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CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME II

ANDHRA PRADESH

PART VI - VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS

SERIAL No. 2

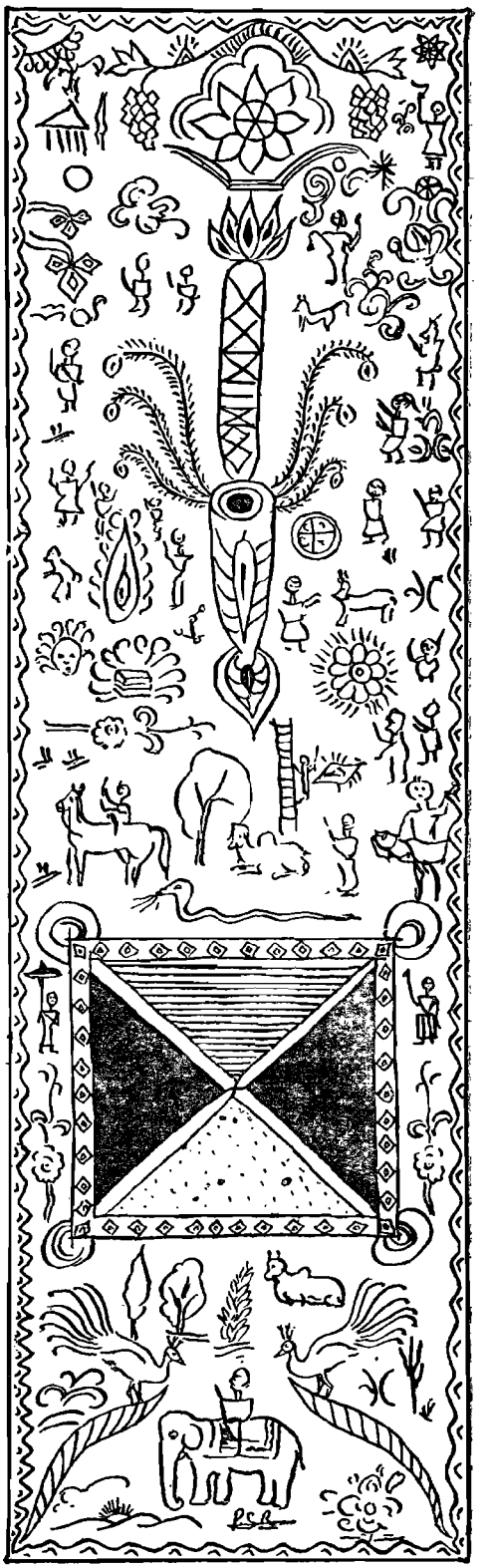
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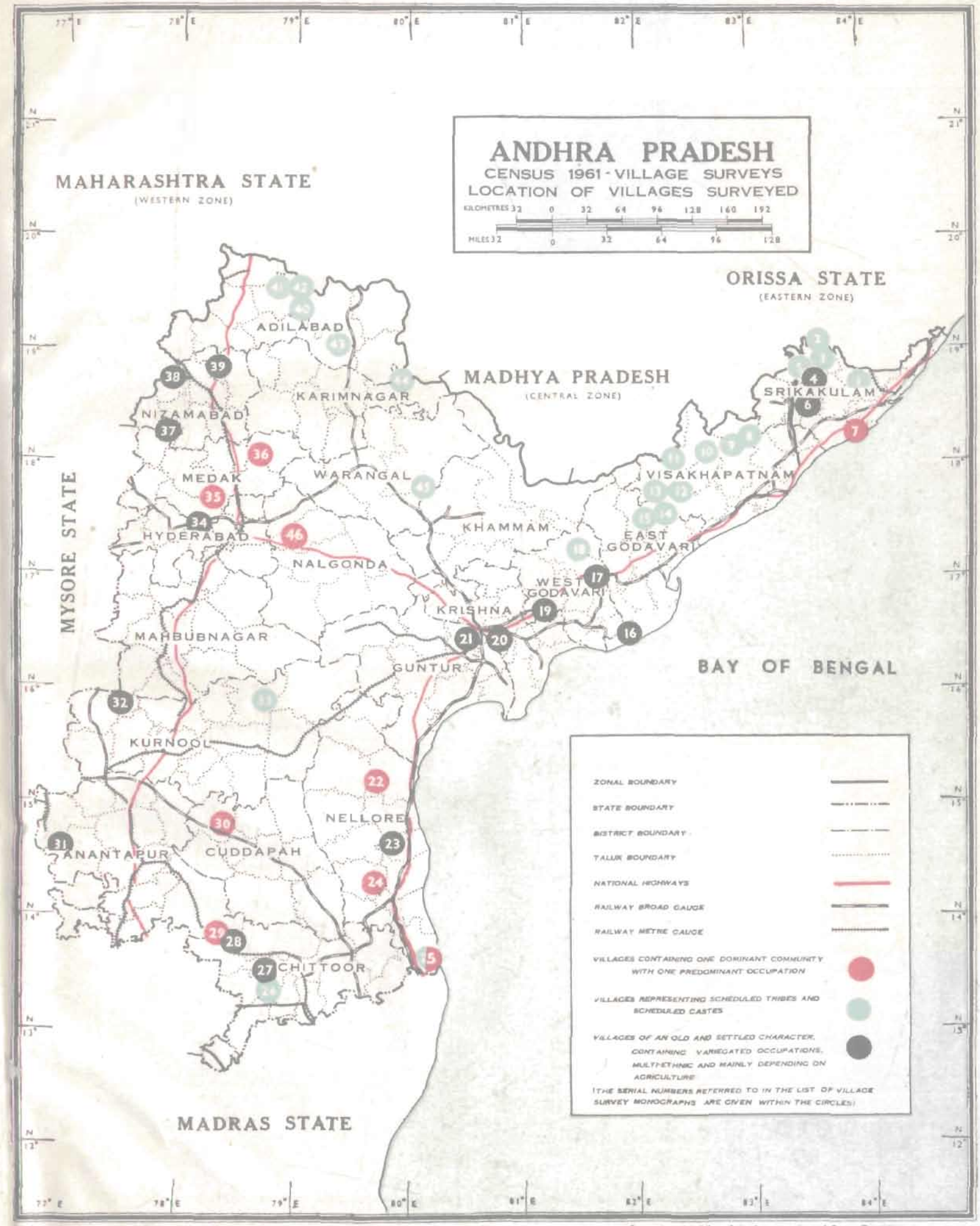
KALLITI

(PARVATHIPURAM TALUK, SRIKAKULAM DISTRICT)

EDITOR
A. CHANDRA SEKHAR
OF THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE
Superintendent of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh



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Name of District (1)	Name of Taluk (2)	Sl. No. (3)	Name of village (4)	Brief details of what the village represents (5)
Srikakulam	Pathapatnam	1	*Kallata*	Kapu Savaras—A Scheduled Tribe
	Parvathipuram	2	*Kalliti* †	Savaras—A Scheduled Tribe
		3	*Lakkaguda*	Jatapus—A Scheduled Tribe
		4	*Kannapudoravalasa*	A village in jute growing area
		5	*Gadabavalasa, hamlet of Gumma*	Gadabas—A Scheduled Tribe
	Bobbili	6	*Kerada*	A Bobbili Samsthanam village
	Srikakulam	7	*Mofusbandar*	A fishermen's village
Visakhapatnam	Srungavarapukota	8	*Kondiba* ‡	Dombs—A Scheduled Caste
	Paderu	9	*Gandha* ‡	Konda Dhoras—A Scheduled Tribe
		10	*Lamthampadu* ‡	Kondhs—A Scheduled Tribe
	Chintapalle	11	*Annavaram* ‡	Samanthus—A Tribe
		12	*Makavaram*	Kammaras *alias* Ojas—A Scheduled Tribe
		13	*Jerrela* ‡	Bagatas—A Scheduled Tribe
East Godavari	Yellavaram	14	*Kondapalle*	Koya Dhoras—A Tribe
		15	*Kovilapalem*	Konda Reddis—A Scheduled Tribe
	Razole	16	*Pasarlapudilanka* ‡	A typical East Godavari delta village
West Godavari	Kovvur	17	*Unagatla* * ‡	A dry agricultural village surveyed in 1917 & 1936 by the Department of Economics, University of Madras. A study of the progress made in the life of the people during 1936-62 is done
	Polavaram	18	*Puliramudugudem*	Koyas—A Scheduled Tribe
	Eluru	19	*Gudivakalanka*	A settled village in Kolleru lake bed area
Krishna	Vijayawada	20	*Maredumaka*	A settled Krishna delta village
Guntur	Guntur	21	*Malkapuram*	A typical tobacco growing village
Nellore	Kandukur	22	*Ayyavaripalle*	A sheep and cattle rearing village
	Kovur	23	*Yelamanchipadu*	A settled wet agricultural village
	Rapur	24	*Devaravemuru*	Several workers in mica industry reside in this village
	Sullurpet	25	*Rettamala* ‡	Noted for boat building industry. It also represents Yenadis, a Scheduled Tribe
Chittoor	Punganur	26	*Palyampalle*	Lambadis—A Scheduled Tribe
		27	*Thettupalle, hamlet of Nellimanda*	A village surveyed in 1916 by the Department of Economics, University of Madras. A study of the progress made in the life of the people during 1916-62 is done
	Madanapalle	28	*Panchalamarri*	A village depending on tank and well irrigation
		29	*Gangireddipalle*	A sheep and cattle rearing village
Cuddapah	Jammalamadugu	30	*P. Sugamanchipalle*	Noted for Cuddapah slabs
Anantapur	Kalyandrug	31	*Bhairavanitippa*	A dry village changing to wet cultivation under the Bhairavanitippa project
Kurnool	Adoni	32	*Mantsala (Mantralayam)*	A place of religious importance
	Atmakur (Independent Sub-Taluk)	33	*Byrlutigudem* ‡	Chenchus—A Scheduled Tribe
Hyderabad	Chevella	34	*Peddamangalaram*	Economy dependant on the supply of vegetables to Hyderabad city
Medak	Narsapur	35	*Sivanagar*	Tanning industry
	Siddipet	36	*Habshipur*	Handloom industry
Nizamabad	Banswada	37	*Banjepalle*	An agricultural village on the bank of Nizam Sagar lake
	Bodhan	38	*Pocharam*	An agricultural village noted for sugarcane cultivation
	Armur	39	*Kotha Armur* ‡	An agricultural village partly irrigated by Nizam Sagar Canal. A comparative study of the progress made in the life of the people between 1929 & 1962 with reference to the economic investigations made by Shri S. Kesava Iyengar is done
Adilabad	Utnur	40	*Bhurnur* ‡	Gonds & Pradhans—Scheduled Tribes
		41	*Vemayakunta*	Mathuras—A Tribe
		42	*Laindiguda* ‡	Kolams—A Scheduled Tribe
	Lakshettipet	43	*Malkepalle*	Thotis—A Scheduled Tribe
Karimnagar	Manthani	44	*Kishtaraopet*	Naikpods—A Scheduled Tribe
Warangal	Narasampet	45	*Mattewada* ‡	Koyas—A Scheduled Tribe
Nalgonda	Ramannapet	46	*Tallasingaram*	A toddy tappers' village

* Surveyed by the Indian Institute of Economics, Hyderabad-A.P. † Present Monograph. ‡ Monographs so far published.

1961 CENSUS PUBLICATIONS, ANDHRA PRADESH

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PART I-B	...	Report on Vital Statistics
PART I-C	...	Subsidiary Tables
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PART II-B (ii)	...	Economic Tables [B-V to B-IX]
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PART VI	...	Village Survey Monographs (46)
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District Census Handbooks (*Separate Volume for each District*)

Supervision and Guidance

Sri K. V. N. GOWD, B. Com. (Hons.),
Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations

First Draft

Sri Ch. PURNACHANDRA RAO, M.A.,
Economic Investigator

Field Investigation

1. Sri Ch. PURNACHANDRA RAO, M.A.,
   Economic Investigator.
2. Sri K. S. S. RAJU, M.A.,
   Economic Investigator.
3. Sri M. V. S. RAI, B.A.,
   Economic Investigator.
4. Sri V. D. CHARY,
   Economic Investigator.
5. Sri P. RAMBABU, M.A.,
   Economic Investigator.

Scrutiny & Tabulation

1. Sri P. PATTAYYA, B.Sc.,
   Tabulation Officer.
2. Sri V. RADHAKRISHNA, B. A., B. Com.,
   Research Assistant.
3. Sri A. CHANDRASEKHARA REDDY, M.A.,
   Statistical Assistant.

Photographs

1. Sri M. V. S. RAI, B.A.,

Maps & Drawings

1. Sri M. KRISHNA SWAMY,
   Artist-Draughtsman.
2. Sri P. SUBBA RAO,
   Compiler-Artist.

FOREWORD

Apart from laying the foundations of demography in this subcontinent, a hundred years of the Indian Census has also produced 'elaborate and scholarly accounts of the variegated phenomena of Indian life—sometimes with no statistics attached, but usually with just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to their conclusions.' In a country, largely illiterate, where statistical or numerical comprehension of even such a simple thing as age was liable to be inaccurate, an understanding of the social structure was essential. It was more necessary to attain a broad understanding of what was happening around oneself than to wrap oneself up in 'statistical ingenuity' or 'mathematical manipulation'. This explains why the Indian Census came to be interested in 'many by paths' and 'nearly every branch of scholarship, from anthropology and sociology to geography and religion'.

In the last few decades the Census has increasingly turned its efforts to the presentation of village statistics. This suits the temper of the times as well as our political and economic structure. For even as we have a great deal of centralisation on the one hand and decentralisation on the other, my colleagues thought it would be a welcome continuation of the Census tradition to try to invest the dry bones of village statistics with flesh-and-blood accounts of social structure and social change. It was accordingly decided to select a few villages in every State for special study, where personal observation would be brought to bear on the interpretation of statistics to find out how much of a village was static and yet changing and how fast the winds of change were blowing and from where.

Randomness of selection was, therefore, eschewed. There was no intention to build up a picture for the whole State in quantitative terms on the basis of villages selected statistically at random. The selection was avowedly purposive: the object being as much to find out what was happening and how fast to those villages which had fewer reasons to choose change and more to remain lodged in the past as to discover how the more 'normal' types of villages were changing. They were to be primarily type studies which, by virtue of their number and distribution, would also give the reader a 'feel' of what was going on and some kind of a map of the country.

A brief account of the tests of selection will help to explain. A minimum of thirty-five villages was to be chosen with great care to represent adequately geographical, occupational and even ethnic diversity. Of this minimum of thirty-five, the distribution was to be as follows:

(a) At least eight villages were to be so selected that each of them would contain one dominant community with one predominating occupation, *e. g.*, fishermen, forest workers, *jhum* cultivators, potters, weavers, salt-makers, quarry workers etc. A village should have a minimum population of 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(b) At least seven villages were to be of numerically prominent Scheduled Tribes of the State. Each village could represent a particular tribe. The minimum population should be 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(c) The third group of villages should each be of fair size, of an old and settled character and contain variegated occupations and be, if possible, multi-ethnic in composition. By fair size was meant a population of 500–700 persons or more. The village should mainly depend on agriculture and be sufficiently away from the major sources of modern communication such as the district administrative headquarters and business centres. It should be roughly a day's journey from the above places. The villages were to be selected with an eye to variation in terms of size, proximity to city and other means of modern communication, nearness to hills, jungles and major rivers. Thus there was to be a regional distribution throughout the State of this category of villages. If, however, a particular district contained significant ecological variations within its area, more than one village in the district might be selected to study the special adjustments to them.

It is a unique feature of these village surveys that they rapidly outgrew their original terms of reference, as my colleagues warmed up to their work. This proved for them an absorbing voyage of discovery and their infectious enthusiasm compelled me to enlarge the inquiry's scope again and again. It was just as well cautiously to feel one's way about at first and then venture further afield, and although it accounts to some extent for a certain unevenness in the quality and coverage of the monographs, it served to compensate the purely honorary and extra-mural rigours of the task. For, the Survey, along with its many ancillaries like the survey of fairs and festivals, of small and rural industry and others, was an 'extra' over and above the crushing load of the 1961 Census.

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September 1959 the Survey set itself the task of what might be called a record *in situ* of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village; house types; diet; dress, ornaments and foot-wear; furniture and storing vessels; common means of transport of goods and passengers; domestication of animals and birds; markets attended; worship of deities, festivals and fairs. There were to be recordings, of course, of cultural and social traits and occupational mobility. This was followed up in March 1960 by two specimen schedules, one for each household, the other for the village as a whole, which, apart from spelling out the mode of inquiry suggested in the September 1959 conference, introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, movable and immovable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities, forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership and organisation of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'feel', to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of 'just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to conclusions', at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves to the utmost for the success of the main Census operations, but once the Census count itself was left behind in March 1961, a series of three regional seminars in Trivandrum (May 1961), Darjeeling and Srinagar (June 1961) restored their attention to this field and the importance of tracing social change through a number of

well-devised statistical tables was once again recognised. This itself presupposed a fresh survey of villages already done; but it was worth the trouble in view of the possibilities that a close analysis of statistics offered, and also because the 'consanguinity' schedule remained to be canvassed. By November 1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than ever before. There was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general statements and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data as interrelated processes and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land reforms and other laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December 1961, when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together. The Social Studies Section of the Census Commission rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of Survey and presentation of results.

This gradual unfolding of the aims of the Survey prevented my colleagues from adopting as many villages as they had originally intended to. But I believe that what may have been lost in quantity has been more than made up for in quality. This is, perhaps, for the first time that such a Survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love. It has succeeded in attaining what it set out to achieve: to construct a map of village India's social structure. One hopes that the volumes of this Survey will help to retain for the Indian Census its title to 'the most fruitful single source of information about the country'. Apart from other features, it will perhaps be conceded that the Survey has set up a new Census standard in pictorial and graphic documentation. The schedules finally adopted for this monograph have been printed in Appendix III to Kotha Armur village monograph (Sl. No. 39).

NEW DELHI
July 30, 1964.

ASOK MITRA
Registrar General, India.

PREFACE

In the Foreword, the Registrar General has explained the genesis of the scheme of Village Surveys that has been taken up as one of the ancillary studies to the 1961 Census Operations. The purpose of selection of villages for the survey and the scope of survey have also been explained.

In this State 46 villages were selected for the survey, of which 9 villages fell under the category of villages each with one dominant community with one predominant occupation, 21 villages representing Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes (17 villages with Scheduled Tribes, 3 villages with Tribes not Scheduled *viz*, Samantus, Koya Dhoras and Mathuras, and 1 village with a Scheduled Caste, Dombs) and 16 villages were villages of fair size of an old and well settled character containing variegated occupations and multi-ethnic in composition. The present village of Kalliti (No. 2 in the State Map before the Inner Title page gives the location of this village) covered by this monograph falls under the second category.

The selection of the villages of the optimum population size of 500 and also satisfying all other criteria, such as to be at a distance of a day's travel from the taluk headquarters, and so on, was none too easy. Several villages selected had to be of a much larger size than prescribed as otherwise it was difficult to choose a village to satisfy the main purpose for which the village is selected for survey. Similarly some interior tribal villages that were selected were necessarily smaller than the optimum population size prescribed. The villages were selected carefully having an eye on regional distribution and ecological variation, but it has not always been possible to select villages so remote as to be a day's journey from important centres of communication or administrative headquarters of a district. With the developed communications and the fast means of transport it was somewhat difficult to locate all villages uninfluenced by developmental activities. There were, of course, some villages, particularly in the Agencies which took not one day but several days to reach from the district headquarters. All the same, it is expected that the villages now selected truly represent a cross-section of the rural population of the State.

In this State, we started off with our Village Surveys under the original scheme of things, under which it was expected that one Investigator should be able to cover a village in about a week or 10 days' time. Naturally a very simple skeleton schedule was adopted under which mainly the social and religious customs and habits were studied in a general sort of way. We covered quite a few villages under this old scheme and the present village of Kalliti covered by this monograph was one such village surveyed in 1960 itself canvassing the old skeleton schedules, a set of which is given as Appendix II to the Monograph No. 45, Mattewada village. As explained in the Foreword, the scope of the survey went on expanding and ultimately on the basis of the conclusions arrived at, at the Study Camp held in New Delhi in December 1961, a very detailed set of Village Survey Schedules was drawn up. When we started canvassing this formidable set of schedules, we found that an Investigator was not able to cover more than one household per day. The progress was painfully slow. Even putting extra Investigators, it took several weeks to cover a village completely. As several villages had already been covered by the time the scope of Survey was enlarged, we were able to cover only a limited number of villages canvassing this set of larger schedules which is given as Appendix III to the Monograph No. 39, Kotha Armur village. An attempt, however, was made to resurvey a few of the villages already covered so as to bring them under the new method. Fortunately, Kalliti is one such resurveyed village. But the limitation of time made it difficult to resurvey all the rest as proposed. Therefore the village survey monographs presented for this State will show two distinct patterns—one as covered under the old method and the other under the new expanded method giving very much more detailed statistical information.

Certain limitations to our efforts to achieve this ambitious task may have to be recognised. While the Investigators who were put on the job of canvassing the schedules were not specialists in any particular field, they were carefully chosen for their academic qualifications, experience in Community Development Organisation or their ability and aptitude to move closely with the rural and tribal folk, to find out facts and

record truthfully the first hand information. It is open to the specialists in a particular field to scan the material presented here and formulate their own hypotheses for further refined investigation.

The present monograph deals with Kalliti, a village solely inhabited by Savaras, a Scheduled Tribe. Kalliti, a quaint village, has a colourful appearance being situated on the hills and surrounded by beautiful green forests. The dress of Savaras, their manners and customs indicate their backwardness. They depend on the forests for their requirements of fuel and timber as also for their *podu* lands.

This village was first surveyed in the first fortnight of December, 1960 by Sarvasri K. S. S. Raju and M. V. S. Rai, Economic Investigators. Later during December, 1962, this village was resurveyed by canvassing the enlarged schedules by Sarvasri Ch. Purnachandra Rao, K. S. S. Raju, V. D. Chary and P. Rambabu, Economic Investigators of my office. The shaping of the report was attended to by an efficient team in my office led by the Tabulation Officer, Sri P. Pattayya, and the Research Assistant, Shri V. Radhakrishna under the supervision and guidance of the Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations, Sri K. V. N. Gowd. The preparation of tables was supervised by the Statistical Assistant, Sri A. Chandrasekhara Reddy. The credit for line drawings, maps etc., goes to Sri M. Krishnaswamy, the Artist. The printing of this monograph was ably supervised by the Proof Reader, Sri A. V. Krishna Reddy.

A. CHANDRA SEKHAR
Superintendent of Census Operations,
Andhra Pradesh.

CONTENTS

			Pages
		Foreword	iii-v
		Preface	vii-viii
Chapter	I	THE VILLAGE Introduction—Location — Important centres of administration, commerce, industry, etc.—Flora and fauna—Residential pattern—Public places—Source of water—Educational facilities—Settlement history—Immigration and emigration—Etymology.	1—2
Chapter	II	THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENT Savaras-A brief historical account—Sub-divisions—Physical features—Hunting—Sense of hearing and smelling—Honesty—Population by sex—Population by age and marital status—Literacy—Heads of households—Family structure and trends of changes—House construction—House repairs—House decorations—Dress—Ornaments—Food habits—Drinking—Smoking—Household goods and equipment—Fuel and lighting—Washing and barber services.	3-12
Chapter	III	SOCIAL CUSTOMS Birth—Tonsure ceremony—Naming ceremony—First feeding ceremony—Puberty—Marriage and relation between the sexes—Prohibitions regulating marriages: *Endogamy*—Exogamy—Types of marriages etc.: *Marriageable age*; *Permissible partners for marriage*; *Pancoi* (*Marriage by negotiation*); *Marriage by elopement*; CASE STUDY; *Marriage by service*; *Consummation*; *Widow remarriage* (*marumanuvu*)—Divorce and separation—Pre-marital inter-course—Consanguineous marriages: *Factors influencing consanguineous marriages*—Spatial distribution in contracting marriages—Marriages in violation of marriage customs or traditions—Age at first marriage—Marriage payments—Death—Beliefs and practices.	13-21
Chapter	IV	ECONOMY General—Workers—Non-workers—Livelihood classes—Traditional occupation—Main occupation—Combination of occupations—Place of occupation—Occupational mobility and nature of aspirations—DESCRIPTION OF OCCUPATIONS: Kondapodu—Settled cultivation—Agricultural implements—Agricultural labour—Land—Agricultural produce—Marketing—Weights and Measures—Livestock—Economic position of the Savaras—Per capita income and family type—Indebtedness—Money lenders and debtors—Credit agency and interest rates—Sale of assets—Capital formation.	23-29
Chapter	V	CULTURAL LIFE AND VILLAGE ORGANISATION Language—Counting of numerals—Week names—Months—School—Leisure and recreation—Deities and spirits—Notion of supreme deity—Conception of the universe—Conception of sin—Conception of human soul—Transmigration of the human soul—Ceremonies, rites and festivals: *Sankranthi*; *Ugadi*; *Agam*; *Kandikotha or Kothapanduga*—Worship of deities: *Jakaradevatha*; *Rugaboi*—Musical instruments—Village organisation—Village Panchayat—Inter-household relationship—Inter-hamlet relationship.	31-38

		Pages
Chapter VI	SOCIAL REFORMS, AWARENESS AND ATTITUDE . .	39–40
	Inheritence of property—Family planning—Dowry payments and Hindu Marriages Act—Untouchability.	
Chapter VII	CONCLUSION	41
Appendix	TABLES	43–67
Glossary	. . . . .	69–71
Bibliography	. . . . .	73

MAPS

	Before Inner Title
Andhra Pradesh State Map showing the Location of Villages Surveyed	
Location Map of Kalliti Village	xv
Map of Kalliti Village	xvi
Layout Sketch of Households by Communities in Kalliti Village . .	xvii

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure No.		
1.	Picturesque grandeur—Hills surrounding the village . . .	xix
2.	Hill stream—Source of drinking water	xx
3.	An old Savara man	xxi
4.	*Soong*—The typical Savara house	xxii
5.	*Soong* house and its ground plan	xxiii
6.	Wall decorations	xxiv
7.	Man's dress	xxv
8.	Woman's dress	xxv
9.	Ornaments	xxvi
10.	Ornaments of the feet and toe	xxvii
11.	Domestic utensils	xxviii
12.	Household goods	xxviii
13.	*Kambam*—A carved wooden post fixed on the burial ground . .	xxix
14.	Crop ready for harvest in *kondapodu* lands . . .	xxx
15.	Crop is cut and about to be carried for threshing . . .	xxxi
16.	Happy indeed! Not for hoarding, only for boarding . . .	xxxii
17.	Yeh! The fruit of our toil	xxxiii
18.	Agricultural implements	xxxiv
19.	Agricultural implements	xxxv
20.	Agricultural and other implements	xxxvi
21.	Labourers on their way to work spot	xxxvii
22.	Savaras at *shandy*	xxxvii
23.	Repose	xxxviii
24.	Jaliademudu	xxxix
25.	Musical instruments	xl
26.	Musical instruments	xl

STATEMENTS

STATEMENT NO.		Pages
I	Population by Age Group and Sex	5
II	Names of Children by Name of Week	13
III	Size of Holdings	26
IV	Production Particulars of Agricultural Produce, 1962-63	26
V	Local Weights and Measures	27
VI	Household Deficit and Number of Households	27
VII	Indebtedness by Annual Household Income	28
VIII	Indebtedness by Number of Households and Amount	28
IX	Capital Formation—Items and Value	29
X	Some local Words and their Meanings	31
XI	Savara Numerals	31
XII	Names of Week Days in Savara, Telugu and English Languages	32
XIII	Names of Months in Savara and Telugu Languages and the corresponding English Months	32

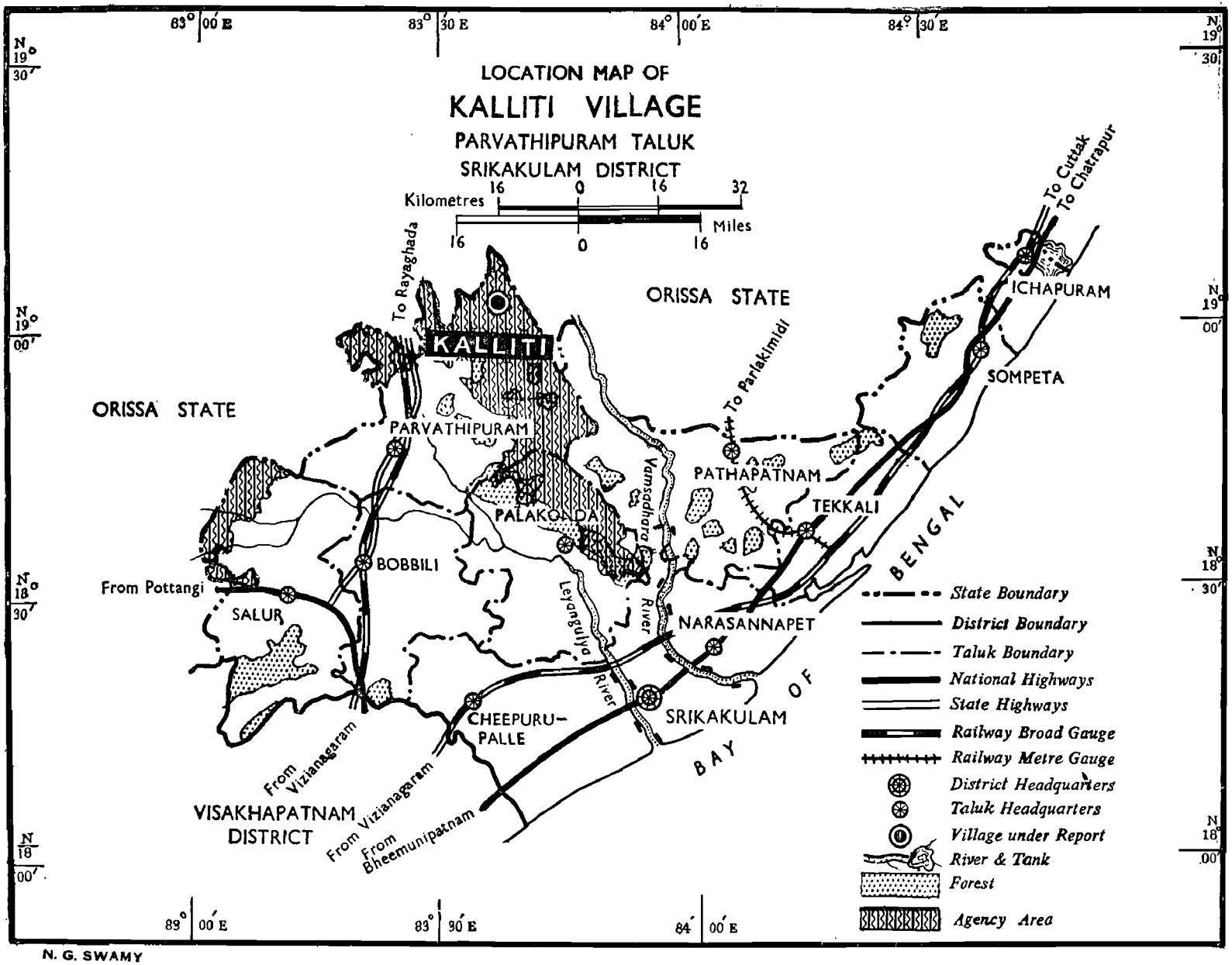
TABLES

TABLE NO.		
1.	Area, Houses and Population	43
2.	Size and Composition of Households	43
3.	Households and Population by Religion, Sect/Sub-sect and Tribe	43
4.	Population by Age Group and Sex	44
5.	Population by Age Group and Marital Status	44
6.	Population by Age Group, Sex and Education	44
7.	Household Heads by Age Group, Literacy and Sex	45
8.	Deaths by Age Group, Marital Status and Sex during last Five Years	45
9.	Livelihood Classes	46
10.	1961 Primary Census Abstract	47
11.	Workers and Non-workers by Age Group and Sex	47
12.	Distribution of Workers by Occupation, Age Group and Sex	48
13.	Workers by Age Group, Sex, Industry, Business and Cultivation belonging to the Household	48
14.	Non-workers by Age Group, Sex and Nature of Activity	48
15.	Households engaged in Cultivation, Industry or Business belonging to Household	49
16.	Traditional Occupation by Households	49
17.	Place of Occupation	49
18.	Occupational Mobility—Cause of Change and Contentment	49
19.	Occupational Mobility—Nature of Aspiration	50
20.	Households by Main Occupation	50
21.	Combination of Occupations	50
22.	Main Occupation, per capita Annual Household Income and Family Type	50

TABLE NO.		Pages
23.	Households owning or possessing Land or have given out Land to Others for Cultivation	51
24.	Agricultural Produce and Disposal during 1962–63	51
25.	Area under Cultivation by Households	52
26.	Possession of Livestock by Households	52
27.	Material Culture—Furniture acquired during last Five Years 1957–62 by Households	52
28.	Material Culture—Use of Furniture and other Consumer Goods by Households	53
29.	Material Culture—Some Consumption Habits by Annual Household Income and Households	53
30.	Occupational Income, Expenditure and Budgetary Position of Households, 1962–63	54
31.	Overall Annual Household Income and Expenditure Position by Households, 1962–63	54
32.	Indebtedness by Annual Household Income and Households	55
33.	Indebtedness by Cause, Amount and Households	55
34.	Money Lenders and Debtors	55
35.	Credit Agency and Rate of Interest by Number of Households and Amount	56
36.	Sale of Assets during last 30 Years, 1932–62	57
37.	Sale Value of Assets by Reasons and Households during 1932–1962	57
38.	Capital Formation by Households	57
39.	Prosperity Index during the last 10 years, 1952–62	58
40.	Nature of Families through Generations	58
41.	Mother Tongue and other Languages Spoken	58
42.	Association of Deity/Special Object of Worship	59
43.	Cultural Life	59
44.	Dietary Habits by Households	59
45.	Staple Food and Dietary Habits by Households	60
46.	Habit of taking Tea and Coffee by Household Income and Households	60
47.	Prohibited Foods and Drinks by Number of Households	60
48.	Smoking and other Habits	60
49.	Marriages by Consanguinity	61
50.	Types of Marriages	61
51.	Marriages by Spatial Distribution	61
52.	Persons by Age at First Marriage	62
53.	Marriage Payments	62
54.	Information and Attitude towards Family Planning	62
55.	Attitude towards Family Planning with reference to Age of Head of Household	63
56.	Attitude towards Family Planning with reference to Age of Child-bearing Woman	63
57.	Attitude towards Family Planning with reference to Duration of Marriage	63
58.	Attitude towards Family Planning with reference to Annual Income of Households	64
59.	Attitude about Inheritance of Property by Daughters equally with Sons	64
60.	Medical Care	64
61.	Deaths by Cause, Sex and Age during last 5 years, 1957–62	65

TABLE NO.		Pages
62.	General Knowledge by Household Heads	65
63.	Period of Existence of Households Immigrated during present Generation	65
64.	Settlement History of Households	66
65.	Place of Birth	66
66.	Immigrant Households	66
67.	Accommodation—Houses by Number of Rooms and Persons occupying	67
68.	Tribal Panchayat—Existence and Attitude by Number of Informants	67

MAP I



N. G. SWAMY

AX

MAP II

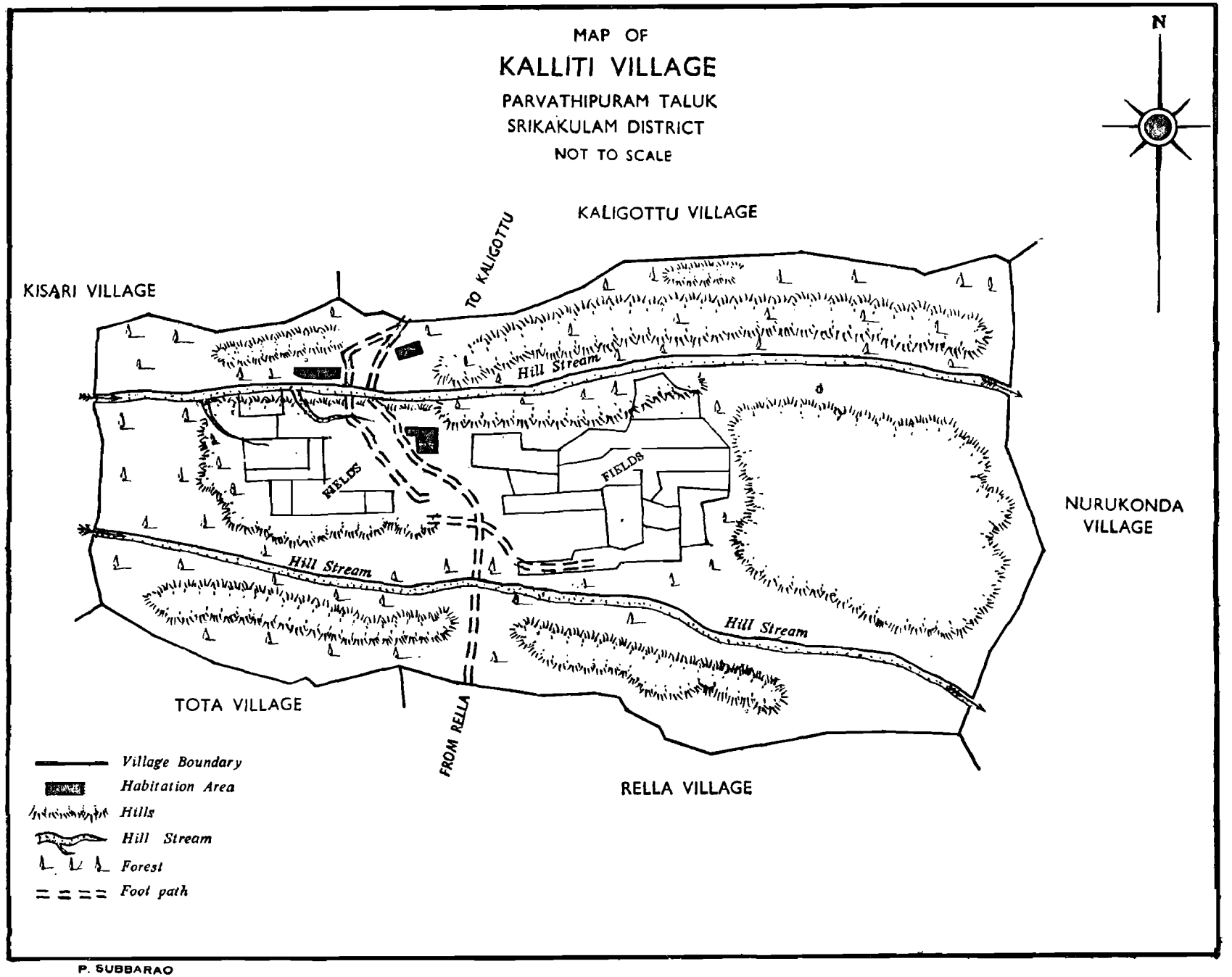
MAP OF

KALLITI VILLAGE

PARVATHIPURAM TALUK

SRIKAKULAM DISTRICT

NOT TO SCALE



P. SUBBARAO

MAP III

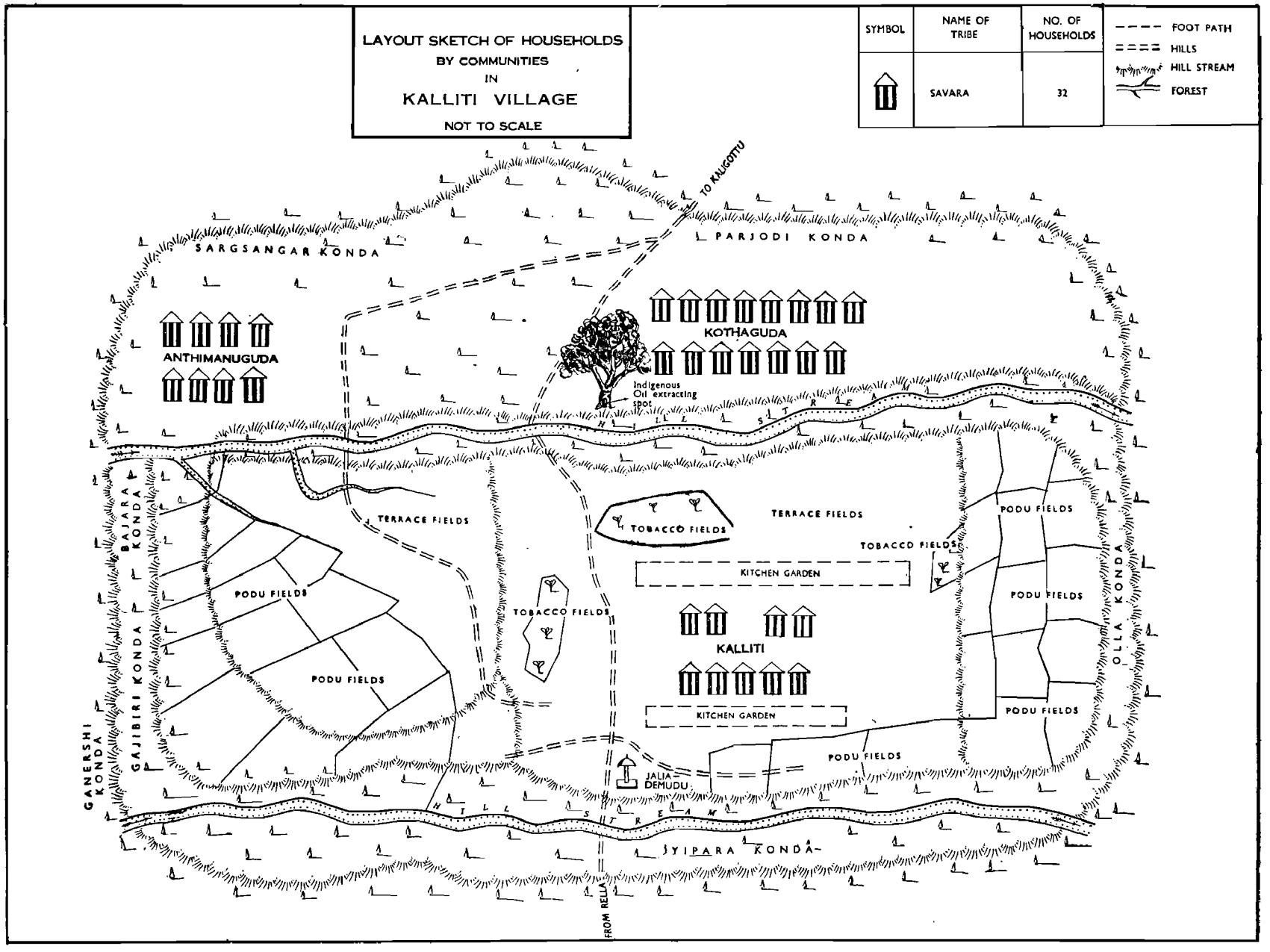

LAYOUT SKETCH OF HOUSEHOLDS
BY COMMUNITIES
IN
KALLITI VILLAGE
NOT TO SCALE
SYMBOL
NAME OF TRIBE
NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS
SAVARA
32
FOOT PATH
HILLS
HILL STREAM
FOREST
TO KALIGOTTU
SARGSANGAR KONDA
PARJODI KONDA
ANTHIMANUGUDA
KOTHAGUDA
Indigenous Oil extracting spot
HILL STREAM
TERRACE FIELDS
TOBACCO FIELDS
KITCHEN GARDEN
PODU FIELDS
KALLITI
JALIA DEMUDU
BAJARA KONDA
GAJIBIRI KONDA
GANERSHI KONDA
OLLA KONDA
JYIPARA KONDA
FROM RELLA
N G SWAMY



Fig. 1—Picturesque grandeur—Hills surrounding the village
(*Chapter 1—Para 1*)



Fig. 2—Hill stream—Source of drinking water
(*Chapter I—Para 10*)

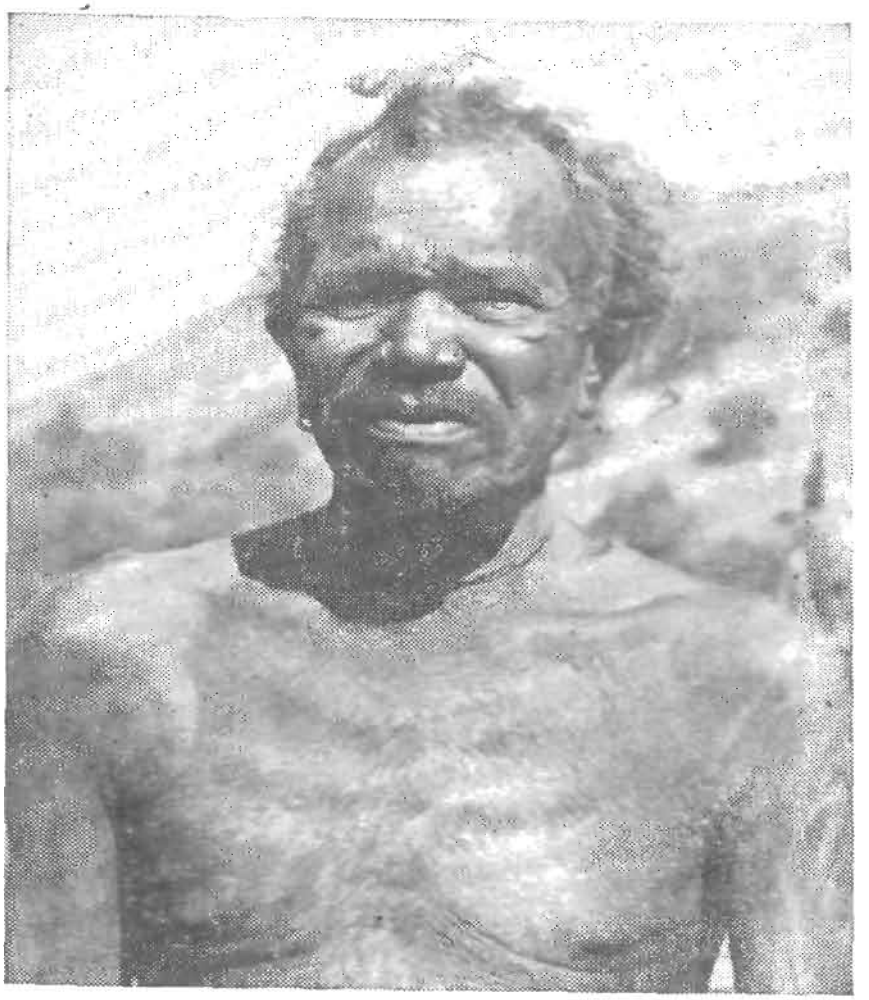
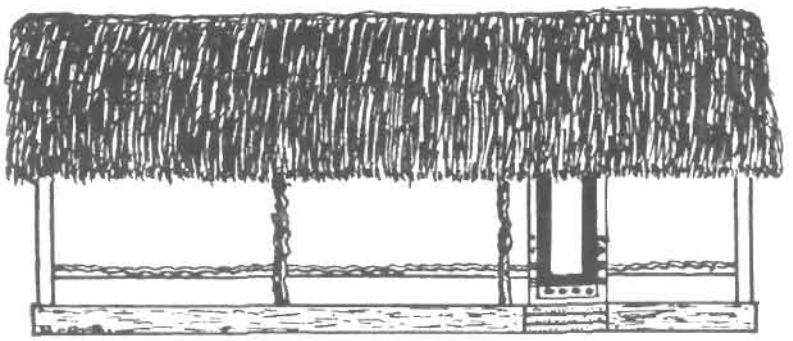


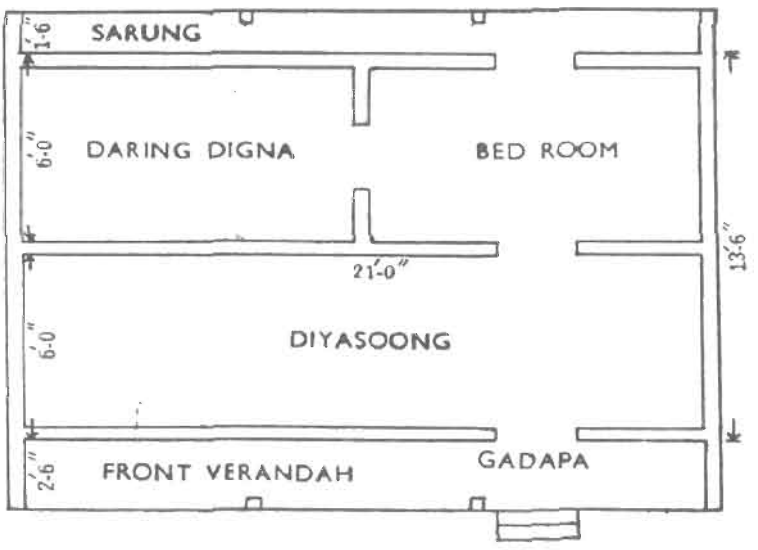
Fig. 3—An old Savara man
(*Chapter II—Para 14*)



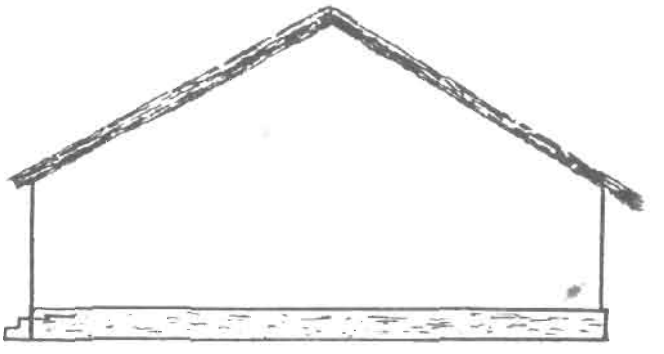
Fig. 4—*Soong*—The typical Savara house
(*Chapter II—Para 32*)



FRONT ELEVATION



GROUND PLAN



SIDE ELEVATION

Fig. 5—*Soong* house and its ground plan (*Chapter II—Para 32*)

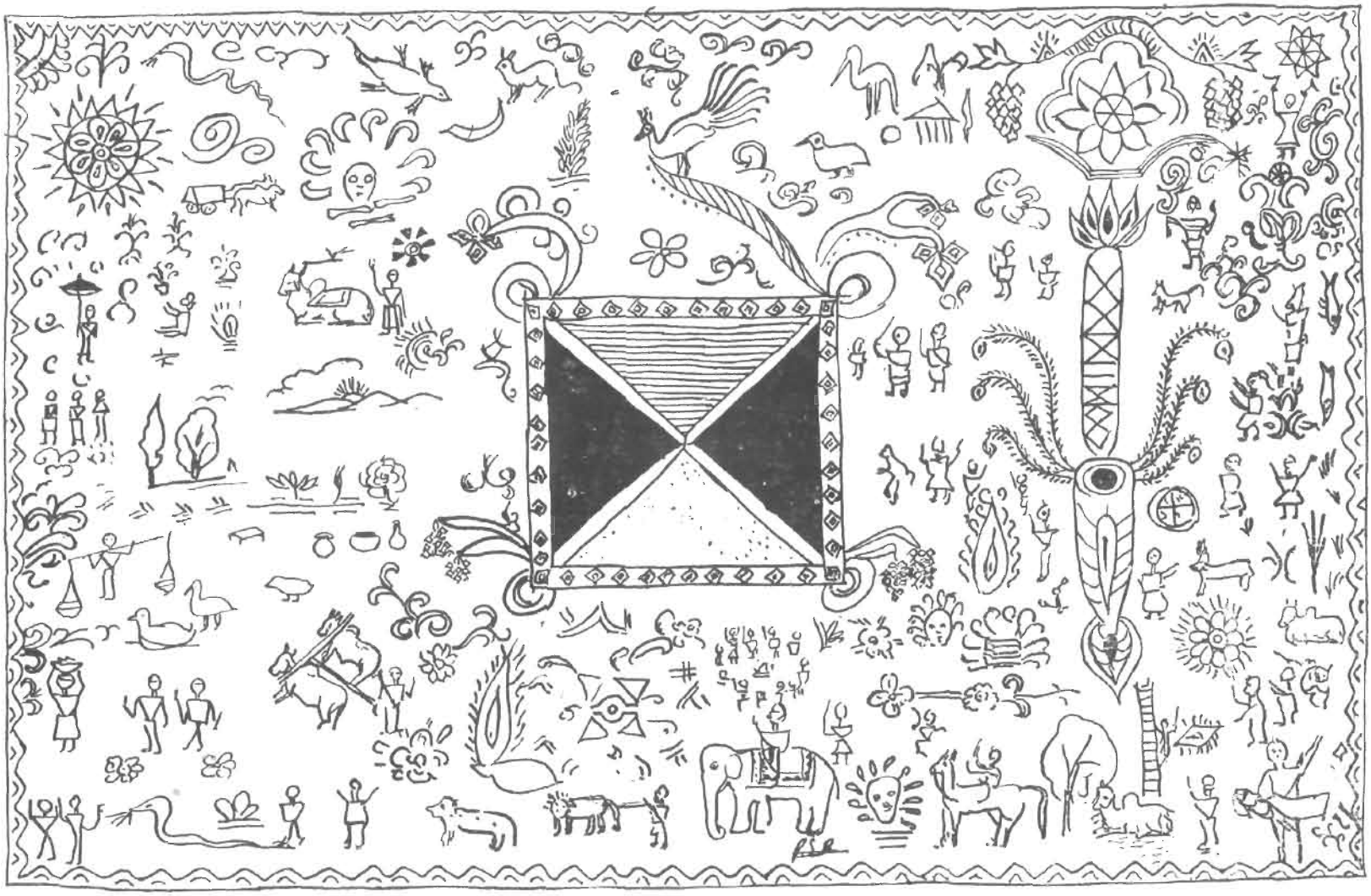


Fig. 6—Wall decorations (*Chapter II—Para 40*)



Fig. 7 – Man's dress
(*Chapter II—Para 42*)



Fig. 8 — Woman's dress
(*Chapter II—Para 43*)



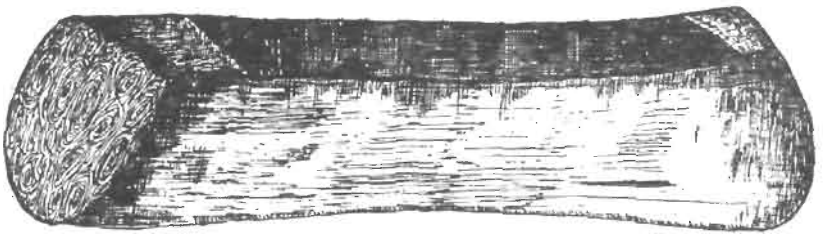
Fig. 9—Ornaments (*Chapter II—Para 47*)



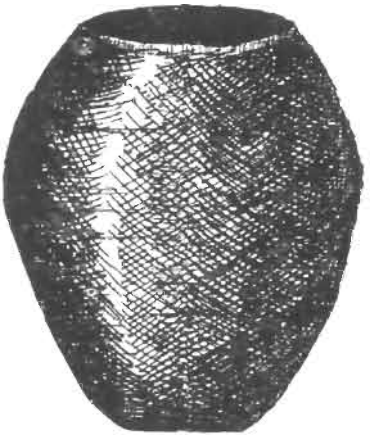
Fig. 10—Ornaments of the feet and toe (*Chapter II—Para 47*)



Fig. 11—Domestic utensils (*Chapter II—Para 64*)



MUNDRI



DONGA



GIDUGU

Fig. 12—Household goods
(*Chapter II—Para 64*)

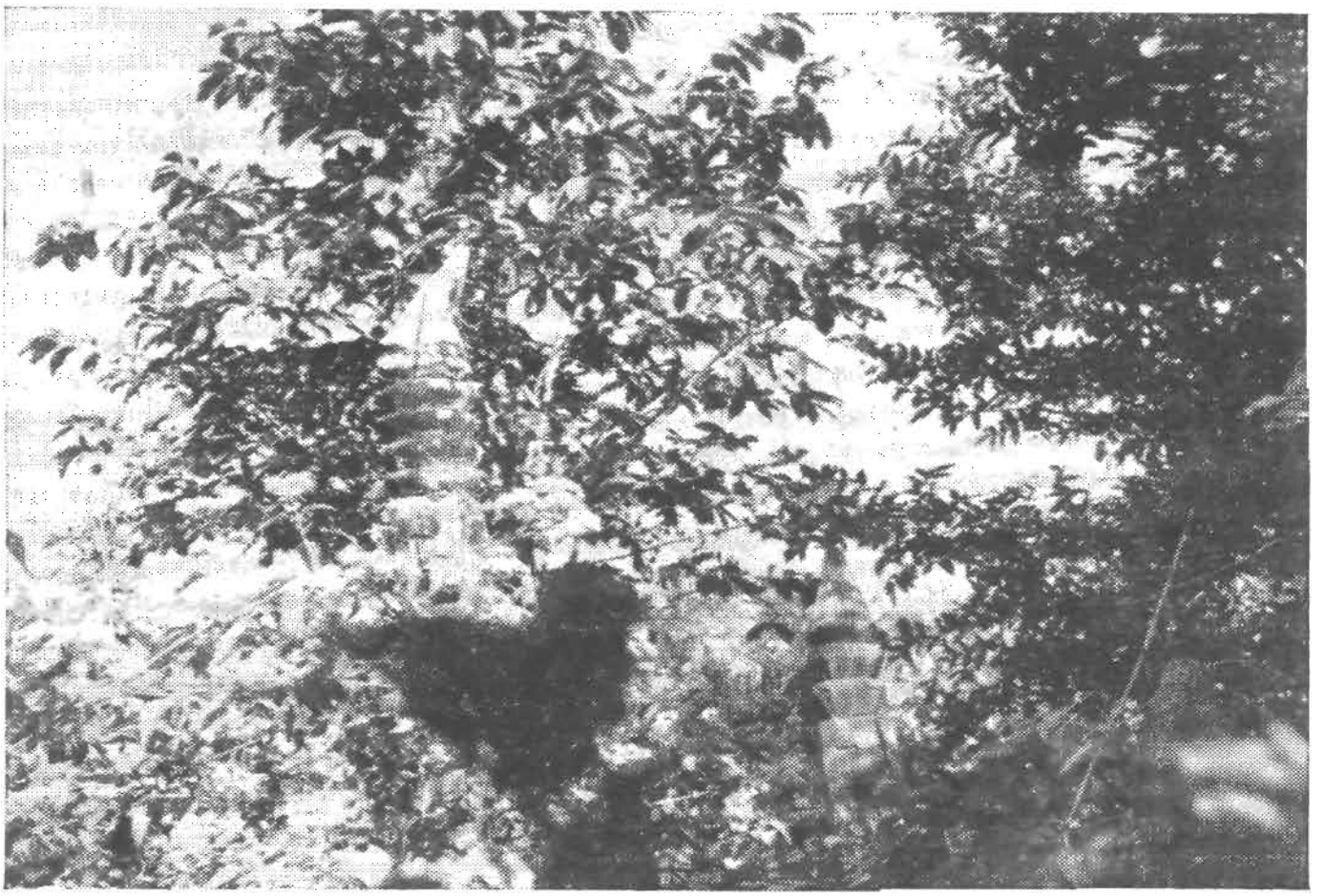


Fig. 13– *Kambam*—A carved wooden post fixed on the burial ground (*Chapter III—Para 44*)



Fig. 14—Crop ready for harvest in *kondapodu* lands (*Chapter IV—Para 10*)



Fig. 15—Crop is cut and about to be carried for threshing (*Chapter IV—Para 12*)

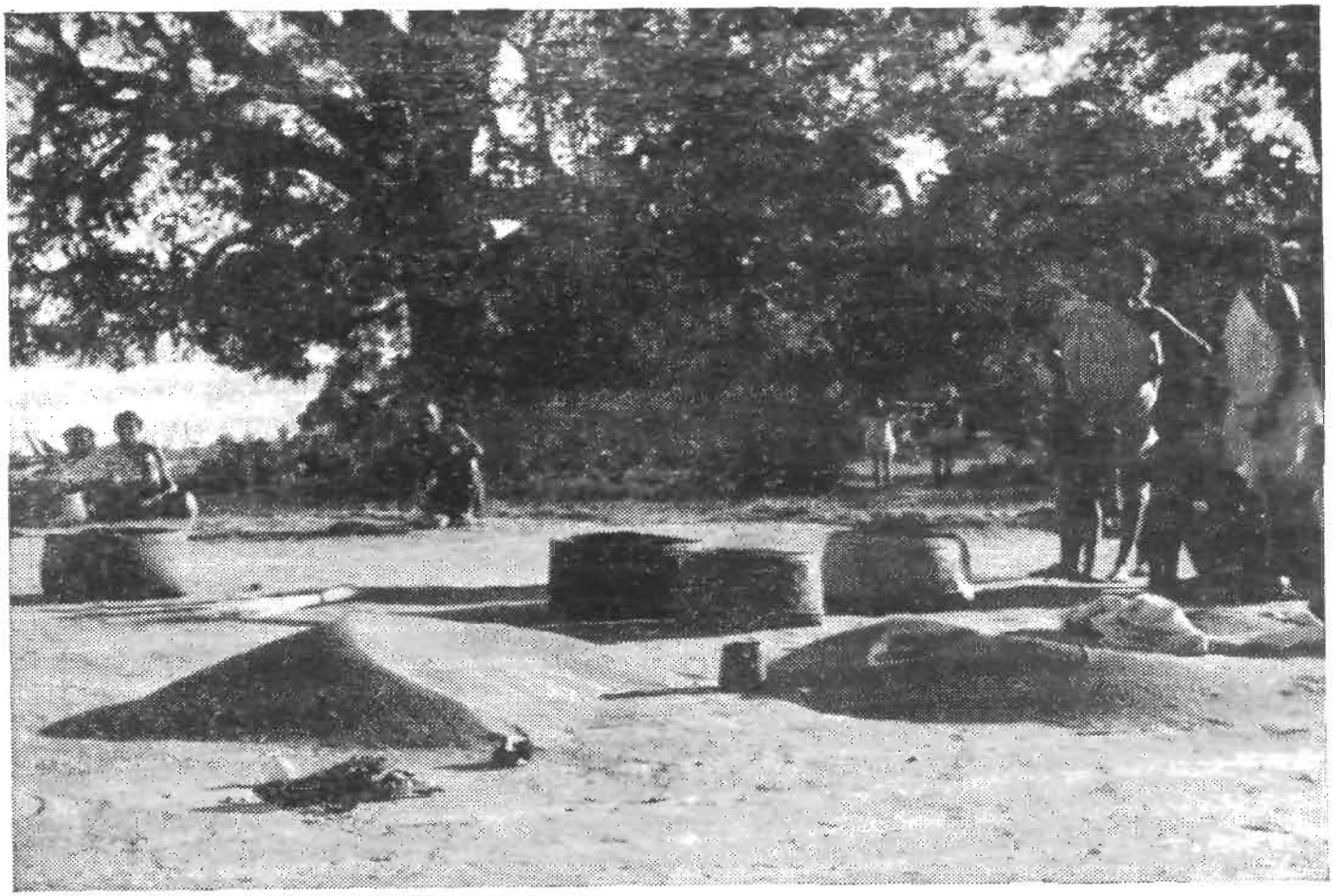


Fig. 16—Happy indeed ! Not for hoarding, only for boarding (*Chapter IV—Para 16)*



Fig. 17—Yeh ! The fruit of our toil (*Chapter IV—Para 16*)

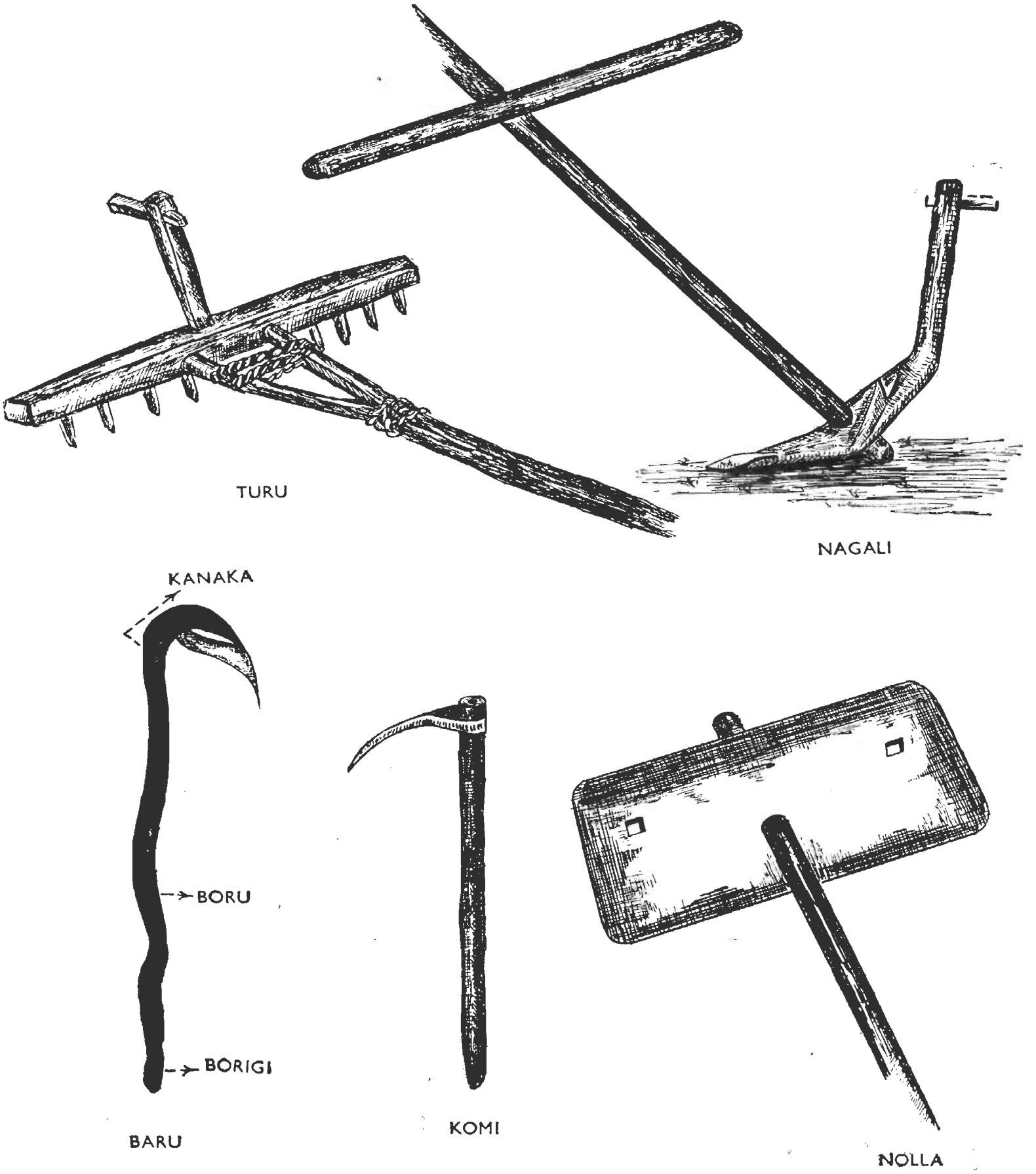
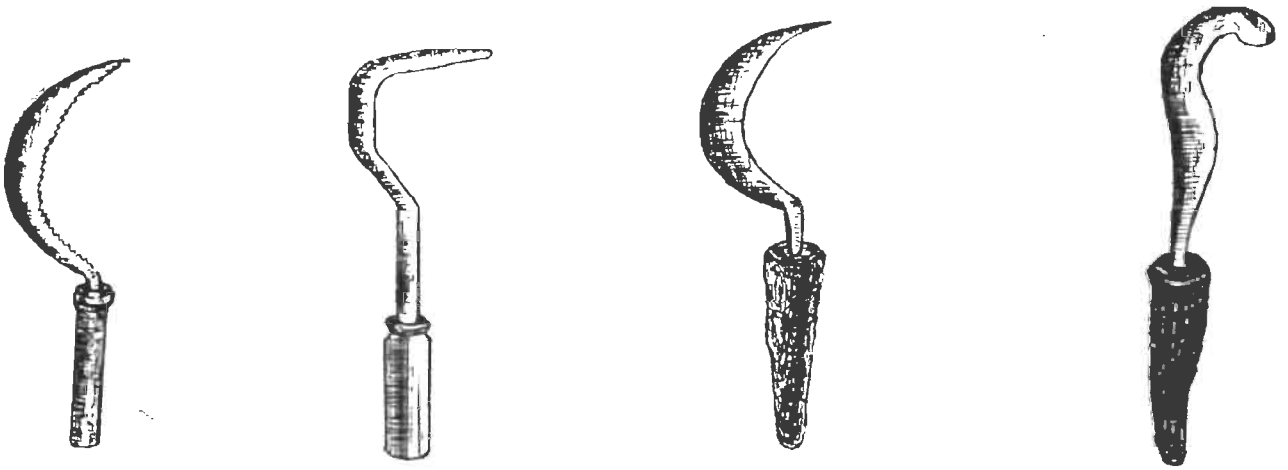
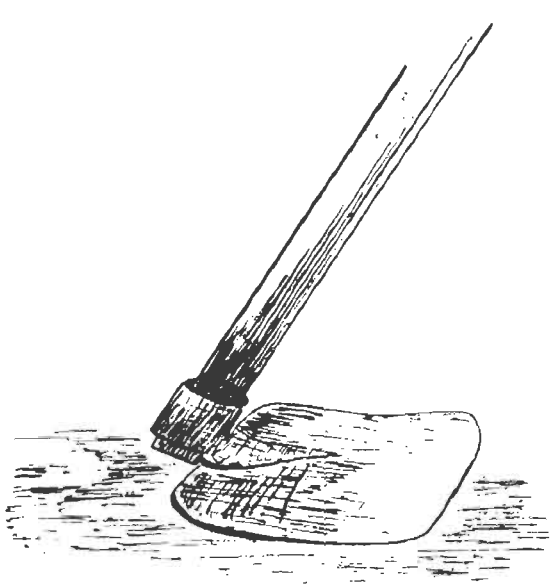


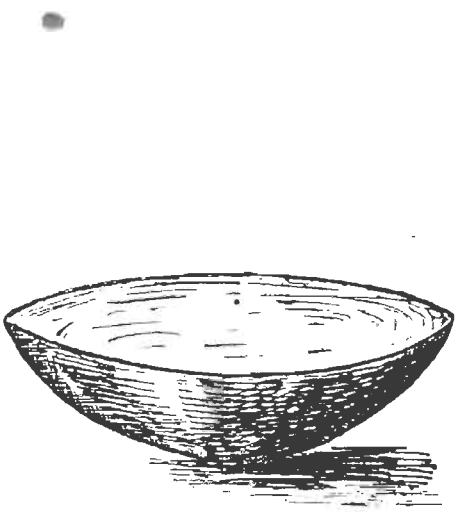
Fig. 18—Agricultural implements *(Chapter IV—Para 18)*



GIJJI OF DIFFERENT KINDS



PARA



THATTI



GURU

Fig. 19—Agricultural implements (*Chapter IV—Para 18*)



GODDALI



VONRI OR
ROKALI



GODDALI



KADIP



BAKU

Fig. 20—Agricultural and other implements *(Chapter IV—Para 18)*

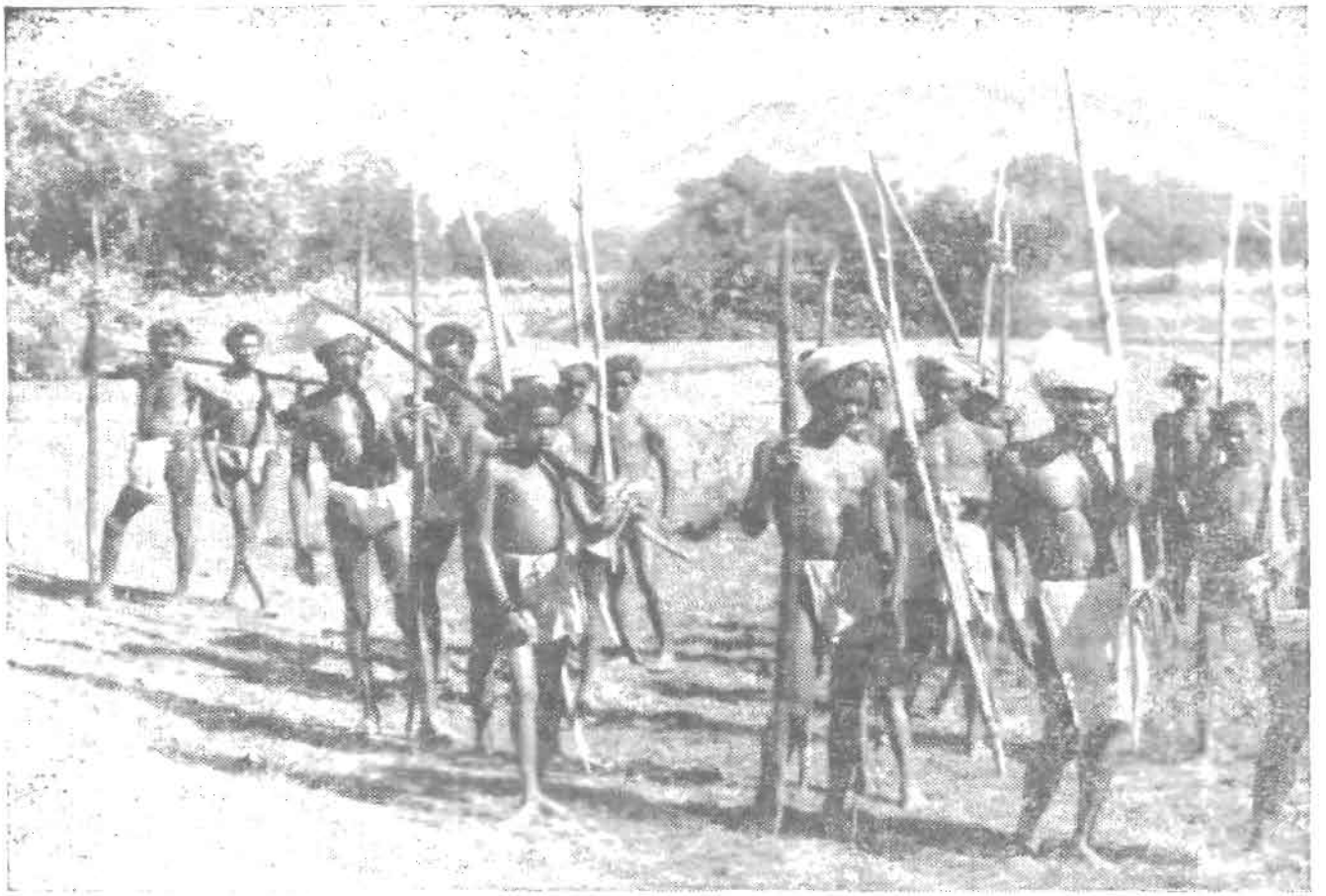


Fig. 21—Labourers on their way to work spot (*Chapter IV—Para 19*)



Fig. 22-Savaras at *shandy* (*Chapter IV—Para 21*)



Fig. 23—Repose (*Chapter IV—Para 26*)

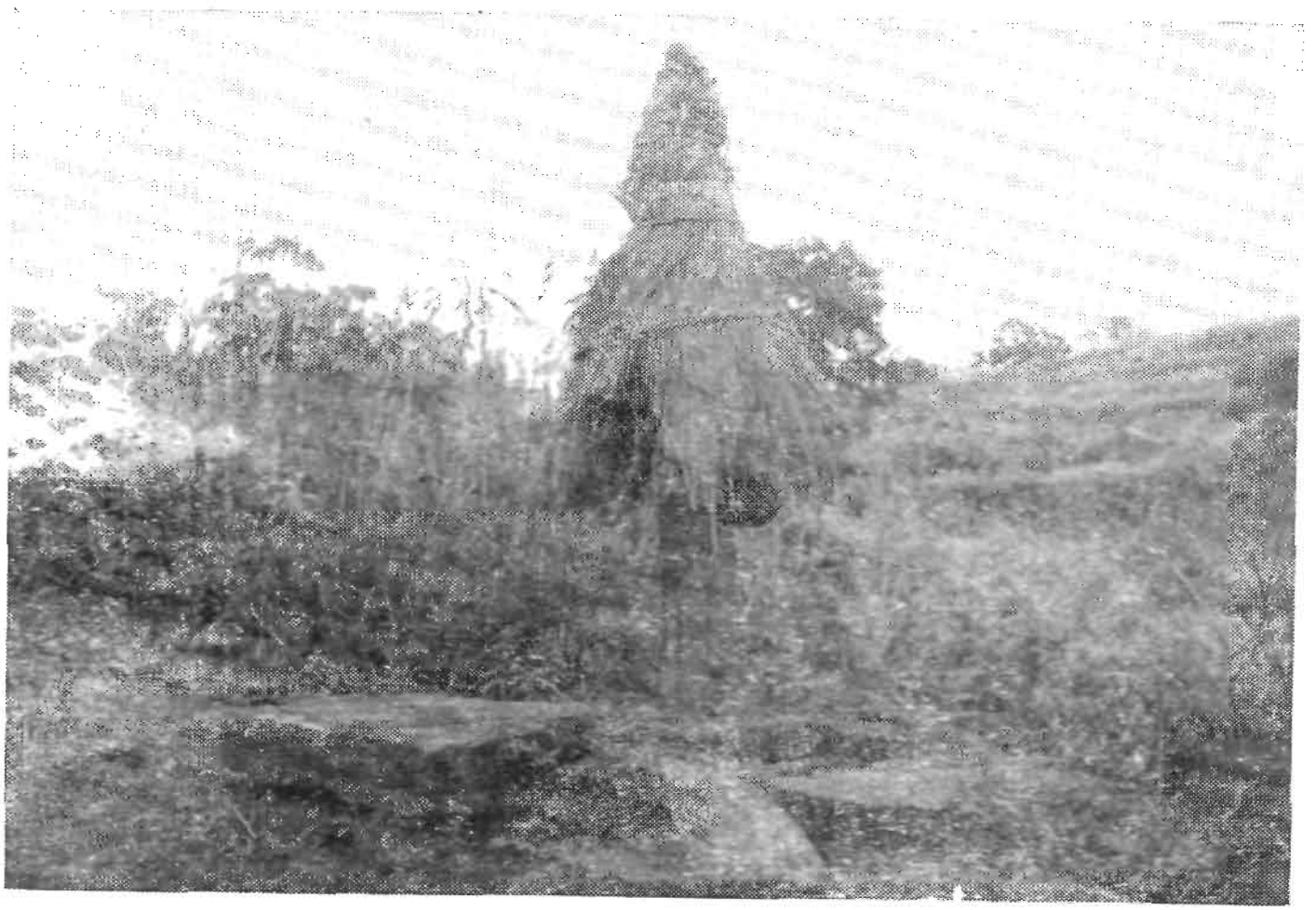


Fig. 24—Jaliademudu (*Chapter V—Para 30*)

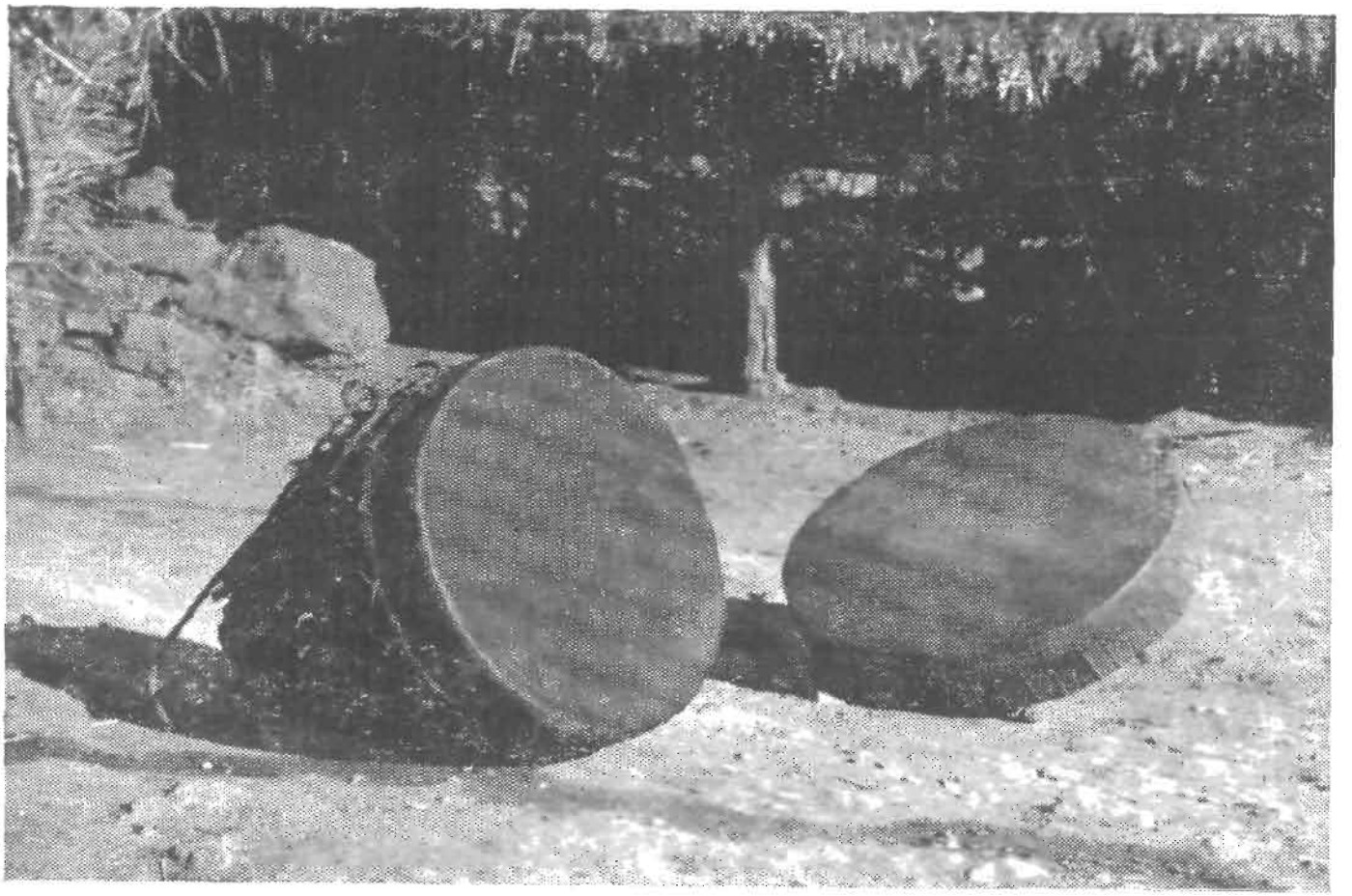


Fig. 25—Musical instruments *(Chapter V—Para 36)*



TUDUMU



DONKRI



THĀLA



PANE

Fig. 26—Musical instruments
(Chapter V—Para 36)

Chapter I

THE VILLAGE

Introduction

Kalliti, a tribal village in Parvathipuram Taluk of Srikakulam District in Andhra Pradesh, is situated in the Eastern Ghats on a hill top, about 2,500 feet above M.S.L.surrounded on all sides by picturesque hillocks (Figure 1). This village is selected for the socio-economic survey of Savaras, the only Scheduled Tribe inhabiting it.

Location

2. Kalliti lies on the 19°-05'-37" north latitude and 83°-37'-38" east longitude. It is at a distance of 3 miles towards west of the 9th milestone on Elwinpeta-Ramannaguda metalled road which connects Andhra Pradesh with Orissa State. This distance of 3 miles can be covered only by walk along narrow foot-paths across the thick forests over hills and dales.

Important centres of administration, commerce, industry, etc.

3. For administrative purposes, this village comes under the Agency jurisdiction of Parvathipuram Taluk. For Panchayat administration, it comes under Nurukonda Panchayat about 2 miles away, to which one member is taken from this village. For medical services, veterinary assistance and for the assistance from the Agricultural Department, the village is dependent on Gummalakshmipuram village, also known as Bhadragiri, the headquarters of the Panchayat Samithi which is at a distance of 14 miles towards the south. A Maternity Centre and a Leather Training Centre which are run by the Panchayat Samithi are located in Rella village at a distance of about 3 miles from Kalliti. The Gram Sevak's (Village Level Worker's) headquarters is at Kedarapuram at a distance of 5 miles, on the eastern side of the village. The nearest Post Office is at Kedarapuram and the nearest Telegraph Office is at Gummalakshmipuram. The nearest Railway Station, Gunupur, is at a distance of 18 miles towards the northern side of the village. For law and order purposes, this village is included under the jurisdiction of Elwinpeta Police Station at a distance of about 12 miles towards south. The taluk and district headquarters, *viz*, Parvathipuram and Srikakulam are at a distance of 36 and 96 miles, respectively, from the village.

4. For sale of agricultural produce, minor forest produce and purchase of domestic requirements, people of this village depend on Gummalakshmipuram where there is a Co-operative Marketing Society run by the Andhra Scheduled Tribes Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation. Besides, they also attend the weekly *shandies* at Kedarapuram and Gummalakshmipuram which are held on Monday and Wednesday respectively.

Flora and fauna

5. The forest around the village consists of various kinds of trees including teak (tectona grandis), *neredu* (eugenia jambolane), silk cotton (bombax malabaricun), *moduga* (butea frondosa),etc., *Sedge* grass (cyperons rotundus) popularly known as *poori gaddi* or *dabba gaddi* (a coloquial form of *darbha gaddi*) used for roofing, is abundantly found in the nearby forests around the village. Among the flora of the village, there are no trees worth mentioning because the Savaras fell the trees which do not give them immediate cash benefit. They are wise enough to retain trees which give edible fruits like mango and tamarind, toddy giving *jeeluga* (aeschenomena indica), *ippa* (bassia latifolia) and the oil giving *kanuga* (pongamia glabra).

6. Wild boar, wild sheep and ram, elk, etc., are commonly found in the interior of the forest. Leopards are very rarely seen by the people. The cattle wealth of the village mainly consists of *kondajathi* (hill variety) cows and bullocks which are tiny and weak.

Residential pattern

7. The houses are spread over three habitational areas, *viz*, Kalliti proper, Anthimanugooda and Kothagooda and all these three areas are inhabited by the Savara tribe only. There are 9 households in Kalliti proper, 8 households in Anthimanugooda and 15 households in Kothagooda. The last two habitats are at a distance of about one furlong from Kalliti on the north-western and northern sides, respectively, and about 130 yards apart from each other.

8. All the houses in the main village and its two hamlets are *poorillu* (thatched houses), locally known as *soong*. In each of the habitats, the houses are in two contiguous rows–one opposite the other.

Public places

9. People of this village worship Jaliademudu (also known as Sandhidemudu) and Babdevatha or Jakaradevatha also known as Durga. Babdevatha is just by the side of the habitat of Kalliti symbolised by a stone under a big tamarind tree and the Jaliademudu is symbolised in the form of a four feet high wooden pole fixed in the ground, just by the side of the way leading to Rella village and at a distance of about 200 yards from Kalliti proper, towards south. There is a common cremation ground for the people of the three habitats situated at a distance of about 140 yards from Kalliti proper, on the eastern side.

Source of water

10. The hill stream flowing in between Anthimanugooda and Kothagooda on one side and Kalliti on the other side is the only source of water for drinking and ancillary purposes (Figure 2).

Educational facilities

11. Neither there is an elementary school in the village nor any of the children attend schools in the neighbouring villages.

Settlement history

12. At the 1951 Census, there were 48 households in Kalliti village with a population of 158. At the time of first survey which was conducted during the period from 5-12-1960 to 11-12-1960, there were 41 households with a population of 157. At the 1961 Census also, there were 41 households living in 49 houses with 181 persons – 91 males and 90 females (Table 1). It was reported that during June 1959 an epidemic occurred and took a heavy toll of about 50 lives. This fact counteracted the growth of population from 1951 to December 1960, keeping the population figures more or less the same, *viz*, 158 and 157, respectively, at the two periods. At the time of resurvey which was conducted during the period from 19–12–1962 to 26-12-1962, there were 32 households with 137 persons – 67 males and 70 females (Table 3). This gradual decrease is due to emigration of some households to neighbouring villages.

13. It may be seen from Table 64 that 2 households are living in the village for more than five generations; 9 households are 3 to 4 generations old 18 households are 2 to 3 generations old and only 3 households have come into existence during the present generation.

Immigration and emigration

14. Six out of the 32 households reported the places before their immigration to this village whereas the remaining 26 informants could not specify. Of the 6 households immigrated, 2 are from places outside the State, one is from a place outside the taluk but within the district and 3 are from places within the taluk. Before immigration, all the 6 households had *kondapodu* as their main occupation. The reasons for immigration are: to eke out a better living in case of two households; due to marital alliance in one case and in three cases to live along with their relatives (Table 66).

15. The Village Naiko, Sri Seemala Nandru and some elderly persons of the village stated that during 1959, a disease with symptoms of vomiting and fever took a heavy toll of about 50 lives. This was supposed to have been due to eating *mamidi tenkas* (mango nuts) and other edible roots and tubers available in the forest which resulted in food poisoning. This food poisoning was believed by some informants to be the effect of eating some rotten snake flesh. They say that this epidemic was the first of its kind in the village. This is why a large number of households have deserted the main village and settled down in the two hamlets, Anthimanugooda and Kothagooda, and about ten households have emigrated to settle down elsewhere in the neighbouring villages.

Etymology

16. Some Paidis (Scheduled Caste) of Rella village which is at a distance of 3 miles from Kalliti, revealed that the grandfather of the present Naiko or Naidu, Sri Seemala Nandru was a deaf fellow and that the village derived its present name from his deafness. In Savara language *kalla* means 'deaf' and it may be quite probable that the name of Kalliti might have taken its derivation from the word *kalla*, meaning deaf.

Chapter II

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENT

Savaras—A brief historical account

Dr. G.V. Sithapathi * who did much research among the tribes, particularly of the Savaras, finds mention of them in the ancient Sanskrit literature in *Aitareya Brahmana, Ramayana, Mahabharata* and other epics. He is of the opinion that the ancient Sabaras are the modern Savaras. He finds mention of them in the ancient edicts also. According to him, the ancient Sabaras seemed to have lived on the plains, established kingdoms and dynasties and were in good status. Dr. Sithapathi, in the 'Korni' edict traced by him, finds a mention of the battle fought between Kamarnava — the founder of the Ganga dynasty in Kalinga (present Orissa State) Kingdom and the Sabara King (Sabaradithya) at about 730 A.D. at Dantapuram (a place at a distance of about 10 miles from Srikakulam Railway Station).

2. The learned author finds much similarity between the languages of the Mundas, Santhals, Birhor, Juang and Ho tribes in the Central Provinces (present Madhya Pradesh) and of the Gadaba, Pareng and Remo tribes in the north-west of Visakhapatnam and of the Savaras and is of the opinion that these languages might have originated from the same mother language. He supposes that all the above tribes might have originated from the ancient Sabaras and that they might have migrated from the southern part of the Ganges to Vindhya mountains; later to the Central Provinces (Madhya Pradesh) and thence to the north-western part of Ganjam, Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam Districts.

3. At present, the Savara country extends from Mandasa in the east to Gunupuram in the west, from Parlakimidi in the south to over 20 miles in the north. Besides this, it is spread over the hills to the west of Chilakasamudram and in Parvathipuram, Palakonda and Tekkali Taluks of Srikakulam District and in Parlakimidi Taluk in Ganjam District of Orissa State.

4. The Savaras in the northern part have been influenced by the Oriya language whereas those in the southern part have been influenced by the Telugu language.

> 5. "The name is derived by General Cunningham from the Scythian sagar, an axe, in reference to the axe which they carry in their hands. In Sanskrit, sabara or savara means a mountaineer, barbarian, or savage. The tribe has been identified by various authorities with the Suari of Pliny and Sabarai of Ptolemy. 'Towards the Ganges', the latter writes, 'are the Sabara, in whose country the diamond is found in great abundance.' This diamond-producing country is located by Cunningham near Sambalpur in the Central Provinces (now Madya Pradesh). In one of his grants, Nandivarma Pallavamalla, a Pallava King, claims to have released the hostile King of the Sabaras, Udayana by name, and captured his mirror-banner made of peacock's feathers. The Rev. T. Foulkes identifies the Sabaras of this copper-plate grant with the Savaras of the eastern ghats. But Dr. E. Hultzsch, who has re-edited the grant, is of opinion that these Sabaras cannot be identified with the Savaras. The Aitareya Brahmana of the *Rig Veda* makes the Savaras the descendents of the sons of Visvamitra, who were cursed to become impure by their father for an act of disobedience, while the Ramayana describes them as having emanated from the body of Vasista's cow to fight against the sage Visvamitra."[1]

6. From the above account, it may be inferred that the Savara is a very ancient tribe that had reigned over certain parts of the country.

Sub-divisions

> 7. "The following twenty-five sub-divisions have been recorded:- (1) Arsid Savara: (2) Based Sora (or) Beseng Savara: (3) Bimma Savara; (4) Bobibbili Savara; (5) Dondiya Savara; (6) Gontora Savara; (7) Jadu Savara; (8) Jaro Savara; (9) Jati Savara; (10) Jurai Savara; (11) Kampu Savara; (12) Kindal Savara; (13) Kimsed or Kissor Savara; (14) Kudumba Savara; (15) Kumbi Savara; (16) Lambalanjiva Savara; (17) Luang Savara or Luara Savara; (18) Mala Savara; (19) Mara Savara; (20) Moni Savara; (21) Muli Savara; (22) Mutta Savara; (23) Sarda Savara; (24) Sudda Savara; and (25) Tekkali Savara".[2]

> 8. "The Jati Savaras, *i.e.*, Savaras *par excellence*, regard themselves as superior to other divis-

* Article in Telugu, entitled *Adimanivasulu*, by Dr. Gidugu Venkata Sithapathi, in the book, *Andhra Sarvasvamu*, edited by Sri Maganti Bapineedu (Madras: 1943), pp. 95–98.

1. E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VI (Madras: 1909), pp. 304–305.
2. Aiyappan, *Report on the Socio-economic Conditions of Aboriginal Tribes in the Province of Madras* (1948), p. 78.

ions, the superiority being conferred by their abstention from the flesh of the buffalo, but not that of the cow. Kindal Savaras are basket-makers (*Kindal* is a Savara word meaning basket). Kumbi Savaras are pot-makers. Luang or Luara Savaras and Gontora Savaras are workers in metal, the former in iron, and the latter in brass and bell-metal. Savaras of the low country are called Kapu Savaras or Pallapu. The Kapu section is sometimes called Kuduga or Bissoyi, derived from the Savara word 'Bissi' meaning salt. Among the Jati Savaras, there are three social divisions, *viz*, Gamangs, Buyyas and Parjas. The official village head is also called Gamang. The Buyyas are the priests; the Parjas are commoners and inferior in status."[1]

9. *The sub-divisions among the Savaras* according to Thurston are as follows:—

"A-Hill Savaras

(1) Savara, Jati Savara (Savaras *par excellence)*, or Maliah Savara. They regard themselves as superior to the other divisions. They will eat the flesh of the buffalo, but not of the cow.

(2) Arsi, Arisi or Lombo Lanjia. Arsi means monkey and Lombo Lanjia, indicating long-tailed, is the name by which members of this section are called, in reference to the long piece of cloth, which the males allow to hang down. The occupation is said to be weaving the coarse cloths worn by members of the tribe, as well as agriculture.

(3) Luara or Muli. Workers in iron, who make arrow heads, and other articles.

(4) Kindal. Basket-makers, who manufacture rough baskets for holding grain.

(5) Jadu. Said to be a name among the Savaras for the hill country beyond Kollakota and Puttasingi.

(6) Kumbi. Potters who make earthen pots. 'These pots' Mr. Fawcett writes, 'are made in a few villages in the Saora hills. Earthen vessels are used for cooking, or for hanging up in houses as fetishes of ancestral spirits or certain deities.

B. Savaras of the low country

(7) Kapu (denoting cultivator), or Pallapu.

(8) Suddho (good).

It has been noted that the pure Savara tribes have restricted themselves to the tracts of hill and jungle-covered valleys.....The Kapu Savaras are said to retain many of the Savara customs, whereas the Suddho Savaras have adopted the language and customs of the Oriya Castes."[2]

10. The elderly Savara informants of this village are unable to give any account of their origin. They are aware of only three divisions among them *viz*, Jati Savara, Kapu Savara and Mali Savara, though all the Savaras of this village are Jati Savaras only.

11. Jati Savaras are people that live in the interior tracts of forests, retaining all their customs. They claim that they are superior to the other two divisions with whom they do not interdine. They abstain from eating flesh of buffalo though meat of cow is relished by them.

12. Savaras of the plains area are called Kapu Savaras. They have adopted the customs of plains people. So, traces of amalgamation are apparent among these people and their customs and way of living are a blending of those of hill Savaras and of the plains people.

13. Mali Savaras are the people that live in Orissa State and their habitat is only 10 miles from Kalliti village which is very near the boundary limit of Andhra Pradesh with Orissa.

Physical features

14. The physical features of the Savaras can be distinguished from others. They are black in complexion with well built physique of medium height varying from 4½' to 5' 10", (Figure 3). A few of them are also light brown in colour. Women present a gorgeous appearance with their ornamental bead necklaces and can be easily identified at a glance even in ***shandy*** places. Most of the men have long hair with a knot. Males of the present generation are slowly taking to modern style of cropping the hair. The hair style of men is locally known as ***reredu*** and that of women is called ***kokoyu***. Men and women comb their hair in the morning hours, applying ***kagu or kanuga*** (pongamia glabra) oil. They part the hair in the middle, dress it with a comb and knot it at the back.

Hunting

15. Savaras are good hunters. They are proficient in hunting with bows and arrows, since they practise it from their boyhood days. The bows and strings are made of split bamboo. The bows are about three and half feet long and the arrows consi-

1. Aiyappan, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79
2. Edgar Thurston, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 307-308.

sting of reeds tipped with iron are 18 to 21 inches long. Blunt-headed arrows are used while hunting birds. *Kadip* and *baku* are the knives preserved in each of the households to be used in inter-hamlet or inter-village feuds. Figure 19 shows these implements.

16. To testify the skill of the Savaras, Dr. G.V. Sitapathi traces the following incident: Mr. Austin, while he was the District Collector, Visakhapatnam, held a sportive competition in which some constables and some Savaras participated. A mango high up on the branches of a mango tree was shown as the target which the constables had to shoot with their guns and the Savaras with their bows. All the constables are said to have failed in their attempts. But the very first shot hit by a Savara with his bow and arrow struck the mango. Such is the accuracy of these Savara marksmen.

Sense of hearing and smelling

17. The Savaras are reported to possess a rare sense of hearing and smelling. It is said that they can, from a distance of about a couple of miles, smell the presence of a tiger and from a distance can also say whether the tiger is crying because of hunger or love-making.

18. Savaras are very shrewd people. Dr. G. V. Sithapathi had observed that the then Raja of Parlakimidi and himself once went to a Savara hamlet in the Parlakimidi ex-estate and found therein a field, a Savara man yoking on an ox and a cow, as he lost one ox. When, as suggested by the Raja, he told the Savara in the latter's language that he was committing a sin by yoking a cow along with an ox, a thing one should never do, the Savara man who was then working in the field along with his wife and children in a corner of the field retorted immediately, "What did you say, look at that corner, there is my wife. I and my wife work together in the field and why not the ox and his wife also work."

Honesty

19. Savaras are noted for their honesty. Their sense of honesty may be illustrated by the incident described below by Sri Sitapathi.

20. "One Savara youngman went to the forest but could not get even a fish or a bird for his sauce. He returned home with his bow and arrows. His mother served him more porridge without any sauce. "What mother! how can I eat this? 'O, you big man, spent two hours but could not find a fish. You do not deserve more than this', said his mother. He was excited, there was the bow and arrow - he shot his mother dead. After her death, he began to cry. The neighbours came, 'I did this crime' he said. According to the tribal laws, he was fined, forced to give dinner to all the villagers and drink. This was done. Two months later, the police came to know of it, and arrested him. 'Who are you?' he said to the police, 'I committed this murder, I was punished for that, the whole thing was closed, who are you now to renew the case?'. It was not possible to convince that youngman that he was to be tried by the police according to the British laws. 'Who are these British?' he said. 'We live in our land. We are subject to the tribal laws and I was already punished' and then the case came for trial. I was asked to be helpful to Mr. Austin, the Agent. He was holding the sessions. The tribal would repeatedly say, 'why all this bother. I admit I committed this murder, punish me if you have to punish me.' One man on prosecution side entered into the box. The accused asked him, 'What fellow, were you there when I committed this murder? Were you in the room when I killed my mother. You went to Parlakimidi to the *shandy*, I know. You brought me also some things. Then the District Collector asked me to tell him, 'We shall give him an opportunity to cross-examine, let him not disturb.' When I translated this to the accused he burst out saying, 'What is this judge-When I speak the truth and confess, he does not believe me. But when the false witness enter into the box and prattle nonsense, he will listen to them (him?) What is this justice?"

Population by sex

21. Savara tribe is the only ethnic group inhabiting this village. As has already been mentioned, the population of the village comprises 67 males and 70 females totalling 137, residing in 32 households (Table 3). Population by age groups and sex are as follows (Table 4):

Statement I

POPULATION BY AGE GROUP AND SEX

Age group (years)	*Males*	*Females*	*Persons*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
0-14	27	29	56
15-24	10	15	25
25-59	29	25	54
60 & above	1	1	2
Total	**67**	**70**	**137**

Children in the age group of 0–14 years constitute 40.88% with 27 boys and 29 girls among the total of 137. Persons in the age groups of 15–24 and 25–59 years may be treated as persons in the working age group and they are 79 in number, of whom 39 are males and 40 females forming 57·66% of the total population. There are only 2 persons – one male and one female in the age group of 60 years and above, which indicates that the expectation of life among this tribe is short as only few people survive beyond 60 years of age.

Population by age and marital status

22. It may be seen from Table 5 that 27 males and 28 females in the age group of 0–14 years and 3 males and one female in the age group of 15-24 years, are never married. They form 44·77% and 41·43% of the total male and female populations of this village. It may therefore be inferred from this that child marriages are not common among the Savaras.

23. Among the married, there are 36 males and 37 females constituting 53·73% and 52·86% of their respective totals. Only one girl in the age group of 0–14 years is married. Among the married are 7 males and 14 females in the age group of 15–24; 28 males and 21 females in the age group of 25–59 and one male and one female over and above 60 years of age. In the age group of 25–59 years are one widower and 4 widows forming 3·65% of the total population.

Literacy

24. With no elementary school in the village and with a school at Kisai, another village at a distance of two miles to be traversed through thick forests, hills and dales, there are no literates in the village. The percentage of literacy among the people of this village is a 'Big' cipher (Table 6).

Heads of households

25. Among the 32 heads of households, 30 are males and 2 are females and all of them are illiterates. Of the 30 male heads of households, 3 are in the age group 15–24 years; 26 are in the age group 25–59 years and one is above 60 years of age. The two female heads of households are in the age group 25–59 years (Table 7). An elderly male member usually becomes the head of the household. After the death of the father, the eldest son becomes the head of the household. An occasion arises for a woman to become the head of household, if her husband dies leaving young sons behind and until her eldest son becomes a major.

Family structure and trends of changes

26. Of the total 32 households, as many as 23 are simple families, whereas joint, intermediate and other* types of families are 4, 4 and 1 respectively. Table 40 speaks of the types of families through generations. As the informants are not aware of the nature of family during the grandfather's generation, there occurred a large number of 19 unspecified families. During the father's (past) generation, there were 12 simple, 4 intermediate, 12 joint and 4 unspecified families. There has been a marked decline in the joint families from 12 in the father's generation to 4 in the present generation whereas there is a spurt in the simple families from 12 in the father's generation to 23 in the present generation. So, there is a gradual degeneration of the joint families to simple families since the past generation.

27. In a simple or intermediate family, the female members attend to household work like cleaning of utensils, dehusking of cereals *viz*, ***sajja*** (pearl millet), ***ragi*** or ***chodi*** (finger millet), ***korra*** (italian millet), etc., and cooking. They get up early in the morning at the first call of the cock and sweep the dwelling houses, sprinkle dung water and decorate the front yard with lime powder. Then they bring water from the nearby hill stream. Once in 3 or 4 days or once a week, women wash the clothes at the hill stream by boiling them in water heated in empty kerosene tins, rub the clothes well with ash and then wash them in the hill stream. Then they clean their teeth and wash their faces also. Returning from the hill stream, they attend to kitchen work. Grown up children look after their young ones while their mothers are busy with their kitchen work.

28. Male members also wake up at the call of the cock and attend to the calls of nature. Until they finish their breakfast ***tangada*** or ***pakali*** (*i.e.*,

*Simple family is one which consists of husband, wife and unmarried children.
Intermediate family is one which consists of married couple with unmarried brother, or sister or one of the parents.
Joint family is one which consists of married couple with married sons or daughters or with married brothers or sisters.
Other type of family is one which does not fall in any of the above categories.

until 9 a.m., they help the housewife by supplying fuel, looking after the children and pounding of cereals, etc. After *pakali*, they leave for work in the fields or for collection of minor forest produce, edible roots, tubers, etc. After completing the household work, women also attend the field work in order to assist their husbands, leaving the children and houses entirely to the care of the grown up children. In brief, the entire village will be left during day time to the care of the children of below 8 years during the peak agricultural seasons.

29. Both men and women attend to the weekly *shandies* at Gummalakshmipuram and Kedarapuram which take place on Wednesdays and Mondays respectively, in order to sell the minor forest produce collected by them and to purchase their daily requirements like salt, kerosene, tobacco etc.

30. In a joint family, the eldest male member, usually the father, manages the household as the head whereas the elderly female (wife of the head of household) manages the household work. With the death of the father or the mother in a joint family wherein only two married couple are there, the joint family becomes an intermediate family. After the death of the head of the household, his wife assumes charge of the overall management of the household until the eldest son becomes major. The joint family sometimes gets separated due to differences among brothers and their wives, regarding the division of labour among them. But one good feature is that even if the brothers get separated, they help each other in the agricultural operations and look after the interests of the family as a whole.

House construction

31. "The Savaras build their huts at the foot of the hills or on hill slopes where convenient level grounds are available close to hill streams. Most of the Savara villages lie concealed in jungles, and strangers often find it difficult to trace their way to these villages along zig-zag jungle paths. The Savaras have some primitive sense of village planning, for their houses are often aligned in parallel rows which reflect a sense of orderliness. The huts are rectangular with walls built of mud and stone and neatly plastered with clay and often decorated with white lines."[1]

As observed during the survey in Kalliti village, the above observations still hold good.

32. The houses constructed by the Savaras are known as ***soong*** in their language, meaning a thatched house (Figure 4). Figure 5 shows the ground plan.

33. A preliminary test is conducted before selecting the site for house construction. After cleaning the proposed house site with cow dung and decorating it with line drawings, the house builder keeps 9 rice corns to form a circle, one touching the other. Sometimes, instead of nine, 5 or 7 corns also are used for the test, depending on the family custom. The circle formed by the rice corn is locally known as *docora*. Over this, three or five leaves are covered to protect the circle from any disturbance. This is known as *kulpai*. A moment later, the house builder takes out the leaves covered over the grain. If he finds that the circle of rice grains is undisturbed, the site is considered auspicious. Otherwise, he goes in for another site. When the preliminary test is over and the site is considered good, a pole is fixed in the centre of the site at the *muhurtham* (auspicious time) fixed by the Disaradu (priest).

34. The months, *Karthika* (October-November) and *Magha*–the month of *Sivaratri* (January–February) are considered good for the commencement of house construction. While constructing a house, particular care is taken to adopt either 3 cubits, 6 cubits or 9 cubits as breadth on the east-west and the length of a house can be of any measurement extending from north to south. Generally, the Savara houses have a continuous roofing with partitions of mud-plastered wattled walls in between. They construct dormitory type of houses in two rows facing each other, extending from east to west. The main gate of each house faces either north or south. Another gate is kept in the rear side facing the threshold.

35. The roof material of the house consists of thin wooden rafters and bamboos leaving an interspace of 5 to 6 inches vertically and bamboo splits are spread over them horizontally and tied with the fibre of *adda*. *Darbha*, a kind of grass is used for thatching as roof, which slopes down to the front and the rear sides of the house from the central pole or poles. The height at the entrance to the threshold in the front of the house will be 4'–8" whereas it would be 2'–9" on the rear side and 12' to 15' in the centre, *i.e.*, at the central pole. A loft locally known as *mada* is hung at a height of 5 feet from the ground in the kitchen room. The loft is closely knit with bamboos and is used for storing provisions, seeds, agricultural implements, utensils, vessels and washed clothes even. It is considered as a secure place for storing these essentials of daily life.

1. A. Aiyappan, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

36. The house consists of two portions, separated with a mud plastered wattled wall. The two portions of the house are known as ***diya soong*** (***inillu***) and ***daring digna*** (kitchen). The oven is constructed in the ***daring digna***. It is also used to keep their cooked food stuffs and household utensils. The ***diya soong*** is used for all living purposes such as bed room, living room and other household purposes, etc. The area in front of the main gate, including the verandah is called ***gadapa*** (threshold) and the back yard area is known as ***sarung***. These houses contain no windows or ventilators. Most of the houses have wattled frames as doors whereas a few of them have wooden plank doors without hinges. Locks are not used by them even when they go out for field work or even to outside villages.

37. The wall material generally consists of bamboo splits fixed with nails on either side of the poles fixed into the ground. The intervening space of 4 to 5 inches is filled with stones and mud over which a thick mud plaster of red clay is applied. The thickness of the wall is about 1′ to 1½′. Wood of ***guggilam*** (resin) is preferred for beams and posts, as it cannot be easily spoiled by white ants. Thin rafters of ***guggilam*** (resin) ***vodisa***, ***kamba*** trees and bamboos are used for roofing purposes. ***Darani*** the threshold is made of resin wood and ***sarang***, the door-frame is of ***labothai*** wood. The door frames and doors are prepared locally by the members of the tribe. The head of the household, *i. e.*, the house builder is assisted by the members of the household as well as the people of the community to cut the required wood for house construction and also to carry the wood to the house site from the forest. The community people also participate in the construction of wattled walls, roofing and thatching. On completion of the construction of the house, the house builder offers a community vegetarian feast to all the participants in the construction work.

38. The houses of all the 32 households are of the ***soong*** type, *i. e.*, having two slopes and the roof covered with straw or grass. Twenty-two of the households have mud walls; 6 have bamboo wattled walls plastered with mud; 3 have stone walls and one has a wooden wall. All the houses are utilised purely for residential purposes. 123 persons of 31 households out of 32 households live in single-roomed houses, with a kitchen besides. The average size of these households is 4 persons per household. The house of the Village Naidu or Naiko has three rooms, and the household consists of 14 persons (Table 67).

House repairs

39. House repairs are generally taken up once in three or four years. The items of repair are the replacement of the roofing grass, a few rafters and bamboos. Even for this purpose also, the services of the people of the community are voluntarily offered and the house builder in return arranges a feast to the participants in the work.

House decorations

40. Crude drawings are found in a few Savara houses on the mud-plastered wattled wall separating the ***diya soong*** (***inillu***) and the ***daring digna*** (kitchen) or on the outer side of the wall in the ***gadapa***. Sri Seemala Dugganna and Sri Mothaka Potthi are experts at these line drawings. They learnt this art from their parents. They receive no monetary remuneration for their services but are given food only on the days they work. On enquiry, they narrated the following inferences from the pictures drawn on the wall of Sri Mothaka Potthi's house. Figure 6 shows the following decorations.

(1) A tiger chases a person and another man shoots it with a gun (***bada***).
(2) A potter carries pots in a ***kavadi*** (sling), followed by his wife carrying pots on her head.
(3) A ploughing scene with two bullocks
(4) A group of people sitting near a tree
(5) Man with a gun
(6) Hanumanthudu (Arsi)
(7) A hen
(8) A variety of fowl
(9) A man near a snake and monkeys beating a drum
(10) A peacock
(11) Picture of a man shooting animals like pea cock, monkeys, hen, etc.
(12) A man beating a snake
(13) Sun (Uyo), Moon (Angaitha) and the stars
(14) Flowering trees and crops
(15) Elephant (Kurtha), Horse (Ra)
(16) Man and woman guarding the crop
(17) Husband and wife living together (*saniboi*)

(18) Flower plants. An elephant is there besides the flower plants with a mahout riding upon it. There is a man in sitting posture and a tiger is rushing towards the plants.

41. In short, it is a comprehensive picture drawn depicting not only the wild life but the human and natural surroundings in which the Savaras live. The paintings are tri-coloured, *viz*, white, yellow and black. They use *korrapindi* (Italian millet flour) for white colour, turmeric for yellow colour and charcoal for black colour. The pictures are drawn with a brush prepared out of a small stick. The whole canvas is known as *idising*. For Sivaratri festival, they offer *puja* to this canvas by burning incense and sacrificing a fowl.

Dress

42. *Man's dress:* The dress of an adult male consists of a *gavancha* and a thick coarse white bed-spread locally known as *dukandi*. The length of a *gavancha* is about 7½′ (5 cubits) and the width is about 1½′ (one cubit). This is tied around the waist hanging in front and behind (Figure 7). The size of the bed-spread which is used to cover his shoulders and around the neck is generally 10½′ (7 cubits) × 3′ 9″ (2½ cubits) in size. One adult male requires 3 *gavanchas* and one *dukandi* for 2 years. Each *gavancha* costs about Rs. 1·50 P. to Rs. 2 whereas a *dukandi* costs about Rs. 5. So, the value of the dress of an adult male comes to Rs. 9·50 P. to Rs. 11 per annum.

43. *Woman's dress:* The dress of a Savara woman is simple and also cheap. It consists of a piece of thick and coarse cloth locally known as *tungsup* of the size of 4½′ x 3′. The *gavancha* is a coarse white piece of cloth of the size of 7½′ x 3′ which is used to cover the upper portion of the body (Figure 8). Each woman requires 3 *tungsup* per year, each costing about Rs. 2 to Rs. 2·50. Each *gavancha* costs about Rs. 1·50 to Rs. 2 and normally, a woman requires two per year. The value of dress requirements of a woman per year comes to about Rs. 18 to Rs. 20.

44. Both men and women among the Savaras wear only white clothes and that too of cheaper variety. Children of below 12 years, either boys or girls, wear only rags of cloth called *gochilu*. People purchase their dress requirements from the weekly *shandies* at Gummalakshmipuram and Kedarapuram and also from Rella village where there are a few weavers among the Scheduled Tribes. If they have money, they purchase new clothes for Sankranti (locally known as Sankramanam) and Ugadi (New Year's Day) festivals. If they do not have money at the time of these festivals, they wear only washed clothes.

45. Savaras are not accustomed to use footwear, as they have to attend to cultivation on the slope of the hills. As they have to climb up the hills for collecting fuel, *adda* leaf and edible roots and tubers, they feel that using footwear is not only inconvenient but also makes them susceptible to being slipped down.

46. The Savara women do not wear *sindhur*. They have taken to tattooing for decoration. Every woman has tattoo marks in between the two eye brows, vertically on the forehead and also dots on the chin. Tattooing is locally known as *pachchabottu*. It is said that woman apply these marks with the help of a needle and the juice of a leaf by mutual help.

Ornaments

47. The Savara women appear more gorgeous in their ornaments than other tribal women of the neighbouring agency area. They can easily be identified at a glance either in the *shandies* or any other places from among the others as they are conspicuous by the nature of ornaments they wear and also by their aloofness. They wear the following ornaments (Figures 9 and 10).

(i) *Kadupi:* It is a brass or gold ornament worn on either side of the nose. It costs about Rs. 5.

(ii) *Pagadala bubbuda or Poosala danda:* They purchase all kinds of glass beads of different colours, preferably of blue, white and green colours and prepare a *bubbuda*. They also purchase two red coloured bead necklaces (*bubbuda*) and a *pagadam* made of aluminium or silver at Gummalakshmipuram *shandy* held on Wednesday and prepare a necklace as shown in figure 9. They wear a number of these gorgeous *pagadala bubbudalu* on their necks.

(iii) *Gundujodu* is a brass ornament worn on the ear lobe and it costs about 6 P.

(iv) *Tondolu* is also a brass ornament worn on the upper part of the ear. It costs about 6 P.

(v) *Yansi* is a thin circular finger ring. Either three or five such rings are worn for both the hands.

Made of aluminium, each one costs about 6 P. (Figure 10).

(vi) *Anaba* is a silver ornament worn on the hair (*kokoyu*). These are purchased in *Somavaram santha* (Monday *shandy*) at Palakonda. A pair costs Rs. 4.

(vii) *Andodaka*: This is worn in pair on the ankles of both the legs. They are made of aluminium. These are generally purchased in *Somavaram santha* (Monday *shandy*) at Palakonda, a taluk headquarters in the same district. Another ornament made of brass or aluminium worn over each of the ankles is known as *kadiyam* (Figure 10).

(viii) *Yenjang*: These are four or five circular rings worn on the next finger to the toe of both the legs. These are purchased in the *shandy* at Gummalakshmipuram at a cost of 0·06 P. or 0·12 P.

(ix) *Mukkera* is a brass ornament worn to the nose.

48. Besides the above ornaments, women wear bangles. *Chanchuka*, a variety of bangle made of brass is worn between the glass bangles. It costs about 50 to 75 Paise each. *Gundujollu* are also worn by men. *Kadupi* may be worn on one side or on both the sides of the nose and *gundujollu* to the ears by women.

Food habits

49. The staple food grains of the Savaras are *bajra* (pearl millet) and *jowar* (sorghum millet). These cereals are pounded into powder and mixed in boiling water to prepare gruel. Bread is seldom prepared with these cereals. They also take cooked rice and finger millet gruel (*chodi ambali*).

50. Among the total number of 32 households 22 reported that they take rice. All the 32 households are habituated to taking coarser grain like *bajra* (pearl millet), *jowar* (great millet) and maize and one household takes roots also (Table 45).

51. Except 9 households which subsist on two meals a day, all the remaining 23 households are habituated to take food thrice a day; *tangda* or *pakali* (breakfast) at 9 to 10 a.m., *tambadod* (midday meal) at 12 noon to 1 p.m., and *orupdol* at 8 to 9 in the night (supper) [Table 44].

52. *Tangda* (breakfast) consists of *chaldi*-cooked rice of previous night. This food is taken between 9 and 10 a.m., along with chillies and salt.

53. *Tambadod* (midday meal) is taken in the form of gruel prepared out of the flour of either rice or *bajra* (pearl millet) or *sama* (Italian millet) or *korra* (little millet) or *chodi* (finger millet). Along with this, they take curries of any of the seasonal vegetables like red-pumpkin, brinjal and *beerakaya* (ridge gourd) and boiled pulses like black gram, red gram, etc. Leafy vegetables like *bodantam* (*kopakucha*), *pullerukura* (*arangkucha*) and *tumbikura* (*guridikucha*) are also cooked and eaten by them. They add chillies and salt before the vegetables are boiled. They are not habituated to fry the vegetables.

54. Generally, *orupdol* (night meal) consists of either cooked rice or gruel of great millet or finger millet. Along with the gruel or rice, they take boiled vegetables, adding salt, besides seasonal leafy vegetables available in the forest. Meat of goat, fowl, pig and cow is relished by the people. It is reported by some Savara people that they also eat snakes (except cobras) after cutting away 4 to 5 inches both at the head and the tail portions and after skinning it away. They eat dead cattle also. The flesh of the dead cattle is shared among the Savara households. The hide is separated and sold to the Paidis of the neighbouring villages. The sale proceeds are appropriated by the owner of the cattle. They cook the meat in tamarind water usually and sometimes in castor oil. Salt and chillies and sometimes condiments are also added to the cooked meat before consumption. Savaras eat hen and goose eggs as well.

55. They commonly use castor oil or *ippa* (bassia latifolia) oil for cooking purposes. They themselves extract oil for their domestic use. The castor seeds are cooked in water and then fried in the sun for two days. Then the dried seeds are powdered and the same is mixed in boiling water. After some time, cold water is added. Then castor oil floats on the surface of the water and it is collected by using a feather of a cock or a peacock. When all the oil is slowly taken out, the remaining stuff is thrown away.

56. *Ippa kayalu* (bassia latifolia nuts) are broken and dried in the sun for about a week. Then they are pounded. Water is boiled in a pot and another pot filled with the pounded nuts is kept over it. A small hole is made to the upper pot. The hole is covered by a bamboo lid. The pounded stuff is thus boiled for about two hours. They prepare small baskets locally known as *kolla* or *sundri*. These *kollas* are then filled with the cooked bassia

latifolia nuts. There are some trees in the village to which holes are made in the trunks so as to extract oil from *ippa kayalu* (bassia latifolia nuts). A long wooden plank is inserted into the hole in the trunk and this plank acts as a fulcrum. The boiled (cooked) nuts are kept in four or five *kollas* (baskets) which are piled up one over the other. These *kollas* are then kept in between the two wooden planks and heavy stones are kept at the other end of the fulcrum due to the weight of which, a little oil can be extracted from the stuff. In addition to the stones, man power is also applied at the other end of the fulcrum. Under the lower plank, a utensil is kept to collect the oil. The useless stuff is thrown away after the oil is extracted.

57. Same procedure is followed to extract *kanugu* (pongamia glabra) oil. This oil is used for the babies, before they are given bath while adults apply it to the body after bath. It is also used as hair oil. Castor oil is preferred for cooking purposes as it cools the body whereas *ippa* (bassia latifolia) oil creates heat in the body, if it is used constantly.

58. The cereals raised by the people through *kondapodu* (hill slope cultivation) and settled cultivation do not suffice them throughout the year. During summer season, for about three months from March to May, they do not find work. During this period, they collect mangoes, edible roots and tubers and nuts of bassia latifolia from the forest and subsist upon them. Fuel also is collected during this period and stored for future use when they are busy in agricultural operations. During summer, they live upon ripe mango fruits for about 20 days during April and upon mango nuts during May. The seed inside the nut known as *tenku* is taken out and is pounded. The pounded stuff is collected in a basket and is then kept in a nearby running stream for a day or two till the bitterness is washed off. Then it is dried in the sun and ground into finer particles. Gruel is prepared by mixing a little powder in boiling water. This powder may also be mixed with finger millet flour to prepare gruel. This gruel prepared out of mango nuts is locally known as *mamidi tenku*. Along with this gruel, either salt and chillies or any boiled pulses are taken.

59. During the period of survey, it was observed that none of them was habituated to taking tea.

Drinking

60. Savaras, without any distinction of sex, are habituated to indigenous liquors like *sagu sara* (liquor) which is commonly drunk. *Ippa sara* (liquor of bassia latifolia) is also taken, but rarely. *Sagu sara* is tapped from the *sagu* trees in the forests around the village. They cook *ippa* (bassia latifolia) fruits and prepare liquor out of them and consume it.

Smoking

61. Both men and women invariably smoke tobacco leaf. They prepare cigar of 6" to 8" length out of tobacco leaf. One cigar lasts for two days. A few households grow a little of country tobacco in their fields and in the small plots of land around their households for domestic consumption. Others purchase tobacco from weekly *shandies* held at Kedarapuram on Monday or Gummalakshmipuram on Wednesday. The children, irrespective of sex, begin to smoke from eighth year. Besides smoking in the normal way, they keep the fire-end of the cigar in the mouth to enjoy more heat produced out of the cigar. This habit of smoking tobacco led them to spit everywhere and anywhere indiscriminately. It is reported that they feel giddy if they do not smoke and they prefer to be without food for a day or two rather than without smoking.

62. Out of the 137 persons (67 men and 70 women) inhabiting this village, 84 persons—43 men and 41 women are in the habit of smoking tobacco regularly. Besides the 84 regular smokers, 25 persons—12 males and 13 females smoke on festival occasions. Except one man smoking cigarette and 4 men smoking beedies, the remaining 79 persons, *i.e.*, 38 men and 41 women are habituated to smoke cheroot only (Table 48). None of them was habituated to chewing tobacco or *pan*.

Household goods and equipment

63. Savaras use earthenware for cooking purposes. They purchase the household utensils at the weekly *shandies*. The price of a cooking pot varies from 25 P. (four annas) to one rupee depending on the size of the pot. Some of their domestic utensils are: *Tarang dading:* A pot used to cook rice and the gruel of pearl millet, Italian millet, little millet and finger millet. *Salung:* Water pot. *Malaka* is used to cook curry. *Dalli* made of thin bamboo ribs is used as lid or cover. Each costs 6 to 12 P. *Ginne:* This is a german silver plate in which food is served. It costs about Re. 1 to Rs. 1·50 P. *Labo* is a wooden handle used to stir the gruel while preparing it. It is locally prepared out of the *tada* wood. *Sathuva:* This is a ladle made of red-pumpkin

shell and is used to serve food. *Vonri* also known as *rokali* is a wooden pestle. *Sangoda* made of thin bamboo ribs is tied over the oven on which cereals are kept for drying. *Mundri* is a hollow carved out wooden piece used for watering the cattle. *Gidugu* is a palmyrah leaf hat worn by men and women as well for protection against being drenched in rain.

64. Huge bamboo baskets are plastered with dung on the outer sides and are used to store food grains. Dried red-pumpkins of big size locally known as *kanthob* are also used to store grain. It is not customary for them to store the cereal grain in *goona* (big pot) also known as *donga*. One or two aluminium vessels, bell metal or brass plates, earthen pots, *sangoda* baskets and cots are there in all the 32 households. Kerosene *buddis* are used by 21 households and mirrors are there in 5 households (Table 28). During the past 5 years, *i.e.*, from 1957 to 1962, no considerable improvement has been found in acquiring material for household equipment except purchase of mirrors by three households (Table 27). Figures 11 and 12 show some of the above utensils and household goods.

65. None of the households is in the habit of using mosquito curtain nor use either toilet or washing soaps.

Fuel and lighting

66. *Uda* (mango), *kagu* or *karanja* (pongamia glabra), *teentun* or *chinta* (tamarind), *guggilam* (resin) and *tada* (grewia tiliaefolia) trees are used for fuel purposes. Fuel is collected from the nearby forests once in a day or two. One head-load of fuel locally known as *jejiya* is sufficient for about 2 days for an average household of four members.

67. Twenty-one out of the 32 households use kerosene *buddis* for lighting purposes. Kerosene consumption is comparatively less as the normal household expenditure over this item ranges from Rs. 3 to Rs. 6 per annum only (Table 28).

Washing and barber services

68. There are no washermen in the village. Women members of the households wash the clothes once in a week at the hill stream. At the hill stream itself, they arrange ovens with stones; keep the soiled clothes in a tin (usually an empty kerosene tin), pour water and ash in it, keep it on the oven and boil it by supplying fuel beneath the oven which is lit with fire. When the water in the tin boils down, the clothes in the tin are taken out and are washed in the flowing water (in the hill stream). There is no separate spot to wash the clothes. The spot from where they get water for drinking and ancillary purposes is used for washing clothes as well.

69. There are no barbers in the village. People get their hair crop and or the face shaven when they visit the *shandies* held at Kedarapuram on Monday or Gummalakshmipuram on Wednesday. The barbers charge 0·25 P. for cropping and shaving if done together and 0·12 P. for shaving alone.

Chapter III

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

The social customs and practices of the Savaras are given below in brief.

Birth

2. It is not customary to celebrate any special ceremony when a woman attains pregnancy. Delivery is usually conducted at her husband's house. There is no custom of the expectant mother being taken to her parents' house for pre-natal care and delivery. She works either in the household or in the field until she feels the labour pains. Savaras believe that the delivery becomes difficult if she abstains from doing work. When the woman reports labour pains, the services of an elderly woman, Smt. Seemala Bangari of the tribe, are requisitioned to attend on the delivery. Her services are not paid for either in kind or in cash. She acquired the art by observance and practice. The woman who conducts the delivery is known as Kudamboi.

3. Immediately after delivery, the native *dai* (Kudamboi) cuts the umbilical cord of the new born child with an arrow or a country knife and then the child is given bath with hot water mixed with turmeric powder. The child is applied with castor oil and turmeric powder and is given fomentation by the Kudamboi till the mother attends to her normal work. The mother is served with cooked rice until she is given bath.

4. The mother is given bath on the 9th day. Followed by the Kudamboi, the delivered woman goes to the nearby hill stream when she takes a hot water bath and washes her clothes. She applies turmeric paste to her body before taking bath. On this day, all the people of the tribe are invited to the house and the happy news of the fresh arrival is communicated to them. Kudamboi prepares a paste out of mango bark and offers it as *bottu* (mark on the forehead) to all the women in married status who visit the house. This ceremony is locally known as *regamthimkayele*. After this function she moves freely and attends to her normal work.

5. During the five years period from 1957 to 1962, 29 births took place of which 24 occurred in the village at the husband's house for the first as well as subsequent births. Four births have occurred outside the village of which 3 are at the woman's parents' house and one at the husband's house. One informant could not specify the place of birth of his child (Table 65).

Tonsure ceremony

6. Tonsure ceremony locally known as *kumkumbani* is performed on the 13th day of the child when the mother or any other woman cuts the hair on the head of the child with an indigenous knife. Then the child is given clean shaving three times at an interval of one month. It is customary to have a small patch of hair at the centre of the head. This patch of hair is called *uyu*. Usually, the mother attends to shaving of her children whether it is a boy or girl, until they attain 8 years of age. After eighth year, the hair is allowed to grow. They believe that children cannot grow properly unless they are given a clean shave of their head until they attain 8 years of age.

Naming ceremony

7. The formal naming ceremony is performed when the child attains one year. Until that time it is called after the name of the day of the week on which it was born. Below are given the names of males and females by which they are called with reference to the day of the week.

Statement II

NAMES OF CHILDREN BY NAME OF WEEK

Name of week (1)	*Name of week in Telugu* (2)	*Name by which a male is called* (3)	*Name by which a female is called* (4)
Sunday	*Adivaram*	*Addai / Adiga*	*Addi*
Monday	*Somavaram*	*Sombra / Sombar*	*Sombari / Sombai*
Tuesday	*Mangalavaram*	*Mangda*	*Mangdi*
Wednesday	*Budhavaram*	*Buddhudu*	*Buddi*
Thursday	*Lakshmivaram*	*Lakai*	*Lakki / Chandri*
Friday	*Sukravaram*	*Sukku / Sunkanna*	*Sukki / Sunkri*
Saturday	*Sanivaram*	*Sannai*	*Sonni*

After the completion of one year, on an auspicious day fixed by the Disaradu (priest), the child is first called with the new name either by the grandmother or by any of the elderly members of the house. From that time onwards, the child is called by the new name. No feast is arranged on this occasion.

8. Following are some of the typical names of men and women found among Savaras of this village.

Men: Banke, Govindu, Naru, Sunkanna, Lakai, Bamda, Pattigadu, Enathu, Addayi, Kachai, Raika, Kadiya, Masa, Budda and Kedan.

Women: Thori, Kenji, Neeraki, Thayithi, Gosadi, Thoridi, Avri, Osmai, Lambedi, Soragi, Jumthi, Sukku, Thudisi, Goyami and Pollanki.

First feeding ceremony

9. Until the child attains one year of age, it is fed on purely with the milk of its mother's breast. After one year, usually the child is weaned of the mother's milk and feeding with food which is ordinarily taken by them starts. From the fifth year onwards attempts are made to regulate the infant feeding habits and habits of micturition, defacation, and general cleanliness. No function to mark the occasion of first feeding is celebrated.

10. There is no question of intiation of the child to learning as none of the children is sent to school. There is no school in the village. Nor is it feasible for the children to go to the school in the neighbouring village two miles away through the thick forests due to fear of wild animals.

Puberty

11. When a girl attains puberty, she is kept out of the house for three days. She is not allowed to enter the house nor is she allowed to touch any of the household utensils during these three days which are considered to be the period of pollution. Food is served to her in a separate utensil outside the house. On the fourth day, accompanied by an elderly woman of the household, she goes to the nearby stream wherein she washes the clothes worn by her during the three days and takes hot water bath after applying turmeric paste to her body. No special ceremony like arranging community feast etc., on this occasion is celebrated. The period of pollution at the normal menstruation is also three days.

Marriage and relation between the sexes

12. Savaras regard marriage * as a sacred institution of religious sanctity and hence the celebration of marriage is an occasion of feasts and rejoicings. Both infant and adult marriages are in vogue but, the latter are common. Though it is considered to be the duty of the parents to arrange matches for their children (especially in the case of child marriages), many adults, however, choose their life partners themselves. Such selections are communicated to their parents, if they are confident that the parents would not negative the proposal. On the other hand, if they suspect that their parents may not approve the choice, they prefer to 'run away' and live as man and wife until it becomes inevitable on the part of the parents to get them married.

13. Marriages by capture were in vogue in the past. These marriages occurred when the parents of the boy could not afford to give liquor to the bride's people. The girl was taken either forcibly or stealthily. If she likes, she stays with him, or else, she returns to her parents. This act of forcibly taking away of the girl can be done only thrice. If the girl runs away three times, a further attempt is not made. Marriages by elopement, though considered as heroic achievements, are regarded as inferior to regular marriages that are ceremonially performed with the approval of the parents.

Prohibitions regulating marriages

Endogamy

14. The endogmous groups are based more or less on the sub-divisions among the Savaras. Each of these sub-divisions is generally held as an endogamous group. Practically, however, the scope for selection is further restricted by considerations based on political and geographical considerations. Marriages between the Savaras of the Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam Agencies and those of Ganjam Agency are not contracted. Even within the same district, it is interesting to note that the boundaries of political sub-divisions are taken into account. The Savaras of one political sub-division known in the former days as *mutta* used to avoid matrimonial alliances with those of another *mutta* on the ground that each *mutta* was under the management

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of its own Bissoyi (Muttadar—head of the *mutta*), different from each other though both the Bissoyis were subordinate to the Agent to the Governor in the district. This is illustrated in the following narrative. Ambajhari and Abasing, two Savara villages, though separated by a distance of about a mile, were in the Parlakimidi Agency during 1912 and were, therefore, under the rule of the Zamindar of Parlakimidi. As the Savaras of both the villages belong to Jati type, there were inter-marriages between the inhabitants of the two villages. But with the subsequent fixation of the Agency boundary between these two villages, the then practice of inter-marriages had been given up since then.

Exogamy

15. In the past, there was no trace of totem or sept or any other group of exogamous nature except the village, among the Savaras of the Ganjam and Vizag Districts. The men and women of the same village should not inter-marry because according to their conception they stand in the relation of brothers and sisters or belong to the same extended family. This rule which was observed strictly in the past is now more honoured in its breach than in observance.

16. The Savaras now realise that their village organisation has undergone modifications. They admit that in several places, the village has outgrown the original community which was practically co-extensive with the expanding family. They explain how, for the sake of livelihood, some of their kinsmen have left the village and live scattered in other villages. They admit that they now find it difficult to recognise their kinsmen in other villages and outsiders in their own village. In many expanding villages, as also in the village under survey, there is, however, the custom that the houses of the kinsmen should be together either in a row or cluster.

17. When the matrimonial alliances within the village are made, the elders of the village are consulted, because they remember the agnate and cognate relationships of at least three generations in the village. Of late, the Savaras, influenced by the Telugu people of the plains, have adopted the system of affixing to their names, the house or family name, so that the persons bearing the same surname or family name may constitute one exogamous group. Rules of prohibition relating to exogamy except those that relate to incestuous alliances are now practically violated and no serious note is taken of them, provided the penalty is paid. Open incestuous alliances are never tolerated by the society and are never attended by ceremony.

Types of marriages etc.

18. The types of marriages customarily accepted by the Savaras are: (1) *Pancoi* (Marriage by negotiation), (2) *Dunducoi* (Marriage by elopement), (3) *Kinnarsin* (Marriage by service) and *Marumanuvu* (widow remarriage). Marriage by capture which was in vogue in the past is not practised now.

Marriageable age

19. Girls are generally, married after the attainment of puberty and the age group wherein most of the marriages occur is 15 to 19 years, though a few marriages were also celebrated in the age group 20 to 24 years. Among males, marriageable age varies between 15 and 24 years but the favourable age seems to be between 18 and 24 years.

Permissible partners for marriage

20. The permissible partners for marriage are one's mother's own brother's daughter (*menarikam*) and father's own sister's daughter (*eduru menarikam*) among the kinship relations. Marrying own sister's daughter is not in vogue. Polyandry was never in practice. But polygyny is an accepted custom among this primitive tribe. Offering of bride price known as *voli* ranging from Rs. 30 to Rs. 60 is common. This amount is settled in the presence of community elders in consonance with the economic conditions of the groom's family and is agreed upon to be paid to the parents of the bride when the alliance is settled. It was reported that gold was never offered as part of or in lieu of the bride price.

Pancoi (Marriage by negotiation)

21. If a young man desires to marry a particular girl, he has to go to her house with a bow and arrow and a pot of liquor, accompanied by his father, the Village Naidu (Headman), Disaradu (priest), Janni and some other elderly members of the tribe. If the parents of the bride throw away the presents into the street, the bridegroom and his party bring them into the house until they are welcomed. If the bride's parents persist in their refusal, and if the groom's party is tired of its trials, the latter may abduct away the girl stealthily or by resorting to force. Even in cases where a man cannot afford to offer the liquor and other presents, he takes away the girl by force. She may live with him if she likes or else, run away to her parent's house. The young man may try his chance not oftener than

thrice. No efforts are spared to cultivate her willingness. If the woman runs away to her parent's house even after the third attempt, the young man has to give up his attempts.

22. The groom's party keeps the liquor pot in the central part of the entrance room of the bride's house. Then the parents of the girl inform the matter to all the nearest relatives in the village, if they like the alliance. Then the liquor is first offered to either the head of the Village Naidu, or the Janni or the Disari of the girl's village. Then all the members of girl's and boy's parties consume the liquor. The bridal party then negotiates about the *voli* (bride price) and arrives at an agreement. Besides the *voli* amount, usually rice, ranging from one to 3 *puttis* (*1 putti*=20 *kunchams* or 80 seers) also is given to the girl's parents depending on the numerical strength of their relatives. The parents of the bride and the groom consult the Disaradu (priest) of the same tribe, to fix the *muhurtham* (auspicious time). The *voli* amount and the quantity of rice will be sent to the bride's house one week in advance of the marriage day. The news about the fixation of the alliance, about day and time of the marriage, *i.e.*, the *muhurtham*, is communicated to the relatives.

23. There is no custom of erecting marriage booths either at the bride's residence or the groom's residence. The venue of marriage invariably, is the groom's place. The bride, accompanied by some of her relatives, is taken to the groom's house on the preceding day of marriage. After the bride and party reach the groom's place, the prospective groom is made to sit in the front yard of the house, facing east. He is duly applied with turmeric paste and is given bath by an unmarried girl with hot water to which is added a little turmeric powder. The bride also is given bath. The bridal pair is given new clothes–a *gochi* and a *gavancha* (upper cloth) and sometimes a banian to the groom and a *thungsa* (saree) to the bride. *Seema garika i.e.*, a kind of grass also known as *reyadi* of 2" to 3" height is spread in the front yard of the house, over which a small iron piece of a cubit length known as *pedalang reyadi* is kept. This arrangement is done in the front yard of the house by any one of the tribe. The bridegroom and the bride, guided by the Disaradu enter the house crossing the *pedalang reyadi*. They sit on planks arranged side by side, 3 feet apart and are served with food by the Disaradu. Inside the house, the officiating Disari ties the ends of the clothes of the bride and the bridegroom together, after the ancestors and invisible spirits have been worshipped. The bridegroom eats a little food from the two plates and the remaining food is consumed by the bride. They wash their hands inside the house. Then the bride is made to wear toe rings. All the relatives are given a vegetarian feast. The bridegroom and bride followed by the relatives, Janni and Disaradu, proceed to the bride's place, the same evening. The father of the bride arranges a vegetarian feast with the *voli* amount and the rice given by the groom's parents. The following morning, the bridal pair along with their relatives, reach the groom's place where a sumptuous vegetarian feast is given to all the relatives and the people of the tribe in the village. The bride and the groom enter into a house. This ceremony is known as *adijang*, which marks the happy solemnisation of the wedding ceremony. Relatives then disperse for their respective places. From the following day onwards, the newly married couple move in the village like any other couple.

24. Total expenditure on marriage by negotiation varies from Rs. 100 to 150. Usually, marriages are proposed to be celebrated when the parents of the groom reap a rich harvest.

Marriage by elopement

25. *Dunducoi i.e.*, marriage by elopement is generally resorted to when the parents of either the boy or the girl do not accept the proposal. A young man may elope with the girl if he cannot afford to pay the *voli* amount and if the girl desires him as her mate. The young man has to pay a fine ranging from Rs. 30 to Rs. 60 known as *labu* as decided by the tribal elders depending on his economic status, to the girl's father.

CASE STUDY

26. The following is a case study of *dunducoi* narrated by Sri Seemala Dugganna. Lobidi was living under the guardianship of her uncle, Sri Dugganna since her father's death. In course of time, she attained puberty. During the month of February, 1962, Sri Mandigi Kisai, Lobidi's maternal uncle's son, a native of Guttili village at a distance of 15 miles from Kalliti, visited the village. Kisai and Lobidi loved each other. Inspite of the disapproval of Sri Dugganna, Kisai eloped with the girl. Knowing this, Dugganna sought the help of Sri Seemala Nandru, the Naidu, the Disaradu (priest) and some 15 other tribal elders who all went to Guttili village. Dugganna demanded Rs. 30 as *voli*, 30 *kunchams* of rice and Rs. 5 towards liquor and desired that the

marriage be formalized. Kisai's parents did accordngly and the marriage was approved by the tribal elders. In this type of marriage, the payment of fine, *labu* is sufficient and the relatives need not be feted.

Marriage by service

27. Marriage by service is known as *kinnarsin*, wherein the boy agrees to work for a specific period– a minimum of three years in the household of his would be father–in–law, in order to acquire the hand of his daughter in marriage. With the completion of the stipulated period of service, the boy may take over the girl along with him to his village. But the youngman, in such cases, usually settles in the bride's house or in the village as the moral obligation to look after his father–in–law and mother–in–law devolves upon him. This type of marriage takes place when the bride has no brothers. One Sri Oyaka Mangda of this village had only one daughter and no sons. He made a request to Sri Seemala Bodaiah, popularly known as Bodigadu, to settle down in his house to look after his lands and to look after him and his wife. Sri Bodaiah did accordingly and after three years of service, he married Somani, the only daughter of Mangda without making any formal payments like *voli*, rice, liquor etc. This type of marriage entails no expenditure on the groom's side. The bride's father bears the expenditure of vegetarian feast given to the people of the tribe.

Consummation

28. Usually marriages are celebrated after the bride has attained puberty. No special ceremony is celebrated for consummation. Soon after marriage, the bride and the groom are allowed to move together freely for about a week or ten days. Consummation takes place and passes by unnoticed as the couple takes recourse to cohabitation whenever they like.

Widow remarriage (marumanuvu)

29. Widow remarriage is permissible. One among the younger brothers is allowed to marry the widow of the deceased elder brother. If the deceased has no younger brothers, the widow may marry anyone she likes. Anyone who marries a widow, has to perform a religious ceremony by sacrificing a pig. The flesh along with some liquor is offered to the ghost of the widow's deceased husband. The Disaradu (priest) offers prayers to appease the ghost, so that it may not torment the woman and her present husband. Addressing the ghost, the priest says, 'Oh! man, here is an animal sacrificed to you. With this, all connection between this woman and you ceases. She has taken with her no property belonging to you or to your children. So, do not torment her within the house or outside the house, in the jungle or on the hill, when she is asleep or awake. Do not send sickness on her children. Her second (present) husband has done no harm to you. She chose him for her husband, and he consented. Oh! man, be appeased; Oh! ancestors, be you witnesses!

30. The animal sacrificed is called *longdanda* (inside fine) or fine paid to the spirit of the deceased man inside the earth. The social attitude towards widow remarriage is quite approving. The offspring of the widow through her late husband stay with her even after remarriage. But such progeny retain the *intiperu* (surname) of their deceased father, even though their mother is married to a man of different surname. In case of these marriages, the amount of *voli* offered is lower than that paid to a virgin. It is paid to the family of her parents after the death of her husband. Or else, if she is staying with her deceased husband's family and married to an outsider of the family, the *voli* amount is taken by the deceased husband's family. No *voli* need be paid if she is married to the brother of the deceased husband or other members of the family.

Divorce and separation

31. Divorce or separation may be initiated either by man or woman. In case the woman initiates divorce, she has to give back all the ornaments to her former husband from whom she seeks divorce. The person who marries the divorced woman has to pay a sum ranging from Rs. 40 to Rs. 200 as decided upon by the tribal elders, besides a pig or a goat. This offering of the animal, *viz*, pig or goat along with the fine paid as compensation to the previous husband by the present husband is known as *bayardanda* (outside fine). The penal amount and the goat or pig are utilised for community feast and drinking.

32. If the divorce is initiated by man, the parents of his wife demand money or share of the produce from his land towards her maintenance as decided by the elders of the tribe until she remarries.

33. The right over children is reserved with the father. But with the consent of the parents, children may be retained with either of them. No case of divorce or separation has been reported during the present survey.

Pre-marital inter-course

34. Unmarried adults are given sexual licence provided the couple belong to the same endogamous group and that the rules of prohibited relationship are not violated and that there is every likelihood of marriage taking place in course of time. The obligation on the part of the male to marry her increases if she becomes pregnant. And if he refuses to marry that girl, he has to pay what is known as *jaram* to the girl's parents towards the maintenance of the child. The young woman who thus gave birth to a child before marriage is not treated as fallen. On the other hand, she gets married more easily, as she proved her fecundity. These women do not make any attempt to prevent conception. So, pre-marital sexual inter-course among Savaras is not treated as a sin, provided it does not violate their cannons of tradition or custom. Though the children of the unmarried woman are not deprived of social status, they cannot inherit the property of their fathers.

Consanguineous marriages

35. In the 32 households, 46 marriages have occurred. Thirty-five of them are consanguineous marriages. From among the 35 consanguineous marriages, 11 are with mother's own brother's daughter known as *menarikam* and 23 are with father's own sister's daughter, known as *eduru menarikam* and the remaining one is among other blood relations (Table 49). Out of the 46 marriages, 42 are monogamous and 4 are polygynous (Table 50).

Factors influencing consanguineous marriages

36. The tribal young men and women have ample opportunities to come into contact with each other at the weekly *shandies* held at Gummalakshmipuram and Kedarapuram. The forests and the fields provide an opportunity to the youth to meet in privacy. The affinity held by the Savaras towards the nearer ones and the natural tendency to develop closer contacts among the boys and girls, the mutual confidence held by them are the chief factors influencing consanguineous marriages.

Spatial distribution in contracting marriages

37. Of the 46 marriages, 21 are within the village, 12 are from villages of the same taluk within a distance of below 10 miles and another 12 are from villages of the same taluk of which 11 are within a distance of 11 to 25 miles and one at a distance ranging between 26 and 100 miles. One marriage had taken place outside the taluk but within the district, at a distance above 26 miles and below 100 miles. Excepting one marriage contracted outside the taluk but within the district, all the remaining 45 marriages thus seem to have been contracted within the same taluk itself. From the above account, it may be seen that these people favour contracting marriages from places as nearer as possible to their village (Table 51).

Marriages in violation of marriage customs or traditions

38. No marriage had occurred among the tribe in contravention or in violation of the customary type of marriages like contracting marriages with persons belonging to the tribes, communities or castes other than their own.

Age at first marriage

39. The age at first marriage of 37 males and 41 females have been reported. Of the 37 males, the maximum number of 21 got married within the age group 20 to 24 years; 11 got married within the age group 15 to 19 years whereas 3 and 2 got married within the age groups of 10-14 years and 25-29 years, respectively. As has already been mentioned, the marital age for males varies between 15 and 24 years, but the favourable age seems to be between 18 and 24 years. So far as the 41 married females are concerned, 23 got married within the age group 15–19 years; 10 in the age group 10–14 years and 1 and 7 got married among the age groups of 5–9 years and 20–24 years, respectively (Table 52).

40. Though the most favoured marital age for females is between 15 and 19 years, a few marriages also occurred among the age group 20–24 years. There are no rules of prohibition relating to ages of wives and husbands. Cases wherein the wife is older than the husband by about 1 to 5 years are also found. In case of widow remarriages, the widows are generally older than their second husbands.

Marriage payments

41. It was customary among the Savaras either to make or receive payments at the time of marriages of their daughters or sons, other than the *voli* and its concomitants like rice and liquor. The penal amount, *labu* imposed in case of marriages by elopement, *dunducoi* is not dowry but a fine. *Voli* (bride price) was given by 30 households in the village (Table 53).

Death

42. Savaras usually cremate the dead. But, there is also the practice of burying the corpse if the death is due to small-pox or chicken-pox or any of the contagious diseases like cholera, *etc*. All the nearest relatives and friends, irrespective of sex, assemble together to make the mourning group. A few of the male members go to the forest to collect required quantity of fuel for cremation. People of the community do not attend to the normal work on the day of death. The corpse, either of a male or female, is taken out of the death bed and is given bath. Castor oil or *ippa* oil is applied and turmeric powder is smeared to the corpse. Afterwards, the corpse is covered either with a new cloth, if they can afford, or with a washed one, and is carried to the funeral ground kept on the cot on which the deceased breathed its last and carried by four persons on the four corners. Any person among the Savaras can carry fire to the funeral ground. All the community people including women, follow the corpse in procession accompanied by musical instrument called *debding* played by a Savara man. If anybody asks the persons carrying the the bier the name of the deceased, or anything about him, they would be very angry. By the time the corpse reaches the funeral ground, the pyre is made ready. The women who accompanied the corpse to the cremation ground return to their houses before the corpse is set on fire. The corpse is set on the pyre with its head pointing towards west. The *debding* (musical instrument) is played on continuously till the pyre catches fire. The cot also is put on the pyre. The chief mourner, usually the son of the deceased, sets fire to the pyre. All the people go to a nearby hill stream to take bath and return home even before the corpse is burnt completely. On the same day, the nearest relatives visit the cremation ground to see that no remanants of the pyre are left unburnt.

43. Among the Savaras, there is no custom of observing pollution when a death occurs. It is customary among them to carry the dead for cremation to the village where the deceased was born. No case of death having taken place in this village of a person born in a different village had, however, been reported during the life time of any of the villagers interviewed. The first sacrificial feast, called *limma* is usually arranged about three or four days after the body has been burnt. For this occasion, a fowl is killed at the spot where the pyre was arranged, some rice or other grain is cooked, and the fowl is eaten by the people of the family along with the consumption of liquor.

44. On the 9th day, a small pit is dug where the corpse was cremated and it is filled with the bones and ash of the deceased. A carved wooden post of 5 feet length, locally known as *kambam* (Figure 13) is fixed up there. Four posts are also fixed up at the four corners over which a circular roof in the shape of an umbrella covered by *darbha*, a kind of grass, locally known as *alang* is put up. The roof is known as *soong*. Under the *soong*, the axe, *boringa*, *gijji*, *ginne* (plate) etc., used by the deceased along with pots are kept and some corn is also buried. The second feast at the final obsequies to the dead is called the *guar*. For this, a cow is sacrificed. Further, a large quantity of grain, and all the necessary accompaniments of a feast are required.

45. Describing the death rites, E. Thurston writes,

> "Everything a man has, his bows and arrows, his tangi, his dagger, his necklaces, his reaping-hook for cutting paddy, his axe, some paddy and rice, etc., are burnt with his body".[1]

It is believed that if these personal possessions of the deceased are not burnt with the corpse, the *kulba* (spirit) will come and ask for them, and troubles them. Savaras firmly believe that the souls of the deceased persons leave the body and remain as *kulbas* (spirits) till the *guar*(final obsequies) is over and as a result of the *guar* enter the world of the ancestral spirits. They remain there for ever and respond to the call of their kinsmen whenever they are invoked. It is believed that as long as the souls of the deceased remain as *kulbas*, they hover about in the vicinity of the house where their bodies perished, rest on the branches of the trees and eagerly look forward to the day of the *guar*.

1. E. Thurston, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 325

The *kulbas* can see and hear; they have hunger and thirst but they can neither be seen nor heard. They satisfy (appease) their hunger by eating whatever is thrown out by their kinsmen in the house and quench their thirst by drinking the water in the open space. They have a sense of discrimination; they do not touch any food or water in the house. If the *guar* is delayed, they appear to their kinsmen in their dreams; and say 'It is two years since our human bodies have perished and how long do you keep us as *kulbas*?'. They realise that the *guar* should be performed as early as possible but, since it is a very expensive ceremony, it is put off for one or two years, generally, so that all the bereaved families in the village may combine and perform the ceremony together so that many items of expenditure can be commonly borne.

46. The Savaras perform the *guar* even for a man who dies having no sons or nearest relatives, by making contributions. The soul for whom the *guar* is not celebrated remain as *kulba*, hovering about the surroundings of the village. These *kulbas* catch hold of children when they are alone in the forest or in the open space on the outskirts of the village. When such children die on the spot, they believe that the child is swallowed by the *kulbas*. They also believe that some of the *sonums* (spirits and deities), particularly the evil spirits must have been the *kulbas* of the by gone ages.

47. Savaras hold that there are indications by which the inmates know the arrival of the spirits as also their sex. If weapons like sword or spear clink or clank on their own accord, it is construed that a male ancestral spirit, Jojongi has entered the house. On the other hand, if household utensils or waterpots rattle, they believe that a female ancestral spirit, Yoyongi has entered the house. They believe that the ancestral spirits do not enter the house during day time except when they are invocated.

48. It is not customary to observe annual ceremony and there is no custom to change the residence when a death occurs on an inauspicious time. But it is customary to offer *ippa* (bassia latifolia) liquor to all the people who followed the corpse to the cremation ground.

49. The total expenditure over death ceremonies (obsequies) varies from Rs. 10 to Rs. 30. In order to meet the expenditure, they raise loans either in the village or from a money lender in the neighbouring village or sell the cattle.

50. On the day of death, soon after the corpse is cremated, the widow of the deceased, in case of the death of a married male, is taken to the hill stream and other widows of the tribe break her bangles and give her a bath. Vermilion mark on her forehead is wiped out and then she is brought to the house.

51. During the five year period from 1957-62, 11 persons had died of which 6 were males and 5 were females. Among the 6 male deaths, one each in the age groups 0-14, 15-24 and 35-59 occurred due to cholera; one death was due to fever in the age group 35-59; one death was due to old age and in this case the age was not stated, and the cause of death in the case of a boy aged below 14 years was not specified. Of the 5 female deaths, 2 deaths were due to cholera-one in the age group 15-24 years and the other in the age group 35-59; one death in the age group 0-14 years was due to fever; one in the age group of above 60 years was due to old age and in case of one death in the age group 15-24 years, the cause of death was not known (Table 61).

52. Table 8 shows deaths by marital status and by sex. Of the 6 males dead, 3 were married of whom 2 were in the age group 25-59 and in one case the age not specified whereas the remaining 3 deaths were among the never married of whom 2 were in the age group 0-14 and one in the age group 15-24. Among the 5 females dead, 3 were married and of them 2 were in the age group 15-24 and one in the age group 25-59; one was a never married in the age group 0-14 years whereas the last one was that of a widow of above 60 years.

Beliefs and practices

53. The following are some of the beliefs and superstitions prevalent among the Savaras.

(1) If any sneezing is heard at the time of starting on journey or at the commencement of a new work, they hold that the work will not be completed successfully.

(2) If *asioneba* (owl) howls and goes round the village, it indicates the death of an ailing person.

(3) If a bird, *gundruth* howls twice in the suburbs of the villages, it also forecasts the death of a person in the village.

(4) *Udarthoi* is a bird with a little hair on its head. The hair style of Savara women is compared

to the hair on the head of this bird. The howling of the bird is like O..... Re..... and it is an indication of a death in the village.

(5) A woman coming across with an empty vessel over her head while a person is starting on travel is considered unlucky whereas a woman coming with a vessel full of water over her head, is considered lucky.

54. A house-wife does not usually take food before her husband has taken. If at all she has to take food before time, she keeps the food required for her husband separately and then takes her food. It shows the devotion a woman holds towards her husband. If the husband goes away to another village and does not return within 2 or 3 days, the wife keeps a little quantity of food separately in a leaf every time before she takes food. She does so until his (the husband's) return.

55. If a cat (*rame*) or fowl (*kase*) or a dog (*kiso*) touches the food, no male member eats it. The head of the household keeps a little food aside every day in the name of the ancestors from the food served to him.

56. The roaring of a tiger near a village is considered to be an indication of the failure of crops in that village. Listening the sound of lizard, seeing a tamarind tree at first sight after getting up from bed and the coming across of a cat are considered unlucky whereas seeing a neem tree at first sight on getting up from bed is considered as lucky.

Chapter IV

ECONOMY

General

As the village is situated at about 2,500 feet M.S.L., the basic economic activity of the people is *kondapodu* (hill slope shifting cultivation), locally known as *lollo*. Besides *kondapodu*, settled cultivation is also practised in the terraced fields which are provided with irrigation facilities through the hill streams. Collection of minor forest produce and agricultural labour are the other sources of livelihood for the people. Due to their remote settlement, the Savaras have not been much influenced by outsiders. So, the methods of cultivation are being continued without any significant changes. "The Savara country, with the lofty hills, darting mountain streams and gaping valleys, is very picturesque, though the Savaras have marred the beauty of the hill slopes, to some extent, by their *podu* cultivation, but they have, on the other hand, enhanced the picturesqueness of the hills and valleys by their terraced paddy fields which rise one above the other and are supported by stone revetments."[1] 'The greater part of the Saoras' hills have been denuded of forest owing to the persistent hacking down of trees for the purpose of growing dry crops, so much so that, in places, the hills look almost bare in the dry weather."[2] They draw water from the mountain brook through indigenous channels and turned the land for wet farming. Along side a hill stream within a considerable distance from the village, they do not leave any bit of land uncultivated. The Savaras of the village are hard-working and industrious. Cultivation, whether *kondapodu* or settled, is the chief source of their livelihood. Agricultural and rural labour works and collection and sale of minor forest produce are their subsidiary occupations.

Workers

2. Out of the total number of 137 persons, as many as 89 persons (47 males and 42 females) forming 65% are workers. As usual, most of the working people, both males and females are found in the age groups 15–34 years and 35–59 years. Seventy-seven out of 89 workers (86·5%) are found in those two age groups. In the age group of 15–34 years, there are 54 workers comprising 25 males and 29 females whereas in the age group of 35–59 years, there are 23 workers of whom 14 are males and 9 are females. Among the remaining 12 workers, 11 are aged below 14 years of whom 7 are boys and 4 are girls and one is a man above 60 years (Table 11). Eighty-four out of 89 workers are engaged in *kondapodu*. Of these 84 persons, 47 are males and 37 are females distributed over different age groups, *viz*, 10 persons (7 males and 3 females) in 0–14 age group, 50 persons (25 males and 25 females) in 15–34 age group, 23 persons (14 males and 9 females) in the age group 35–59 and one male of above 60 years. Four women in the age group of 15–34 years and one girl of below 14 years are engaged in agricultural labour works (Table 12). So, 84 of the 89 workers are engaged in *kondapodu* whereas the remaining 5 are engaged in services other than cultivation *viz*, agricultural labour (Table 13).

Non-workers

3. From among the age groups which may be treated as working age groups, *viz*, 15–34 years and 35–59 years, all of them except 2 women are workers. There are 48 non-workers in the different age groups. The sex break-up of the 48 non-workers is 20 males and 28 females. Of them, 20 boys and 25 girls are below 14 years and three are women, one each in the age groups of 15–34 years, 35–59 years and 60 years and above. Except two females, one each in the age groups 0–14 years and 15–34 years who are engaged in household duties, all the remaining 46 non-workers are dependents pure and simple (Table 14).

Livelihood classes

4. At the 1951 Census, the village had a population of 158—91 males and 67 females, living in 45 households. Of the 158 persons, as many as 143 consisting of 80 males and 63 females were treated as cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents and the remaining 15 persons—11 males and 4 females were treated as cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents. In this context, it may be said that the lands are held by them under a tenure, less substantial than

1. A. Aiyappan, *op. cit.*, p. 77 2. E. Thurston. *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 306

ownership, *i.e.*, which is more than possession and less than ownership (quasi-ownership). At the 1961 Census, there were 41 households with 181 persons consisting of 91 males and 90 females, of whom 121 are workers and 60 are non-workers. Of the 121 workers, 56 males and 51 females were engaged in cultivation (*kondapodu*) and 8 males and 6 females were engaged in agricultural labour. At the time of resurvey in December, 1962, all the 137 persons—67 males and 70 females were treated as cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents (Tables 9 and 10).

Traditional occupation

5. The traditional occupation of all the 32 households is *kondapodu* (Table 16).

Main occupation

6. All the 32 households without any exception, have *kondapodu* as their main occupation (Table 20).

Combination of occupations

7. Of the 32 households having *kondapodu* as main occupation, 3 have settled cultivation, 22 have agricultural labour, 7 have collection and sale of minor forest produce and 9 have coolie as subsidiary occupations in order to enchance their household incomes (Table 21). It may be seen from the above that some households have more than one subsidiary occupation.

Place of occupation

8. None of the people go out of the village in order to seek any employment. Their place of occupation is limited to the hill slopes surrounding the village, at a distance of below two miles, usually (Table 17).

Occupational mobility and nature of aspirations

9. There has been no change in their traditional occupation. Among the 32 persons interviewed, 24 expressed that they want their sons to continue their own traditional occupation. The remaining 8 persons did not express any opinion (Table 19).

DESCRIPTION OF OCCUPATIONS

Kondapodu

10. *Kondapodu* or shifting cultivation has been the chief source of livelihood for Savaras from times immemorial due to non-availability of sufficient cultivable lands within their reach. Figure 14 shows the crop ready for harvest in *kondapodu* lands. They cut the forest on the hillslopes, burn the felled trees and the shrub jungle and prepare the soil by loosening it with a *boriga* locally known as *lolo* (hoe) after the fall of first rain. Being ignorant of chemical fertilisers, they use only farmyard manure and cattle dung as fertilisers. Mixed cropping is commonly practised by them. After preparing the soil ready for sowing, they mix *korra* (Italian millet), *ganti or bajra* (pearl millet), *janumu* (jute), *uda* – a variety of cereal and *jonna* (great millet) and broadcast them. In the month of August, red gram seeds are sown by making a hole of 2 to 3 inches in the ground by the *boriga* (hoe). A space of 2 feet between two plants is maintained in sowing red gram seeds.

11. Both men and women guard the fields until the crop is harvested. Harvesting commences in the month of February. They construct a small hut on the hill slope amidst the field. During nights, the watchman plays on the *dappu* – a native musical instrument throughout the night and keeps a continuous vigil over the crop to safeguard it from the thieves. It was reported that during December, 1960, two thefts occurred. Unless special care is taken at the harvesting time, there is no certainty that the fruits of their hard labour will be enjoyed by them. The Savaras do not however report such matters to the police authorities but content themselves by saying that it is the 'will of God'.

12. They harvest *korra* (Italian millet) and *uda* in the last week of September and *bajra* or *ganti* (pearl millet) in the month of November. After harvesting *jonna* (great millet) they do not raise any crop in the *podu* field for that year (Figure 15 shows the harvesting operations). The stems of the last crop and any other weeds, etc., in the *podu* fields are burnt in the months of April and May. After the first fall of rain, they either plough the land or loosen the soil with hoe, locally known as *lolo* and the same crop pattern is adopted.

13. A plot of *kondapodu* land is cultivated for about 3 years continuously and is left fallow thereafter. The cultivator clears up another patch of forest on the hill slope by felling the trees, and burning the trees and shrub jungle. This patch also is cultivated for about 3 years depending on the intrinsic fertility of the soil. Before occupying a patch of land on the hill slope, the *podu* cultivator has to obtain the formal consent of the Naik, the Village Headman. Naturally the cultivators do

not go in search of *podu* lands which are far away from the village and those of the neighbouring villages. They select a patch of land which is nearer to their habitat. When a plot of land is claimed by more than one household, the word of the Naiko is sought for, which is final and is obeyed with implicit faith.

14. A plot of *podu* land, once abandoned after cultivating it for 3 years, can again be taken up for cultivation when thick growth of vegetation comes up and the soil is built up by nature. This may extend over a period ranging from 3 to 15 years depending on the relief of the slope and severity of erosion. The greater the incline of the slope and the severity of erosion,the longer would be the period required for a patch of land to be resumed for cultivation. In the patches of lands the fertility of which can be built up by nature soon (*i.e.*, the patches of lands which are less steep and where the erosion is less severe) the right to occupy that portion of land vests with the original cultivator whereas in case of patches of lands which take about 10 to 15 years or so for cultivating them again if the occupancy of such land is contested between the original cultivator though this right of occupancy is deemed to have been lost or any member of his family and a fresh incumbent, the claim of the original cultivator succeeds. The right over these plots of lands is more than possession and less than ownership which may be termed as 'quasi-ownership'. This right of possession is a customary one and it is not recognised by the Government as the lands are not yet surveyed and settlement did not take place. In all cases of social disputes, property cases, claims for occupancy of a patch of *podu* land, etc., the villagers obey the word of the Naiko, their leader—the Village Headman.

Settled cultivation

15. Some of the Savaras prepared small plots of flat lands on the hill slopes near water sources and took to wet cultivation by constructing stone walls to prevent or eradicate soil erosion. This cultivation is known as terrace cultivation and the land is known as *guddi*. Paddy is raised in settled cultivation. Nursery beds are prepared and nurseries are raised in the month of *Jyesta*, locally known as *Basuthamase* (May–June). The land is prepared for transplantation by ploughing 2 to 4 times during the months of May–June. Transplantation takes place in the month of *Mumikoli* (June–July) and harvesting commences in the month of *Palakam* (December–January). Second crop of paddy or any other subsidiary crops are not raised for that year in the land in which paddy is raised.

16. For raising *chodi* (finger millet), nursery beds are prepared and nurseries are raised in the month of *Ashadha* (June–July) and transplantation takes place during the last week of July or first week of August. The crop comes for harvesting either in October or November. If rain falls after harvesting *ragi* (finger millet), they raise *ulavalu* (horse gram) in the same field. Otherwise, the land is left with out raising any crop. *Sama* (little millet) is broadcast in the months of October or November and harvested during December. Figure 16 shows the threshed *chodi* while Figure 17 shows the young Savara men carrying the grain to their houses.

17. The land is ploughed three or four times and farm yard dung manure is applied before raising any crop. The paddy preserved for seed purposes is known as *jammolusara*. Every year, they preserve good seed of cereals and pulses for seed purposes soon after harvest, for future use.

Agricultural implements

18. The following are the agricultural implements used by the Savaras: (1) *Gunapam* or *guru* (crowbar) :– It is a pointed iron bar of 4 to 5 feet in length, used to lift heavy stones and in digging pits; (2) *Para* (spade) :– It is an implement used to lift loosened earth into a *thatti* (basket); (3) *Baru* (hoe):– It is the most important agricultural implement which is carried by both Savara men and women, whenever they go out for agricultural work, collection of edible roots and tubers in the forest and while broadcasting seeds in *podu* lands. This implement consists of three parts known as *kanaka, boru* and *borigi*. *Boru* is a piece of bamboo of 3 to 5 feet. *Kanaka* is an iron piece of 5 to 10 inches, pointed at both ends and is used to loosen the soil. *Borigi* is an iron blade of 4 to 6 inches in length which is used to remove small shrubs and plants; (4) *Turu* (harrow), (5) *Nagali* (plough) and (6) *Komi* (pick-axe) are the implements used in settled dry cultivation; (7) *Nolla* is a wooden implement used to gather grain after threshing; (8) *Gijji* (knife) :– It is a knife with a handle of bamboo or *billakarra* – a variety of wood to which a sharp edged iron piece of 6 to 8 inches is tucked. *Gijjilu* of various shapes and sizes are shown in figure 19; (9) *Goddali* (axe) :- It consists of a sharp iron piece of 6″ to 8″ in length and 2½ to 3 inches width at the sharp end and at the other end of it is fixed with a wooden handle of 2½

to 3 feet in length, round in shape with 1" to 1½" in diametre. The wood used for the handle is usually of *tada* or *billakarra*. Every Savara man always carries the axe whenever he goes out of his house, whether to the field or to the neighbouring village. The axe is used to cut logs of wood, trees and also to protect oneself from any of the wild animals when they are out of their houses, in the fields or in the forests. Figures 18, 19 and 20 show the above implements.

Agricultural labour

19. As seen from Table 12, 84 out of the 89 workers are engaged in *kondapodu* which is the household occupation for all the 32 households. Only 5 women had agricultural labour as their main occupation. Agricultural labourers find work for about 4 to 6 months in a year in various operations like transplantation of paddy, finger millet and harvesting of paddy, finger millet, pearl millet, Itallian millet etc. A pair of workers (male and female) are paid 6 *addalu* (local measure) of grain per day which values about Rs. 1·50 P. A man engaged for half a day, *i.e.*, from 10 a.m., to about 1 or 2 p.m., is paid 3 *addalu* of paddy (4 *addalu* – 1 seer – 3 to 4 lbs. of grain) whereas a woman is paid 2 *addalu* of paddy. The rate is same for all agricultural operations. Figure 21 shows the labourers on their way to work.

Land

20. The lands under settled cultivation as also *podu* lands in the village are not surveyed. Though the ownership right over lands held by the Savaras is customarily recognised, there is no Government recognition for it. So, they held the lands direct from the Government under a tenure less substantial than ownership. All but one household had land under their possession. The sizes of holdings are as follows (Tables 23 & 25).

Statement III

SIZE OF HOLDINGS

Size (*1*)		*No. of holdings* (*2*)
1 *Kuncham* & below	..	3
1—5 *Kunchams*	..	14
6-10 *Kunchams*	..	8
11-15 *Kunchams*	..	5
16-20 *Kunchams*	..	1
Total	..	**31**

Note: 1 *Kuncham* = 10 cents
10 *Kunchams* = 1 Acre

There has been no change in the extent of settled cultivation. No land reclamation was taken up so far and so is the case with the utilisation of improved tools and implements. They mutually assist one another in the agricultural operations.

Agricultural produce

21. Production particulars of agricultural produce for the year 1962-63 are as follows :

Statement IV

PRODUCTION PARTICULARS OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE, 1962-63

Name of produce (*1*)	*Quantity produced* (*2*) *Puttis-Kunchams*	*Quantity consumed by the households* (*3*) *Puttis-Kunchams*
1 Paddy	28 — 03	28 — 03
2 *Gantlu* (pearl millet)	37 — 03	37 — 03
3 Jowar (great millet)	71 — 10	71 — 10
4 Red gram	20 — 10	20 — 10
5 *Sama* (little millet)	10 — 10	10 — 10
6 *Chodi* (finger millet)	13 — 11	13 — 11
7 Turmeric	7 — 14	7 — 14
8 *Korra* (Italian millet)	10 — 08	10 — 08
9 Castor seeds	0 — 15	0 — 15
Total	**200 — 04**	**200 — 04**
10 Tamarind	48 *Kavadis*	48 *Kavadis*
11 Tobacco	3 Maunds	3 Maunds
12 Chillies	4½ Seers	4½ Seers

All the agricultural produce raised by the people of the village is utilised for domestic consumption (Table 24).

Marketing

22. The villagers collect tamarind, *ganuga vithulu* (pongamia glabra seeds), *ippa* (bassia latifolia) and *jeedi* (cashew) seeds and sell them in the *shandies* at Bhadragiri (also known as Gummalakshmipuram) and Kedarapuram and purchase their daily requirements like kerosene, salt, chillies and also ready-made clothes. Figure 22 shows Savaras at *shandy*. These people do not collect *adda* leaves, *adda* fibre, etc.

Weights and Measures

23. Local weights and measures used by the pepole are as follows :

Statement V

LOCAL WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

1	*Adda*	=	4	*Solalu*
4	*Addalu*	=	1	*Kuncham*
1	*Sola*	=	2	*Arasolalu*
1	*Adda*	=	8	*Arasolalu*
5	*Kunchams*	=	1	*Yedumu*
10	*Kunchams*	=	1	*Pandumu*
2 *Pandumulu or* 4 *Yedumulu or* 20 *Kunchams*		=	1	*Putti*
3	*Puttis*	=	1	*Garise*

1 Adda is approximately equal to 1 Kilogram

Livestock

24. The cattle wealth of the village mainly consists of cows and bullocks of the hill variety which are small and tiny in stature. There were 23 cows in 7 households, 13 bullocks in 8 households, 13 goats in 7 households, 2 pigs in one household whereas 8 households were rearing 33 fowls (Table 26).

25. The cattle wealth mainly belongs to 7 households having settled cultivation besides *kondapodu*. As the chief source of livelihood of the people is *kondapodu*, they do not require cattle for ploughing except for ploughing the plots of land under settled cultivation. The Savaras do not milk the cattle with a sentimental belief that it is a sin to deprive the calf of its mother's milk. Further, they are not accustomed to take milk or milk products.

26. Boys and girls between 6 and 12 years of age attend to grazing the cattle and also goats on the hills (Figure 23). The cattle are watered at the hill streams when they go out for grazing and are housed in separate sheds constructed for them. Goats are, however, housed in a part of the living portion. There are no separate goat - pens for fear of the wild animals.

Economic position of the Savaras

27. The total income of the 32 households during the year 1962–63 was Rs. 7,628·75 P. whereas the total expenditure was Rs. 8,478·94 P. Two households have balanced budgets, 10 households have a surplus aggregating to Rs. 114 whereas the remaining 20 households ran on deficit budgets aggregating to Rs. 964·19 P. Thus the excess of expenditure over income is Rs. 850·19 P. Household average annual income and expenditure are Rs. 238·40 P. and Rs. 264·94 P. respectively. The per capita annual income and expenditure are thus Rs. 55·68 P. and Rs. 61·89 P. respectively (Table 30).

28. Among the 25 households (Table 31) which have an annual household income of below Rs. 300, 2 have balanced budgets, 4 have surplus budgets and the remaining 19 have deficit budgets. Of the 5 households with an annual household income of Rs. 301 to Rs. 600, 3 households have surplus budgets whereas 2 households have deficit budgets. Of the 2 households in the annual income range of above Rs. 601 and below Rs. 900, one has a surplus budget and the other has a deficit budget. Of the 8 households having surplus budgets, the amounts of surplus are below Rs. 5, Rs. 5 to 10, Rs. 11 to 25 and Rs. 26 to 50 respectively, for 1, 5 and 1 households. Similarly, of the 22 households running on deficit budgets, the household deficit ranges by number of households are as follows:

Statement VI

HOUSEHOLD DEFICIT AND NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS

Range	*No. of households*
(*1*)	(2)
Below Rs. 5	1
Rs. 5–10	4
Rs. 11–25	7
Rs. 26–50	3
Rs. 51–100	5
Rs. 101–200	1
Rs. 201–500	1
Total	**22**

Per capita income and family type

29. In the per capita annual income range of below Rs. 50 there are 13 households of which 8 are Simple, 2 are Intermediate and 3 are Joint type. In the per capita annual income ranging from Rs. 51 to Rs. 100, there are 16 households; of them are 12 Simple, 2 Intermediate and one each in the Joint and Other types. In the highest per capita income range of Rs. 101–200 of the village, there are 3 households and all of them fall under Simple type (Table 22).

Indebtedness

30. The causes of indebtedness vary from household to household and sometimes from one occasion to another in the same household. Out of the total number of 32 households, 20 are in debt. Among these 20 households, a debt of Rs. 358 or 59·37% of the total debt (Rs. 603) is incurred by 18 households, just to meet the ordinary wants whereas the remaining two households are in debt

to a tune of Rs. 245 or 40·63% of the total debt for purposes of ordinary wants and also to meet the expenditure on agriculture (Table 35).

31. The Statement below shows the number of households in debt by income ranges, amount of debt etc. (Table 32).

Statement VII

INDEBTEDNESS BY ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME

Annual income group (1)	*Total No. of households* (2)	*No. of households in debt* (3)	*Amount of debt* (4)	*Household average debt* (5)	*% of Col. (3) to Col. (2)* (6)
			Rs. P.	Rs. P.	
Rs. 300 & below	25	15	345.00	23.00	60
Rs. 301–600	5	4	240.00	60.00	80
Rs. 601–900	2	1	18.00	18.00	50
Total	32	20	**603.00**	**30.15**	62.5

Thus 20 households forming 62·5% of the 32 households in the village are in debt to a tune of Rs. 603 *i.e.*, Rs. 30·15 P. per household. Among the 25 households earning Rs. 300 or less per annum, 15 households or 60% have incurred a debt of Rs. 345 which is more than half of the total debt. The average debt per household of these 15 households is Rs. 23. In the next higher income group of Rs. 301-600 per annum, 4 out of 5 households or 80% have incurred an average debt of Rs. 60 each or a total of Rs. 240. Only one out of the two households with an annual income of more than Rs. 601 and less than Rs. 901 has raised a petty loan of Rs. 18. From this, it may be inferred that the lower the income, the greater is the need for taking loans (Table 32).

Money lenders and debtors

32. There are no money lenders in the village. There are only debtors. The Statement below shows the number of debtors and amount of debt during different periods (Table 34).

Statement VIII

INDEBTEDNESS BY NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS AND AMOUNT

Period (1)	*No. of households that borrowed money* (2)	*Amount borrowed* (3)
		Rs. P.
Prior to 1951	..	..
1951–62	3	33.00
1962–63	18	570.00
Total	21	603.00

For the decade ending 1962, there were only three debtors who borrowed an amount of Rs. 33. But during one year, *i.e.*, 1962–63, the number of debtors has increased 6 fold and the amount borrowed has grown more than 18 times to that of the previous decade.

Credit agency and interest rates

33. During the period 1951–62, three households borrowed an amount of Rs. 33 from private money lenders of neighbouring villages. Most of these money lenders are Kalinga Komatlu who are businessmen by tradition and Dombs who are mainly a class of agricultural labourers, a few being businessmen combining money lending also. Of the above 3 households, 2 households borrowed Rs. 23 at an interest rate of 50% and the other household borrowed Rs. 10 at cent per cent rate of interest. During the year 1962–63, 17 households borrowed an amount of Rs. 570 from private money lenders, of which a sum of Rs. 110 was borrowed by 5 households free of interest, Rs. 15 by one household at a rate of 25% to 30% and Rs. 445 was borrowed by 11 households at a rate of 50% interest (Table 35).

34. There is a system known as *namu*, according to which one who borrows cereals at the time of sowing or raising nursery beds has to pay double the amount of the quantity borrowed soon after harvesting the crop.

Sale of assets

35. During the 30 years period from 1932–62, none of the households sold assets during the first 20 years *i.e.*, upto 1951. But during the last 10 year period from 1952–62, one household sold land worth Rs. 300 and one household sold livestock worth Rs. 70 (Tables 36 & 37).

Capital formation

36. During the past 30 years period from 1932-62 the following assets were acquired :

Statement IX

CAPITAL FORMATION–ITEMS AND VALUE

Name of asset (1)	*Value of assets* (2) Rs. P.	*No. of households acquiring assets* (3)
Land	300.00	1
Livestock	152.00	2
Tools and equipment	14.00	5
Buildings	30.00	2
Total	496.00	10

(*See* Table 38)

All the assets worth Rs. 496 were acquired during the 10 years period from 1952–62. From the above, it is evident that no assets worth mentioning were acquired during the first 20 years of the 30 years period from 1932–62. So, net capital formation during the 10 years period of 1952–62 is Rs. 126 (Rs. 496–Rs. 370 assets sold). Annual rate of capital formation during the above 10 years period comes to Rs. 12·60 P. over the entire village and 39 P. per household and per capita rate of capital formation is a bare 9 Paise.

Chapter V

CULTURAL LIFE AND VILLAGE ORGANISATION

Language

The mother tongue of Savaras is Savara language. Most of the women do not know Telugu language which is spoken by the people of the neighbouring plains. Besides their own Savara language, Telugu is spoken by 50 persons 41 — males and 9 females out of the total population (137) of the village (Table 4i). Their medium of negotiation with the outside people, especially in the weekly *shandies*, etc., is nothing but Telugu, though corrupt. Following are some words of Savara language with their English equivalents:

Statement X

SOME LOCAL WORDS AND THEIR MEANINGS

Savara Language		*Meaning in English*
(1)		*(2)*
Vang	..	Father
Yang	..	Mother
Kaku	..	Brother
Oba	..	Younger brother
Salo	..	Wife
Ayya	..	Son
Ayang	..	Sister
Kakey	..	Elder sister
Mama	..	Uncle
Awang	..	Aunt
Jujun	..	Grand father
Yuyu	..	Grand mother
Yayang	..	Mother's younger sister
Dada	..	Father's brother (elder or younger)
Vasingnam	..	Where is your house?
Vanam janayam		What is your father's name
Kasim	..	Fowl
Kimma	..	Goat
Tangili	..	Cow
Kimboan	..	Pig
Bassi	..	Salt
Minyol	..	Vegetable oil
Guba	..	Call
Ma	..	Go
Jai	..	Come
Gadana	..	To drink water
Asodamar	..	Man
Dhangdi	..	Woman
Saroba	..	Field
Poga	..	Tobacco

Counting of numerals

2. The numeral system of the Savaras as reported by Sri Seemala Nandru, the Village Naiko, is as accounted below:

Statement XI

SAVARA NUMERALS

Boye	..	One
Bagu	..	Two
Yagi	..	Three
Unji	..	Four
Monloi	..	Five
Thuru	..	Six
Gulji	..	Seven
Thamji	..	Eight
Theemji	..	Nine
Galji	..	Ten
Galmu	..	Eleven
Miggallu	..	Twelve

To count after 12, they use either the Telugu numerals or repeat the same numerals such as:

Boye for thirteen
Bagu for fourteen

which may be construed as addition of the same figures (numerals) to 12. The further decennial numerals,

Solaga or Bokkodu	..	Twenty
Bokkodu galji	..	Thirty
Bakodi	..	Forty
Bakodi galji	..	Fifty

are also used by them. But it is not quite clear whether these are derivations or independent of the twelve numbers. However, the word '*solaga*' is evidently a Telugu word. Sometimes, they use a combination of Telugu as well as Savara numerals to the extent possible. For instance, to say 200, they utter *bagonda* – a combination of *bagu* + *vonda*

Bagu (Savara language)	2
Vonda or *Nooru* (Telugu language)	100

3. It is of some interest to compare these findings with the observations of Mr. Fawcett in connection with the use of duodecimal system by the Savaras.

> "On asking a Gomango how he reckoned when selling produce to the Panos, he began to count on his fingers. In order to count 20, he began on the left foot (he was squatting), and counted 5; then with the left hand 5 more; then with the two first fingers of the right hand he made 2 more *i.e.*, 12 altogether; then with the

thumb of the right hand and the other two fingers of the same, and the toes of the right foot he made 8 more. And so it was always. They have names for numerals upto 12 only, and to count 20 always count first twelve and then eight in the manner described, except that they may begin on either hand or foot. To count 50 or 60, they count by twenties, and put down a stone or some mark for each twenty. There is a Saora story accounting for their numerals being limited to 12. One day, long ago, some Saoras were measuring grain in a field, and, when they had measured 12 measures of some kind, a tiger pounced in on them and devoured them. So, ever after, they dare not have a numeral above 12, for fear of a tiger repeating the performance."[1]

4. This shows that the counting method of the Savaras continues to be what it was in years past, with slight changes brought above by the Telugu influence which is nothing but natural as the Savara contact with the Telugus is more and more increasing both in frequency and form.

Week names

5. The names of the days of the week are just like Telugu names. The names of the day of the week in Savara language, and its Telugu and English equivalents are as follows:

Statement XII

NAMES OF WEEK DAYS IN SAVARA, TELUGU AND ENGLISH LANGUAGES

Savara	*Telugu*	*English*
(1)	(2)	(3)
1. *Adivaram*	*Adivaram*	Sunday
2. *Somavaram*	*Somavaram*	Monday
3. *Mangalvaram*	*Managalavaram*	Tuesday
4. *Budhavaram*	*Budhavaram*	Wednesday
5. *Lakshmivaram*	*Lakshmivaram or Guruvaram*	Thursday
6. *Sukravaram*	*Sukravaram*	Friday
7. *Sanivaram*	*Sanivaram*	Saturday

Months

6. The names of the twelve months in a year are as follows:

Statement XIII

NAMES OF MONTHS IN SAVARA AND TELUGU LANGUAGES AND THE CORRESPONDING ENGLISH MONTHS

Savara	*Telugu*	*Corresponding English months*
(1)	(2)	(3)
1. *Thammegai*	*Chaitram*	March-April
2. *Vaisakha*	*Vaisakha*	April-May
3. *Mumikoli*	*Jyesta*	May-June
4. *Ashada*	*Ashadha*	June-July
5. *Avati*	*Sravanam*	July-August
6. *Induva*	*Bhadrapada*	August-September
7. *Dasara*	*Asvija*	September-October
8. *Karthika*	*Karthika*	October-November
9. *Palakam*	*Margasira*	November-December
10. *Sankranthi*	*Pushyam*	December-January
11. *Sivarathri*	*Magha*	January-February
12. *Dolo*	*Phalgunam*	February-March

School

7. Though there is an elementary school in Kisai– a village at a distance of 2 miles from the village, none of the boys and girls of Kalliti village attend this school as communications through the forest are difficult.

Leisure and recreation

8. The Savaras of this village spend about 3 months in a year (March to May) in collecting mangoes, edible roots and tubers and *ippa* (bassia latifolia) nuts from the forest. They make gruel out of a powder prepared from mango nuts or shells known as *tenku*. During this period, they also spend the time in collecting fuel from the forest. The usual leisure hours in a day are from 6 a. m., to 10 a. m. During these hours they look after their children and attend to some of the sundry household works. They go for hunting during the summer season. They enjoy leisure at the time of worshipping the deities and on festival occasions. A description of the deities and spirits, their conception of the universe, the human soul, the universe and sin, the observance of festivals, the worship of deities and the village organisation is given in the following pages.

Deities and spirits

9. The Savaras have supreme faith in the spirits and deities which are believed to guide their prosperity or fate. Some of these spirits are said to be benign and they are worshipped with a sense of gratitude; some are malignant and these are appeased by customary offering of sacrifices and some spirits are neutral or indifferent and these are worshipped occasionally. In order to ward them off from the innumerable spirits, Savaras devote a greater part of their time, energies and wealth in propitiating or appeasing these deities or spirits. They believe that all the ailments are caused by the evil spirits whereas good is done by the benevolent spirits. To the particular evil spirit that caused the ailment, the Savara would say, 'the other day I offered you

1 E. Thurston, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 311-312

a calf, today I am offering a goat, how long are you going to keep my son ill, I have done my duty, you have not done your duty.' He would challenge the spirit.

10. Sonuman is the general name for Savara deities and spirits. *Suman* is a contracted form of the word. Though all deities and spirits may be called Sonums, the Savaras mention by different names, several orders or classes of deities and spirits and include in the list, an order known by the name of Sonums. The order of classes of deities and spirits* is as shown below:

(1) Sonum-an-ji (2) Bonad-an-ji (3) Jnonad-an-ji
(4) Manni-n-ji (5) Sunni-n-ji (6) Badong-an-ji
(7) Kitting-an-ji (8) Daiyn-n-ji (9) Raja-n-ji
(10) Patara-n-ji (11) Kuara-n-ji (12) Adang-an-ji
(13) Malla-n-ji (14) Bullu-n-ji (15) Jalba-n-ji
(16) Bulka-n-ji (17) Radob-an-ji (18) Raga-n-ji
(19) Jojo-n-ji (20) Yoyo-n-ji and (21) Kulba-n-ji.

11. In each of these classes again there are innumerable deities and spirits. These spirits include various hill spirits and human souls and also those controlling the various contagious diseases, vegetables, etc. The Kittunganji constitutes a class of deified heroes or demi-gods in human form and some of them belong to the Hindu *puranas*. The number of the Kittungs is variously given as seven, nine, and eleven. The names of the eleven Kittungs are (1) Argatta, (2) Bimma, (3) Gersada, (4) Jaganta, (5) Jode-pula or Jode-bulla, (6) Mutta, (7) Peda or Pedra-mad-tung, (8) Ramma, (9) Rung-rung, (10) Tete and (11) Tumanna. Argatta is considered to be the brother-in-law of the remaining 10 Kittungs. Some of the Savaras, particularly those that have come into contact with the people of the plains identify Argatta with Krishna; Bimma with Bhima of the *Mahabharata;* and Ramma with Rama of the *Ramayana*. The Kittungs, as the Savaras tell us, lived in the Savara country for a long time and went away to the *baseng-desa* (salt country) by which they mean the country towards the sea. They get the salt they require from this country and it lies to their south. The Sora word for south is *basengan-a-seng* (salt side).

12. The Kittungs were masters and lords of the Savara country during the time they stayed there and even the Sonums were rendering service to them. They left the country not on account of any ill-feeling or quarrel but of their own free will and when they left it, the Sonums escorted them, carried their luggage on the way, and returned to the Savara country after the Kittungs reached the sea coast.

13. The memory of the Kittungs is preserved in every Savara house. They find a place in the paintings on the walls. Since they are demi-gods in human form, they are represented as men. Of Bimma and Ramma, the former is supposed to be the elder and progenitor of the Savaras and the latter, the younger and progenitor of the men of the plains. Consequently, the Savaras believe that they are superior to the men of the plains.

Notion of supreme deity

14. Sun, the supreme deity among the Savaras, is called by various names in different regions, *viz*, Dharma Boya, Lankan, Ayungang, Daramman, Uyungan, Dharam Deota, Sing Bonga, Gaddel or Gadel-Jang, all referring to the Sun or the position of the Sun in the sky. People of this village call the Sun as Uyungan or Uyo. He is considered as the life giver. At the time of worship, it is absolutely necessary that there should be a drawing of the Sun on the wall near the place of worship. An additional drawing of a snake also is found, probably, to represent the eclipse of the Sun which they believe to be due to the periodical swallowing of the Sun by a snake. The Savaras explain the story of the snake swallowing the Sun and the Moon not due to their position being a subordinate one to that of the snake but due to a gift of the Sun to the snake to make a show of swallowing them (Sun and the Moon) so that people on earth will make plenty of offerings to the snake. The Sun deity is supposed to cause all births. He is worshipped immediately before or after marriage at any time between 8 a.m., and 3 p.m., in the household itself. Though the Sun deity is called by different names in different areas, the sacrifices made are a white goat, a white cock and a pig. Particularly, the colour of the goat must be white and not black. Besides innumerable deities, they have adopted some of the Hindu deities of the plains, such as Jamaboja (Yama, the God of death) and the idea of heaven or hell. They believe that all the ancestral spirits live together in one and the same place.

* Dr. G.V. Sithapathi : 'The Soras' — An article published in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. XIII Parts 3 & 4.

Conception of the universe

15. They consider the sky (*ruangas*) as the abode of the Uyunga (Sun); the Moon (Angaitha) is his wife, the stars and planets as their children; Ringeboi is the Goddess of wind and Ganuiboi, the Goddess of rain. Sonums are supposed to cause or manifest the forces and phenomena of nature. In short, every house is treated as the abode of a deity (Dako-sung-boi also—stay-housedeity) and every important part of a house has a special deity, *viz*, Kuda-boi at the hearth, Medi-boi on the loft, Ganon-roi-al-Sum at the caves of the thatched house and Garna-da-sun at the threshold.

Conception of sin

16. One who observes the customary rites, formalities, ceremonials and festivals, is considered by Savaras to be a good man—*bangse-mar*. One who does not observe or fails to observe the customs (*ukka*) is considered a *ranka-mar* (bad-fellow or man). They believe that the punishment for the sin is meted out by the offended deity or the spirit. The nature of life and avocations of their ancestral spirits and deities are sometimes revealed through seances. According to the belief of the Savaras, the life of the Sonums is similar to that of the human beings on earth. The spirits and deities are said to be very fond of liquor and therefore come close to the liquor pots.

17. As they (Savaras) ascribe disease, every untoward occurrence or adversity in life and every case of death to one or the other of the various evil spirits which may work either on their own accord or under the influence and direction of sorcerers controlling them, when a person suffers prolonged illness, first of all they consult a diviner, to ascertain the cause of the illness and its source. The rites for diagnosis are of a magico-religious character while the treatment varies with the results of the seance which is a purely religious one; in some cases, it is magico-religious; in some other cases it is magico-medicinal also.

18. They think that the efficacy of the drugs increases if they are administered by the medicine man along with some spell. Some medicines are considered to be so powerful that they can ward off the evil effects of sorcery. *Solan-a-regam*—sorcery medicine, a mixture of more than a dozen drugs is put in a small case made of five metals—copper, brass, silver, iron and gold and the case is tied as an amulet called *dongra* to the wrist or waist of the victim. This is followed by the sacrifice of a fowl or a goat or a pig to the spirit as revealed by the diviner at the seance.

19. Adultery (other than incest), theft and falsehood, though treated as offences, are not considered sinful (*erse*), as they are not offences against the deities and spirits. Murder is considered as an offence against the society. The culprit has to pay compensation to the bereaved family as decided by the elders of the village and sacrifice an animal to propitiate the ancestral spirits and the Sonums in general and distribute the flesh of the sacrificed animal and liquor as well among all the families in the village. Cases of theft and adultery are very rare among the Savaras. Though, cases of murder are many, the culprit does not hesitate to speak the truth and never tries to conceal the fact or deny the act.

Conception of human soul

20. The Savaras conceive that every person has, besides the corporal body, two substances—one is known as *baleng-purada-n* (substance that maintains the life of the body) or *sanna-purada-n* and the other *suda-purada-n* which is identified with the heart. This *sanna-parada-n* is born with the body and it remains in the body as long as the body lives and it dies with the body. Breathing, snoring and the movement of the limbs, etc., are explained with reference to the influence of the *suda-purada-n* which never leaves the body. The *suda-purada-n*, though born with the body of a person is independent of the body and can leave and re-enter the body as it does frequently, when the body sleeps. It does not die with the body and is immortal. The mental, moral and other activities of a person are attributed to *suda-purada-n*. The *suda-purada-n* re-enters the body when the person awakes. Dreams are supposed to be due to the wanderings of the *suda-purada-n* which in its course of wanderings comes across such *suda-purada-n*.

Transmigration of the human soul

21. The *suda-purada-n* can never have rebirth so long as it remains in the stage of a *kulba*. It may, if it so desires, have a rebirth only after it becomes an ancestral spirit. It all depends on its will and pleasure. The medicine man knows all the details about the *kulba* that possesses a person and of

driving away the *kulba* from the person that is afflicted by the *kulba*.

22. Their conception of *karma* does not go beyond the performance of the stipulated or customary ceremonies, rites and festivals. Failure to perform the funeral rites of the dead person would keep the *suda-purada-n* of the dead person in the stage of a *kulba* and bring upon the dilinquent the wrath of the *kulba* as well as of the ancestral spirits interested in that dead person. The Savaras are, therefore, very particular about the performance of the funeral rites and there is hardly a case of neglect in this matter.

Ceremonies, rites and festivals

23. The ceremonies, rites and festivals observed by the Savaras may be classified into two : those relating to the individual families in the village and those relating to the village as a whole. Ceremonies and rites relating to childbirth, tonsure, attainment of puberty, marriage and death come under the first category whereas those relating to the agricultural operations and harvest festivals come under the latter. Members of all the Savara households in the village are invited to the ceremonies observed in a Savara family. Though it is the bounden duty of the household to bear the burden of the expenses at these ceremonies and rites, generally, the invitees do not remain indifferent. They get a little quantity of rice and also vegetables depending on the number of members in the household and also lend a helping hand in the preparation of food, vegetables and other arrangements. In the same way, the village festivals are also observed by collecting contributions in kind from the households of the tribe in the village.

24. The festivals observed by them include Sankranthi, Ugadi and Kandikotha (also known as Kothapanduga), besides appeasing many deities and hill spirits.

Sankranthi

25. Savaras worship their ancestors once in a year for the Sankranthi festival. They invite the Yajjodu, the priest. The ancestors are symbolised with white marks on the wall two feet above the ground by the side of the oven. He makes a circle in front of the oven. Over the circle, he keeps a little rice. The fowl which is to be offered to the ancestors is allowed to eat the rice after its legs and mouth are washed with water. The elderly male member of the household sacrifices the fowl. The blood of the fowl along with one seer of cooked rice is offered to the ancestors. Then, they cook food and curry the fowl and feast upon along with the invitees of the neighbouring households. Special preparations like *garelu* and *ariselu* are made for this festival.

26. They get new clothes for this festival and maintain the house neatly and also decorate it with lime drawings.

Ugadi

27. It is a festival observed by the Savaras in token of the New Year Day which falls in the month of *Dolo* (March-April). All the villagers make contributions and purchase a pig. The meat is equally shared among the people and is cooked and eaten. This is also a festival of feasting and drinking. Special preparations like *garelu* and *ariselu* are relished, if possible.

Agam

28. This is a festival observed to commemorate the ancestors once in five years during the month of *Karthika* (October-November) when they get good crops. If they do not raise good crops, this festival may be celebrated during the following year.

Kandikotha or Kothapanduga

29. This festival is dealt with at Jakaradevatha. From the above account of the festivals observed by these people, it may be inferred that Savaras are Hindus, though they are not aware of it and kept mum when they are asked what their religion was.

Worship of deities

30. People of this village worship mainly two deities, *viz*, Jaliademudu also known as Sandhidemudu and Babdevatha or Jakaradevatha also known as Durga. Babdevatha or Jakaradevatha is located just by the side of the households in Kalliti proper, symbolised in a stone under a tamarind tree. The Jaliademudu is symbolised in the form of a wooden pole 4 feet in height and fixed into the ground at a distance of about 200 yards to the south of Kalliti proper, just by the side of the way leading to Rella village (Figure 24).

31. Every worship of the deity and festival among the Savaras is followed by sumptuous feast

and heavy drink. Description of procedural observance of the worship of the village deities is given in the following paragraphs.

32. The worship of the Sandhidemudu is performed on Sunday or Wednesday in any of the month or months they desire. This deity is worshipped when there is an outbreak of any epidemic in the village, towards expenses of which contributions are collected from the entire village. A cock is purchased. Every household cooks rice with drumstick curry in the day preceding the actual day of worship and offer it to the Yajjodu. The Yajjodu takes with him the cooked rice, turmeric powder, a plant or a branch of a tree named *thodika*, and fire to the place where the deity is worshipped. He draws a small circle with the turmeric powder and keeps a little rice over it. He keeps the fire by the side of the circle and places the *thodika* plant or branch on the fire. It is believed that the deity who would be invoked with the smell of the smoke caused by the *thodika* would accept the offer. The Yajjodu then washes the legs and mouth of the cock and feeds it with the rice spread on the circle. If the cock eats the rice, it is offered in the name of the deity. Otherwise, they return home without offering the sacrifice. The cock may be sacrificed by any one among the Savaras of the village. Meanwhile, the rice cooked with drumstick leaves is brought by all the households and is heaped at the deity. The heap of food is known as *akuppalai*. The Yajjodu pours the blood of the sacrificed fowl until it gets red completely. The people pray the deity to accept the offer and safeguard the village from the epidemic or other evil effects. Afterwards, all the people take bath in the nearby hill stream. The sacrificed cock is cooked and is eaten by them at the hill stream.

Jakaradevatha

33. The worship of Jakaradevatha is performed on the following Sunday after the new moon day in the month of *Margasira* (November-December). This festival is otherwise known as Kandikotha. On the Thursday preceding the Sunday, they smear their houses with dung and mud and decorate them with *rangavalli*—decorative drawings with lime powder. On the Thursday evening, all the villagers take bath in the hill stream and proceed to bring the deity Durga symbolised in an axe. The traditional priest Janni, offers incense and brings the deity (symbolised in the axe) to the accompaniment of musical instruments. The Janni keeps the Goddess Durga at the Jakaradevatha, which is situated in the centre of Kalliti village. The keeping of the Goddess Durga at the Jakaradevatha is known as *adakalai*. On the following day *i.e.*, Friday, the Janni cooks one seer of rice which is known as *bhuvanam* or *bode*. The Goddess is given bath with water and applied with castor or *ippa* oil and turmeric and is marked with *sindhur* on the forehead. The Janni keeps a little rice in front of the Goddess. A little water is poured in the cock's mouth and its legs are washed. It is then allowed to eat the rice kept in front of the deity before it is immolated before the deity. The heart of the cock known as *kaseagare* is then removed and cooked after adding turmeric powder and salt to it. The rice cooked along with the *kaseagare* is offered first to the deity and then distributed among all the people by the Janni. All the villagers including females dance before the deity followed by the beating of drums. Then they take the deity to the neighbouring villages, namely, Rella, Nurukonda, Tenkasing and Gunaja—all lying within a radius of 3 miles from the village, one after the other until Sunday evening. On the Monday morning all the villagers take bath in the nearby hill stream. The cow which is proposed to be offered to the deity is taken before the deity and its head is made to touch the Goddess Durga by any unmarried male of the village. The cow is then immolated in the name of the deity on the outskirts of the village. The blood of the sacrificed cow is cooked, adding salt and turmeric powder to it. One seer of rice also is cooked separately. The Janni keeps a little of the cooked rice in three leaves keeping them in a straight line. A little of the cooked blood of the animal sacrificed (cow) is also kept over the rice kept in the leaves. This is known as *siggonna*. The remaining part of the cooked blood and rice is served among all the villagers. The flesh of the sacrificed cow is also distributed among all the people equally, by any of the persons who attended at the time of sacrificing the cow. On the same day, the deity Durga is kept at its original place on the hill, accompanied by local music and dancing. They enjoy heavy feasting and drink. Men as well as women participate in this festival and spend the whole day in dancing.

34. The hill spirits known as Laddalu or Kondadevathalu are worshipped by the Savaras when a crop is harvested, by offering a fowl. People pray these spirits in order to appease them so that they would ward off not only any of the evils but also secure good crops and prevent

crop failures. On the occasion of worship, the Yajjodu and the persons who want to offer *puja* (worship) take bath in the nearby hill stream. The Yajjodu draws a circle with turmeric powder in the field of the person offering *puja*. They take along with them a little rice, turmeric powder, incense and a fowl or chicken. The Yajjodu keeps the rice in the circle and the fowl is allowed to eat it after its legs and mouth are washed. The owner of the land, *i.e.*, the person offering *puia* sacrifices the chicken or fowl in the name of Laddalu praying for a good crop. The meat is cooked adding chillies and salt. Rice is separately cooked. All the people that participated in the worship are fed with this food and meat and then they return to their houses.

Rugaboi

35. This deity also called Ammoru or Ammavaru is the controlling deity of epidemic diseases like small-pox, cholera, etc. She is appeased by sacrificing a goat every year in the month of *Vaisakha* (April-May) at the entrance of the village. Any strong man in the village can sacrifice the goat in the name of this deity.

Musical instruments

36. During festival occasions and at dances, Savaras play on the following musical instruments:

(i) *Thudumu*: It is an earthen pot covered with cow's membrane. A rope is tied to the two ends of it so as to hang it to the neck of the person playing on it.

(*ii*) *Pedda thudumu:* This is a musical instrument of big size prepared out of wood known as *gummadikarra*. The top of it is covered with cow's membrane (locally known as *tangilisal*). A jute rope is tied to the two ends of it so as to hang it from the neck of the person playing upon it. They use thin strips of cow skin knitted in the form of a stick of 8" to 12" length to play on the two sides of the instrument. (*iii*) *Kadingi:* This is a circular frame covered with goat's membrane. This instrument also is tied with a rope so as to be carried conveniently. To play upon this, a bamboo stick of one foot called *dangu* is used. (*iv*) *Pane:* It is a flute prepared out of bamboo pipe and dried pumpkin shell (*anapakaya burra*). It is an essential musical instrument which is played whenever they find leisure. (*v*) *Donkri and thala: Donkri* and *thala* (cymbals) are the other two instruments also found in use in this village. Figures 25 and 26 show the above instruments.

Village organisation

37. Prior to the abolition of the Jeypore Zamindari, there used to exist a tribal council for each village or a group of villages. There were the village Naiko, Yajjodu, Janni, Disari and Barika as the functionaries under the defunct system. This system enjoyed the official recognition in the past under the erstwhile Zamindari system. The various functionaries used to attend the functions attached to them under the guidance of the Naiko, the head of the village. As a gratification towards the services rendered by them, they were exempted from the payment of revenue. The functions attached to each of the personnel is described below.

38. *Naiko:* He acts as the leader of the village and looks after the interests of the village. The services of the village Naiko are honorary.

39. *Yajjodu:* He was generally an eunuch who attends on witchcraft *i. e.*, to cure the persons of the evil spirits or devils that they are said to be possessed by. If the village is not fortunate enough in securing an eunuch, a woman attends to the work or else if a male is made a Yajjodu, he will have to put on women's attire. No reason as to why a Yajjodu should be either an eunuch or a female was given by the informants.

40. *Janni:* He is otherwise known as Boya who attends to performing *puja* and to sacrificing of animals to the village deities.

41. *Disari or Disaradu:* He is consulted to fix up the auspicious time (*muhoortham*) before undertaking any new work, for example, construction of house, marriage alliance, tonsure ceremony, etc. He also fixes the day and time for the celebration of festivals and worship of deities.

42. *Barika:* He used to attend to all sundry works at the village level. He had to report cases of thefts, births, deaths, any cognizable offences like murder, etc. to the village Naiko. He attends on the visiting officials to the village by way of supplying water, vegetables, fuel etc. He also accompanies the officers on visits to the other villages to acquaint them with the local people and the conditions therein. His word in the settlement of village disputes used to carry decisive weight.

43. In Kalliti village, there was no Yajjodu. Whenever the services of a Yajjodu were required, the Yajjodu of the neighbouring village was invited. The Janni of Jatapu tribe and the Barika of Domb caste belonging to Rella village used to come to this village which did not have its own Janni and Barika whenever their services were required. The Savaras of this village (Kalliti) used to give them *battem* in cereals as a token of their services.

44. Even though this system has lost its official recognition since 1949 when the Zamindari system was abolished, the old traditions still continue though unofficially, for purposes of local administration. The Revenue Department represented by the Revenue Inspector at Gummalaxmipuram, is now levying land revenue over the lands cultivated by them under terraced cultivation. But the *vetti* system under which one is compelled to attend to the work of the Muttadar without payment does not exist.

45. At present, the tribal council consists of the old functionaries and a few village tribal elders. This council known as *birnamar* settles minor disputes, thefts, cases of elopement and *maganali* (taking away another's wife). The villagers reported that so far, no major crime was committed in the village. If a theif is detected, a fine amounting from Rs. 2 to 5 is levied upon the culprit. The fine thus collected is equally distributed among those who settled the dispute. Grave offences like murder would be reported to the nearby police station at Elwinpet.

Village Panchayat

46. Kalliti village is included in the village Nurukonda for the statutory panchayat purposes. Elections were held during December 1961. One member, Sri Seemala Nandru—the Village Naiko was unanimously elected as a member to the Nurukonda panchayat. Sri Kondagorre Mokshalingam from Nurukonda was unanimously elected as president. None of the informants could give other particulars of the panchayat.

47. There are no voluntary organisations, clubs, libraries, recreation centres, Bharat Sevak Samaj, Scouts, Mahila Samithi, Bhajana Mandali etc., except the conducting of folk dances at the time of festivals. Nor is there any co-operative society in the village. As the land holdings in the village are not surveyed, there are no village officials *viz*, Munsiff (Village Headman), Karnam (Village Accountant) for this village.

Inter-household relationship

48. It is stated earlier that people of only Savara tribe inhabit Kalliti village. As all the people are nearest relations either as agnates or cognates they live together peacefully. They help each other at the time of agricultural operations *viz*, ploughing, sowing, harvesting and threshing, etc. Agricultural implements of one household are made use of by another household during intermittent periods of repairing or preparing new ones. At the time of ceremonious occasions like marriage, obsequies, etc., people of all the households are invited and entertained at community feasting. People of other households participate in the ceremonies by way of assisting in the arrangements. Whenever food provisions are exhausted in a household, they fetch them from the neighbouring households. In the same way, domestic utensils are acquired when relatives arrive and hand loans in small amounts are taken whenever necessary. Expenditure towards the festivals observed in the village is borne in common by all the households and all the people participate in them.

Inter-hamlet relationship

49. As already stated in Chapter I, the houses are spread over three habitational areas, *viz*, Kalliti proper, Anthimanuguda and Kothaguda. There are 9 households in Kalliti proper, 8 households in Anthimanuguda and 15 households in Kothaguda. The latter two habitats came into existence only during 1959, when an epidemic spread and took a toll of about 50 lives due to food poisoning and large number of households took their abodes in the two habitats *viz*, Anthimanuguda and Kothaguda, both at a distance of one furlong from the main village.

50. As the village Naiko (leader) is living in the main village, any of the visiting Government Officials first visit the main village and receive the hospitality of the Naiko. Kalliti village including the other two habitats comes under the Nurukonda village panchayat. As the land was not surveyed, there are no village officials *viz*, the Munsiff (Village Headman) and Karnam (Village Accountant). The festivals observed in the name of Jaliademudu and Jakaradevata and the feasts that follow are performed commonly by the people of the three habitats. People of all the three habitats assist each other in all the agricultural operations and allied pursuits. Marital alliances are contracted among these hamlets. Social ceremonies like marriage, death, etc., observed in a household in one hamlet are also attended by the people of the other habitats.

Chapter VI

SOCIAL REFORMS, AWARENESS AND ATTITUDE

Inheritence of property

Among the Savaras, the custom prevalent regarding the inheritance of property is that it is equally distributed among the sons. Even in the absence of sons, neither the daughter nor the wife has a complete right over the property. Brothers or brother's sons of the deceased apportion between themselves all but a nominal share to the wife or daughters of the deceased.

2. None of the persons in the village are aware of the Hindu Laws of Succession and Adoption, not to speak of the recent changes in them. Of the 32 informants, 31 are of the view that all the sons should get equal shares of the property of the father. In one case, no specific information was given. However, on grounds of equity, 14 people conceded that daughters also should have equal right over their father's property along with sons. Of the 14 persons who condescended the above view, 4 persons are in each of the age ranges of 21–30; 31–40 and 51 & above years, and 2 are in the age group of 41–50 years (Table 59).

3. This village has no panchayat of its own and falls under the jurisdiction of Nurukonda village panchayat. The president of the panchayat hails from Nurukonda village. The office of the panchayat is in Nurukonda village. Sri Seemala Nandru, the village Naiko of this village has been chosen unanimously as a member of the Nurukonda village panchayat. Very few persons of Kalliti village are aware of the Panchayat, Panchayat Samithi and Zilla Parishad. But most of them (29 out of 32) are aware of their Tribal Council (Table 68). Of the 32 informants, 28 had stated the function of the Caste Panchayat to be to settle disputes arising among the tribe as well as to settle cases of divorce and separation. One informant expressed that the main purpose of the Tribal Council was to settle land disputes and *maganali* (eloping with another's wife) cases, etc. Information about the functions of the Village Panchayat, Panchayat Samithi and of the Gram Sevak is not known to them. They are quite unconcerned about all these matters.

Family planning

4. None of the villagers is aware of what family planning is, and the necessity for its implementation. However, after being explained as to the evils and consequences of the disproportionate growth of population to the overall increase in the availability of economic resources, 8 out of 33 persons interviewed could accept the need for taking recourse to limiting the size of families. But, they differed at the stage of implementation of family planning. Among these 8 persons, 2 are of the view that 2 children–one son and one daughter would be sufficient; 4 stated that the optimum number would be 3 – two sons and one daughter, whereas one each expressed that one should have 4 and 5 children respectively (Table 54).

5. Among the 8 persons who expressed family planning in principle, the 2 persons who were satisfied with two children are in the age group of 31–40 ; the 4 persons who were content with three children are one each in the age groups of 21–30, 31–40, 41–50 and 51 & above years and each of the two persons who wanted that one should have 4 and 5 children respectively, are in the age groups of 31–40 and 21–30 (Table 55).

6. Table 56 speaks of the attitude towards family planning with reference to age of child bearing women. As stated earlier, 8 Savaras have expressed a desire to adopt family planning. Two of them who want to adopt family planning after two children have wives aged between 31–35 years. The wives of 4 persons who would like to adopt family planning after 3 children are one each in the age groups of 16–20, 26–30, 36–40 and 41 years & above. There are two females–one in the age group of 26–30 and another in the age group of 21–25, whose husbands desire to adopt family planning after 4 and 5 children, respectively.

7. Of the 32 informants one was not married. Among the 23 persons who wanted that no ceiling should be imposed over the number of children to be born and who suggested: 'Let God's will prevail', the duration of marriages is below five years

in respect of 5 persons; 6–10 years in case of 6 persons; between 11 and 15 years in case of two persons; between 16 and 20 years in case of 3 persons and 21 years & above in respect of 7 persons. In case of the 8 persons who agree to family planning in principle, the duration of marriages is 11–15 years in case of 2 persons, 16–20 years in case of 2 persons and 21 years & above in case of another 2 persons, whereas among the remaining 2 persons, for one person each the duration of marriage is below 5 years and between 6–10 years, respectively (Table 57).

8. To speak about economic background of the persons who expressed their opinion on family planning, 20 and 3 persons hail from the households with income ranges of Rs. 300 and below, and Rs. 301–600 per annum respectively, who wanted more children. The 8 persons who expressed the limiting of families according to the economic mite distributed among the income groups of Rs. 300 and below, Rs. 301–600 and Rs. 601–900 are 4, 2 and 2 respectively (Table 58). It may be inferred from the above that the views expressed regarding family planning, whether in the affirmative or in the negative, have no basis of economic foundation.

Dowry payments and Hindu Marriages Act

9. No one in the village knows even as a hear-say information, anything about the Acts relating to prohibition of Dowry and Hindu Marriages. But in case of 30 households, it was reported that it was customary to make payments in kind and cash as well to the parents of the bride (Table 53).

Untouchability

10. Only a bare 2 of the 32 persons interviewed are aware of the prohibition of untouchability under Law. But the Paidis or Dombs of the neighbouring villages are not allowed to touch the people of this tribe.

Chapter VII

CONCLUSION

Situated on a hill top at an altitude of about 2,500 feet amidst a series of barriers found on either side of the way with picturesque hillocks in the Eastern Ghats, Kalliti is wholly inhabited by the Savara tribe, said to be a very ancient one, the origin of which is traceable even in epics and Puranas.

2. Their mode of dress, food habits etc., are primitive. Literacy among those people is absolutely nil. Their method of construction of houses is simple in technique with the locally available wood in the nearby forests and mud in the vicinity of their houses. They seek the help of community labour in the construction of houses. The ornaments worn by the women are of base metals like brass and bell-metal and yet give a gorgeous appearance with the many rounds of bead necklaces worn around their necks. Their material equipment is mostly of earthenware household utensils supplemented by a few aluminium utensils. The types of marriages accepted customarily are : (1) *Pancoi* (Marriage by negotiation), (2) *Dunducoi* (Marriage by elopement), (3) *Kinnersin* (Marriage by service) and (4) *Marumanuvu* (widow re-marriages). Elder brother's widow is to be accepted as wife by one of the younger brothers as a matter of custom.

3. *Kondapodu* is the chief source of livelihood of these people. Besides this, a few households have small plots of terraced lands, wherein wet cultivation of paddy and finger millet is taken up with spring water. The agricultural practices as well as the implements are antiquated. The crops raised by them hardly suffice half of their requirements in a year. So, they depend upon edible roots and tubers and a gruel prepared out of a powder of dried mango nuts. Per capita income and per head expenditure are Rs. 55·68 P. and Rs. 61·89 P. respectively per year. It speaks of the utter poverty and penury enjoyed by them. The rate of capital formation is very insignificant with a paltry sum of 0·09 P. per head per year.

4. The cultural life of the people also is primitive. Regarding their social awareness, the least said is the best said. All of them except a few are not aware of the existence of the Village Panchayat, not to speak of the Panchayat Samithi and Zilla Parishad. In the same way, they are ignorant of the Hindu Laws of Succession and Adoption, Prohibition of Dowry Act, Untouchability Offences Act and Family Planning, etc.

5. The Savaras are simple in their needs and honest to the core. But they seem to be rich in tradition and steeped in their staunch belief in spirits and rituals.

6. As the Savaras are mostly agriculturally oriented people, the only possible course open for their economic advancement is through improvements in agriculture. They may be supplied with a good variety of seeds ; taught the use of chemical fertilisers and provided with irrigation facilities. It is possible to experiment with and develop coffee and tea plantations and each family may be entrusted with certain plots of plantations and if they are allowed to reap the fruits of their labour, there is no doubt that the economy of these simple, honest and straight – forward people will be greatly enriched.

APPENDIX

TABLES

The Tables presented herein are based on the data collected in respect of the 32 households inhabiting Kalliti village at the time of survey done in December 1962.

TABLE 1

Area, Houses and Population

Year	Area		Density per Sq. mile	No. of houses	No. of house-holds	Population		
	Acres	Hectares				Persons	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1961	*	*	*	49	41	181	91	90

SOURCE: *Primary Census Abstract 1961*

*Figures are not available as this village is not surveyed by the Land Survey and Settlement Department.

TABLE 2

Size and Composition of Households

Total number of households	Single member			Two or three members			Four to six members			Seven to nine members			Ten members and over		
	Number of house-holds	M	F	Number of house-holds	M	F	Number of house-holds	M	F	Number of house-holds	M	F	Number of house-holds	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
32	1	1	...	10	13	13	19	41	48	1	3	4	1	9	5

M = Males *F* = Females

TABLE 3

Households and Population by Religion, Sect/Sub-sect and Tribe

Religion	Tribe	Sub-division	Total number of households	Persons	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Hindu	Savara (Scheduled Tribe)	Konda	32	137	67	70

TABLE 4

Population by Age Group and Sex

Tribe (*1*)	*Sex* (*2*)	*Total of all ages* (*3*)	*Age group (years)* 0–14 (*4*)	15–24 (*5*)	25–59 (*6*)	60 & above (*7*)
Savara	Males . . .	67	27	10	29	1
	Females . . .	70	29	15	25	1
	Total . . .	**137**	**56**	**25**	**54**	**2**

TABLE 5

Population by Age Group and Marital Status

Age group (years) (*1*)	*Total population* Persons (*2*)	Males (*3*)	Females (*4*)	*Never married* Males (*5*)	Females (*6*)	*Married* Males (*7*)	Females (*8*)	*Widowed* Males (*9*)	Females (*10*)
0–14	56	27	29	27	28	...	1	...	...
15–24	25	10	15	3	1	7	14	...	...
25–59	54	29	25	...	...	28	21	1	4
60 & above	2	1	1	...	...	1	1	...	...
Total	**137**	**67**	**70**	**30**	**29**	**36**	**37**	**1**	**4**

TABLE 6

Population by Age Group, Sex and Education

Tribe (*1*)	*Age group (years)* (*2*)	*Total* Persons (*3*)	Males (*4*)	Females (*5*)	*Illiterate* Persons (*6*)	Males (*7*)	Females (*8*)	*Literates* Persons (*9*)	Males (*10*)	Females (*11*)
Savara	0–14	56	27	29	56	27	29	...	...	...
	15–24	25	10	15	25	10	15	...	...	...
	25–59	54	29	25	54	29	25	...	...	...
	60 & above	2	1	1	2	1	1	...	...	...
	Total	**137**	**67**	**70**	**137**	**67**	**70**	...	...	...

TABLE 7

Household Heads by Age Group, Literacy and Sex

Tribe (1)	Age group (years) (2)	Number of household heads						
		Literate		Illiterate		Total		
		Males (3)	Females (4)	Males (5)	Females (6)	Males (7)	Females (8)	Persons (9)
Savara	0–14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15–24	...	...	3	...	3	...	3
	25–59	...	...	26	2	26	2	28
	60 & above	...	...	1	...	1	...	1
	Total	...	...	**30**	**2**	**30**	**2**	**32**

TABLE 8

Deaths by Age Group, Marital Status and Sex during last Five Years

Tribe (1)	Marital status (2)	Males					Females			
		Age group (years)					Age group (years)			
		0–14 (3)	15–24 (4)	25–59 (5)	60 & above (6)	Age not stated (7)	0–14 (8)	15–24 (9)	25–59 (10)	60 & above (11)
Savara	Never married	2	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	Married	...	...	2	...	1	...	2	1	...
	Widowed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
	Total	**2**	**1**	**2**	...	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**

TABLE 9

Livelihood Classes

Location Code Number and name of village (1)	Area in square miles (2)	Occupied houses: No. of houses (3)	Occupied houses: No. of households (4)	Total No. of persons enumerated including inmates of institutions and houseless persons: P (5)	M (6)	F (7)	Inmates of institutions and houseless people: M (8)	F (9)	Literates: M (10)	F (11)
				*1951 Census						
8. Kalliti	...	45	45	158	91	67	...	...	...	...
				1962 Survey						
44. Kalliti	...	32	32	137	67	70	...	...	...	...

TABLE 9 — *Contd.*

Livelihood Classes

Location Code Number and name of village (1)	Agricultural classes: I-Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents: P (12)	M (13)	F (14)	II-Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents: P (15)	M (16)	F (17)	III-Cultivating labourers and their dependents: P (18)	M (19)	F (20)	IV-Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependents: P (21)	M (22)	F (23)
					*1951 Census							
8. Kalliti	15	11	4	143	80	63	...	...	...	...	...	...
					1962 Survey							
44. Kalliti	...	...	...	137	67	70	...	...	...	...	...	...

* Source: *1951 Census Handbook, Srikakulam District*

...

TABLE 9 — *Concld.*

Livelihood Classes

Location Code Number and name of village (1)	Non-agricultural classes — Persons (including dependents) who derive their principal means of livelihood from: V-Production other than cultivation: P (24)	M (25)	F (26)	VI-Commerce: P (27)	M (28)	F (29)	VII-Transport: P (30)	M (31)	F (32)	VIII-Other services and miscellaneous sources: P (33)	M (34)	F (35)
					*1951 Census							
8. Kalliti	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
					1962 Survey							
44. Kalliti	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

P = Persons *M* = Males *F* = Females

TABLE 10

1961 Primary Census Abstract

Location code Number	Name of village	Area of village in square miles	Occupied residential houses		Total No. of persons enumerated (including inmates of institutions and houseless persons)			Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Tribes	
			No. of houses	No. of households	P	M	F	M	F	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
44	Kalliti	...	49	41	181	91	90	...	...	91	90

TABLE 10—*Contd.*

1961 Primary Census Abstract

Location code Number	Name of village	Houseless population		Institutional population		Literate and educated persons		Total workers (I-IX)		Workers			
										I-As cultivator		II-A agricultural labourer	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
(1)	(2)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)
44	Kalliti	...	...	...	...	...	...	64	57	56	51	8	6

TABLE 10—*Concld.*

1961 Primary Census Abstract

Location code Number	Name of village	Workers															
		III-In mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting & plantations, orchards & allied activities		IV-At household industry		V-In manufacturing other than household industry		VI-In construction		VII-In trade and commerce		VIII-In transport, storage and communications		IX-In other services		X-Non-workers	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
(1)	(2)	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)	(29)	(30)	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(39)	(40)
44	Kalliti	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	27	33

TABLE 11

Workers and Non-workers by Age Group and Sex

Age group (years)	Total			Total workers			Total non-workers		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	8)	(9)	(10)
0–14	56	27	29	11	7	4	45	20	25
15–34	55	25	30	54	25	29	1	...	1
35–59	24	14	10	23	14	9	1	...	1
60 & above	2	1	1	1	1	...	1	...	1
Total	**137**	**67**	**70**	**89**	**47**	**42**	**48**	**20**	**28**

P = Persons M = Males F = Females

TABLE 12

Distribution of Workers by Occupation, Age Group and Sex

Age group (years)	Kondapodu			Agricultural labourer		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
0–14	10	7	3	1	...	1
15–34	50	25	25	4	...	4
35–59	23	14	9	...	...	...
60 & above	1	1	...	...	...	...
Total	**84**	**47**	**37**	**5**	...	**5**

TABLE 13

Workers by Age Group, Sex, Industry, Business and Cultivation belonging to the Household

Age group (years)	Total			Working in industry belonging to the household			Working in business belonging to the household			Working in cultivation belonging to the household			Other services		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
0-14	11	7	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	7	3	1	...	1
15-34	54	25	29	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	25	25	4	...	4
35-59	23	14	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	23	14	9	...	...	...
60 & above	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
Total	**89**	**47**	**42**	...	...	...	...	...	...	**84**	**47**	**37**	5	...	5

P = Persons *M* = Males *F* = Females

TABLE 14

Non-workers by Age Group, Sex and Nature of Activity

Age group (years)	Total number of non-workers			Persons engaged in household duties only			Full time students or children attending school			Dependents		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
0-14	45	20	25	1	...	1	...	...	...	44	20	24
15-34	1	...	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
35-59	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
60 & above	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
Total	**48**	**20**	**28**	**2**	...	**2**	...	...	...	**46**	**20**	**26**

TABLE 15

Households engaged in Cultivation, Industry or Business belonging to Household

Total number of households	*Households engaged in cultivation run by households*	*Households engaged in industry run by households*	*Households engaged in business run by households*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
32	32	...	...

TABLE 16

Traditional Occupation by Households

Traditional occupation	*Number of Households*
(1)	(2)
Kondapodu . . .	32

TABLE 17

Place of Occupation

		Kondapodu		*Agricultural labourers*	
		Number of workers		*Number of workers*	
Place of occupation	*Distance from the village*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Kalliti	...	47	37	...	5

TABLE 18

Occupational Mobility—Cause of Change and Contentment

Tribe	*From traditional occupation*	*Number of households changing over*	*To contemporary main occupation*	*Number of households changing traditional occupation*			*Number of informants who are not content with present occupation*
				Voluntarily	*Forced by circumstances*	*Other reasons*	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Savara	...	...	...	...	...	...	1

N.B.: Information has not been furnished for the remaining households

TABLE 19

Occupational Mobility—Nature of Aspiration

Main occupation	*Number of households*	*Number of informants who want their sons to be in the same occupation as in col. (1)*	*Unspecified*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Kondapodu	32	24	8

TABLE 20

Households by Main Occupation

Tribe	*Main occupation*	*No. of households*
(1)	(2)	(3)
Savara	*Kondapodu*	32

TABLE 21

Combination of Occupations

		Number of households with subsidiary occupation			
Main occupation	*Total number of households*	*Cultivator*	*Agricultural labourer*	*Collection and selling of minor forest produce*	*Coolie*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Kondapodu	32	3	22	7	9

TABLE 22

Main Occupation, per capita Annual Household Income and Family Type

	Number of households and per capita annual household Income ranges (in Rupees)																
	1-50				51-100				101-200				201 & over				
Main occupation	*S*	*I*	*J*	*O*	*S*	*I*	*J*	*O*	*S*	*I*	*J*	*O*	*S*	*I*	*J*	*O*	*Total*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
Kondapodu	8	2	3	...	12	2	1	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32

S = Simple family consists of husband, wife and unmarried children

I = Intermediate family consists of married couple and umarried brother/sister and one of the parents

J = Joint family consists of married couple with married sons/daughters or with married brothers/sisters

O = Other type of family is one which does not come under any of the above categories

TABLE 23

Households owning or possessing Land or have given out Land to Others for Cultivation

Tribe		Nature of interest on land	Number of households by extent of land: Households having no land	1 kuncham and below	Above 1 kuncham and below 5 kunchams	Above 5 kunchams and below 10 kunchams	Above 10 kunchams and below 15 kunchams	Above 15 kunchams and below 20 kunchams	20 kunchams & over
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Savaras	1	Land owned	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	2	Land held direct from Government under a tenure less substantial than ownership	...	3	14	8	5	1	...
	3	Land held from private persons or Institutions	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	4	Land given out to private persons or Institutions	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Total	...	**3**	**14**	**8**	**5**	**1**	...

Note: 1 *kuncham* = 10 cents
10 *kunchams* = 100 cents or 1 acre

TABLE 24

Agricultural Produce and Disposal during 1962–63

	Name of agricultural produce	Year 1961-62: Quantity produced	Quantity consumed by the producing households	Quantity available for sale	Quantity sold	Sale amount realised
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
		Put- Kunties chams	Put- Kunties chams			Rs.
1	Paddy	28-03	28-03	...	...	...
2	*Gantlu* (pearl millet)	37-03	37-03	...	...	...
3	Jowar (sorgham millet)	71-10	71-10	...	...	...
4	Red gram	20-10	20-10	...	...	...
5	Samalu (little millet)	10-10	10-10	...	...	...
6	*Korralu* (Italian millet)	10-08	10-08	...	...	...
7	*Chodi* (finger millet)	13-11	13-11	...	...	...
8	Turmeric	7-14	7-14	...	...	...
9	Castor seeds	0-15	0-15	...	...	...
10	Tamarind	48 *Kavadis*	48 *Kavadis*	...	...	...
11	Tobacco	¾ Maunds	3 Maunds	...	...	...
12	Chillies	4½ Seers	4½ Seers	...	...	...

Note: 20 *Kunchams* = 1 *Putti*

TABLE 25

Area under Cultivation by Households

Tribe (*1*)	*Extent* (*2*)	*Number of households* (*3*)
	Kunchams	
Savara	Below 1	3
	1-5	14
	6-10	8
	11-15	5
	16-20	1
	21 & over	...
	Total	31

TABLE 26

Possession of Livestock by Households

Tribe	*Milch cattle*		*Draught Bullock*		*Goat/Sheep*		*Pig*		*Fowl*	
	No. of house-holds owning	*Total number*	*No. of house-holds owning*	*Total number*	*No. of house-holds owning*	*Total number*	*No. of house-holds owning*	*Total number*	*No. of house-holds owning*	*Total number*
(*1*)	(*2*)	(*3*)	(*4*)	(*5*)	(*6*)	(*7*)	(*8*)	(*9*)	(*10*)	(*11*)
Savara	7	23	8	13	7	13	1	2	8	33

TABLE 27

Material Culture—Furniture acquired during last Five Years 1957–62 by Households

Tribe (*1*)	*Number of households which have acquired in last five years* — *Mirrors* (*2*)
Savara	3

TABLE 28

Material Culture—Use of Furniture and other Consumer Goods by Households

Tribe (*1*)	*Particulars* (*2*)	*Number of households using* (*3*)
Savara	**I Fuel and lighting**	
	(*a*) Forest fuel	32
	(*b*) Kerosene	21
	II Furniture and utensils	
	(*a*) Cots	32
	(*b*) Blankets	7
	(*c*) Aluminium vessels	32
	(*d*) Bell metal plates	32
	(*e*) Earthen pots	32
	(*f*) *Dokkulu*	32
	(*g*) Baskets	32
	(*h*) Mirrors	5
	(*i*) Kerosene *buddis*	21

TABLE 29

Material Culture—Some Consumption Habits by Annual Household Income and Households

	Number of households that use mosquito curtain having annual income (in Rupees) of					*Number of households that do not use mosquito curtain having annual income (in Rupees) of*				
Tribe	*1,201 & above*	*901 to 1,200*	*601 to 900*	*301 to 600*	*300 & less*	*1,201 & above*	*901 to 1,200*	*601 to 900*	*301 to 600*	*300 & less*
(*1*)	(*2*)	(*3*)	(*4*)	(*5*)	(*6*)	(*7*)	(*8*)	(*9*)	(*10*)	(*11*)
Savara	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	5	25

TABLE 29— *Contd.*

Material Culture—Some Consumption Habits by Annual Household Income and Households

	Number of households that use toilet soap/washing soap having annual income (in Rupees) of					*Number of households that do not use toilet soap/washing soap having annual income (In Rupees) of*					*Number of households that send clothes to washermen having annual income (in Rupees) of*				
Tribe	*1,201 & above*	*901 to 1,200*	*601 to 900*	*301 to 600*	*300 & less*	*1,201 & above*	*901 to 1,200*	*601 to 900*	*301 to 600*	*300 & less*	*1,201 & above*	*901 to 1,200*	*601 to 900*	*301 to 600*	*300 & less*
(*1*)	(*12*)	(*13*)	(*14*)	(*15*)	(*16*)	(*17*)	(*18*)	(*19*)	(*20*)	(*21*)	(*22*)	(*23*)	(*24*)	(*25*)	(*26*)
Savara	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	5	25	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE 29—*Concld.*

Material Culture—Some Consumption Habits by Annual Household Income and Households

	Number of households that do not send clothes to washerman having annual income (in Rupees) of				
Tribe	*1,201 & above*	*901 to 1,200*	*601 to 900*	*301 to 600*	*300 & less*
(*1*)	(*27*)	(*28*)	(*29*)	(*30*)	(*31*)
Savara	...	...	2	5	25

TABLE 30

Occupational Income, Expenditure and Budgetary Position of Households, 1962–63

Occupation	*No. of house-holds*	*No. of persons*	*Total income*	*Total expen-diture*	*No. of house-holds with surplus account*	*Surplus amount*	*No. of house-holds with balan-ced account*	*No. of house-holds with deficit account*	*Deficit amount*	*Sale of assets during current year*	*Purchase of assets during current year*	*Occupa-tional average house-hold income*	*Occupa-tional average house-hold expen-diture*
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*	*(7)*	*(8)*	*(9)*	*(10)*	*(11)*	*(12)*	*(13)*	*(14)*
			Rs. P.	*Rs. P.*		*Rs. P.*			*Rs. P.*			*Rs. P.*	*Rs. P.*
Kondapodu	32	137	7,628·75	8,478·94	8	114·00	2	22	964·19	...	...	238·40	264·94

Per capita income = Rs. 55·68 P.
Per capita expenditure = Rs. 61·89 P.

TABLE 31

Overall Annual Household Income and Expenditure Position by Households, 1962–63

Income range (in Rupees)	*No. of households with surplus account (in Rupees) of*							
	Below 5	*5–10*	*11–25*	*26–50*	*51–100*	*101–200*	*201–500*	*501 & above*
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*	*(7)*	*(8)*	*(9)*
300 & less	1	1	2	...	...	...	...	...
501—600	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	...
601—900	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
901—1,200	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1,201 & above	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	**1**	**1**	**5**	**1**	...	...	...	...

TABLE 31— *Concld.*

Overall Annual Household Income and Expenditure Position by Households, 1962–63

Income range (in Rupees)	*No. of households with deficit account (in Rupees) of*								*No. of households with balan-ced account*
	Below 5	*5–10*	*11–25*	*26–50*	*51–100*	*101–200*	*201–500*	*501 & above*	
(1)	*(10)*	*(11)*	*(12)*	*(13)*	*(14)*	*(15)*	*(16)*	*(17)*	*(18)*
300 & less	1	3	7	2	5	...	1	...	2
301—600	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
601—900	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
901—1,200	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1,201 & above	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	**1**	**4**	**7**	**3**	**5**	**1**	**1**	...	**2**

TABLE 32

Indebtedness by Annual Household Income and Households

Income group (in Rupees) (1)	Total No. of households (2)	Number of households in debt and total debt (in Rs.)		Percentage of Col. (3) to Col. (2) (5)	Average indebtedness for household in debt (6)
		No. of households (3)	Total amount of debt (4)		
			Rs. P.		Rs. P.
300 & less	25	15	345.00	60	23.00
301—600	5	4	240.00	80	60.00
601—900	2	1	18.00	50	18.00
901—1,200	...	...	...	...	...
1,201 & above	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE 33

Indebtedness by Cause, Amount and Households

Cause (1)	Indebtedness by cause of debt		
	Amount of debt (2)	Number of households in debt (3)	Percentage of debt due to cause to the total amount of debt (4)
	Rs. P.		
(a) Ordinary wants	358.00	18	59.37
(b) Ordinary wants and agricultural expenses	245.00	2	40.63
Total	**603.00**	**20**	**100.00**

TABLE 34

Money Lenders and Debtors

Tribe (1)	Period (2)	Money lenders		Debtors	
		Number (3)	Amount lent (4)	Number (5)	Amount borrowed (6)
					Rs. P.
Savara	1951–62	...	...	3	33.00
	1962–63	...	...	18	570.00
Total	...	...	...	**21**	**603.00**

TABLE 35

Credit Agency and Rate of Interest by Number of Households and Amount

Agency	Rate of interest, number of households borrowing and amount borrowed							
	Free		Below 6%		7–12%		13–18%	
	No. of households	Amount	No. of households	Amount	No. of households	Amount	No. of households	Amount
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
		Rs. P.		Rs. P.		Rs. P.		Rs. P.
				1951–62				
Private money lender		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
				1962–63				
Private money lender	5	110·00	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	**5**	**110·00**	...	...	...	...	...	...

—Contd.

TABLE 35—*Concld.*

Credit Agency and Rate of Interest by Number of Households and Amount

Agency	Rate of interest, number of households borrowing and amount borrowed							
	19–24%		25–30%		50%		100%	
	No. of households	Amount	No. of households	Amount	No. of households	Amount	No. of households	Amount
(1)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
		Rs. P.		Rs. P.		Rs. P.		Rs. P.
				1951–62				
Private money lender	...	...	...	...	2	23·00	1	10·00
				1962–63				
Private money lender	...	...	1	15·00	11	445·00	...	...
Total	...	...	**1**	**15·00**	**13**	**468·00**	**1**	**10·00**

TABLE 36

Sale of Assets during last 30 Years, 1932–62

Tribe	Number of households selling							
	Land	Livestock	Machinery	Tools & equipment	Buildings	Jewellery & valuables	Invest-ments	Other assets
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
			During 1932–1942					
Savara	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
			During 1942–1952					
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
			During 1952–1957					
	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
			During 1957–1960					
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
			During 1961–1962					
	...	...	...	...	...	...		

TABLE 37

Sale Value of Assets by Reasons and Households during 1932–62

Reasons for sale	Number of households selling land valued at						Number of households selling other than land valued at					
	Below Rs. 50	Rs. 51–100	Rs. 101–200	Rs. 201–300	Rs. 301–500	Rs. 501 & above	Below Rs. 50	Rs. 51–100	Rs. 101–200	Rs. 201–300	Rs. 301–500	Rs. 501 & above
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
In order to provide a stable means of live-lihood to his brother	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
For livelihood	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Total	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...

TABLE 38

Capital Formation by Households

Tribe	Particulars of capital formation	Value of capital formation	Number of households
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		Rs. P.	
Savara	Land	300·00	1
	Livestock	152·00	2
	Tools & equipment	14·00	5
	Buildings	30·00	2

TABLE 39

Prosperity Index during the last 10 years, 1952–62

1	Number of Households which have cleared debts which existed prior to 10 years from the income of the household	Nil
2	Total extent of debts cleared under item 1 by all the households together	Nil
3	Number of Households which have during the last 10 years	
	(a) Acquired any property and / or	6
	(b) Made any savings in cash and / or	Nil
	(c) Invested capital in any new undertaking or building	2
	Except where it is wholly from any debt incurred for the purpose and/from the proceeds of any sale of property	
4	The approximate total money value of items 3(a) to 3.c) of all the households together deducting the portion covered by debts and/or the proceeds of the sale of any property	Rs. 496·00

TABLE 40

Nature of Families through Generations

Generations	*Total No. of households*	*Types of families living in the households*				
		Simple	*Intermediate*	*Joint*	*Others*	*Unspecified*
(*1*)	(*2*)	(*3*)	(*4*)	(*5*)	(*6*)	(*7*)
Grandfather's	32	1	8	4	...	19
Father's	32	12	4	12	...	4
Present	32	23	4	4	1	...

Note: Simple family : Husband, wife and unmarried children
Intermediate family : Married couple and unmarried brother/sister and one of the parents
Joint family : Married couple with married sons/daughters or with married brothers/sisters
Others : Other types of families not mentioned above

TABLE 41

Mother Tongue and other Languages Spoken

Language	*Number of persons*		
	Total	*Males*	*Females*
(*1*)	(*2*)	(*3*)	(*4*)
1 Mother tongue			
Savara	137	67	70
2 Other languages spoken			
Telugu	50	41	9

TABLE 42

Association of Deity/Special Object of Worship

Deity/Special object of worship (1)	*Name of Tribe* (2)	*Number of households* (3)
1 Village deities		
(a) Annisin	Savaras	1
(b) Durgalu	,,	2
(c) Gadejang	,,	2
(d) Jamarajulu	,,	2
(e) Jakaradevatha	,,	1
(f) Kudanthey	,,	1
(g) Laddalu	,,	2

Note: For 20 households, nformation is not available

TABLE 43

Cultural Life

		Number of households participating in/associating with				
Tribe	*Number of households*	*Bhajana Mandali*	*Purana, Harikatha and Burrakatha kalakshepam*	*Reading newspapers*	*Listening to radio*	*Folk dances and songs*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Savara	32	...	...	...	...	21

Note: Three households reported that they listen to radio when they go to the *shandy* places

TABLE 44

Dietary Habits by Households

		Households taking					
Tribe	*Total No. of households*	*Two time meals*	*Breakfast, midday meals and supper, tea, coffee, with light dishes between midday meal and supper and tea or coffee at any other time*	*Breakfast, midday meal and supper with coffee or tea with light dishes between noon meal and supper*	*Breakfast, midday meal and supper with coffee or tea alone at any time or times*	*Breakfast, midday meal and supper*	*Two time meals with coffee or tea at any time or times*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Savara	32	9	...	...	...	23	...

TABLE 45

Staple Food and Dietary Habits by Households

Tribe	Number of households taking: Rice	Wheat	Coarser grain like bajra, millet or jowar or maize	Roots	Total number of households
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Savara	22	...	32	1	32

TABLE 46

Habit of taking Tea and Coffee by Household Income and Households

Tribe	Number of households taking tea with annual income (in Rupees) of: Rs. 1,201 & above	901-1,200	601-900	301-600	300 & below	Number of households not taking tea with annual income (in Rupees) of: Rs. 1,201 & above	901-1,200	601-900	301-600	300 & below
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Savara	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	5	25

TABLE 47

Prohibited Foods and Drinks by Number of Households

Tribe	Number of households reporting as prohibited: Food: Animals: Blood Sucker	Cat	Centipede	Dog	Frog	Mouse	Cobra	Rat	Snake	Birds: Crow	Eagle or kite	Owl	Sakunapakshi	Eggs: Crow	Kite	Snake	Number that did not report any food to be prohibited	Number that did not report any drink to be prohibited
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)
Savara	7	11	1	11	7	10		10	7	13	22	11	10	6	6	6	...	24

TABLE 48

Smoking and other Habits

Tribe	Particulars of habit	Number of members smoking & chewing: Every day: Persons	Males	Females	Festive occations: Persons	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Savara	I Tobacco smoking						
	Beedi	4	4	...	...	...	...
	Cigarette	1	1	...	...	...	...
	Cheroot	79	33	41	25	12	13
	II Chewing	...	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE 49

Marriages by Consanguinity

Tribe	Number of marriages with: Own sister's daughter (menakodalu)	Mother's own brother's daughter (menarikam)	Father's own sister's daughter (eduru menarikam)	Mother's own sister's daughter (pina or pedda talli kuthuru)	Father's own brother's daughter (pina or pedda thandri kuthuru)	Other blood relationship
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Savara	...	11	23	...	...	1

TABLE 50

Types of Marriages

Tribe	Total No. of households	Total No. of marriages	Consanguineous: No. of households	Consanguineous: No. of marriages	Non-consanguineous: No. of households	Non-consanguineous: No. of marriages	Monogamous: No. of households	Monogamous: No. of marriages	Polygynous: No. of households	Polygynous: No. of marriages	Polyandrous: No. of households	Polyandrous: No. of marriages	Inter-communal in the same religion: No. of households	Inter-communal in the same religion: No. of marriages
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Savara	32	46	26	35	10	11	30	42	2	4	...	...	...	...

TABLE 51

Marriages by Spatial Distribution

Tribe	Number of marriages contracted: Within the village	Outside the village and within the taluk: Below 10 miles	11–25 miles	26–100 miles	100 miles & above	Outside the taluk but within the district: Below 10 miles	11–25 miles	26–100 miles	100 miles & above	Outside the district but within the state	Outside the state
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Savara	21	12	11	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...

TABLE 52

Persons by Age at First Marriage

Tribe	*Age group (in years)*	*Males*	*Females*
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*
Savara	0–4	...	...
	5–9	...	1
	10–14	3	10
	15–19	11	23
	20–24	21	7
	25–29	2	...
	30–34	...	...
	35 & over	...	...
	Total	37	41

TABLE 53

Marriage Payments

Tribe	*Item of payment*	*No. of households making payment*	*No. of households receiving payment*
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*
Savara	Cash	Rs. 30	...
	Ornaments (Specify)	...	...

TABLE 54

Information and Attitude towards Family Planning

Tribe	*No. aware of family planning centre*	*No. aware of family planning*	*No. approving family planning*	*No. approving family planning after being explained*	*Total*	*Number liking to adopt family planning methods after begetting*				
						1 child	*2 children*	*3 children*	*4 children*	*5 children*
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*	*(7)*	*(8)*	*(9)*	*(10)*	*(11)*
Savara	...	...	...	8	8	...	2	4	1	1

TABLE 55

Attitude towards Family Planning with reference to Age of Head of Household

Tribe	Particulars of the stage at which they like to adopt family planning	Age of head of household (in years)					Total
		51 & above	41–50	31–40	21–30	20 & below	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Savara	1 Child	...	...	...	...	...	...
	2 Children	...	...	2	...	...	2
	3 Children	1	1	1	1	...	4
	4 Children	...	...	1	...	...	
	5 Children	...	...	...	1	...	1
	Total	**1**	**1**	**4**	**2**	...	**8**

TABLE 56

Attitude towards Family Planning with reference to Age of Child-bearing Woman

Tribe	Particulars of stage at which they like to adopt family planning	Age of the child-bearing women being (in years)							Total
		41 & above	36–40	31–35	26–30	21–25	16–20	Below 16	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Savara	1 Child	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	2 Children	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	2
	3 Children	1	1	...	1	...	1	...	4
	4 Children	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1
	5 Children	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
	Total	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	...	**8**

TABLE 57

Attitude towards Family Planning with reference to Duration of Marriage

Tribe	Number wanting more children, duration of marriage being (in years)					Number wanting no more children duration of marriage being (in years)				
	20 & above	16–20	11–15	6–10	5 or below	20 & above	16–20	11–15	6–10	5 or below
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Savara	7	3	2	6	5	2	2	2	1	1

Note: One head of the household is unmarried.

TABLE 58

Attitude towards Family Planning with reference to Annual Income of Households

Tribe	Number wanting more children, having annual income (in Rs.) of					Number wanting no more children having annual income (in Rs.) of				
	1,201 & above	901–1,200	601–900	301–600	300 & below	1,201 & above	901–1,200	601–900	301–600	300 & below
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Savara	...	...	...	3	20	...	...	2	2	4

Note: One household head is unmarried.

TABLE 59

Attitude about Inheritance of Property by Daughters equally with Sons

Tribe	Number of persons interviewed	Number of persons in the following age groups (in years) who agree that daughter should inherit equally with sons				
		51 & above	41–50	31–40	21–30	20 & below
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Savara	32	4	2	4	4	...

TABLE 60

Medical Care

Total No. of households	No. of households in which maternity cases are attended						No. of households following					
	By taking the women to hospital for confinement	By calling a doctor at home	By calling a qualified midwife	By calling an unqualified midwife	Without any assistance from outside	Unspecified	Allopathic system of treatment	Ayurvedic system of treatment	Homeopathic system of treatment	Combination of different systems of treatment or any other treatment	Location of hospital	Distance
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
32	...	...	1	...	16	3	1	...	...	...	Rella	2½ miles
											Gummalakshmipuram	14 miles
											Kurupam	25 miles

TABLE 61

Deaths by Cause, Sex and Age during last 5 years, 1957–62

Cause of death	Number of males at ages of (years)						Number of females at ages of (years)				
	0–14	15–24	25–34	35–59	60 & over	Age not stated	0–14	15–24	25–34	35–59	60 & over
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Due to cholera	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...
Fever	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Due to old age	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	
Unspecified	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	..	...
Total	2	1	...	2	...	1	1	2	...	1	1

TABLE 62

General Knowledge by Household Heads

Tribe	Total No. of house-holds	Number of household heads who knew the name of						
		Zilla-Parishad headquarters	Panchayat Samathi headquarters	Panchayat headquarters	Taluk headquarters	District headquarters	Name of principal lakes and rivers of the district	Name of project/dam etc., constructed under construction/under contemplation within the district
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Savara	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...

TABLE 63

Period of Existance of Households Immigrated during present Generation

Tribe	Number of households immigrated, the duration being (in years)				
	3 & below	4–10	11–20	21–50	51 & above
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Savara	...	2	1	...	...

TABLE 64

Settlement History of Households

Tribe	Total No. of households	Number of households settled				
		Before 5 generations	For 3-4 generations	For 2-3 generations	A generation ago	In the present generation
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Savara	32	2	9	18	...	3

TABLE 65

Place of Birth

Place of birth	First birth	Subsequent births	Number of births in the village during				
			1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Inside the village							
1 In the same household	10	14	5	5	5	4	5
2 Mother's parent's house	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 Hospital/Nursing Home	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Outside the village							
1 Mother's parent's house	...	3	...	1	...	1	1
2 Hospital/Nursing Home	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 In the husband's house	...	1	...	...	...	1	...
Unspecified	...	1	...	...	...	1	...
Total	10	19	5	6	5	7	6

TABLE 66

Immigrant Households

Tribe	Number of households immigrating from									Occupation before immigration		Reasons for immigration			
	Outside the State		Outside the District but within the State		Outside the Taluk but within the District		Within the Taluk		Unspecified	Kondapodu	Unspecified	Due to relations	To eke out livelihood	Due to marriage	Unspecified
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban							
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
Savara	2	...	...	...	1	...	3	...	26	6	26	3	2	1	26

TABLE 67

Accommodation—Houses by Number of Rooms and Persons Occupying

Tribe	Total No. of houses	Total No. of rooms	Total No. of members	Houses with no regular room		Houses with one room		Houses with two rooms		Houses with three rooms	
				No. of houses	Total No. of household members	No. of houses	Total No. of household members	No. of houses	Total No. of household members	No. of houses	Total No. of household members
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Savara	32	34	137	...	...	31	123	...	...	1	14

TABLE 68

Tribal Panchayat—Existence and Attitude by Number of Informants

Tribe	Number of households	Number according to whom Tribal Panchayat exists for Tribe	Number according to whom Tribal Panchayat should continue	Remarks including a note on the reasons for the continuance of Tribal Panchyats
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Savara	32	29	29	The Tribal Panchayats settle the disputes between husband and wife and other disputes

Note : Information has not been furnished for 3 households.

GLOSSARY

Adakalai · · Keeping of the goddess Durga at the Jakaradevatha

Adda leaf · · A kind of leaf used in stitching leaf plates

Adda · Local measure equal to one Kilogram

Adijang · · A ceremony of the bride and the bridegroom entering the house

Akkuppalai · · A heap of food kept before the God or Goddess for propitiation

Anaba · · A silver ornament worn on the hair by women

Andodaka · · Anklet

Angaitha · · Moon

Ariselu · · A sweet preparation of rice flour and jaggery cooked in oil

Arsi · · Monkey God (Hanumanthudu or Hanuman)

Asioneba · · Owl

Bada · · Gun

Bajra or Ganti · · Pearl millet

Barika · · Village servant

Baru · · Hoe

Battam · · Honorarium

Bayardanda · · Fine paid in the form of pig or goat by the present husband to the former husband while marrying a divorced woman

Beerakaya · · Ridge gourd

Bhuvanam or boda · Rice cooked by the traditional priest in Jakaradevatha festival

Birnamar · · Tribal Council

Bodantam · · A green leaf vegetable

Bottu · · A mark of vermilion on the forehead of a woman

Buddi · · A small kerosene lamp with or without a glass chimney

Chaldi · · Cooked rice of previous night

Chodi · · Finger millet

Chodi ambali · · Finger millet gruel

Dalli · · A lid made of bamboo ribs

Dappu · · A native musical instrument

Darbha · · A kind of grass used for roofing

Darani · · Threshold

Daring digna · · Kitchen

Demudu · · God

Disaradu · · Priest

Diya soong · · Living portion of the house

Docora · · A circle formed by the rice corn in connection with the preliminary test for the selection of house site

Donkri and *thala* · Cymbals

Dukandi · · Bed spread used as an upper garment to cover the body and shoulders

Dunducoi · · Marriage by elopement

Eduru menarikam · Marrying one's father's own sister's daughter

Gadapa · · Threshold

Garelu · · A savoury prepared out of blackgram dal

Gavancha · · Lower garment of a man which is also used as upper garment of woman to cover the body and breasts

Gidugu · · A palmyra leaf hat

Gijji · · Knife

Ginne · · A German silver plate to take food

Gochi · · Small rag of cloth worn by boys and girls between the two legs and tying it on both sides of the waist thread

Goona or *Donga* · A big pot

Guar · · Final obsequies

Guggilam · · Resin

Gunapam · · Crowbar

Gundruth · · A kind of bird

Gundujodu · · A gold or silver ear ornament

Idising · · A canvas bearing several tri-coloured pictures

ntiperu · · Surname

Ippa · · Bassia latifolia

Jammolusara · Seed preserved for sowing

Janni or Boya · · Traditional priest who attends to performing *puja* and sacrifices animals to the village deities

Jaram · · A fine imposed upon a man who refused to marry a girl with whom he had illicit sexual contact

Jeedi · · Cashewnut

Jeeluga · · Aeschgonomenia indica

Kadingi · · A musical instrument

Kadip and *baku* · · Knives

Kadupi · · A brass or gold nose ornament

Kagu or Karanja · Pongamia glabra

Kambam · · A carved wooden post of 5 feet in length fixed in the burial ground on the *guar* (final obsequies) ceremony

Kandikotha · · A festival at the time of harvesting redgram

Kanthob · · A big dried red pumpkin to store grain

Karnam · · Village Accountant

Kase · · Fowl

Kasiagare · · The heart of the cock

Kinnarsin · · Marriage by service

Kokoyu · · Women's hair style

Kolla or Sundri · · A small basket

Kondajathi · · Hill variety

Kondapodu or Lollo · Hill slope cultivation

Korra · · Italian millet

Korrapindi · · Italian millet flour

Kudumboi · · Midwife

Kumkumbani · · Tonsure ceremony

Labu · · A fine imposed by the tribal elders on a man who eloped with a girl and married her

Labo · · Wooden handle to stir the gruel under preparation

Labothai · · A kind of wood

Laddalu or Kondadevathalu · Hill spirits or Gods

Longdanda · · Offering of an animal to the spirit of the deceased husband by the man marrying his widow

Mada · · Loft

Maganali · · Eloping with another's wife

Malaka · · A pot to cook the curry

Mamidi tenka · · Mango nut

Marumanuvu · · Widow remarriage

Menarikam · · Marryirg one's mother's own brother's daughter

Mukkera · · A brass ornament worn to the nose

Mundri · · A hollow carved but wooden piece used for watering the cattle

Munsiff · · Village Headman

Mutta · · An administrative area consisting of a group of villages controlled by a Muttadar.

Orupdol · · Night meal

Pachabottu · · Tattooing

Pagadalabubbuda or Poosaladanda · A multi-coloured beads' necklace

Pane · · Flute

Para · · Spade

Pedalang reyadi · An iron piece of one foot length

Poorillu · · Thatched hut

Pullerukura · · A green leaf vegetable

Rame · · Cat

Rangavalli · · Decorative drawings made on floor with lime powder

Reredu · · Man's hair style

Salung · · Water pot

Sama · · Little millet

Sangoda · · An article made of thin bamboo ribs tied over the oven, on which cereals are kept for drying

Sara · · Indigeneous liquor

Sarang · · Door-frame

Sarung · · Back yard of the house

Sathuva · · A laddle made of red pumpkin

Seemagarika or Reyadi · A kind of grass

Sindhoor Mark of vermilion on the forehead

Siggonna · · A little of the cooked blood of the sacrificed animal kept over the rice which is kept in leaves before the deity

Somavaram santha · Monday *shandy*

Sonums · · Spirits or deities

Soong · · Thatched hut

Tambadod · · Midday meal

Tangda or Pakali · Breakfast

Tarang dading · · A pot to cook rice

Thatti · · Basket

Thodika · · A kind of tree

Thudumu · · A musical instrument

Thumbikura · · A green leaf vegetable

Thungsa · · Saree

Tondolu · · A gold or silver ornament worn to the ear

Tungsup · · A thick and coarse cloth worn by women as saree (lower garment)

Turu · · Harrow

Udarthoi · · A kind of bird

Ulavalu · · Horse-gram

Uyu · · A small patch of hair kept on the scalp after tonsuring

Uyungan or Uyo · Sun

Vetti · Compulsory labour service/labour without payment

Vodise · · A kind of tree

Voli · · Bride price

Vonri or *Rokali* · · Wooden pestle

Yansi · · Finger ring

Yenjang · · Toe ring

Yejjodu · · An eunuch who attends on the witchcraft

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