikaris and Pardhis are Hindus by religion and they believe in idol worship. The principal deities are Amba Bhavani, Mari Ai and Tuljapuri Bhavani.

During Dassara, they celebrate Amba Bhavani *Puja* in an elaborate manner. On that day, early in the morning they take bath and propitiate her. Nirshikaris sacrifice buffaloes and goats while Pardhis sacrifice goats and sheep to the goddess. The entire community takes part in this celebration.

Persons belonging to Khodmareli section among Nirshikaris celebrate Mari Ai *Jatara* once in a year according to their convenience. On that day the head of the household takes oil bath and worships the goddess by way of cutting a portion of his arm and collecting three full cups of blood to present to the goddess as a part of the ritual.

Both Pardhis and Nirshikaris perform and celebrate the festival of Tuljapuri Bhavani by sacrificing a buffalo to the goddess. They do not have *gurus* and saints to render advice and to officiate at the time of marriages and other ceremonies. Enthoven has recorded that Brahmins attend all the ceremonies of Pardhis except funeral rites. But the case studies do not confirm this.

**Important Festivals**

Nirshikaris and Pardhis observe the Hindu festivals Ugadi and Dassara. They take bath early in the morning on the Ugadi day and worship their goddess Amba Bhavani and eat meat. They go on begging on that day. Nirshikaris eat not only the food prepared at home but also the refused food collected. Dassara is another occasion of mirth and joy when they worship Amba Bhavani with great enthusiasm. They prepare sweets on this occasion. Festivals are celebrated at homes only and they do not visit any other places in connection with any particular festival. No particular dress or ornaments are worn by them on any of these festival days.

**Structure of Social Control**

Though confined to the outskirts of the village and given very low position in the society, Nirshikaris and Pardhis form a part and parcel of the village community and come within the purview of the village institutions. Even in urban areas where case studies have been conducted, they live in remote places.

However, they have got separate tribal Panchayat of their own which consists of the heads of each family. The tribal head is elected among the members of the tribal Panchayat. Whenever a dispute arises, the decision of the tribal head is sought for and is abided by the members. The decision of the Tribal Panchayat is effectively implemented. Adultery is seriously viewed and fines are imposed.

R.E. Enthoven has reported about Pardhis that in the case of adultery or other serious offences, a person responsible for such offences has to pick up a copper coin out of a jar of boiling oil. If he picks the coin out without burning his hand, he is declared innocent. If he refused to put his hand into the jar or if in putting it in, his hand is burnt, he is turned out of the tribe. Case studies reveal that such punishment is not resorted to now.

**Inter-community relationship**

The members of this tribe, because of their past record of burglary are held in awe by other castes

and hence there has been no opportunity for these Nirshikaris and Pardhis to mingle with other castes in the village. Both Nirshikaris and Pardhis are generally poor and dirty and have a very low social status. Brahmin priests do not attend their ceremonies. During the case studies it was reported that about 40 years back barbers and washermen never used to serve them. But Hassan states that the Pardhis are allowed to get their heads shaved by the village barber. The barber and the washerman, however, render their services to-day. Hassan has recorded that the touch of the Pardhis was not considered unclean but case studies reveal that their touch is considered unclean by all higher classes.

All the caste Hindus including Scheduled Castes like Mala and Madiga do not accept food or water from them, whom they consider to be very low socially as they eat the leavings. They in turn do not accept water or food from any Scheduled Caste. There is no traditional service for the caste. They eat the leavings of all castes of society excepting those of Scheduled Castes like Mala and Madiga. They do not collect food by begging from house to house except on Ugadi day.

**Social Reforms and Welfare**

The Nirshikaris of Kurnool when approached for the survey refused to give information and ran away as they were afraid of officials. They refused to give their *Gotralu* as they suspected that some kind of harm would be done to them. The Pardhis of Fatehnagar, of Hyderabad where case studies have been conducted also refused to give information.

Nisrhikaris and Pardhis have expressed their dissatisfaction with the activities of the Government as they feel that no steps have been taken by the Government to improve their lot and uplift their socio-economic conditions. They said that many including Government agencies have collected information about their socio-economic conditions and the outcome so far was nil.

Most of them are ignorant of the existence of Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samithis. Some of them, however, know the taluk headquarters of the taluk in which they are living. None of them are aware of family planning. After being informed of its advantages they expressed their unwillingness to adopt birth control as they consider it to be a sin.

Both Nirshikaris and Pardhis belong to a low status in the society. They are suffering from poverty because their earlier tradition of criminal activities has left most of them without any gainful occupation. One peculiarity with the Nirshikaris is that they have not given up taking the refused food even to the present day. The touch of these people is considered to be unclean.

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# APPENDICES

[Contains the extracts relating to Nirshikaris and Pardhis from old published literatures and Census reports].

## PARDHIS

AN EXTRACT FROM "THE CASTES AND TRIBES OF H. E. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS" BY SYED SIRAZ-UL-HASSAN, VOL. I, PP. 558–561, (BOMBAY, 1920).

**Pardhi**:—game-snarers and fowlers to be found in the districts of Aurangabad, Bir, Parbhani Nander, Raichur, Usmanabad and Gulbarga. They are also frequently met with in Hyderabad city, where they are engaged chiefly as fruit-sellers and bird-snarers. They belong to the great predatory Bawari tribe of Gujerath, scattered under different appellations all over India.

The Pardhis are a fine race of men with a physiognomy peculiar to themselves and very similar to that of the Northern India people. They cut the hair of their head only once when quite young and never again touch it with razor or scissors. About their necks they wear necklaces of onyx beads. The dress of the men is very scanty, consisting of a piece of cloth round the loins and a turban on their heads. Occasionally a white sheet is thrown over their shoulders. The females used to wear 'laingas' (skirts), but time and intercourse with Marathi speaking people have brought about a gradual change in their dress, and they now wear the sari and choli of the Maratha type. They have their bodies tattooed in different designs.

The Pardhis of the Hyderabad Dominions are divided into two classes, (1) Pal or Langota Pardhis and (2) Chitewale or Phansi Pardhis. The first class are a wandering people, so called as they wear a 'langoti' or loin cloth sufficient only to cover their nakedness, and put up under pals or huts made of coarse cloth. They snare birds, deer, jackals, peacocks and other small game, but to snare 'chitas' or leopards is regarded by them as derogatory. To catch animals and birds they use horse hair nooses and bird-lime.

Chittawale Pardhis, or snarers of 'chetas' (hunting leopards), are also a wild-looking vagrant group with extremely untidy appearance and live under trees. They catch 'chetas' with nooses and sell them to Rajas and chiefs, by whom they are often engaged for the purpose of supplying them with these animals.

*Internal Structure*:—Pardhis are broken up into exogamous sections based upon the pattern of Maratha family names. Some of them are Powar, Dongle, Jadhava, Chavana, Kare. Marriages within the same section are forbidden. A man may marry the daughter of his maternal uncle. Two sisters may be married to the same man, provided that the elder is married first.

*Marriage*:—Pardhi girls are married after they are fully grown up. Sexual inter course before marriage is tacitly recognised and if a girl becomes pregnant, arrangements are made to marry her to the father of her child. A bride is purchased for a price which some times amounts to Rs. 80. Polygamy is recognised and, in theory, no limitation is imposed upon the number of wives a man may have. The wedding take place at midnight at the bride's house in a booth made of Jambul (*Eugenia jambalanum*) posts, covered with mango (*Magnifera indica*) leaves, underneath which an earthen platform is built. The initiative is taken by the bridegroom's father and, after preliminary negotiations have been completed to the satisfaction of both parties, a cup of spirits is given to each of the company present as a symbol of confirmation of the match. The ceremony begins with the sacrifice of a sheep to their patron goddess Mari Ai (the deity presiding over cholera), a portion of the blood is sprinkled over the stone representing the goddess and the remainder is drunk by the persons present. On the wedding day the bride and bridegroom are bathed in their own houses, their hands, feet and faces are daubed with turmeric and their foreheads are adorned with 'Bashingams' which are made of 'pipal' leaves (Ficus religiosa) and decked with 'ketaki' and cotton blossoms. In the shades of night the bridegroom proceeds on foot to the bride's house under a moving canopy of cloth held aloft by four men on bamboo sticks. He is accompanied by his friends and relations and immediately behind him march his sisters bearing, in their hands, earthen jars covered with lighted lamps. On their arrival at the bride's house, a sort of resistance is offered to them by the bride's party, who hold a long pole transversely to bar their progress. After a mock fight of a few minutes the bridegroom is allowed to slip in and get hold of the bride by the hand. Immediately after this a barber ties the garments of the bridal pair in a knot, which constitutes the essential portion of the ceremony. This highly primitive usage is followed by rituals of an ordinary character. A Brahmin is called in for their celebration and ties thread bracelets on the wrists of the couple and 'mangalsutra' (auspicious string of black beads) round the bride's

neck. Last of all the bridegroom marches five times round the bride and smears vermilion on the parting of her hair. Both the bracelets and the knot are then solemnly united by the barber and the wedded pair return in procession to the bridegroom's house.

*Widow Marriage*:—Widow marriage is permitted and it is incumbent on a widow to marry her late husband's younger brother or failing him, the nearest younger agnatic relative of her husband. The ceremony is simple and consists in tying the clothes of the pair in a knot by a barber.

*Divorce*:—Divorce is allowed and, in the case of a divorced woman marrying a second time, her first husband is entitled to recover from her second husband the amount he paid to her parents as bride-price.

*Inheritance*:—In matters of inheritance and succession the Pardhis affect to follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance and the property is divided into equal shares among the sons.

*Religion*:—Pardhis are still animistic in their creed and worship Mari Ai, the cholera goddess, as their favourite and characteristic deity. On the 10th of light half of *Aswin* (October) the goddess is worshipped with offerings of goats and the offerings are subsequently divided among the worshippers. They also worship the forms of their departed ancestors engraven on silver or copper plates. The tiger is held in special reverence by the members of the tribe.

*Disposal of the Dead*:—The dead are buried in a lying posture with the head to the south. After life is extinct, the body is washed and borne, on hands, to the burial ground. The grave is filled in after the corpse has been laid into it. Along with the corpse are buried a quantity of sugar, rice and tobacco with a view to the disembodied soul feeding on them and not returning to earth. Two flat stones, daubed with red lead, are laid on the grave, one at the feet of the corpse and the other at its head. Two days later, the relations move to another locality and then perform a sort of ceremony resembling the Hindu *sradha*. Five earthen pots, each filled with water, and covered with a concave earthen lid, are smeared with *kumkum* and connected by a cotton thread. On each of these vessels is placed a ball of wheaten flour and the whole is worshipped in the name of the deceased and subsequently thrown away. Some time within two years from the date of death, as suits his convenience, the chief mourner is required to visit the grave and offer a goat as a sacrifice to the spirit of the deceased. After this the form of the departed person is engraved on a silver plate, added to others of a like nature and worshipped on every festive occasion.

*Social Status*:—Being a wandering tribe of foreign origin, the rank of Pardhis in the local social system cannot be definitely placed. Their touch, however, is not regarded as unclean by the higher castes and they are allowed to draw water from the wells used by high caste people and to get their heads shaved by the village barber. They eat the leavings of Brahmins.

*Occupation*:—Since the game laws came into force, the Pardhis have been compelled to abandon their original profession and follow other pursuits. They never cultivate lands but work as day-labourers.

# PARDHI

EXTRACT FROM "THE CASTES AND TRIBES OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA" BY R. V. RUSSEL, VOL. II, 1916, PP. 359-371.

## General Notes of the Caste

**Pardhi, Bahelia, Mirshikar, Moghia, Shikari and Takankar**:—A low caste of wandering fowlers and hunters. They numbered about 15,000 persons in the Central Provinces and Berar in 1911, and are found scattered over several districts. These figures include about 2,000 Bahelias. The word Pardhi is derived from the Marathi *paradh*, hunting. Shikari, the common term for a native hunter, is an alternative name for the caste, but particularly applied to those who use firearms, which most Pardhis refused to do. Moghia is the Hindustani word for fowler, and Takankar is the name of a small occupational offshoot of the Pardhis in Berar, who travel from village to village and roughen the household grinding-mills when they have worn smooth. The word is derived from *takna*, to tap or chisel. The caste appears to be a mixed group made up of Bawarias or other Rajput outcastes, Gonds and social derelicts from all sources. The Pardhis perhaps belong more especially to the Maratha country, as they are numerous in Khandesh, and many of them talk a dialect of Gujarati. In the northern districts their speech is a mixture of Marwadi and Hindi, while they often know Marathi or Urdu as well. The name for the similar class of people in Northern India is Bahelia, and in the Central Provinces the Bahelias and Pardhis merge into one another and are not recognisable as distinct groups. The caste is recruited from the most diverse elements and women of any except the impure castes can be admitted into the community; and on this account their customs differ greatly in different localities. According to their own legends the first ancestor of the Pardhis was a Gond, to whom Mahadeo taught the art of snaring game so that he might avoid the sin of shooting it; and hence the ordinary Pardhis never use a gun.

### Sub-divisions

Like other wandering castes the Pardhis have a large number of endogamous groups, varying lists being often given in different areas. The principal subcastes appear to be the *Shikari* or *Bhil Pardhis*, who use firearms; the *Phanse Pardhis*, who hunt with traps and snares; the *Langoti Pardhis*, so called because they wear only narrow strip of cloth round the loins; and the *Takankars*. Both the Takankars and Langotis have strong criminal tendencies. Several other groups are recorded in different districts as the *Chitewale*, who hunt with a tame leopard; the *Gayake*, who stalk their prey behind a bullock; the *Gosain Pardhis*, who dress like religious mendicants in ochre-coloured clothes and do not kill deer, but only hares, jackals and foxes; the *Shishi ke Telwale*, who sell crocodile's oil and the *Bandarwale* who go about with performing monkeys. The Bahelias have a sub-caste known as Karijat, the members of which only kill birds of a black colour. Their exogamous groups are nearly all those of Rajput tribes, as *Sesodia Panwar, Solanki, Chauhan, Rathor* and so on; it is probable that these have been adopted through imitation by vagrant Bawarias and others sojourning in Rajputana. There are also a few groups with titular or other names, and it is stated that members of clans bearing Rajput names will take daughters from the others in marriage, but will not give their daughters to them.

Girls appear to be somewhat scarce in the caste and a bride-price is usually paid, which is given as Rs. 9 in Chanda, Rs. 34 in Bilaspur, and Rs. 60 or more in Hoshangabad and Saugor. If a girl should be seduced by a man of the caste she would be united to him by the ceremony of a widow's marriage; but her family will require a bride from her husband's family in exchange for the girl whose value he has destroyed. Even if led astray by an outsider a girl may be readmitted into the caste; and in the extreme case of her being debauched by her brother, she may still be married to one of the community but no one will take food from her hands during her lifetime, though her children will be recognised as proper Pardhis. A special fine of Rs. 100 is imposed on a brother who commits this crime. The ceremony of marriage varies according to the locality in which they reside; usually the couple walk seven times round a *tanda* or collection of their small mat tents. In Berar a cloth is held up by four poles as a canopy over them and they are preceded by a married woman carrying five pitchers of water.

Divorce and the marriage of widows are freely permitted. The caste commonly bury their dead placing the head to the north. They do not shave their heads in token of mourning.

**Religion**

In Berar their principal deity is the goddess Devi, who is known by different names. Every family of Langoti Pardhis has, Mr. Gayer states, its image in silver of the goddess, and because of this no Langoti Pardhi woman will wear silver below the waist or hang her sari on a peg, as it must never be put on the same level as the goddess. They also sometimes refuse to wear red or coloured clothes, one explanation for this being that the image of the goddess is placed on a bed of red cloth. In Hoshangabad their principal deity is called Guraiya Deo, and his image, consisting of a human figure embossed in silver, is kept in a leather bag on the west side of their tents; and for this reason women going out of the encampment for a necessary purpose always proceed to the east. They also sleep with their feet to the east. Goats are offered to Guraiya Deo and their horns are placed in his leather bag. In Hoshangabad they sacrifice a fowl to the ropes of their tents at the Dasahra and Diwali festivals, and on the former occasion, clean their hunting implements and make offerings to them of turmeric and rice. They are reported to believe that the sun and moon die and are reborn daily. The hunter's calling is one largely dependent on luck or chance, and, as might be expected, the Pardhis are firm believers in omens, and observe various rules by which they think their fortune will be affected. A favourite omen is the simple device of taking some rice or juari in the hand and counting the grains. Contrary to the usual rule, even numbers are considered lucky and odd ones unlucky. If the first result is unsatisfactory a second or third trial may be made. If a winnowing basket or millstone be let fall and drop to the right hand it is a lucky omen, and similarly if a flower from Devi's garland should fall to the right side. The bellowing of cows, the mewing of a cat, the howling of a jackal and sneezing are other unlucky omens. If a snake passes from left to right it is a bad omen and if from right to left a good one. A man must not sleep with his head on the threshold of a house or in the doorway of a tent. The only explanation given of this rule is that such a position is unlucky because a corpse is carried out across the threshold. A similar penalty is imposed if he falls down before his wife even by accident. A Pardhi with the exception of members of the *Sesodia* clan, must never sleep on a cot, a fine of five rupees being imposed for a breach of this rule. A man who has once caught a deer must not again have the hair of his head touched by a razor and thus the Pardhis may be recognised by their long and unkempt locks. A breach of this rule is punished with a fine of fifteen rupees, but it is not observed every where. A woman must never step across the rope of peg of a tent nor upon the place where the blood of a deer has flowed on to the ground. During her monthly period of impurity a woman must not cross a river nor sit in a boat. A Pardhi will never kill or sell a dog and they will not hunt wild dogs even if money is offered to them. This is probably because they look upon the wild dog as a fellow-hunter, and consider that to do him injury would bring ill-luck upon themselves. A Pardhi has also theoretically a care for the preservation of game. When he has caught a number of birds in his trap, he will let a pair of them loose so that they may go on breeding. Women are not permitted to take any part in the work of hunting, but are confined strictly to their household duties. A woman who kicks her husband's stick is fined Rs. 2-8. The butt end of the stick is employed for mixing vegetables and other purposes, but the meaning of the rule is not clear unless one of its uses is for the enforcement of conjugal discipline. A Pardhi may not swear by a dog, cat or a squirrel. Their most solemn oath is in the name of their deity Guraiya Deo, and it is believed that any one who falsely takes this oath will become a leper. The *Phanse Pardhis* may not travel in a railway train, and some of them are forbidden even to use a cart or other conveyance.

**Dress, food and social customs**

In dress and appearance the Pardhis are disreputable and dirty. Their features are dark and their hair matted and unkempt. They never wear shoes and say that they are protected by a special promise of the goddess Devi to their first ancestor that no insect or reptile in the forests should injure them. The truth is, no doubt, that shoes would make it impossible for them to approach their game without disturbing it, and from long practice the soles of their feet become impervious to thorns and minor injuries. Similarly the Langoti Pardhis are so called because they wear only a narrow strip of cloth round the loins, the reason probably being that a long one would impede them by flapping and catching in the brushwood. But

the explanation which they themselves give, a somewhat curious one in view of their appearance, is that an ordinary dhoti or loin cloth if worn might become soiled and therefore unlucky. Their women do not have their noses pierced and never wear spangles or other marks on the forehead. The Pardhis still obtain fire by igniting a piece of cotton with flint and iron. Mr. Sewell notes that their women eat at the same time as the men, instead of after them as among most Hindus. They explain this custom by saying that on one occasion a woman tried to poison her husband and it was therefore adopted as a precaution against similar attempts; but no doubt it has always prevailed, and the more orthodox practice would be almost incompatible with their gipsy life. Similar reasons of convenience account for their custom of celebrating marriages all the year round and neglecting the Hindu close season of the four months of the rains. They travel about with little huts made of matting, which can be rolled up and carried off in a few minutes. If rain comes on they seek shelter in the nearest village. In some localities the caste eat no food cooked with butter or oil. They are usually considered as an impure caste, whose touch is a defilement to Hindus. Brahmans do not officiate at their ceremonies, though the Pardhis resort to the village Joshi or astrologer to have a propitious date indicated for marriages. They have to pay for such services in money, as Brahmans usually refuse to accept even uncooked grain from them. After child birth women are held to be impure and forbidden to cook for their families for a period varying from six weeks to six months. During their periodical impurity they are secluded for four, six or eight days, the Pardhis observing very strict rules in these matters, as is not infrequently the case with the lowest castes. Their caste meetings, Mr. Sewell states, are known as Deokaria or an act performed in honour of God; at these meetings arrangements for expeditions are discussed and caste disputes decided. The penalty for social offences is a fine of a specified quantity of liquor, the liquor provided by male and female delinquents being drunk by the men and women respectively. The punishment for adultery in either sex consists in cutting off a piece of the left ear with a razor and man guilty of intercourse with a prostitute is punished as if he had committed adultery. The Pardhi women are said to be virtuous.

**Ordeals**

The Pardhis still preserve the primitive method of trial by ordeal. If a woman is suspected of misconduct she is made to pick a pice coin out of boiling oil; or a pipal leaf is placed on her hand and a red-hot axe laid over it, and if her hand is burnt or she refuses to stand the test she is pronounced guilty. Or in the case of a man, the accused is made to dive into water; and as he dives an arrow is shot from a bow. A swift runner fetches and brings back the arrow, and if the diver can remain under water until the runner has returned he is held to be innocent. In Nimar, if an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, two cakes of dough are prepared, a piece of silver being placed in one and a lump of coal in the other. The girl takes one of the cakes, and if it is found to contain the coal she is expelled from the community, while if she chooses the piece of silver, she is pardoned and made over to one of the caste. The idea of the ordeal is apparently to decide the question whether her condition was caused by a Pardhi or an outsider.

**Methods of catching Birds**

The *Phanse Pardhis* hunt all kinds of birds and the smaller animals with the Phanda or snare. Mr. Ball describes their procedure as follows: "For peacock, saras crane and bustard they have a long series of nooses, each provided with a wooden peg and all connected with a long string. The tension necessary to keep the nooses open is afforded by a slender slip of antelope's horn (very much resembling whalebone), which forms the core of the loop. Provided with several sets of these nooses, a trained bullock and a shield-like cloth screen dyed buff and pierced with eye-holes, the bird-catcher sets out for the jungle, and on seeing a flock of pea-fowl, circles round them under cover of the screen and the bullock, which he guides by a nose-string. The birds feed on undisturbed, and the man rapidly pegs out his long strings of nooses, and when all are properly disposed, moves round to the opposite side of the birds and shows himself; when they of course run off, and one or more getting their feet in the nooses fall forwards and flap on the ground; the man immediatly captures them, knowing that if the strain is relaxed the nooses will open and permit of the bird's escape. Very cruel practices are in vogue with these people with reference to the captured birds, in order to keep them alive until a purchaser is found. The peacocks have a feather passed through the eyelids, by which means they are effectually blinded, while in the case of smaller birds both the legs and wings are broken". Deer, hares and even pigs, are also caught by a strong rope with running

nooses. For smaller birds the appliance is a little rack about four inches high with uprights a few inches apart, between each of which is hung a noose. Another appliance mentioned by Mr. Ball is a set of long conical bag nets, which are kept open by hooks and provided with a pair of folding doors. The Pardhi has also a whistle made of deer-horn, with which he can imitate the call of the birds. Tree birds are caught with bird-lime as described by Sir G. Grierson. The Bahelia has several long shafts of bamboos called *nal* or *nar*, which are tied together like a fishing rod, the endmost one being covered with bird-lime. Concealing himself behind a bamboo screen the Bahelia approaches the bird and when near enough strike and secures it with rod; or he may spread some grain out at a short distance, and as the birds are hopping about over it he introduces the pole giving it a zig-zag movement and imitating the point near one of the birds, which is fascinated by its stealthy approach, he suddenly jerks it into its breast and then drawing it to him, releases the poor palpitating creature, putting it away in his bag, and recommences the same operation. This method does not require the use of bird-lime.

**Hunting with leopards**

The manner in which the Chita Pardhis use the hunting leopard (Felis jubata) for catching deer has often been described. The leopard is caught full-grown by a noose in the manner related above. Its neck is first clasped in a wooden vice until it is half-strangled, and its feet are then bound with ropes and a cap slipped over its head. It is partially starved for a time, and being always fed by the same man, after a month or so it becomes tame and learns to know its master. It is then led through villages held by ropes on each side to accustom it to the presence of human beings. On a hunting party the leopard is carried on a cart, hooded and, being approached from down wind, the deer allow the cart to get fairly close to them. The Indian antelope or black-buck are the usual quarry, and as these frequent cultivated land, they regard country carts, without suspicion. The hood is then taken off and the leopard springs forward at the game with extreme velocity, perhaps exceeding that which any other quadruped possesses. The accounts given by Jerdon say that for the moment its speed is greater than that of a race-horse. It cannot maintain this for more than three or four hundred yards, however, and if in that distance the animal has not seized its prey, it relinquishes the pursuit and stalks about in a towering passion. The Pardhis say that when it misses the game the leopard is as sulky as a human being and sometimes refuses food for a couple of days. If successful in the pursuit, it seizes the antelope by the throat; the keeper then comes up, and cutting the animal's throat collects some of the blood in the wooden ladle with which the leopard is always fed; this is offered to him, and dropping his hold he laps it up eagerly, when the hood is cleverly slipped on again.

The conducting of the cheetah from its cage to the chase is by no means an easy matter. The keeper leads him along, as he would a large dog, with a chain; and for a time as they scamper over the country the leopard goes willingly enough; but if anything arrests his attention, some noise from the forest, some scented trail upon the ground, he moves more slowly, throws his head aloft and peers savagely round. A few more minutes perhaps and he would be unmanageable. The keeper, however, is prepared for the emergency. He holds in his left hand a cocoanut shell, sprinkled on the inside with salt; and by means of a handle affixed to the shell he puts it at once over the nose of the cheetah. The animal licks the salt, loses the scent, forgets the object which arrested his attention, and is led quietly along again.

**Decoy stags**

For hunting stags, tame stags were formerly used as decoys according to the method described as follows: "We had about a dozen trained stags all males with us. These well acquainted with the object for which they were sent forward, advanced at a gentle trot over the open ground towards the skirt of the wood. They were observed at once by the watchers of the herd, and the boldest of the wild animals advanced to meet them. Whether the intention was to welcome them peacefully or to do battle for their pasturage I cannot tell; but in a few minutes the two parties were engaged in a furious contest. Head to head, antlers to antlers, the tame deer and the wild fought with great fury. Each of the tame animals, every one of them large and formidable, was closely engaged in contest with a wild adversary standing chiefly on the defensive, not in any feigned battle or mimicry of war but in a hard-fought combat. We now made our appearance in the open ground on horseback, advancing towards the scene of conflict. The deer on the skirts of the wood, seeing us, took to flight; but those actually engaged maintained their ground and continued the contest. In the meantime a

party of native huntsmen, sent for the purpose, gradually drew near to the wild stags, getting in between them and the forest. What their object was we were not at the time aware; in truth it was not one that we could have approved or encouraged. They made their way into the rear of the wild stags, which were still combating too fiercely to mind them; they approached the animals and with a skilful cut of their long knives the poor warriors fell hamstrung. We felt pity for the noble animals as we saw them fall helplessly on the ground, unable longer to continue the contest and pushed down of course by the decoy-stags. Once down, they were unable to rise again".

**Hawks**

Hawks were also used in a very ingenious fashion to prevent duck from flying away when put upon water: "The trained hawks were now brought into requisition, and marvellous it was to see the instinct with which they seconded the efforts of their trainers. The ordinary hawking of the heron we had at a later period of this expedition; but the use now made of the animal was altogether different, and displayed infinitely more sagacity than one would suppose likely to be possessed by such an animal. These were trained especially for the purpose for which they were now employed. A flight of ducks-thousands of birds-were enticed upon the water as before by scattering corn over it. The hawks were then let fly, four or five of them. We made our appearance openly upon the bank, guns in hand, and the living swarm of birds rose at once into the air. The hawks circled above them, however, in a rapid revolving flight and they dared not ascend high. Thus was our prey retained fluttering in mid-air, until hundreds had paid the penalty with their lives. Only picture in your mind's eye the circling hawks above gyrating monotonously, the fluttering captives in mid-air, darting now here, now there to escape and still coward-like huddling together; and the motley group of sportsmen on the bank and you have the whole scene before you at once."

For catching crocodile, a method by which as already stated one group of the Pardhis earn their livelihood, a large double hook is used, baited with a piece of putrid deer's flesh and attached to a hempen rope 70 or 80 feet long. When the crocodile has swallowed the hook, twenty or thirty persons drag the animal out of the water and it is despatched with axes. Crocodiles are hunted only in the months of Pus (December), Magh (January) and *Chait* (March) when they are generally fat and yield plenty of oil. The flesh is cut into pieces and stewed over a slow fire, when it exudes a water oil. This is strained and sold in bottles at a rupee a seer (2 lbs). It is used as an embrocation for rheumatism and for neck galls of cattle. The Pardhis do not eat crocodile's flesh.

**Other occupations and criminal practices**

A body of Pardhis are sometimes employed by all the cultivators of a village jointly for the purpose of watching the spring crops during the day and keeping black-buck out of them. They do this perhaps for 2 or 3 months and receive a fixed quantity of grain. The *Takankars* are regularly employed as village servants in Berar and travel about roughening the stones of the household grinding-mills when their surfaces have worn smooth. For this they receive an annual contribution of grain from each household. The caste generally have criminal tendencies and Mr. Sewell states, that "The *Langoti Pardhis* and *Takankars* are the worst offenders. Ordinarily when committing dacoity they are armed with sticks and stones only. In digging through a wall they generally leave a thin strip at which the leader carefully listens before finally bursting through. Then when the hole has been made large enough, he strikes a match and holding it in front of him so that his features are shielded has a good survey of the room before entering. As a rule they do not divide the property on or near the scene of the crime, but take it home. Generally it is carried by one of the gang well behind the rest so as to enable it to be hidden if the party is challenged". In Bombay they openly rob the standing crops, and the landlords stand in such awe of them that they secure their goodwill by submitting to a regular system of blackmail.

# BALASANTHOSHA

(NOMADIC TRIBE)

# BALASANTHOSHA

## Name, Identity, Origin and History

Balasanthosha is a community which finds place in the list of Nomadic Tribes. This community is studied in Lakshmipuram of Nandikotkur taluk of Kurnool district, Tandur of Hyderabad Dt. and Balanagar Colony of Hyderabad city during November, 1962. Balasanthosha is not completely a Nomadic Tribe at present. It has got a Nomadic section and another section which lives a settled life. They are beggars who earn their livelihood mainly by story-telling and mat-weaving. Balasanthoshas are known by different names at different places. In Kurnool district they are known as Balasanthosha, Balasanthavandlu, Sirijangam, Katipapu and Balasanthu. In Hyderabad district they are known as Sirijangams, Bahurupas, Balasanthavandlu, Sivajangams and Balasantha. Some times in Kurnool district they are also known as *Pagati Veshagandlu* as they go about in streets by decorating their bodies with colour and costumes to please people and beg alms. Bahurupa found in Hyderabad district is an equivalent term of *Pagati Veshagandlu.* Balasanthosha is an occupational name. They beg by pleasing children. The literal meaning of Balasanthosha is children pleasers. They earn their livelihood by reciting mythological stories of Nala-Damayanti, Harischandra, Prahlada, and Surya Chandrula Katha. Some times they narrate historical stories also. Children will be attracted first by stories of Balasanthosha. According to V. Raghavaiah, Chairman of the Andhra Pradesh Tribes Enquiry Committee:

> "They share many characteristics of the *jogis* or *sanyasis* or professional beggars like Satanis. Though they cannot be classified as miserable dissolute people they can be classed as semi-nomads or professional beggar class".
>
> (Andhra Pradesh Tribes Enquiry Committee, 1961–62, p. 58).

Balasanthoshas are divided into two clans, *viz.*, Ganadi Jangams and Uri Jangams. The Uri Jangams are those who lead a settled life in a particular place. The Ganadi Jangams are nomads or semi-nomads. Balasanthoshas of Lakshmipuram belong to Ganadi Jangam section who are semi-nomads. This caste is not found in the Caste Index of 1891 Census.

No sub-castes or sects are reported to be existing within the tribe. But it is divided into various exogamous divisions. Some of them are Chinthali, Dokka, Ganigollu, Ippa, Kadamanchi, Kathala, Kumari. Kondapalli, Nune, Pastamoullu, Pasthanu, Patti, Ponanam, Sankola, Sirigiri, Tadikonda, Turpunati and Vanarasi.

V. Raghavaiah reports that this Nomadic Tribe is chiefly found in Telangana area (Andhra Pradesh Tribes Enquiry Committee Report, p. 58). The 1891 Madras Census Report, Hyderabad Census Reports of 1901 and 1921 give the following figures for Balasanthosha.

STATEMENT I

POPULATION OF BALASANTHOSHA ACCORDING TO 1891, 1901 AND 1921 CENSUSES

| | Year (1) | District (2) | | Total Population (3) | Males (4) | Females (5) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Madras State—* | | | | | | |
| | 1891 | ... | ... | 33 | 17 | 16 |
| **Hyderabad State—* | | | | | | |
| | 1901 | *Total* | ... | 1,615 | 1,131 | 484 |
| | | Mahabubnagar | ... | 57 | 14 | 43 |
| | | Atraf-i-Balda | ... | 666 | 664 | 2 |
| | | Medak | ... | 250 | 77 | 173 |
| | | Nalgonda | ... | 13 | 2 | 11 |
| | | Warangal | ... | 593 | 346 | 247 |
| | | Elagandal | ... | 36 | 28 | 8 |
| *†Hyderabad State—* | | | | | | |
| | 1921 | *Total* ... | ... | 1,363 | 883 | 480 |

*Census of India, 1891, Vol. XV, Tables A to E, British Territory, Tables for Feudatory States and A Caste Index, (Madras 1902)
*Census of India, 1901, Vol. XXII, Hyderabad State, Part I, (1901) [pp. 291 & 292]
†Census of India, 1921, Vol. XXI, Hyderabad State, Part II, Imperial Tables, (1921), p. 98

The population figures for 1961 Census are not available since Castewise enumeration is not done except for Scheduled Castes and Schelduled Tribes. Thus it was not possible to study the population trends of this community.

**Dwellings**

V. Raghavaiah states that they live in their village for about six months and roam about the remaining six months, telling stories and begging (Andhra Pradesh Tribes Enquiry Commitee Report, p. 58). They usually live on the outskirts of the villages. They erect small tents or low roofed huts of a semicircular shape. Those who settle in a particular village, construct houses of tiled or mud roofs or huts covered with local date or palmyra leaves.

The Balasanthoshas of Lakshmipuram village have fairly decent houses of a local type. The walls are made of mud. The walls are generally four to six feet in height. The roofs are coverd with mud over mats spread on rafters. Some houses have tiled roofs. As in Balanagar of Hyderabad City the land on which they have built houses does not belong to them, they are under the constant threat of being forced to vacate the land by the City Municipal Authorities. In contrast to the dwellings of the Balasanthoshas of Lakshmipuram village of Kurnool district are the very poor huts of Balasanthoshas of Tandur which can neither withstand a strong wind nor protect its inmates from a heavy downpour. With a mat spread over four sticks and grass covered over it in a semi circular shape the houses are so small and narrow that they are forced to do most of their domestic activities outside the hut (Figs. 1 and 2).

In Tandur it is found that the dwellings of the Balasanthoshas are very poor huts. The interior of the hut is so small that it is hardly sufficient for a man either to stand erect or to stretch his legs and lie down with the result the plight of the inmates during winter and rainy seasons is simply miserable (Fig. 3). They do not consult a Brahmin for fixing up an auspicious day for commencing the construction of a house and they do not even observe any auspicious day for such an occasion.

**Food**

V. Raghavaiah has observed that they catch and eat such animals as *udumulu*, etc. (Andhra Pradesh Tribes Enquiry Commitee Report, p. 58). Their diet consists of all items which they procure during begging. Generally they eat *jowar* bread and chutney which are within their reach. The Balasanthoshas of Kurnool district eat *korra buvva* ( cooked Italian millet ) and *pindi kura* ( vegetable curry). On occasions they take rice which they cannot normally afford. On a festive day they prepare *paramannam* ( a sweet prepared with milk, rice and jaggery ) along with rice and *pappu*, ( dal ). They relish all kinds of meat or flesh such as of goat, sheep, cock, *udumulu* (iguana) and *udathalu* (squirrels), *yendrakayalu* ( crabs ) and fish. Beef and pork are prohibited. They do not also relish the meat of all dead animals but if a sheep dies, its meat is consumed immediately.

**Dress**

The normal dress for a male is a *pancha* (dhoti) and a shirt and for a woman a saree and a jacket. Some people dress themselves in a different way when they go out for begging and story-telling. They wear turbans, *gochi panchalu* (*dhoti* taken between the legs and tucked in at the waist) and full shirts. They also wear occasionally a *sella* (an upper cloth). They prefer coloured clothes of coarse type which not only last long but also do not get soiled quickly.

**Ornaments**

Women wear bead bangles over their wrists and brass *kadiyalu*, *mukkera* and *kammalu* for their ankles, noses and ears respectively. Married women wear *puste* (marriage locket) and toe rings made of silver. Being very poor, they cannot even think of costly jewellery. A Balasanthosha woman with her simple ornaments is seen in Figure 4.

**Habits**

Drinking toddy and country liquor is indulged in by many of them. Smoking beedis and cigarettes is a common habit with most of the male elders of the tribe. The habit of chewing *pan* is seen mostly among women. They do not regularly take bath. Balasanthoshas living in urban area like Tandur and Hyderabad city, occasionally visit pictures. Since they themselves are ballad reciters and story tellers, now and then they entertain themselves with *Burrakatha* and other *Kathakalakshepam* during nights when they are free and in a gay mood in order to while away time.

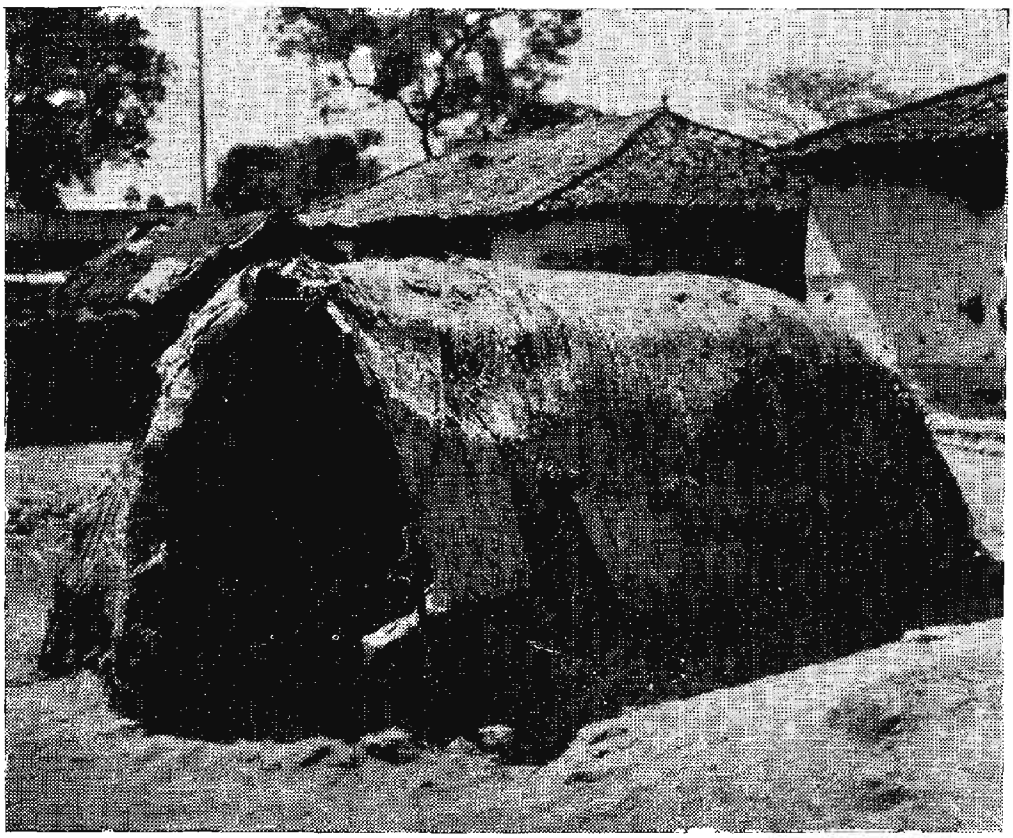


Fig. 1 A typical hut of Balasanthoshas at Tandur of Hyderabad district

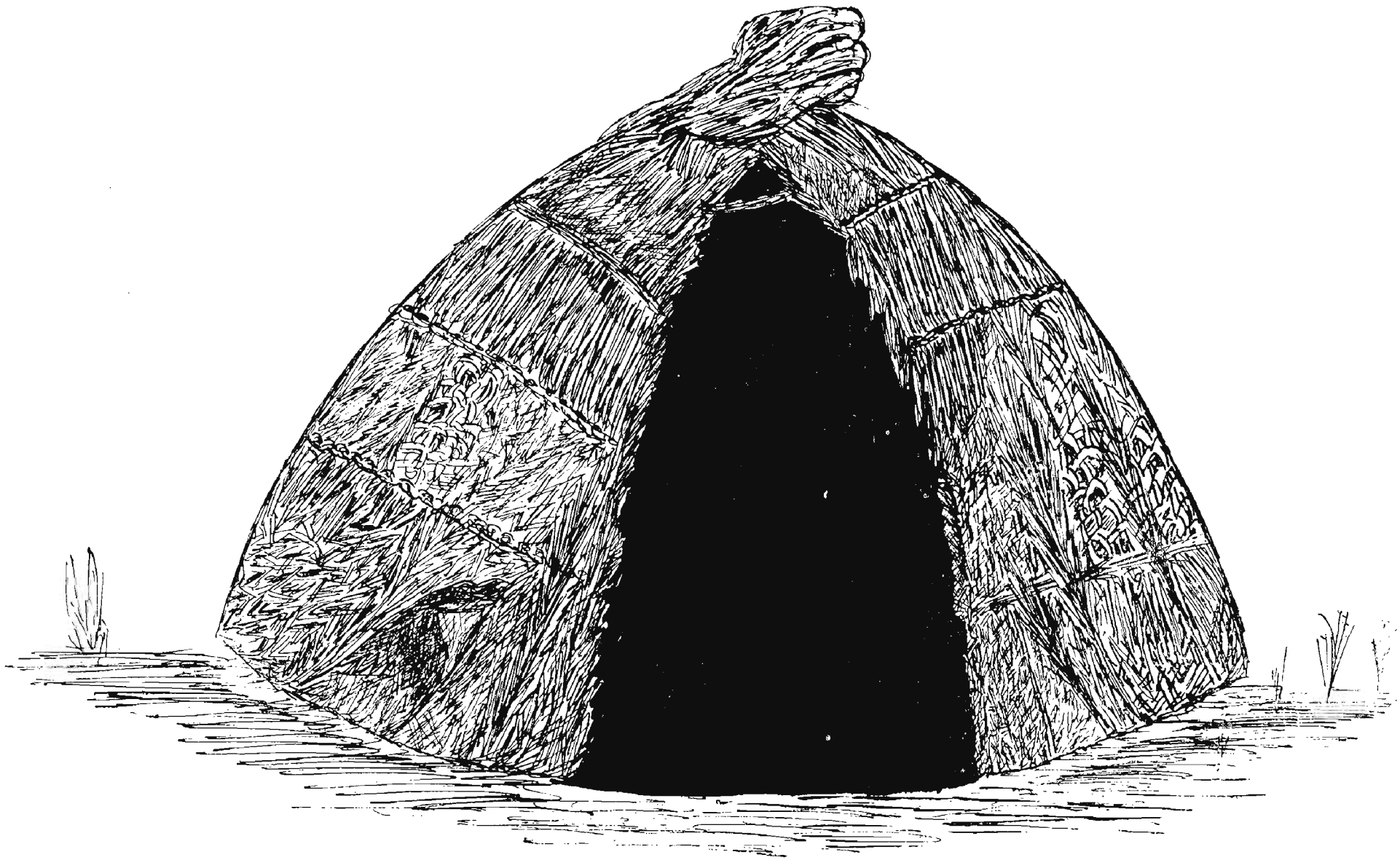


Fig. 2 A typical circular hut of Balasanthoshas of Balanagar colony, Hyderabad

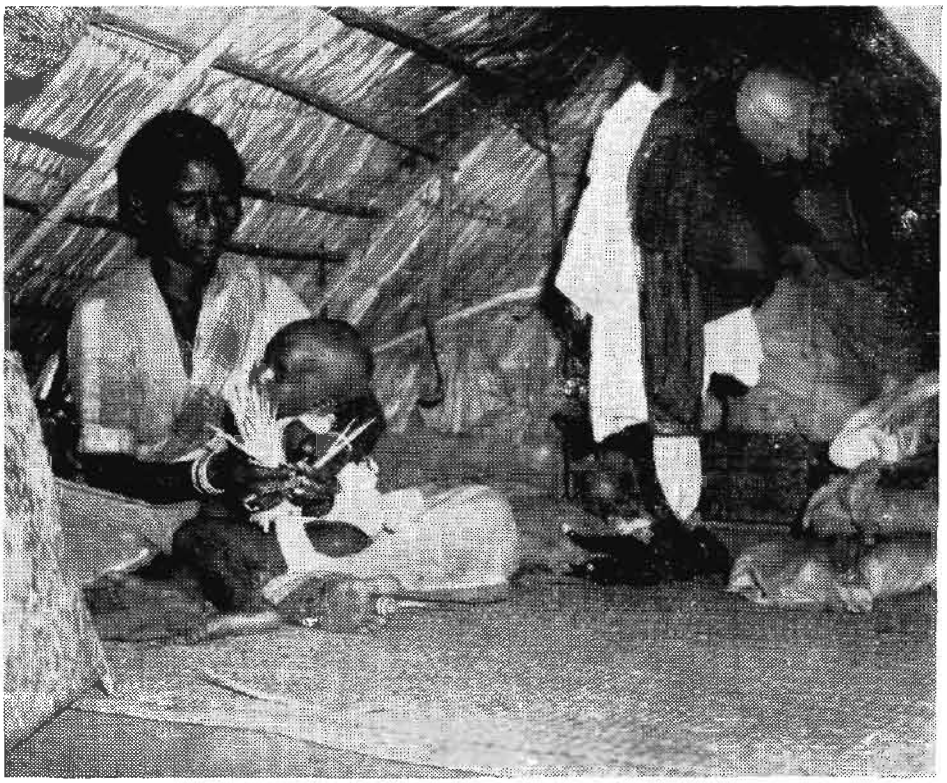


Fig. 3 Inner view of the hut

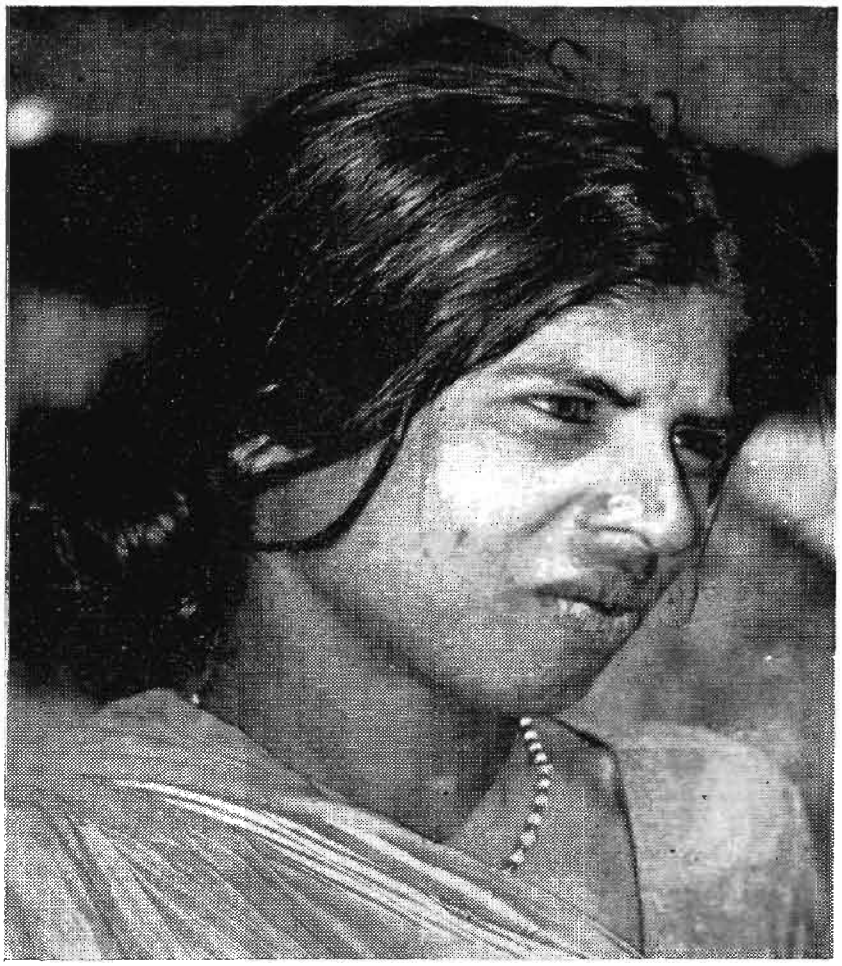


Fig. 4 An young Balasanthosha woman with her simple ornaments

**Tattooing**

Some of the women have got tattoo marks on their right or left forearms with their names or some designs of flowers, trees or figures of gods. *Paccha-bottollu*, persons belonging to another Nomadic Tribe visit the villages occasionally and attend to tattooing. The Balasanthoshas do not attach any special significance to this, but take it purely as decorative.

**Language**

The Balasanthoshas of Kurnool district speak only Telugu and the Balasanthoshas of Telangana area speak a form of Telugu which is freely mixed with Urdu. Due to their frequent association with Muslims, they can freely speak Urdu with Muslims.

**Literacy**

The literacy standard of this tribe is very poor. The Statement below gives the literacy particulars of the total population in the 12 surveyed households by age and sex.

STATEMENT II

LITERATES BY EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS OF BALASANTHOSHA

| Age-group | Total | | | No. of illiterates | | No. of literates (Total) | | Literates without educational standards | | Primary or Junior Basic | | Matriculation or Higher Secondary | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | P | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) | (13) | (14) |
| 0—14 | 18 | 11 | 7 | 11 | 7 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 15—24 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | — | — | — | 1 | — | 1 | — |
| 25—59 | 20 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| 60+ | 4 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Total | 47 | 26 | 21 | 23 | 21 | 3 | — | — | — | 1 | — | 2 | — |

It is seen from the above Statement that only three male persons out of the total of 47 persons are literates and that there is not even a single literate among women. It may be worth mentioning here that all the three literates recorded above are from the same household belonging to one Dokka Mahankali of Balanagar colony, Hyderabad. The one recorded against the age-group of 15-24 under Matriculation is a boy of 18 years. Though the population covered for the field study is small it appears that this tribe is very backward educationally. Even those living in urban areas have not received education despite several facilities extended by the Government. Poverty and social backwardness seem to be standing as impediments in their way. These people are further reluctant to send their children to schools, because a child sent to school would mean depriving the family of one worker who otherwise would earn not only for himself but for the family also.

**Occupation**

According to V. Raghavaiah :

> "The women folk weave mats and the males go for begging. They tell the stories of Ramayana and Maha-Bharatha while begging. Some of the Balasanthoshas of Hyderabad city remarked that their ancestral occupation has been for ever lost to them owing to the advent of cinemas. They are also good at telling stories of Balanagamma katha, Bobbili katha and Panuganti katha to supplement their meagre income by way of begging."
>
> (Andhra Pradesh Tribes Enquiry Committee Report, p. 58).

Even according to the case studies the traditional occupation of almost all the men of this tribe is story-telling and that of females is mat-weaving by which they supp'ement their family income (Figs. 5 to 10). They possess *ganta* (bell), *tambura*, *sankhu* (conch shell) and *chitikalu* which they play while reciting ballads (Fig. 11).

The case studies conducted at Lakshmipuram (Kurnool district), Balanagar Colony (Hyderabad City) and Tandur (Hyderabad district) covered 47 persons out of whom 26 are males and 21 are females. It is observed that 10 persons are beggars (males 6, females 4) and an equal number (7 males and 3 females) earn their livelihood through agricultural labour. 5 persons (2 males and 3 females) are engaged in mat weaving. Two men at Balanagar colony are practising as medicine men and the rest 20 (9 males and 11 females) are non-workers. It is likely that those who are engaged in a particular type of main work might be doing other types of work also as part time or subsidiary occupation. Those who have begging as main occupation have mat weaving as subsidiary occupation. Those who are engaged mainly as medicine men are having agricultural labour as subsidiary occupation.

Of the 12 surveyed households for which the budgetary position for the period from November, 1961 to October, 1962 was also studied three households have an income of less than Rs. 200 each per annum five households returned an income of Rs. 200 to 400 each per annum, three households have an income of about Rs. 500 each per annum while the remaining one household recorded an income of about Rs. 1,000 per annum. Of the 11 households having deficit budget, six have actually incurred a debt ranging from Rs. 40 to 400 during the year 1961-62. The deficit budget is met by hand loans and loans raised from the money lenders. The rate of interest varies from 8 to 12% per annum. In additton to the debts incurred during the year under survey, six households are having old debts also ranging from Rs. 200 to Rs. 2,000 and they could not redeem themselves of these old debts so far. The main item of expenditure is food which accounts for about 70% of the total expenditure in several cases. However, two households who mainly depended on begging do not spend any thing on food. They simply depend on the food collected as alms. The expenditure on miscellaneous items which includes the expenditure on ceremonies like puberty, tonsure ceremony, marriage and travelling comes next to food. Clothing occupies the next place in their budget. Very little is spent on fuel and lighting as those in rural areas generally collect fire wood from the nearby forest.

## Life Cycle

### Birth

Though not as a custom but in view of their poverty, the confinement usually takes place at the husband's house. The pregnant woman is supposed to take rice which is well boiled, along with *rasam* prepared of garlic and pepper which can be digested easily. She avoids taking those items which are hard to digest. Poverty precludes them from celebrating the ceremony of expectant motherhood even for the first time. Not much importance is attached to pregnancy which is taken as a normal event. At the time of delivery, the expectant mother would be accommodated in a dark room or in a corner of the house and some experienced old woman of the caste usually attends on all cases of delivery, unless it is of a serious nature when the pregnant woman is taken to a hospital. The remuneration paid to the attendant is either in cash or kind. She is presented with an old saree and a small quantity of rice or meal or Rs. 2 or Rs. 3. The couple and their parents welcome the first and second births with great eagerness and enthusiasm as in the case of any Hindu family, but do not indulge themselves in lavish expenditure on the occasion. The pollution on account of delivery is generally observed for ten days. Some take bath on the 3rd day itself and the naming ceremony also takes place on the same day. The occasion is celebrated by giving a small feast to neighbours and relatives.

### Tonsure Ceremony

Tonsure ceremony of the child is also in practice and is done before the child completes one year of age. The barber who attends to it is paid a rupee as *dakshina*. In case the *menamama* (maternal uncle) attends the ceremony, he presents new clothes to the child. Some observe this ceremony only if they had taken a vow in this regard. In such a case the hair is given as *mokkubadi* (offering made in fulfilment of vow to any deity). *Annaprasana* (first feeding of the child with semi-liquid food) and *aksharabhyasam* (initiation to learning) are observed in a very few households.



Fig. 5 Balasanthosha women are seen weaving mats with date-palm leaves



Fig. 6 A Balasanthosha man on his way for begging



Fig. 7 A Balasanthosha man is seen singing songs while begging



Fig 8. A Balasanthosha family is about to leave for begging



Fig. 9 A Balasanthosha man is seen here studying the palm of a passer-by. Balasanthoshas please the others by some means or the other and collect money



Fig. 10 A Balasanthosha man on his way for begging

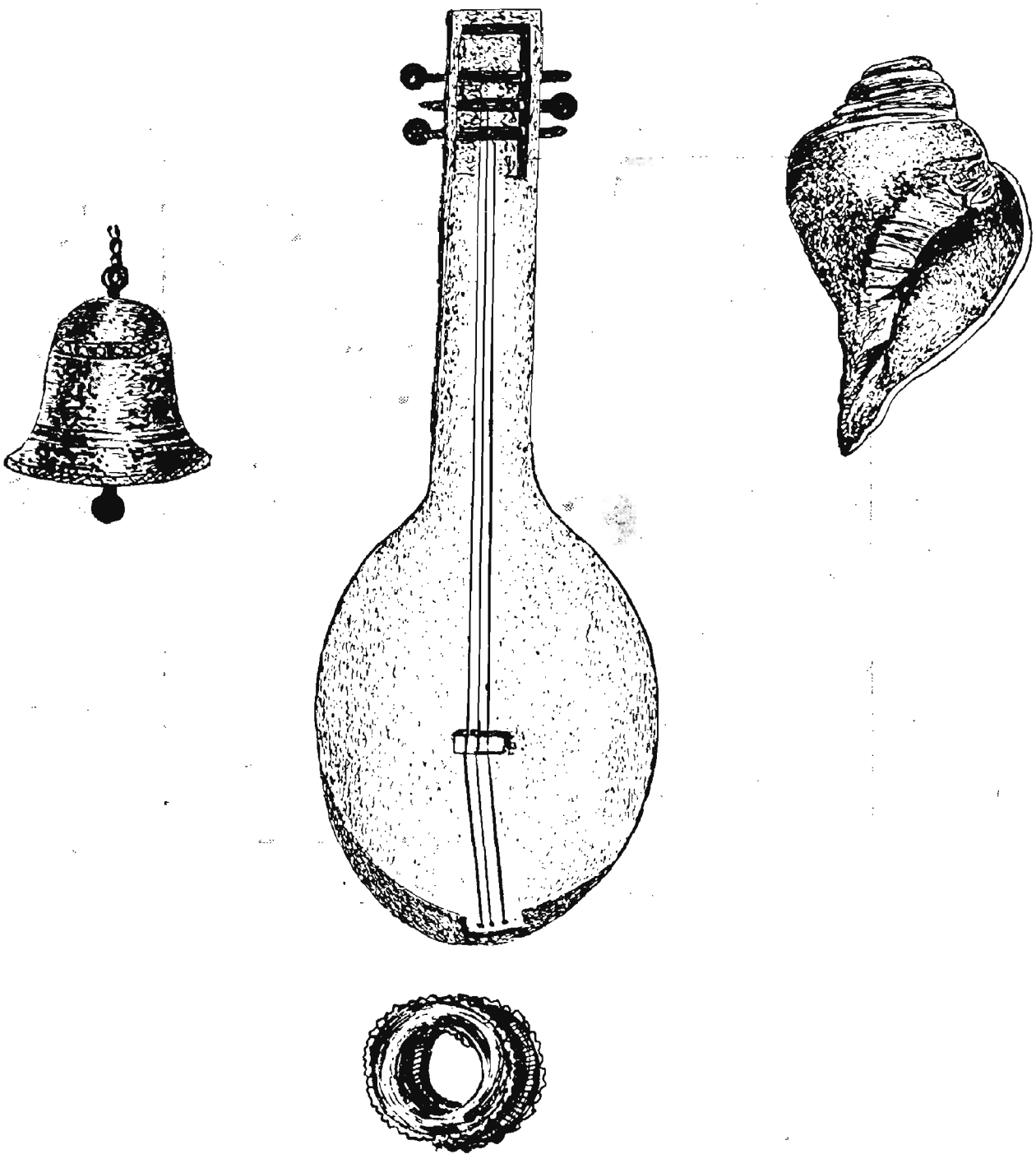


Fig. 11 Musical Instruments

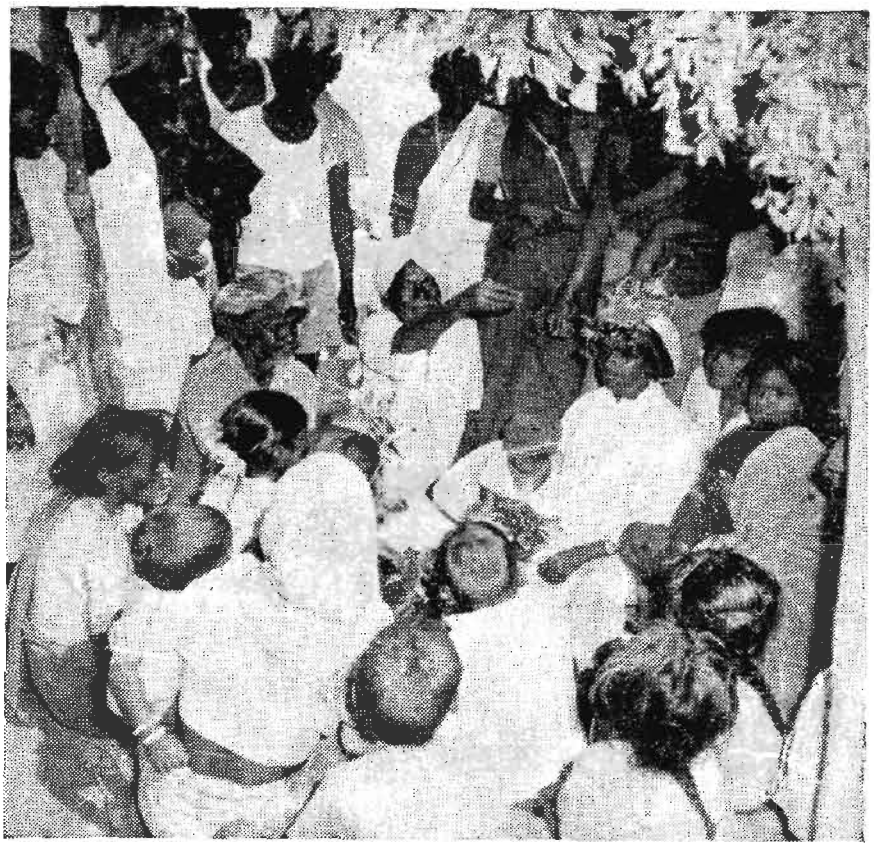


Fig. 12 Marriage ceremony

**Puberty**

A girl, when she attains puberty, is made to sit in a corner of the house on a mat. Some observe pollution for four days and some for seven days and during this period the girl is forbidden to participate in domestic activities. She is given bath on the 5th day or the 8th day as the case may be when a feast consisting of *pesarabedalu* (soaked greengram dal) and *pulagam* ( a preparation of rice and greengram dal cooked together ) is served to the girl and also to a few invited women guests. A ceremony locally called *nalugupettuta* is performed in the evening, when neighbouring women attend, sing songs and bless the girl. *Tambulam* (betel leaves and arecanuts) are distributed to them. People who can afford, get a *paita* (an upper garment) to the girl and prepare some sweet items like *chalimtdi* (a preparation of rice flour mixed with jaggery, copra and cardamom), etc.

**Marriage**

Marriage by negotiation is the only practice in vogue. Normally alliances are favoured with their relatives, like *menarikam* (maternal uncle's daughter) and sister's daughter. Marriage among members belonging to the same surname are not allowed. The marriageable age for males is above 20 and females above 15 years. Case studies reveal that child marriages are not prevalent though they are not forbidden. Premarital sex relation is not tolerated. Poverty has limited the scale of celebration of marriage among Balasanthoshas, and marriage is simple at present. A Brahmin or a learned man in the village is usually consulted for fixing up an auspicious day for the marriage. No Brahmin Purohit officiates as priest for their marriages whereas an aged man of their own caste officiates. The practice of paying bride-price is prevalent and is paid to the bride's parents soon after fixing up the alliance. Previously the bride price used to be Rs. 9 but now it ranges between Rs. 40 and Rs. 50. The marriage is performed at the bridegroom's place. The house is decorated for the occasion by cleaning the floor with cow dung and white washing the walls. A pandal is also erected for the occasion. They do not engage musical instruments. On the day prior to the marriage the bride's party arrives at bridegroom's village and a feast is arranged for the bride's party at the bridegroom's house. On the marriage day, the bride and bridegroom are given oil bath and they are donned in new clothes. The bride wears ornaments like *kalla kadiyalu* (anklets), *mukkera* (nose ring) and bangles. They do not go in for costly jewellery. The bridegroom ties the *puste* (the marriage locket) round the neck of the bride. The invitees bless the couple. Then the bride and bridegroom pour rice on each other's head which is known as *talambralu.* The bride wears *mattelu,* (toe rings). A feast is arranged after the *muhurtham* to those who attend the function. The practice of serving intoxicating drinks which was once in vogue, is now on the wane. On the third day, the *kankana visarjana* ceremony takes place. If the girl has attained puberty the consummation ceremony takes place on the same night or the following night. Otherwise it is postponed till such time as she attains puberty. Usually marriage takes place only after the girl attains puberty. Child marriages are very rare. The newly wedded couple are not taken around the streets in a procession. Thus the entire ceremony is conducted in a very simple manner with no sign of pomp and show. Figure 12 shows the marriage ceremony among Balasanthoshas of Balanagar colony of Hyderabad. Only the bridegroom is seen in the photo and the bride is seated just opposite to the groom with back to the camera. There is one Varanasi Pochanna, an extremely poor beggar (Tandur, Hyderabad district), the expenses of whose daughter's marriage were borne by Sri Anantha Rama Gowd of Sadasivapet, a rich land lord who is said to have celebrated 100 such *Dharma Vivahamulu* (Charitable marriages).

Polygamy is allowed and tolerated in the community but it is not widely prevalent. Polyandry is not in vogue. Intercaste marriages are also not contracted. Widow marriage is in practice, subject to the approval of the Caste Panchayat, similarly divorce. Widows and divorced women can remarry. The customs observed at the time of a woman becoming a widow are that she has to remove her *puste* (marriage locket), *mattelu* (toe rings) bangles and *tilak* (vermilion mark

on the forehead) and she cannot wear them unless she remarries. The following Statement gives the particulars of the marital status of Balasanthoshas in the surveyed households.

## STATEMENT III

### MARITAL STATUS OF BALASANTHOSHAS ACCORDING TO 1961 CENSUS

| Age-group | Total | | Unmarried | | Married | | Widowed | | Divorced | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) |
| 0—14 | 11 | 7 | 11 | 7 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 15—44 | 9 | 9 | 3 | — | 5 | 9 | 1 | — | — | — |
| 45 and above | 6 | 5 | — | — | 6 | 2 | — | 3 | — | — |
| Total | 26 | 21 | 14 | 7 | 11 | 11 | 1 | 3 | — | — |

In the age-group of 0–14 years there are no married persons. This indicates that child marriages are not common now-a-days. In the age-group of 15-44 years all persons except three males are married while one male is a widower. In the age-group of 45 and above none has remained unmarried and there are three widowed women out of the 11 persons in this age-group.

### Death

The corpse is given bath either in tepid or cold water and is covered with a white cloth and *vibhuti* (sacred ash) is applied on the forehead. The body is carried by four people on a bier to the burial ground as the relatives and friends follow the corpse uttering "Govinda," "Govinda" (the name of Lord Vishnu) and blowing *Sankhu* (conch-shell) and playing *gala ganta* (bell). The corpse is placed in a lying posture in a pit dug by their own caste members. The family members cover the pit with earth. The *maila* (pollution) is observed for 11 days. The third day is known as *chinna divasam*, when the family members and other relatives go to the burial ground and place some cooked food *(pinda kudu)* where the body has been buried. If a crow eats it, it is supposed to be an indication that the person has left the world with any unfulfilled desires. On the 11th day *pedda divasam* or *dinamu* is perfomed in honour of the deceased when a non-vegetarian feast is arranged for all the relatives who will also be served with intoxicants. No priest officiates for the purification ceremony. No annual ceremonies are held. It is generally believed that the departed soul reaches heaven or hell according to the good or bad acts done during his life time.

### Religious beliefs and practices

Balasanthoshas are Hindus by religion and they therefore, have faith in such Hindu Gods like Sri Rama, Krishna, Lord Venkateswara and Lord Siva. In addition they also worship caste and village deities like Yellamma, Pochamma and Maisamma and it is their firm belief that these village deities are responsible for all the good as well as bad that befalls the village community. They strongly believe that by being ardent disciples of deities they can wash off all their sins. A feast in the name of Pochamma deity is celebrated once in a year at Tandur in every house of Balasanthosha. The goddess is propitiated at the local temple, every year during autumn (July–August). It is believed that their village would be free from epidemics such as cholera and smallpox if only they have faith in their deity who otherwise may show her wrath in the form of epidemics visiting the village.

They do not have any priest or *guru* in their community. For any spiritual advice they seek the help of a local Brahmin Purohit or any other learned man. Here the role of a Brahmin Purohit is only to give advice and he will not officiate at any ceremony. It is reported during the case studies at Tandur that they invite one *guru* belonging to a different caste from Akkimpet in Kodangal taluk, Mahbubnagar district who acts as Priest on certain auspicious occasions like marriage. When enquired the informants were not able to throw any light regarding the name and caste of this *guru*. Perhaps they did not like to reveal these particulars or it may be that giving out this information is forbidden by tradition.

**Important festivals**

Balasathoshas just like any other community regard festivals as occasions of joy. Generally they observe the festival in the same fashion as observed by the other caste Hindus. But poverty precludes them from enjoying even on a festive occasion. It has been observed that even on a festive day some of the members of the caste who are professional beggars go out for begging and eat whatever they procure on that day.

Ugadi, Dassera and Deepavali are observed by them provided they have some money or grain with them by that time. On festival days they take cooked rice and some sweet dishes preferably *paramannam* which is easily prepared with jaggery at a low cost. On the day following every festival they go for *veta* (hunting), kill a deer and share its meat. The Balasanthosha (Sirijangams) of Lakshmipuram village observe *malapunnama* which is an important festival for them for consuming *tunakalu* (mutton). On other festival days they do not take non-vegetarian food. Festivals are celebrated at the village level only and they do not visit any other place in connection with any particular festival. No fairs are arranged at any of the villages surveyed. However, it is found that in Lakshmipuram village all Hindu castes including Balasanthoshas participate in the Mohammedan festival Moharrum for 10 days.

**Village organisation**

As they live along with people of other castes in the village, they too are bound by the common rules and regulations which the Village Statutory Panchayat administers. Usually their grievances are referred to the Village Panchayat. However, they have got an informal Tribal Panchayat at the village level which consists of heads of each family. Whenever a dispute arises, the tribal head's decision is sought and the members abide by it. Some times a fine is levied on the persons responsible for an offence and the amount is either spent for the common good of the community or is used for drinking or arranging a feast for the Panchayat members.

The inter-communal relationship is harmonious. Their touch is not considered to be polluting by other castes. Balasanthoshas often depend upon other castes for their domestic requirements. They get water from the common village well and no restriction is imposed upon their entering the temples. They move freely in the village streets. But they have got their own barbers and washermen belonging to their tribe and they do not serve other castes. Brahmin Priests are not invited to officiate on any ceremonial occasion. Caste Hindus such as Brahmins, Kapus, Kammas, etc., do not accept food or water from them whom they consider to be very low socially. Balasanthoshas in turn do not dine with the Scheduled Castes like Mala, Madiga, Maladasu and Malajangam, whom they consider to be inferior to them.

**Social awareness**

Some of the beggars who move from place to place are aware of the existence of the Zilla Parishads and Panchayats, but most of them are ignorant of these institutions. A few among them, however, know the taluk and district headquarters in which they are living. Most of them are illiterates, do not read newspapers nor listen to radio programmes. Most of them are not aware of family planning, but even after being informed of its advantages, they expressed their unwillingness to implement the same as they consider it to be a sin.

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4. V. Raghavaiah, Andhra Pradesh Tribes Enquiry Comittee, 1961–62

## ANNEXURE I

### Framework for Ethnographic Study

**I. Name, Identity Origin, and History**

1 Name; Synonym; sub-caste/sub-tribe as in President's Order and in other published sources such as Census Reports, Monographs etc. grouping with other castes and tribes during various Censuses. Affinity with other castes and tribes according to recognised authorities.

2 Etymological significance of the name; names by which the community is referred to by (a) others and (b) itself.

3 Identification of the community by occupation or any other way of life.

4 Myths and legends connected with the origin and history of the community and its segments; historical references and popular beliefs about history and migration of the community.

**II. Distribution and Population Trend**

1 Area where found; population and concentration in the State and outside; physical aspects of the areas of concentration.

2 Numerical strength in 1961 and population variations during 1901–1961; sex ratio; age-groups and rural-urban distribution in 1961.

**III. Physical Characteristics**

1 Racial Stock; appearance and affinity with other known communities.

**IV. Family, Clan, Kinship and other Analogous Divisions**

1 Family, size (observed and published), Types, residence after marriage, descent, lineage and its economic and religious function and inheritance.

2 Clan/gotra and sub-clans; names, etymological meaning, clustering of clans, belief and mythology about origin, status among clans, clan and regulation of marriage (preference and prohibition), occupation and clan, clan and rituals, clan and food (restrictions, prescriptions etc.

3 Others: Phratry, Duel organisation, like moieties etc., as in 2 above.

**V. Dwelling, Dress, Food Ornaments and other Material Objects Distinctive of the Community**

1 Settlement: Village site, location, settlement pattern (agglomerated, nucleated, dispersed, sprinkled, isolated, amorphous, star-shaped, horse-shoe-shaped, linear, rectangular, circular or ring-shaped etc.) and variations; regional pattern *vis-a-vis* pattern of the community.

2 Neighbourhood pattern on the basis of religion, caste (Caste Hindus, untouchables) and tribes etc., with segregations, if any, and the basis thereof.

3. Dwelling unit: compound, entrance, source of water, the use of different parts of the house (latrine, cattle shed, isolation huts etc.); shape (square, round, irregular etc.); storeys; nature of floor, plinth; wall; roofing, thatching; ventilations and doors; materials used; decorations and embellishments; temporary structures.

4 Dress including head gear and foot wear used ordinarily, on ceremonial occasions and special occasions, sex-wise and according to majority or minority; dress of priests and office bearers: variations.

5 Ornaments: use; material used; from where obtained; variations according to sex and age.

6 Personal dacoration: tattooing; mutilation (chipping of teeth, etc.); hair cutting; how done, purpose, attitude and variation according to sex and age.

7 Food and drink: Materials (staple and other), prescriptions and prohibitions, fuel, utensils and mode of preparation; practices connected with serving and taking of food; preservation of food rituals, if any.

8 Equipments connected with economic pursuits, religion and ritual; how procured, material used, construction and purpose.

9 Other household equipments. As above.

10 Equipments connected with recording of time, space and weight and their methods of use: As above.

**VI. Environmental Sanitation, Hygienic Habits, Disease and Treatment**

1 Environmental sanitation, settlement, disposal of night soil, garbage etc.

2 Hygienic habit: cleanliness of body, teeth, dress, houses, utensils etc.

3 Diseases: Incidence; local names; interpretation of the causes; symptoms; diagnosis and cure-persons and methods involved.

4 Modern systems of medicine and attitude of the community towards it.

**VII. Language and Education**

1 Ancestral Language: Classification according to Grierson, persistance of ancestral language and literature.

2 Mother tongue: Classification according to Grierson; bilingualism and multilingualism; regional language.

3 Information collected during 1961 Census on language and literature.

4. Education and literacy: Traditional and modern attitude, information collected during 1961 Census—literacy and levels of education.

**VIII. Economic Life**

1 Economic resources: Land, community land, individual ownership and types of land possessed and land utilized.

2 Forest wealth: Flora and fauna; nature and extent of right in the forest; forest utilization.

3 Fishery, Livestock and others.

4 Working force: Sexwise, urban and rural variations and comparison of the same with the region.

5 Non-workers.

6 Industrial classifications: Details as collected in the field and comparison with that of the 1961 census figures, traditional occupation and changes in the pattern; main and subsidiary occupations.

7 Forced labour, bonded labour, patron-client relationship (jajmani), mode of payment.

8 Seasonal migration connected with occupation recruitment, formation of working groups.

9 Nomadic movement: Cycle and occupational pattern.

10 Shifting cultivation: Method, implements and equipments, produce, participation, cycle of rotation, measure to regulate shifting cultivation and its impact.

11 Terrace cultivation: As above.

12 Income and expenditure: Souces of income, extent, expenditure on food, clothing, house, education, social functions and others.

13 Other aspects of economic life.

**IX. Life Cycle**

**A. Birth**

1 Beliefs and practices connected with conception, barrenness, still birth, miscarriage, abortion, child death, regulation of sex, etc.

2 Prenatal and natal practices: Residence, diet, work, taboos, etc., delivery place, assistance equipments used in delivery, position during delivery, severance of umbilical cord (who does and how done), diposal of placenta.

3 Postnatal practices: Confinement and segregation, ceremonial pollution, diet for mother and child, rituals.

4 Protection and care of child and training.

5 Attitude towards birth of child, preference about sex, preference about number, segregation of sex, etc.

**B. Initiation**

1 Initation ceremony; descriptions.

2 Premarital sex relations within the community, outside the community, sanctions and taboos.

**C. Marriage**

1 Age at marriage for both sex; prohibited degrees of relationship, preferences, widow remarriage (preferences and taboos).

2 Civil status and social status.

3 Types of marriage: Monogamy, polygamy (polyandry and polygyny).

4 Selection of spouse: Qualities valued (for bride and groom) mode of selection, procedure,

5 Modes of acquiring mate : By negotiation, force, intrusion, elopement, etc.

6 Terms of settlement: Payment of bride price, dowry, service, exchange, adoption, etc.

7 Ceremonies connected with marriage: Details including who presides over the marriage and services of functional castes.

8 Statistical data as per 1961 Census.

9 Divorce : Reasons and procedure.

**D. Death**

1 Concept about death, measures to ensure future well being of the soul, measures to avert harm by the spirits.

2 Methods of disposal: Burial, cremation, exposure, floating on water, etc.

3 Preparation for disposal of dead, informing friends and relatives, treatment of the dead body, digging of pit etc. for disposal; how carried, who carry, who accompany, place of disposal, methods of disposal, norms and taboos.

4 Ceremonies connected with disposal.

5 Death rites: Details.

6 Monuments: Tombs, megaliths, etc.

7 Pollution: duration, restrictions in work, food, dress, shaving, hair cropping, sex life etc; removal of pollution.

8 Mourning: mourners and duration.

**X. Religion**

1 Deities: supreme deity, benevolent deities, malevolent spirits, presiding deities of village and other aspects of life including occupation, clans, gotras etc.

2 Place of the deities in the regional pattern and Brahmanical and other traditions.

3 Rituals and concepts associated with the pantheon.

4 Spots associated with the deities, pilgrim centres and methods of worship.

5 Religious functionaries.

6 Calendar of festivals and their observance.

7 Concept of soul, hell, heaven, rebirth, transmigration of soul, etc.

8 Sects and denominations: Name, distribution, beliefs and practices etc.

9 Statistical information.

**XI. Leisure, Recreation and Child Play**

1 Use of leisure time : For male, female, children and adult; seasonal variation in leisure time.

2 Recreations their mode and extent, for males, females and children.

3 Leisure and recreation with reference to work

**XII. Relation among Different Segments of the Community**

Recognised segments—name, basis (territorial, ceremonial, social, prestige, religion, sect, education, age etc.); Inter-relationship among various segments ; status of the segment ; status of women.

**XIII. Inter-community Relationship**

1 Ceremonial relationship : Service by Brahmins, traditional service by castes like barbers and washermen etc.

2 Pollution by touch or proximity to high Caste Hindus, use of well, admission to temple.

3 Secular relationship : Model for other communities; dominance due to economic resources, political status, social status, etc.

4 Bridge role, buffer role, alliance and antagonism of the community.

**XIV. Structure of Social Control, Prestige and Leadership**

1 Social control: Levels of social control, community level, regional level, hereditary, special functionaries etc., social control by other agencies.

2 Mode of acquiring offices.

3 Control exercised by traditionally recognised leaders, functionaries of statutory bodies of the region, powerful individuals belonging to the community, etc.: at the regional level and local level.

4 Relationship between spheres of social control and agencies of social control.

5 Leadership: For social change, for technological change, for political action and for other organised activities at the community level, regional level and local level.

6 Social prestige; Method of gaining social prestige (by performing ritual, merit of feast, associating with historical association etc.) symbols of social prestige.

**XV. Social Reform and Welfare**

1 Social reform movements: Intensity; reasons (for raising social status, establishing traditional norms, for westernisation, etc.); history and import of the movements.

2 Social welfare: Agency, religious organisation community as a whole Govt. Official and non-official, role of the social welfare measures and impact.

**XVI. References cited and other Bibliography.**

## ANNEXURE II

### LIST OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES IN ANDHRA PRADESH

List of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh State as notified by the President of India in the "Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes List Modification Order, 1956" is given below.

### SCHEDULED CASTES

I. Throughout the State.

*1 Chalavadi
*2 Chamar, Mochi or Muchi
*3 Madiga
*4 Mala

II. In the districts of Srikakulam, Vishakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Nellore, Chittoor, Cuddapah, Anantapur and Kurnool.

*1 Adi Andhra
*2 Adi Dravida
*3 Arundhatiya
4 Bariki
5 Bavuri
*6 Chachati
7 Chandala
*8 Dandasi
*9 Dom, Dombara, Paidi or Pano
*10 Ghasi: Haddi or Relli Chachandi
*11 Godagali
*12 Godari
13 Gosangi
*14 Jaggali
*15 Jambavulu
16 Madasi Kuruva or Madari Kuruva
*17 Mala Dasu
18 Madiga Dasu and Mashteen
*19 Matangi
20 Mundala
*21 Paky or Moti
*22 Pambada or Pambanda
23 Pamidi
*24 Panchama or Pariah
*25 Relli
26 Samban
*26 Sapru
*28 Thoti

III. In the districts of Mahbubnagar, Hyderabad, Medak, Nizamabad, Adilabad, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda.

1 Anamuk
*2 Aray (Mala)
*3 Arwa Mala
4 Beda (Budga) Jangam
*5 Bindla
6 Byagara
*7 Chambhar
*8 Dakkal (Dokkalwar)
*9 Dhor
10 Ellamalwar (Yellammalawandlu)
11 Holeya
12 Holeya Dasari
*13 Kolupulvandlu
*14 Mahar
*15 Mala Dasari
16 Mala Hannai
*17 Malajangam
18 Mala Masti
19 Mala Sale (Netkani)
20 Mala Sanyasi
*21 Mang
*22 Mang Garodi
*23 Manne
24 Mashti
*25 Mehtar
*26 Mitha Ayyalvar
*27 Samagara
*28 Sindhollu (Chindollu)

## ANNEXURE II—(*Concld.*)

### SCHEDULED TRIBES

I. Throughout the State.

*1 Chenchu or Chenchuwar
*2 Koya or Goud with its sub-sects—Rajah or Rasha Koyas, Lingadhari Koyas (ordinary), Kottu Koyas, Bhine Koya and Rajkoya.

II. In the districts of Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Nellore, Chittoor, Cuddapah, Anantapur and Kurnool.

1 Bagata
2 Gadabas
*3 Jatapus
4 Kammara
5 Kattunayakan
*6 Konda Dhoras
7 Konda Kapus
8 Kondareddis
9 Kondhs: (Kodi and Kodhu) Desaya Kondhs, Dongria Kondhs, Kuttiya Kondhs, Tikiriya Kondhs, and Yenity Kondhs.
10 Kotia–Bentho Oriya, Bartika, Dhulia or Dulia, Holva, Paiko, Putiya, Sanrona and Sidhopaiko
11 Kuliya
12 Malis
13 Manna Dhora
14 Mukha Dhora or Nooka Dhora
15 Porja, (Parangiperja)
16 Reddi Dhoras
17 Rona, Rena
18 Savaras: Kapu Savaras, Maliya Savaras or Khutto Savaras
*19 Sugalis (Lambadis)
*20 Yenadis
†21 Yerukulas

III. In the districts of Mahbubnagar, Hyderabad, Medak, Nizamabad, Adilabad, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda.

1 Andh
2 Bhil
*3 Gond (including Naikpod and Rajgond)
4 Hill Reddis
5 Kolam (including Mannervarlu)
6 Pardhan
7 Thoti

IV In the Agency tracts

1 Goudu (Goud)
2 Nayaks
3 Valmiki

*Surveyed by the Census Office, A. P. †Present Monograph