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CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME II

ANDHRA PRADESH

PART VI-VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS
SERIAL No. 33

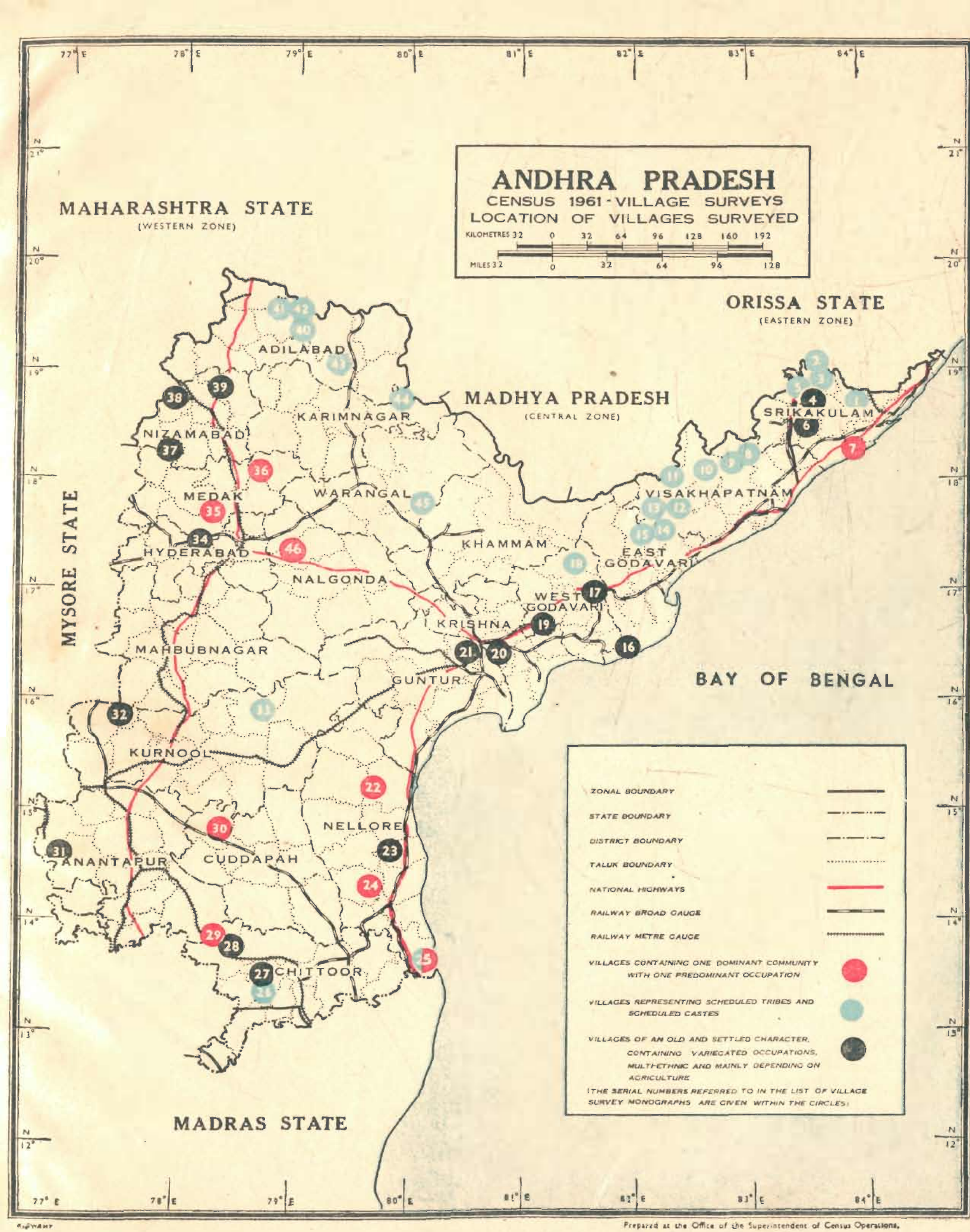
A MONOGRAPH
on

BYRLUTIGUDEM

(ATMAKUR SUB-TALUK, KURNOOL DISTRICT)

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

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Prepared at the Office of the Superintendent of Census Operations, Hyderabad (A. P.)

Name of District	Name of Taluk	Sl. No.	Name of village	Brief details of what the village represents
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(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	Karada	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	Palempalle	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

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

PART I-A	..	General Report
PART I-B	..	Report on Vital Statistics
PART I-C	..	Subsidiary Tables
PART II-A	..	General Population Tables
PART II-B (i)	..	Economic Tables (B-I to B-IV)
PART II-B (ii)	..	Economic Tables (B-V to B-IX)
PART II-C	..	Cultural and Migration Tables
PART III	..	Household Economic Tables
PART IV-A	..	Report on Housing and Establishments (with Subsidiary Tables)
PART IV-B	..	Housing and Establishment Tables
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PART V-B	..	Ethnographic Notes on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes
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PART VII-A (1) PART VII-A (2)	..	Handicrafts Survey Reports (Selected Crafts)
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District Census Handbooks (*Separate Volume for each District*)

Supervision and Guidance

By

Sri K. V. N. GOWD, B. Com. (HONS.),

Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations

First Draft

Sri K. S. S. RAJU, M.A.,

Economic Investigator.

Field Investigation

1. Sri K. S. S. RAJU, M.A.,
   Economic Investigator.
2. Sri A. R. K. MURTHY, M.A.,
   Economic Investigator.
3. Sri M. V. S. RAI, B.A.,
   Economic Investigator.

Scrutiny of the Draft

1. Sri P. PATTAYYA, B.SC.,
   Tabulation Officer.
2. Sri V. RADHAKRISHNA, B.A., B. COM.,
   Research Assistant.

Photographs

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

Maps & Drawings

1. Sri M. KRISHNA SWAMY.
   Artist-Draughtsman.

FOREWORD

Apart from laying the foundations of demography in this sub-continent, 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-enthnic 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 II.

NEW DELHI
July 30, 1964.

ASHOK MITRA
Registrar General, India.

PREFACE

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

It has been mentioned in the Preface to *A monograph on Kotha Armur*, published first in the Village Survey Monographs Series, that in this State 47 villages were selected for the survey of which 9 villages fell under the category of villages each with one predominant occupation, 22 villages contained numerically predominant Scheduled Tribes (two of the villages have been combined into one monograph) and 16 villages were villages of fair size of an old and well settled character containing variegated occupations and multi-ethnic in composition. Of the 47 villages, 2 villages, *viz*, Keslapur and Bhurnur were proposed to be covered in one monograph as both of them represented the Gonds and the Pradhans. But subsequently it was considered adequate if Bhurnur village alone was studied in detail incorporating the importance and role of the tribal *jatara* (annual fair) which is held at Keslapur village, in the cultural life of the Gonds and the Pradhans. The net result is that Keslapur is omitted from the scope of village survey as such. This brings the total number of villages covered in the State to 46 reducing the second category of villages, *i.e.*, those predominantly populated by a Scheduled Tribe taken up for survey from 22 to 21 (17 villages with Scheduled Tribes, 3 villages with tribes not Scheduled *viz*, Samanthus, Koya Dhoras and Mathuras, and 1 village with a Scheduled Caste, Dombs). The village Byrlutigudem (No. 33 in the State Map before the inner title page gives the location of the village) covered by the present monograph falls under the second category, representing the Tribe, Chenchus.

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 was selected for survey. Similarly, some interior tribal villages that were selected were necessarily small. 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.

As regards the scope of the survey, the scheme as originated envisaged that an Investigator should be able to cover each village in about a week or 10 days. The scope of the survey as then contemplated was, of course, very limited; it could not have been possible to canvas a detailed schedule to every household in the village and build up statistical data. As explained in the Foreword, the scope of the survey went on expanding and ultimately on the basis of the conclusions arrived at the study camp held in Delhi in December, 1961, a very detailed village survey schedule was drawn up. When we started canvassing this schedule, 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. In this State the village surveys were started off very early, even in 1960 itself and several villages had already been covered by the time the scope of survey was enlarged. Only a limited number of villages were therefore covered by the new method canvassing a very detailed schedule. An attempt was made to re-survey a good number of villages already covered so as to bring them under the new method. But the limitation of time made it difficult to re-survey all of them 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 schedule 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 carefully chosen for their academic qualifications, experience in Community Development Organisation or their ability and aptitude to move closely with rural and tribal folk, they were not specialists in conducting the surveys contemplated. They have had no technical training in demography, sociology or anthropology. Some of their observations may not stand the minute scrutiny of an expert in a particular field but the Investigators can certainly claim to have recorded all the first hand information they gathered truthfully, and it is open to the experts to draw their own conclusions on the statistical data presented.

The present monograph covers Byrlutigudem, a tribal village lying in Nallamalai tract of Kurnool District, which serves as the habitation of one of the primitive tribes of Andhra Pradesh, *viz*, the Chenchus. The total population of the Chenchus in Andhra Pradesh is 17,609 as per 1961 Census and all of them live in this belt of hilly forest land on either side of the river Krishna, largely concentrated contiguously in the Kurnool, Mahbubnagar and Guntur Districts. Byrlutigudem represents the life of these tribals in their aboriginal state and also shows how the developmental activities instituted for their uplift have been slowly changing their lives.

But this village was one of the earliest villages covered in 1960 itself under the original very limited scheme of survey. First visit was made during March 1960 (14-3-60 to 22-3-1960). Subsequently in August 1961 (27-8-61 to 31-8-61), consanguineous marriage survey was conducted in this village. In August 1962, Dr. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty, Office of the Registrar General, India, New Delhi visited this village and threw some valuable guiding light on the study. In November 1963 (27-11-63 to 3-12-63) another short visit was made by me accompanied by one of the Investigators, Shri K. S. S. Raju to gather some more details to make the study a little more comprehensive. The field work in this village was conducted by the Investigators Sarvasri A. R. K. Murthy, M. V. S. Rai and K. S. S. Raju. The assistance given to the Investigators by the Forest Departmental officials and the staff of Chenchu School, the Women's Welfare Centre and the Co-operative Society and the whole-hearted co-operation of the Chenchu elders is acknowledged. I was assisted by the Tabulation Officer, Sri P. Pattayya, the Research Assistant, Sri V. Radhakrishna and the Artist-Draughtsman, Sri M. Krishnaswamy under the supervision and guidance of the Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations, Sri K. V. N. Gowd, in bringing out this monograph. The printing was supervised by Sri P. A. Krupanandam, Supervisor.

A. CHANDRA SEKHAR

Superintendent of Census Operations,
Andhra Pradesh.

CONTENTS

Pages

Foreword . . . . . iii–v

Preface . . . . . vii–viii

Chapter I THE VILLAGE 1–7

Introductory — Location — Physical aspects — Flora — Fauna — Climate — Size of village — Scope of survey — Residential pattern and some important public places — Burial ground and crematorium — Places of worship — Sources of water — Administrative and welfare institutions and markets — History of the village.

Chapter II THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENT . . 9–20

A. PEOPLE: Origin and history of the Chenchus — Social structure — Legendary significance of the gotra — Population — Family type and size — Physical appearance.

B. HOUSING

C. DRESS AND ORNAMENTS: Dress — Ornaments — Hair style — Bathing habits.

D. OTHER MATERIAL EQUIPMENT: Furniture — Domestic utensils — The hearth — Implements.

E. DIETARY HABITS: Food — Drinking and smoking.

Chapter III SOCIAL CUSTOMS 21–31

Pregnancy and birth — Abortion and contraception — Naming ceremony — Tonsure ceremony — Puberty — Marriage — Permissible partners for marriage — Consanguineous marriages — Preliminaries for marriage — Marriage proceedings — Divorce — Death — Superstitious beliefs — Chenchu tests to show innocence.

Chapter IV ECONOMY 33–49

General — Economic resources — Factors influencing economic life in the village — Forest administration and the Chenchu rights — Chenchu mirasis—*Srisailam metta mirasi—Watchmen of the agricultural fields—another mirasi system*—Land reclamation and colonisation scheme — Improvement in communications — Expansion of marketing facility — Prohibition law — Economic activities — Brief description — Agriculture — Reclamation and Chenchu Land Colonisation Scheme — *Management and working of the Society* — Crop pattern and crop sharing — Animal husbandry — Forestry labour — Collection of minor forest produce — Collection of honey — The Atmakur Chenchu Co-operative Society — Business of the Society — Mirasi system — Salaried employment in the forest services and developmental institutions —Intensive household economic survey — Case studies.

Chapter V CULTURAL LIFE AND VILLAGE ORGANISATION . . 51–63

Language — Folk lore — Play habits — Religion and worship of deities — *Clan deities — Village deities — Deities associated with diseases — Symbols of deities — Other regional deities and saints* — Festivals — Village organisation — Kulapanchayat — Role of functionaries — *Function of Panchayat and nature of disputes* — Other aspects of social and cultural life — *Women Welfare Centre — Women welfare — Case studies — Child welfare* — Chenchu Higher Elementary School and Boarding Home.

Chapter VI CONCLUSION 65–66

Pages

APPENDICES

Appendix I TABLES 69–73

Appendix II Questionnaire for Socio-economic survey of Selected Villages in Andhra Pradesh (Annexures I & II)—Consanguineous Marriages Survey Schedule (Annexure III). 75–86

Glossary 87–88

MAPS

Andhra Pradesh State Map showing the Location of Villages Surveyed. *Before Inner Title*

Location Map of Byrlutigudem xiii

Map of Byrlutigudem Village xiv

Layout sketch of households in Byrlutigudem Village . xv

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure No.

1 A general view of Byrlutigudem from the road point . . . xvii

2 The New Chenchu Housing Colony . . . xviii

3 Another view of Byrlutigudem xviii

4 The *koneru,* an old monument xix

5 An old Chenchu brooding over with a puff of *beedi* . . . xx

6 A typical old Chenchu woman by her *kottam* (oblong hut) . . xxi

7 A Chenchu mother with her child in the cloth sling carrying a bundle of firewood xxii

8 A typical Chenchu conical hut xxii

8(A) A typical Chenchu conical hut and its ground plan . . xxiii

9 The Chenchus in the private *kirana* shop . . . xxiv

10 A Chenchu home xxiv

11 The Chenchu mother with her children in the kitchen . . xxv

12 Domestic utensils xxv

13 Household goods xxvi

14 Implements xxvi

15 Bow and arrows xxvii

16 A typical Chenchu sitting on a bamboo cot and ready to leave for his work . xxviii

17 Delicing of hair xxix

18 Woman's dress and hair style xxx

19 A goat pen-cum-dwelling xxxi

20 Chenchu women returning home with loads of fuel and forest produce . xxxii

21 An old Chenchu couple xxxiii

22 Child Care xxxiv

23 Shaving xxxiv

24 Liquor distilling plant of the Chenchu xxxv

25 An old Chenchu weilding his bow and arrow . . . xxxvi

Figure No.		*Pages*
26	Acrobatics? No. Honey collecting operations	xxxvii
26A	Honey collection	xxxviii
27	The *kaduma*, the fishing basket just out of water	xxxix
28	Industrious Chenchu	xl
29	Chenchu deities	xli
30	Murthjavali *daraga* – A look from outside	xli
31	Murthjavali *daraga* – A closer look at the tomb of the saint	xlii
32	The Chenchu funeral and burial ground	xlii
33	The Chenchu Higher Elementary School – Staff and students	xliii
34	The Byrluti School Colony	xliii
35	The Chenchu Boarding Home – Boys pray at dinner time	xliv
36	The Chenchu Boarding Home – Girls at dinner	xliv
37	Farewell – The outgoing students at the Chenchu Boarding School	xlv
38	Child Welfare – Women Welfare Organiser assisting the Health Inspector in vaccinating the Children	xlv
39	The creche and nursery of Women Welfare Centre	xlvi
40	*Annadana* : Feeding the destitute	xlvi
41	An invalid Chenchu waiting for food near the Boarding Home	xlvii
42	The Chenchu families	xlvii
43	Gulla Edanna's family	xlviii

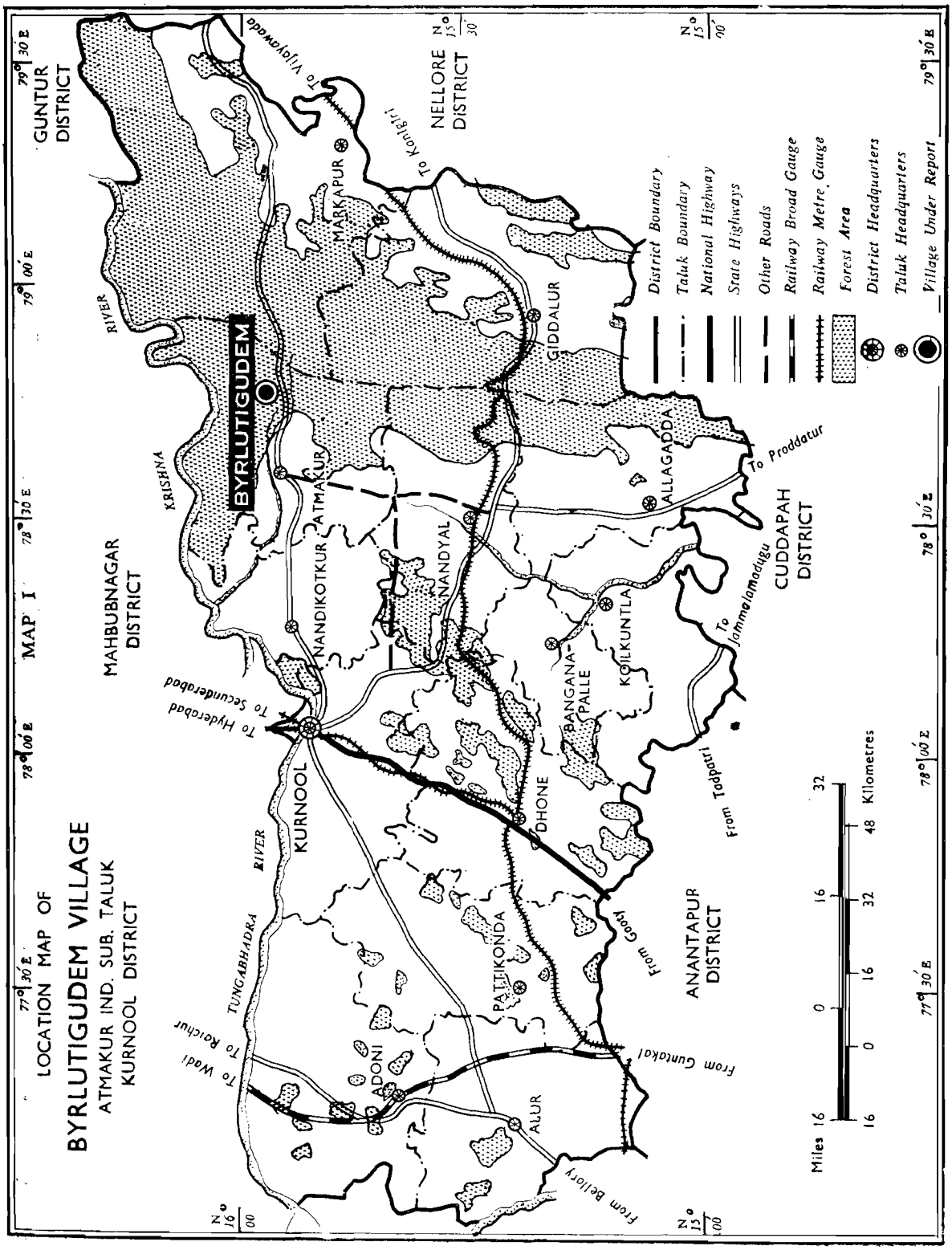
STATEMENTS

STATEMENT NO.		
I	Wild Life	3
II	Particulars of Rainfall	4
III	Percentage Increase in Population from 1951 to 1961.	12
IV	Population of Chenchus by Gotra, Size of Household and Number of Households	13
V	Marital Alliances by Intiperu	25
VI	Economic Activity Calendar of Chenchus, 1961	37
VII	Particulars of Leased out Lands	40
VIII	Tenancy and Crop Sharing Pattern, 1963	40
IX	Details of Animal Stock	41
X	Particulars of Honey Sales	44
XI	Particulars of Raw Wax Sales	44
XII	Particulars of Mirasidars	46
XIII	Particulars of Salaried Employees	47
XIV	Particulars of Income	48
XV	Some Telugu Words spoken by Chenchus and their Meaning	51
XVI	Details of Clan Deities	53
XVII	Details of Kulapanchayat	55
XVIII	Progress of Activities of Women Welfare Centre, 1962–63	60-61
XIX	Strength of the Chenchu Higher Elementary School from 1949 to 1961	62

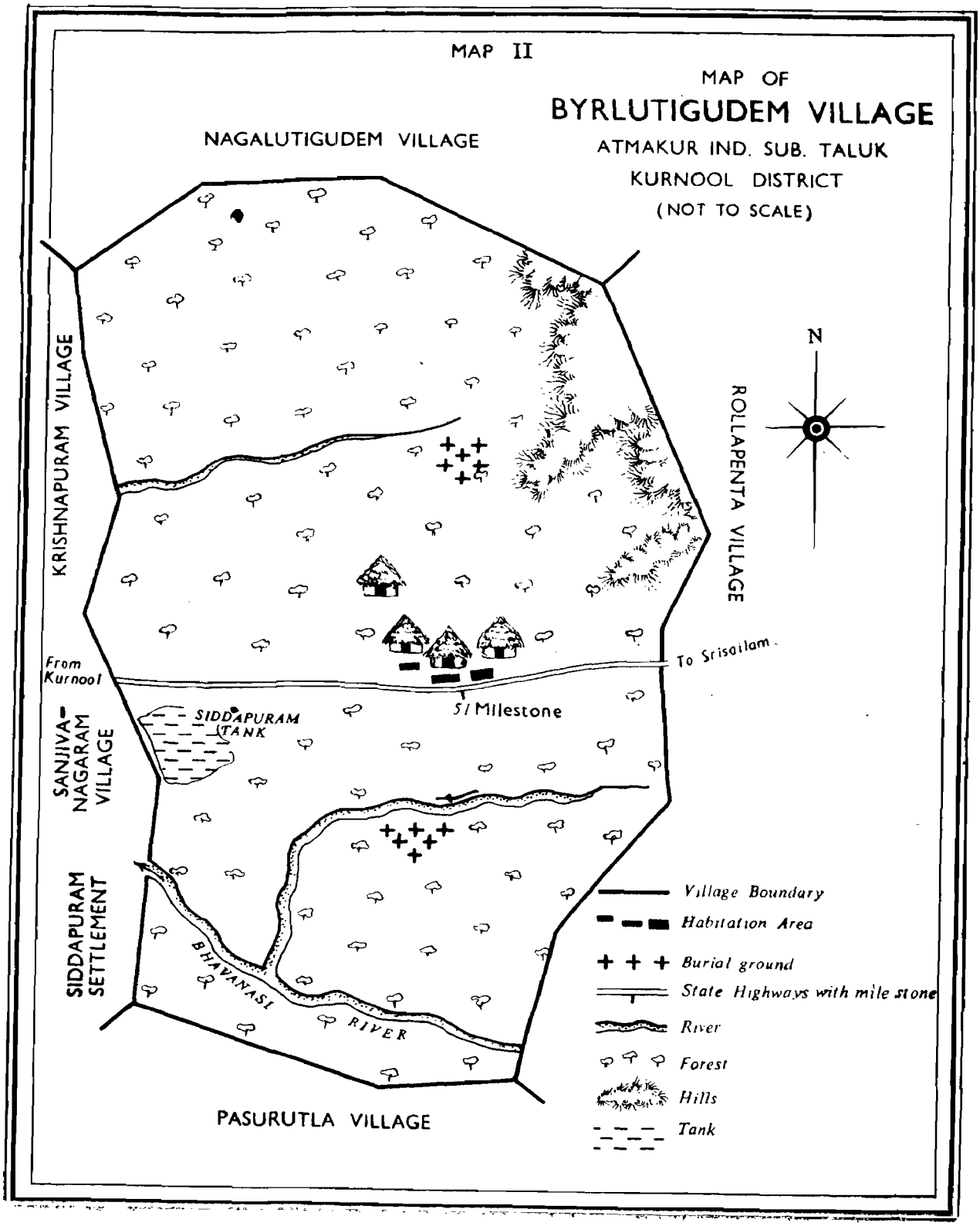
TABLES

TABLE NO.		Pages
1	Surveyed Households and Population	69
2	Area, Houses and Population	69
3	Size and Composition of Households	69
4	Traditional Occupation by Households	70
5	Occupational Mobility, 1960	70
6	Possession of Livestock and Poultry	70
7	Material Culture—Possession and Use of Furniture and other Consumer Goods	71
8	Average Annual Expenditure	71
9	Indebtedness by Annual Household Income and Households	71
10	Nature of Family	72
11	Dietary Habits by Households	72
12	Staple Food and Dietary Habits	72
13	Marriages by Consanguinity	72
14	Marriages	73
15	Distribution of Chenchu Population in Andhra Pradesh, 1961	73

MAP I


MAP I
LOCATION MAP OF
BYRLUTIGUDEM VILLAGE
ATMAKUR IND. SUB. TALUK
KURNOOL DISTRICT
BYRLUTIGUDEM
MAHBUBNAGAR DISTRICT
GUNTUR DISTRICT
NELLORE DISTRICT
CUDDAPAH DISTRICT
ANANTAPUR DISTRICT
KURNOOL
ATMAKUR
NANDIKOTKUR
NANDYAL
MARKAPUR
GIDDALUR
ALLAGADDA
DHONE
BANGANAPALLE
KOILKUNTLA
PAITIKONDA
ADONI
ALUR
KRISHNA RIVER
TUNGABHADRA RIVER
To Vijayawada
To Kandukur
To Hyderabad
To Secunderabad
To Raichur
To Wadi
To Proddatur
To Jammalamadugu
From Tadpatri
From Gooty
From Guntakal
From Bellary
District Boundary
Taluk Boundary
National Highway
State Highways
Other Roads
Railway Broad Gauge
Railway Metre Gauge
Forest Area
District Headquarters
Taluk Headquarters
Village Under Report
Miles 16 0 16 32
Kilometres 16 0 16 32 48

MAP II


MAP II
MAP OF
BYRLUTIGUDEM VILLAGE
ATMAKUR IND. SUB. TALUK
KURNOOL DISTRICT
(NOT TO SCALE)
NAGALUTIGUDEM VILLAGE
KRISHNAPURAM VILLAGE
ROLLAPENTA VILLAGE
N
From Kurnool
To Srisailam
51 Milestone
SIDDAPURAM TANK
SANJIVA-NAGARAM VILLAGE
SIDDAPURAM SETTLEMENT
BHAVANASI RIVER
PASURUTLA VILLAGE
Village Boundary
Habitation Area
Burial ground
State Highways with mile stone
River
Forest
Hills
Tank

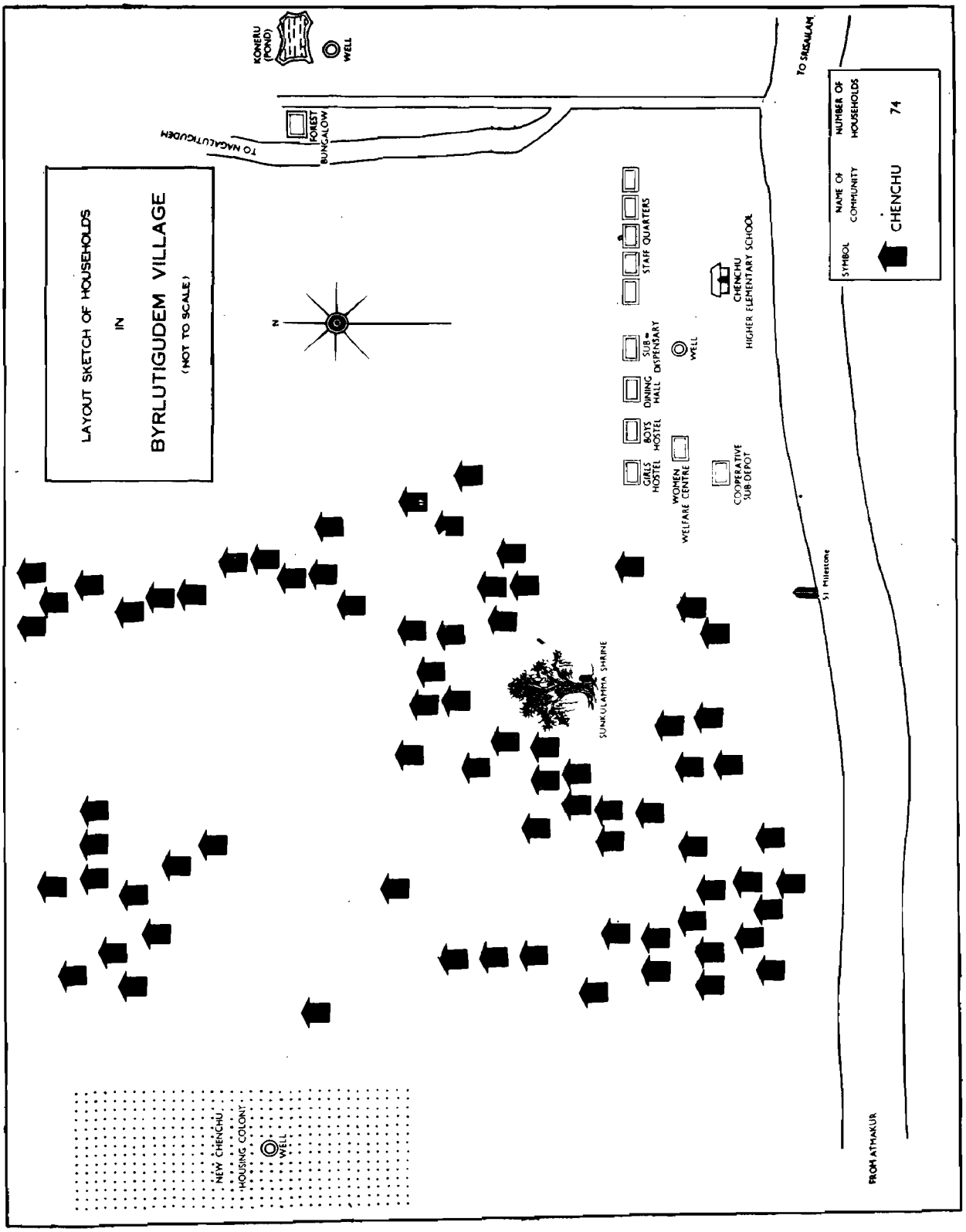

LAYOUT SKETCH OF HOUSEHOLDS
IN
BYRLUTIGUDEM VILLAGE
(NOT TO SCALE)
KONERU (POND)
WELL
TO NAGALUTIGUDEM
FOREST BUNGALOW
TO SARALAM
N
STAFF QUARTERS
SUB-DISPENSARY
DINING HALL
BOYS HOSTEL
GIRLS HOSTEL
WELL
CHENCHU HIGHER ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
WOMEN WELFARE CENTRE
COOPERATIVE SUB DEPOT
SUNKULAMMA SHRINE
51 Milestone
FROM ATMAKUR
NEW CHENCHU HOUSING COLONY
WELL
SYMBOL
NAME OF COMMUNITY
NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS
CHENCHU
74



Fig. 1—A general view of Byrlutigudem from the road point.

(Chapter I – Paras 2 & 3)

In the forest of Nallamalais one suddenly comes across a group of strange looking conical huts lying dispersed in a forest clearing nestled in a tamarind tope, adjacent to the Kurnool – Srisailam road on the left near 51st milestone. The serenity and quiet atmosphere, characteristic of the Chenchu tribal habitat at once strikes the visitor.

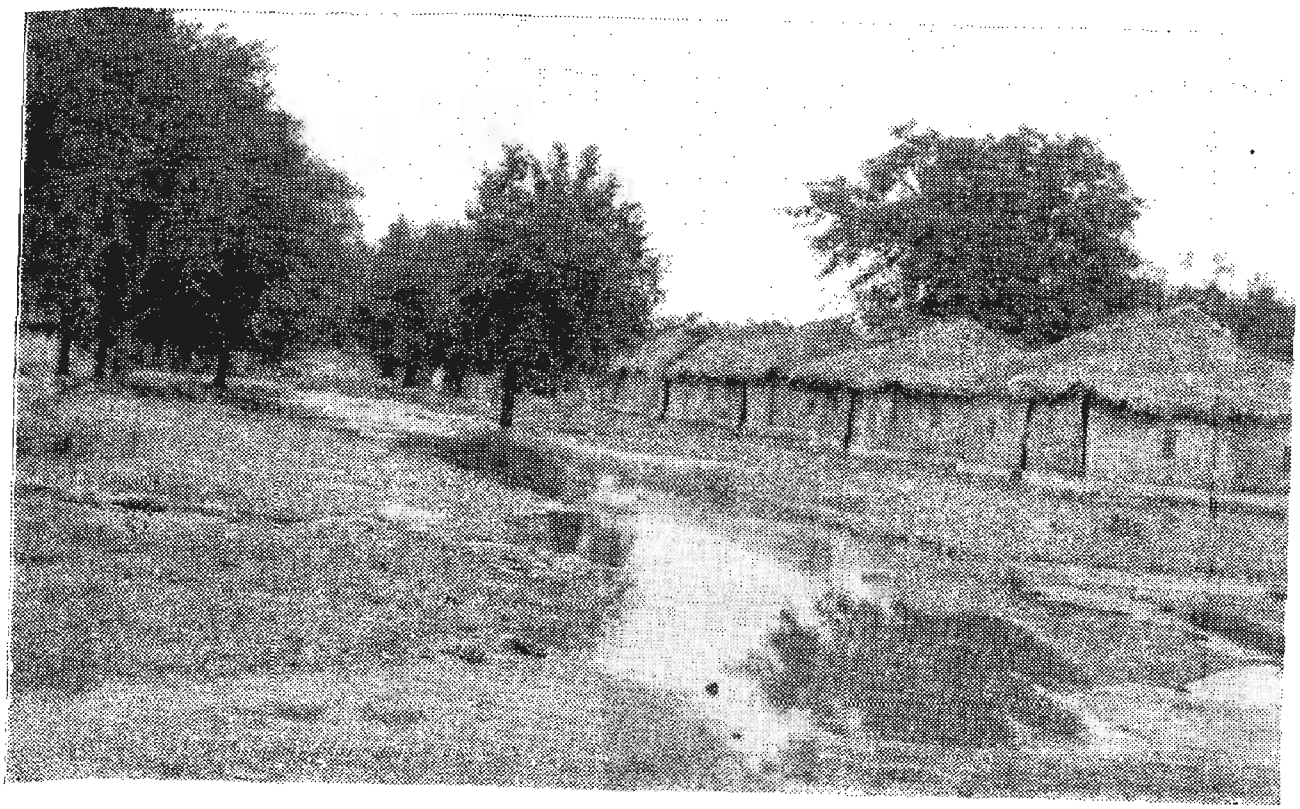


Fig. 2—The New Chenchu Housing Colony.

(Chapter I - Para 3 & Chapter II - Para 18)

New ones replace the old — so was the hope when the new row of houses replaced the old cluster of Chenchu conical huts. This new colony is unfortunately located in a low-lying-area and gets inundated in the heavy rainy season and the tribals do not appear to be particularly happy to live in it.



Fig. 3—Another view of Byrlutigudem.

(Chapter I - Paras 2 & 3)

The Chenchus had to find shelter in a temporary sort of sheds, when their new housing colony was inundated due to overflow of the Siddapuram tank during the heavy rains in August 1961. On such occasions, or when they migrate for working in the interior forest coupes, they put up small two-sloped huts called *kottam*. Their housing tradition seems to have stood in good stead against the vagaries of weather and their precarious nature of their living conditions.

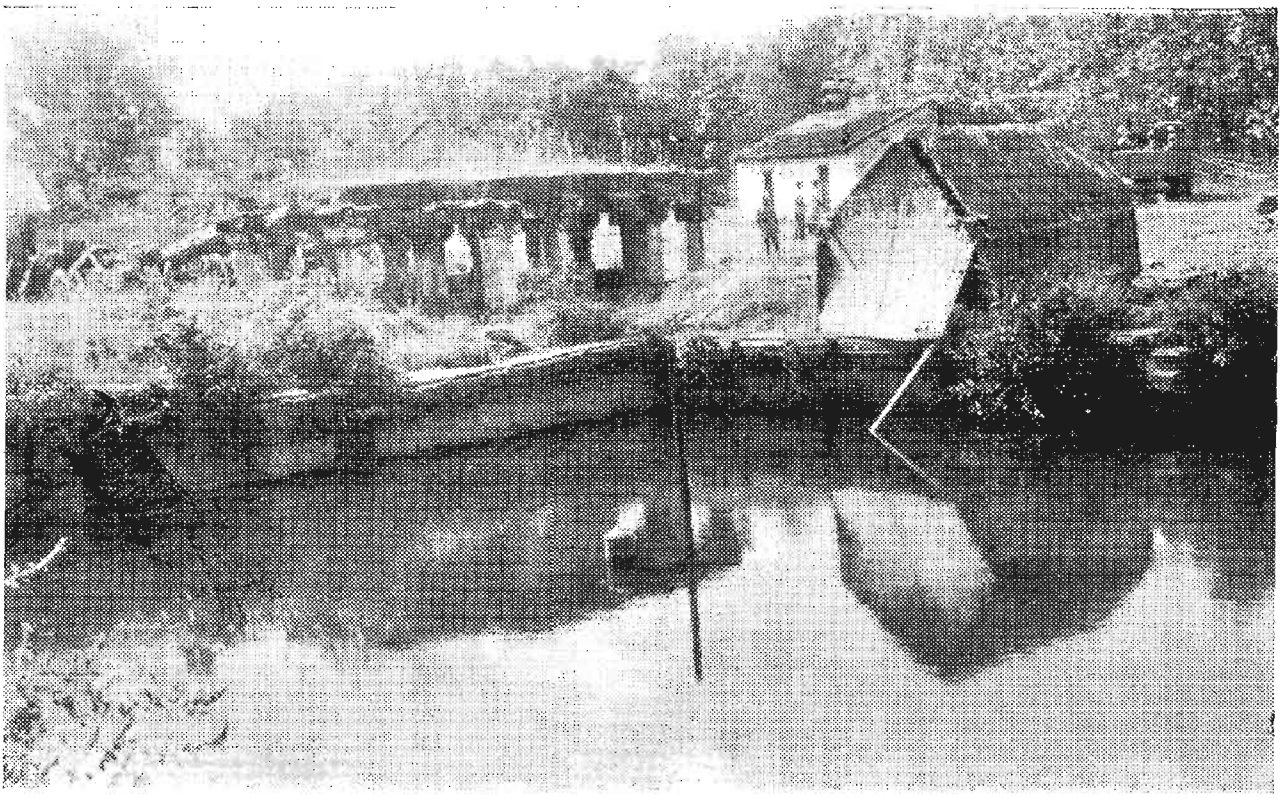


Fig. 4—The koneru, an old monument.

(Chapter I – Para 12)

Byrlutigudem village has an association with historical monuments like Bhyrava deity and a *koneru* (stone revetted spring pond) near it. The same site has now become a centre for Forest Administration and developmental activities.



Fig. 5—An old Chenchu brooding over with a puff of beedi.

(Chapter II – Paras 13, 23 & 27)

He represents the old Chenchu generation which has already developed a regular discipline of work in the forest coupes as piece-rate workers.

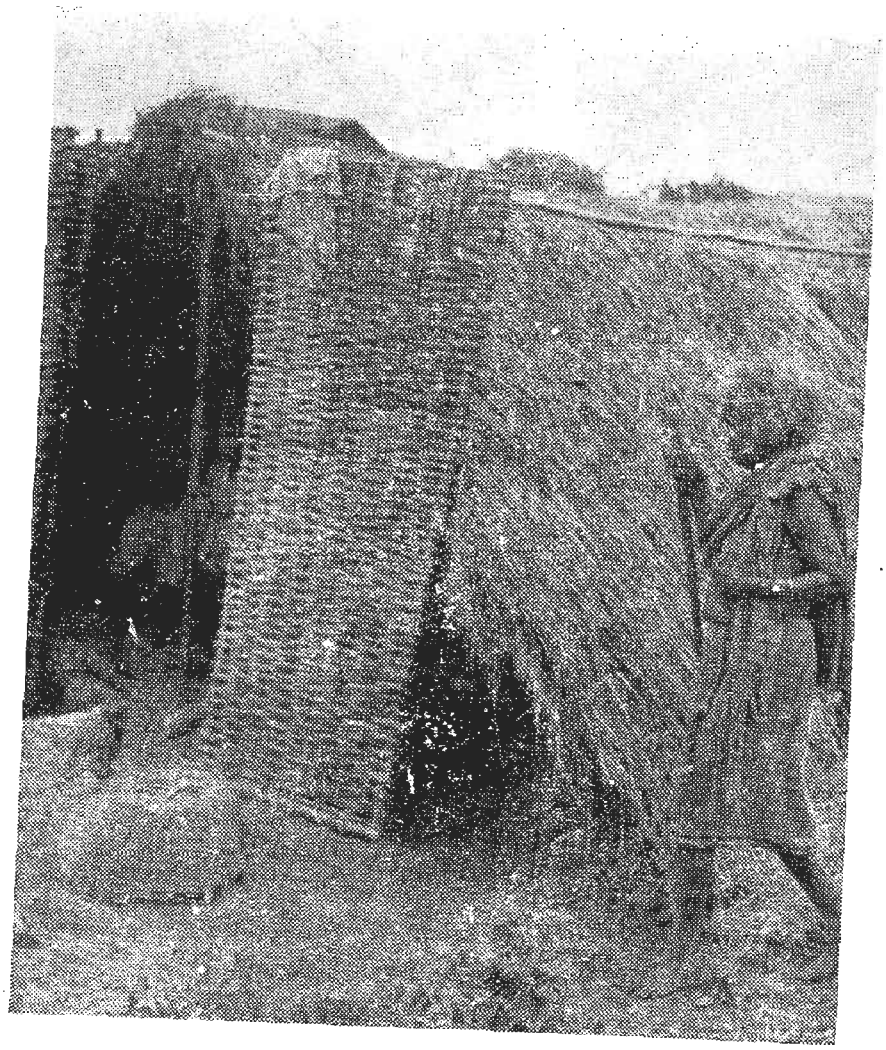


Fig. 6—A typical old Chenchu woman by her 'kottam' (oblong hut).
(Chapter II – Para 15)
She has to depend on the roots and leaves she may fetch.

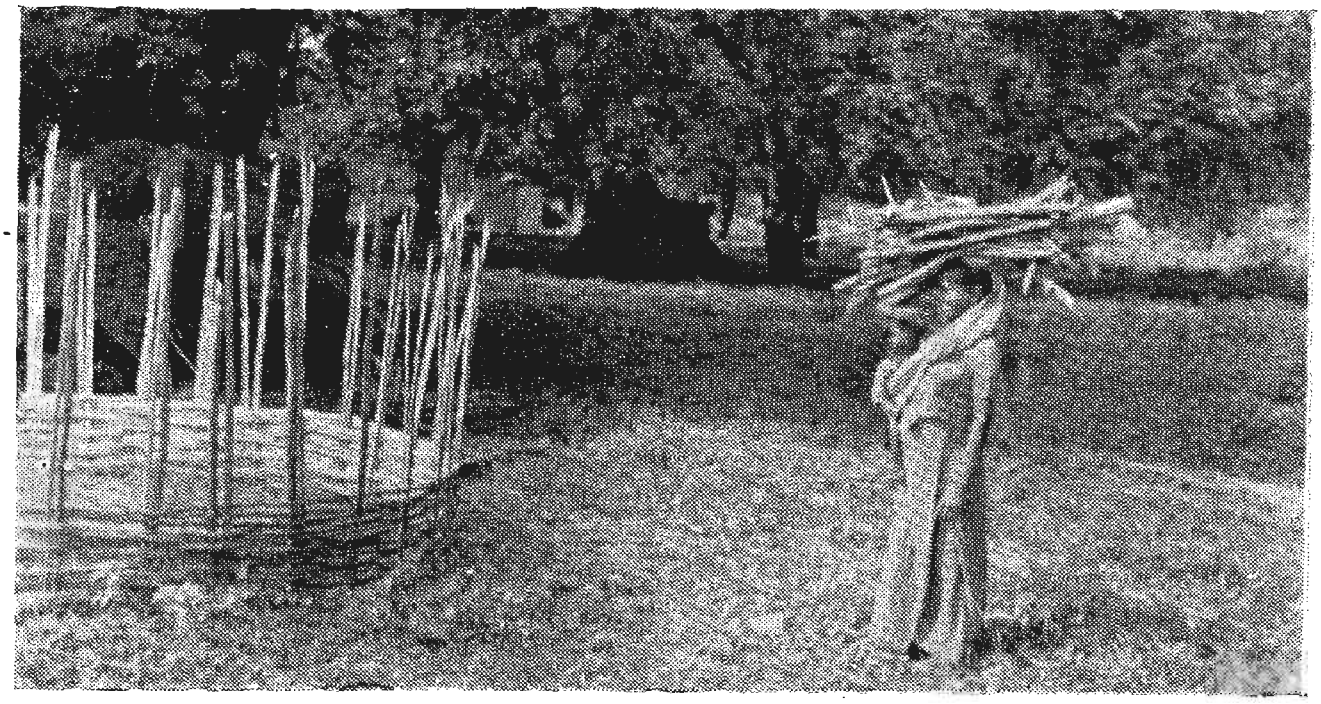


Fig. 7—A Chenchu mother with her child in the cloth sling carrying a bundle of firewood.
(Chapter I – Para 2 & Chapter II – Para 20)

Kangaroo-like attachment : Whether she goes to fetch water or roots or flowers or fuel, the Chenchu woman carries her child in a cloth sling. She has to take care of the child and her home side by side. Thus, from the very childhood, the child gets introduced to the forest milieu.

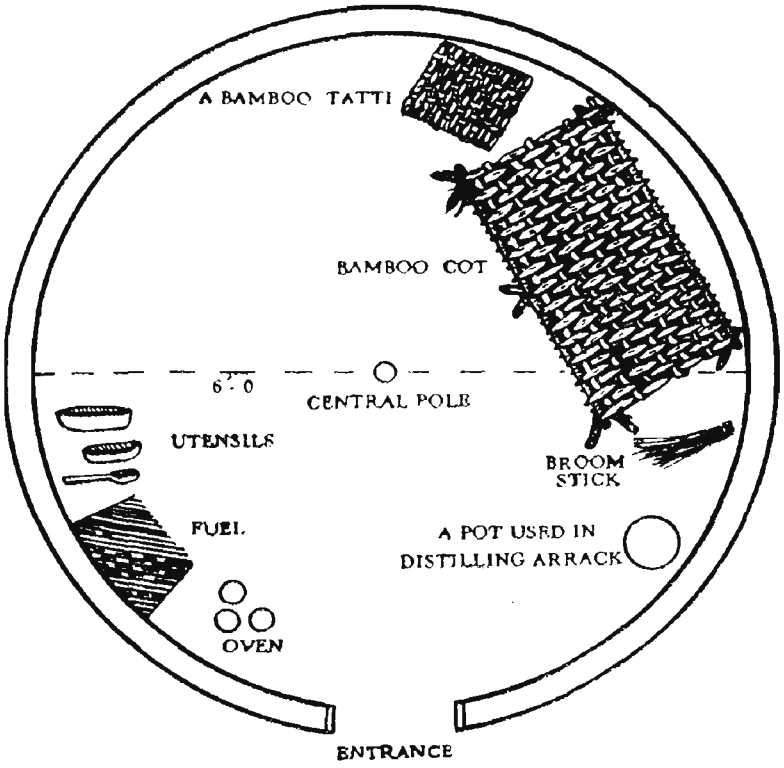


Fig. 8—A typical Chenchu conical hut.
(Chapter II – Para 15)

This affords protection to the meagrely clad Chenchu against the vagaries of the season. In summer the roof gives cool shelter ; the space between the ribs in the wattle wall ventilates fresh air. The low-roofed hut does not get upset in the whirlwinds and the rain water drains off the roof keeping the inside of the hut secure from wind and rain.



FRONT ELEVATION



GROUND PLAN

Fig. 8 (A)—A typical Chenchu conical hut and its ground plan.

(Chapter II – Para 17)



Fig. 9—The Chenchus in the private kirana shop.

(Chapter I - Para 16)

'How much grain my rupee gets ?'—So seems to be the thought of a Chenchu woman while the other is busy in collecting her purchase.

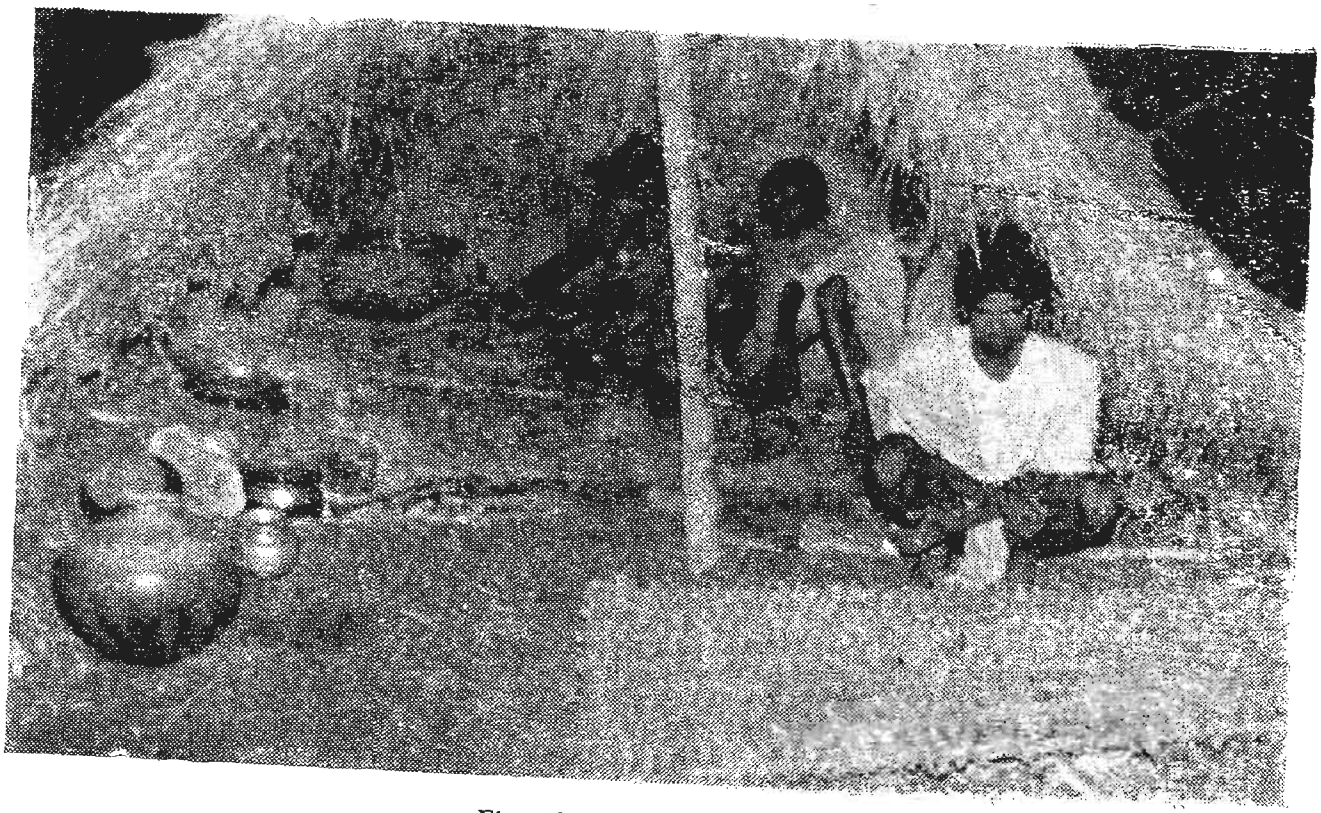


Fig. 10—A Chenchu home.

(Chapter III - Para 15)



Fig. 11—The Chenchu mother with her children in the kitchen.

(Chapter II – Para 17)

It is a hand-to-mouth existence for the Chenchus. The food grain that is got from the private shop or the Co-operative sub-depot, is ground into flour after cleaning so as to make the day's meal. The infant and the grown-up children cry for food and the working man asks for food — all of them the woman has to serve simultaneously. The infant is suckled, a bit of fresh *roti* (bread) is given to the child and the man is asked to bear with her till she completes cooking the *rotis* or *ganji*.



Fig. 12—Domestic utensils. *(Chapter II – Paras 30 to 32)*

Cooking utensils : (1) *Sarava* (2) *Kurasarava*

Other utensils : (2A) *Chembu* (2B) *Teddu* (2C) *Pallem* (2D) *Buddi* (2E) *Gilasu* (2F) *Ginne* *(3) Nella Kadawa*

They use both earthenware and aluminiumware. They are purchased at the Atmakur *shandy*.

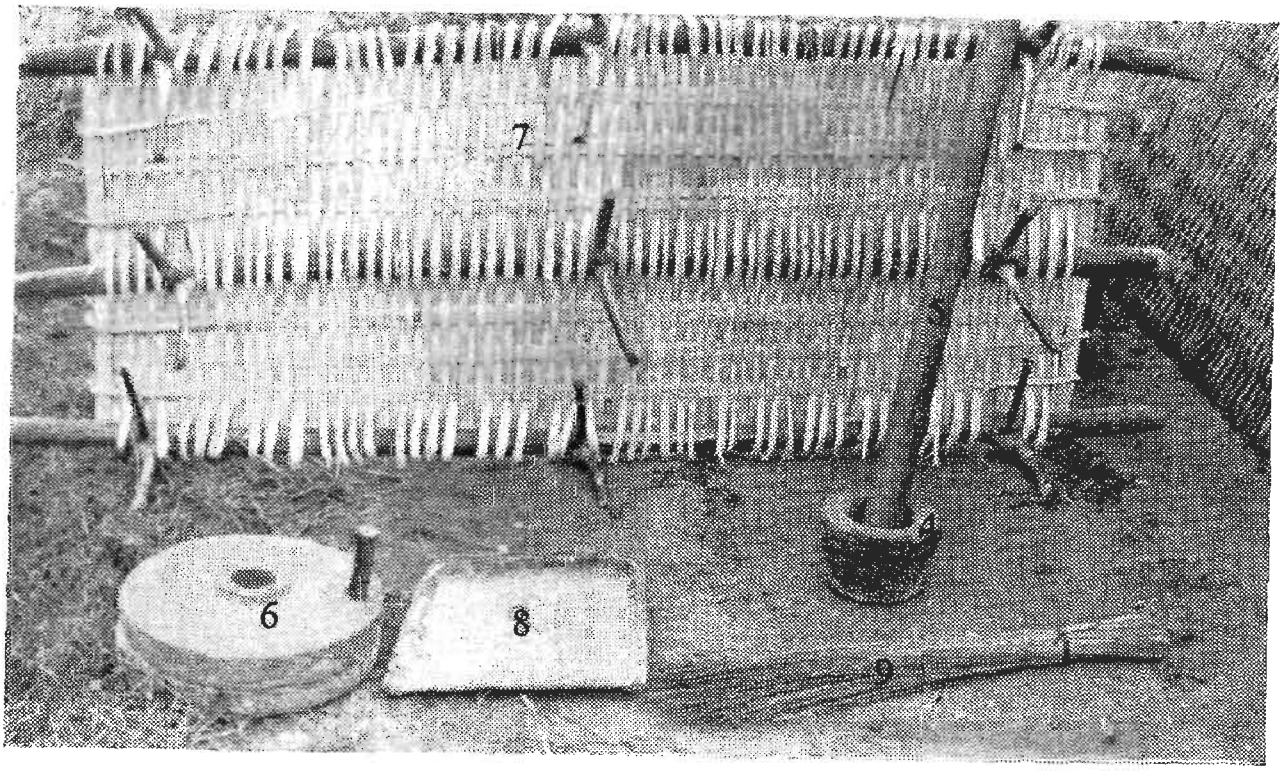


Fig. 13—Household goods. *(Chapter II – Paras 29 & 32)*

(4) *Rolu* (mortar) (5) *Rokali* or *banda* (pestle) (6) Grinding stone (7) *Mancham* (cot) (8) *Chata* (winnow) (9) *Poraka* (broomstick)

The *mancham* (cot), the winnow, broomstick and pestle are home-made. Grinding stone and mortar are purchased from the Vaddara castemen of the Siddapuram settlement, a nearby village.

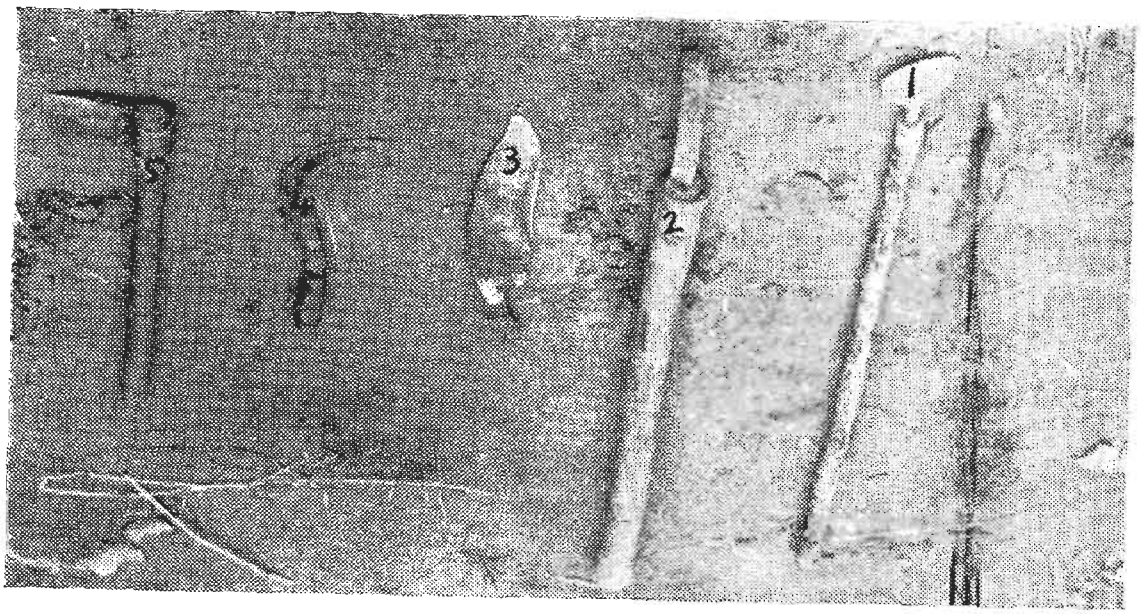


Fig. 14—Implements. *(Chapter II – Para 34)*

(1) *Dokudupara* (2) *Karrapara* (3) *Chenchukatti* (4) *Kodavali* (5) *Goddali*

The implements reflect the economic culture of the Chenchus as root diggers, hunters and fruit and flower gatherers.

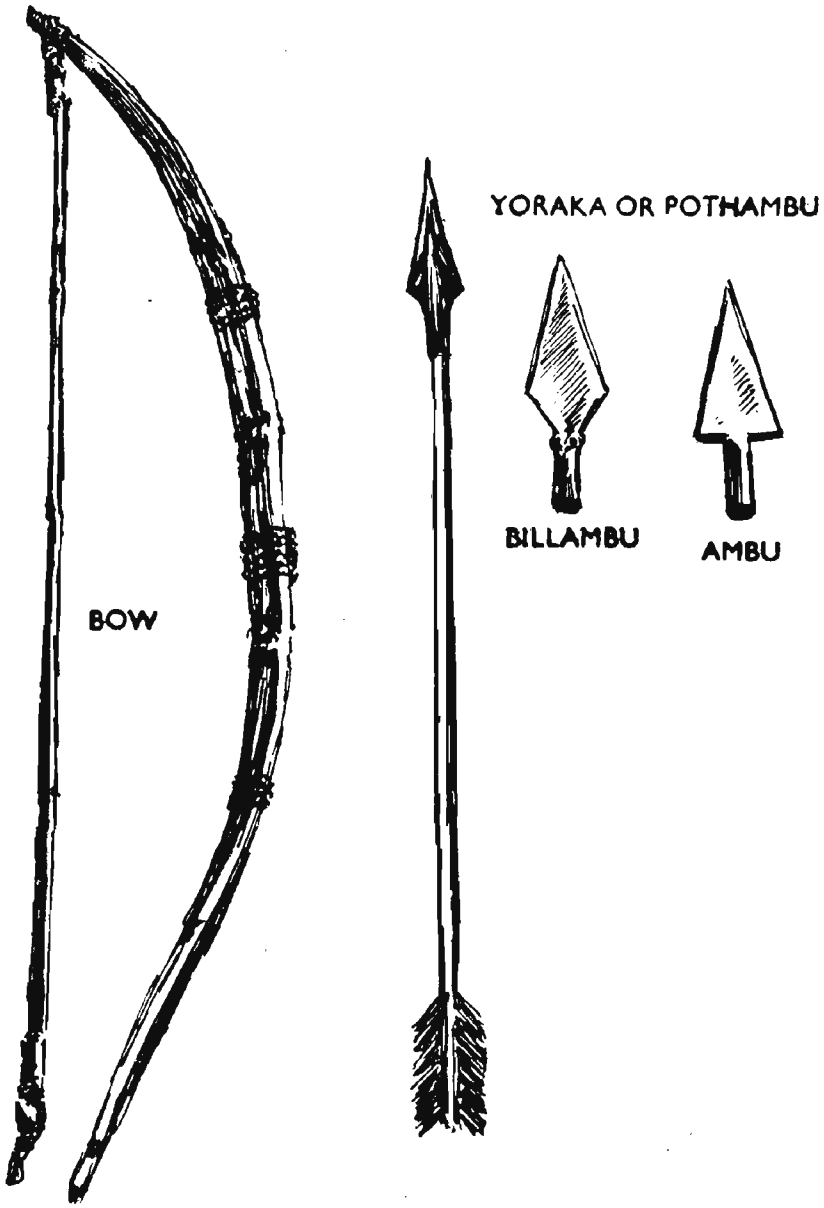


Fig. 15—Bow and arrows. *(Chapter II – Para 34)*

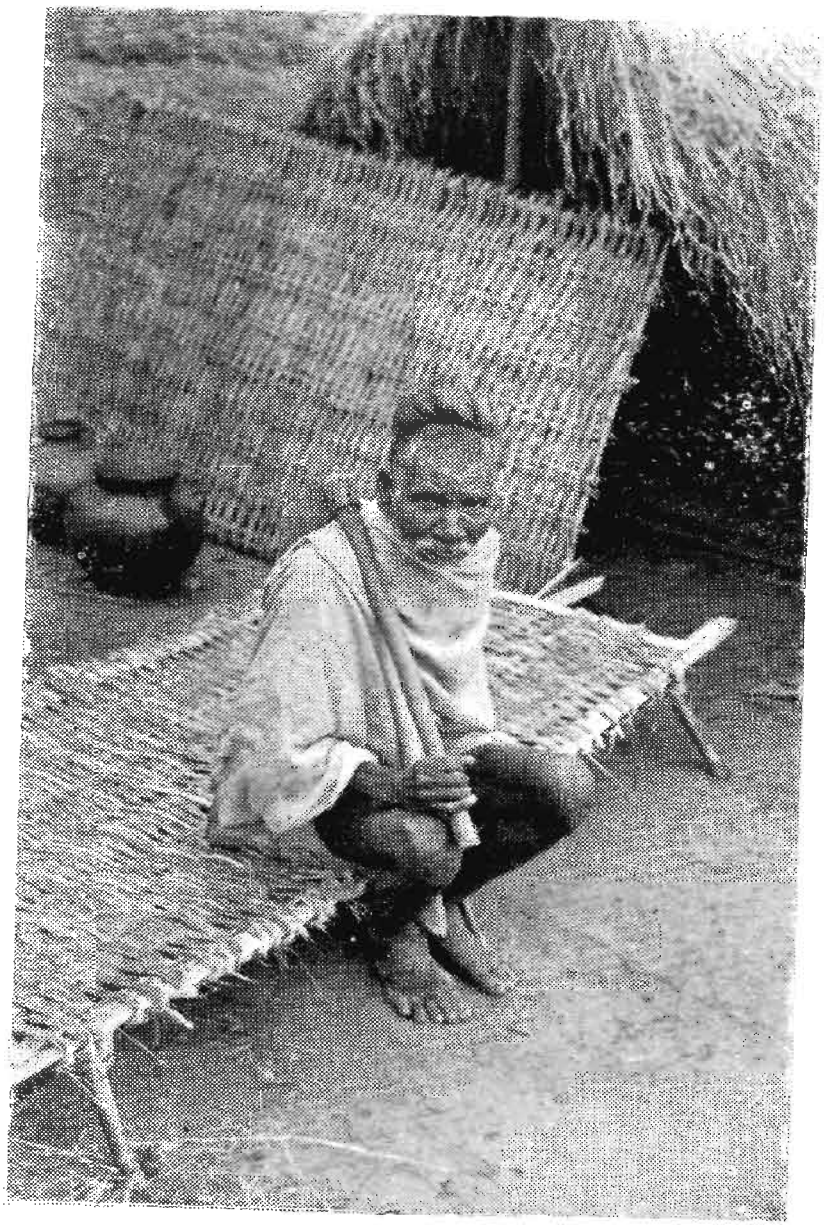


Fig. 16—A typical Chenchu sitting on a bamboo cot and ready to leave for his work.

(Chapter II – Paras 13, 29 & 34)

"Ready to go, but let me relax a while on my cot just after the morning meal", is the typical reply of Baramala Narasi to the call of the maistry of a forest coupe contractor crying "Baramala Narasi, time is up, get along to the bamboo coupe work."



Fig. 17—Delicing of hair. *(Chapter II – Para 27)*



Fig. 18—Woman's dress and hair style.
(Chapter II – Paras 24 & 27)

Generally the Chenchu woman wraps a saree round the lower part of the body, and takes on her shoulder one end of it in a style which is typically Chenchu. The hair is made into a knot called *koppu*. *Konkipulla* is worn in the helix of the ear and a *golusu* connects it with the *koppu*. The ornament in the ear lobe is *mukkari*.

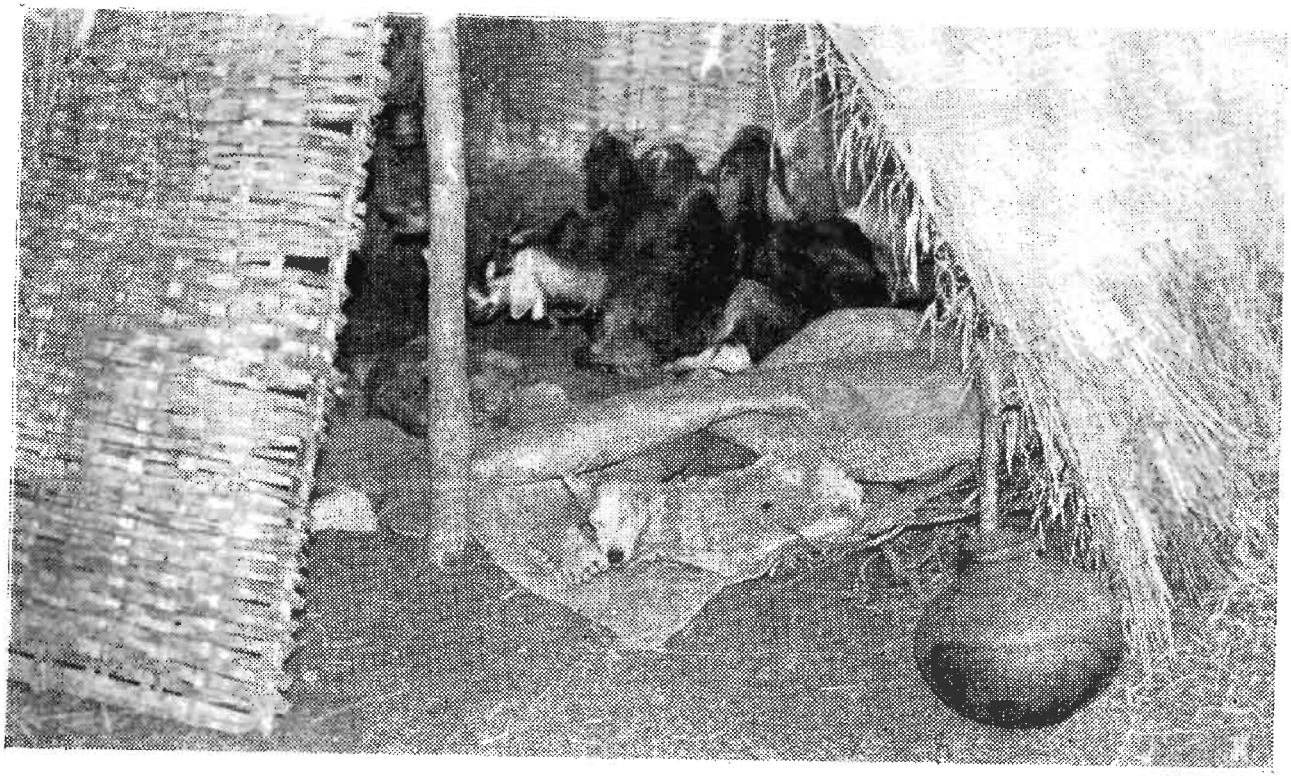


Fig. 19—A goat pen-cum-dwelling. *(Chapter IV – Para 33)*

Wide open on the side ,the Chenchu *kottam* (oblong hut) accommodates men, women and animals alike. In case the flock of goats is large, they make a separate goat pen. The smaller number are accommodated in the main living room itself. The Chenchus have retained a sustained interest in goat-rearing. The dog, their pet animal and the guardian of their goats is at the foot of his master.



Fig. 20—Chenchu women returning home with loads of fuel and forest produce.

(Chapter II – Para 34)

It is a daily routine for the Chenchu women to go into the forest either to collect fuel or edible roots and leaves. They return home in the evening by about 3 p. m.



Fig. 21—An old Chenchu couple. *(Chapter II – Para 20)*

Their days are waning and they know that their lives are at the fag end. They look to the younger generation who wear a new look and bear new faculties.



Fig. 22—Child Care.

(Chapter II – Para 28)

The Chenchu mothers give bath to their chil dren in the evenings. This habit has furthe been developed and improved as a result of th activities of the Women Welfare Centre.



Fig. 23—Shaving. *(Chapter II – Paras 27 & 29)*

'Love thy neighbour' is the motto of the Chenchus also in many respects. Shaving is one such service of neighbourhood concern. Two Chenchus are engaged in such reciprocal aid. They use their own razor and help each other in shaving. There is none who is specialised in this service. For hair cut and head shave they go to the *shandy* at Atmakur.

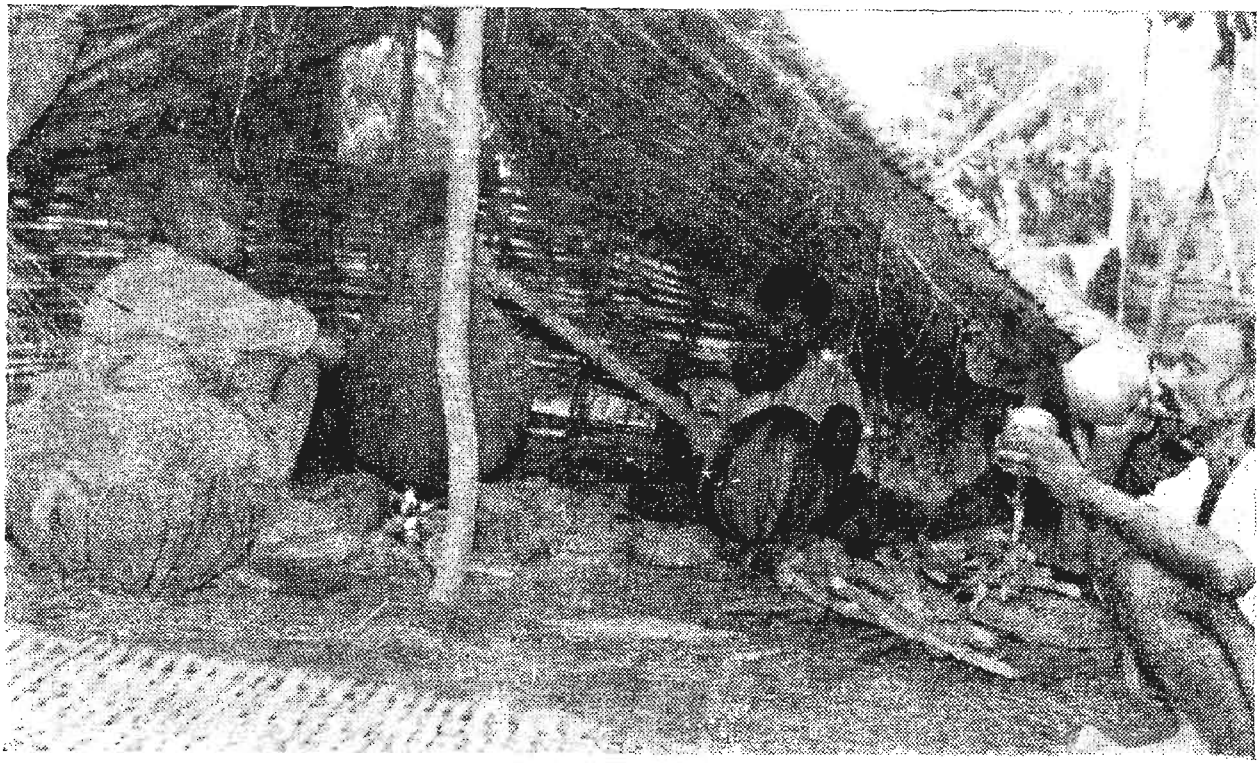


Fig. 24—Liquor distilling plant of the Chenchu. *(Chapter 11 - Para 41)*

The source of pleasure, liquor is a 'must' for a Chenchu every evening. They have made liquor distillation a profitable economic proposition. At least half-a-dozen households are engaged in this flourishing cottage industry. The liquor has a market not only in the village but in the neighbouring plains villages also.



Fig. 25—An old Chenchu weilding his bow and arrow.
(Chapter II – Paras 20 & 34)

Uttaluri Rajulugadu is old but he has never lost his zest for hunting. It is both a food producing and a recreational activity for the young and old.

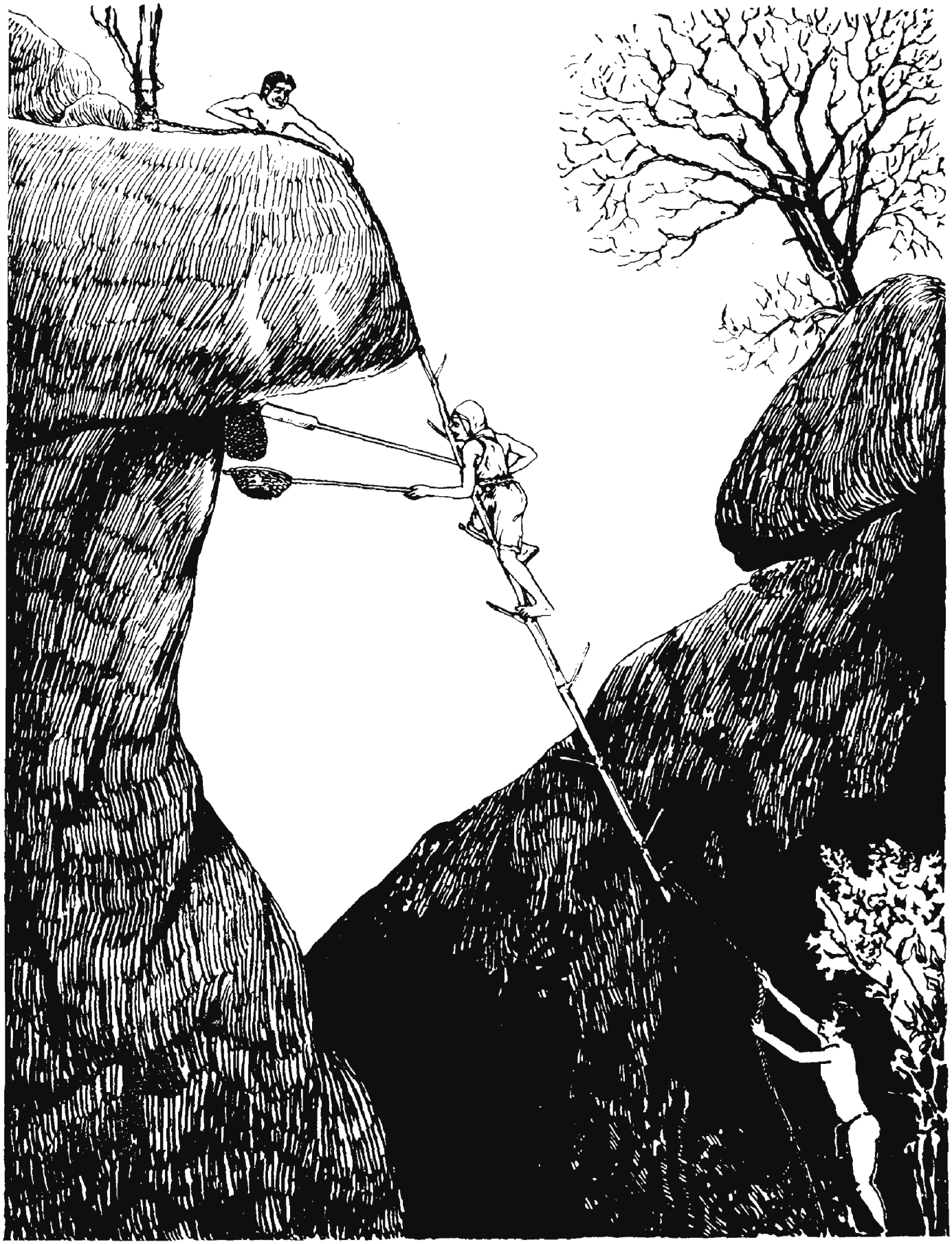


Fig. 26—Acrobatics? No. Honey collecting operations. *(Chapter IV – Para 39)*

Honey collecting among the Chenchus is a lucrative occupation and a lively expedition, though a trying one. The indispensable role of a brother-in-law in the team of Chenchu honey collectors is proverbial and has a deep sociological significance in this hazardous activity.



Fig. 26A—Honey Collection. *(Chapter IV – Para 39)*



Fig. 27—The *kaduma*, the fishing basket just out of water.
(Chapter II – Paras 17 & 34)

Whenever they have leisure and especially during August-October they do fishing in the nearby tank and in the Bhavanasi river. Many Chenchus know the craft of making fishing basket.

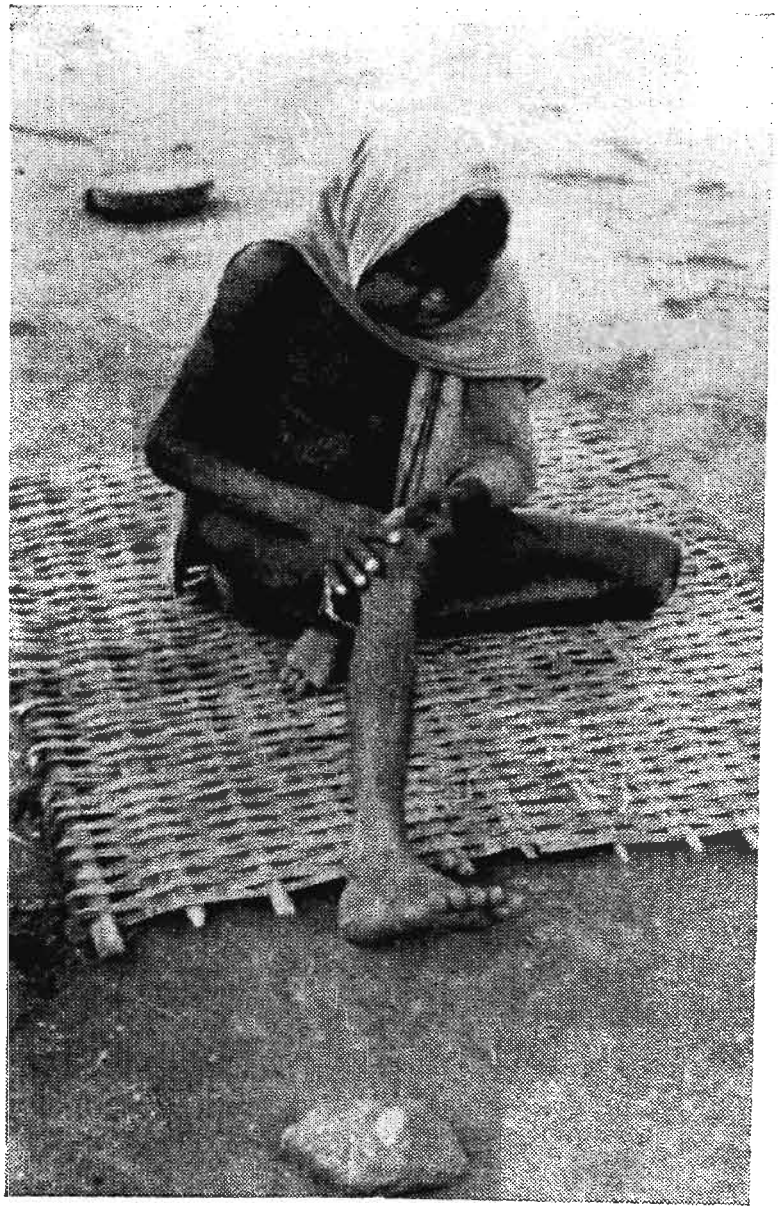


Fig. 28—Industrious Chenchu. *(Chapter V - Para 4)*

A minute lost is lost for ever — Sense of industry is not lacking among the Chenchus. They attend to making of ropes and weaving of bamboo mats (*tadika*), bamboo cot, fishing basket, bows and arrows, in their spare time.

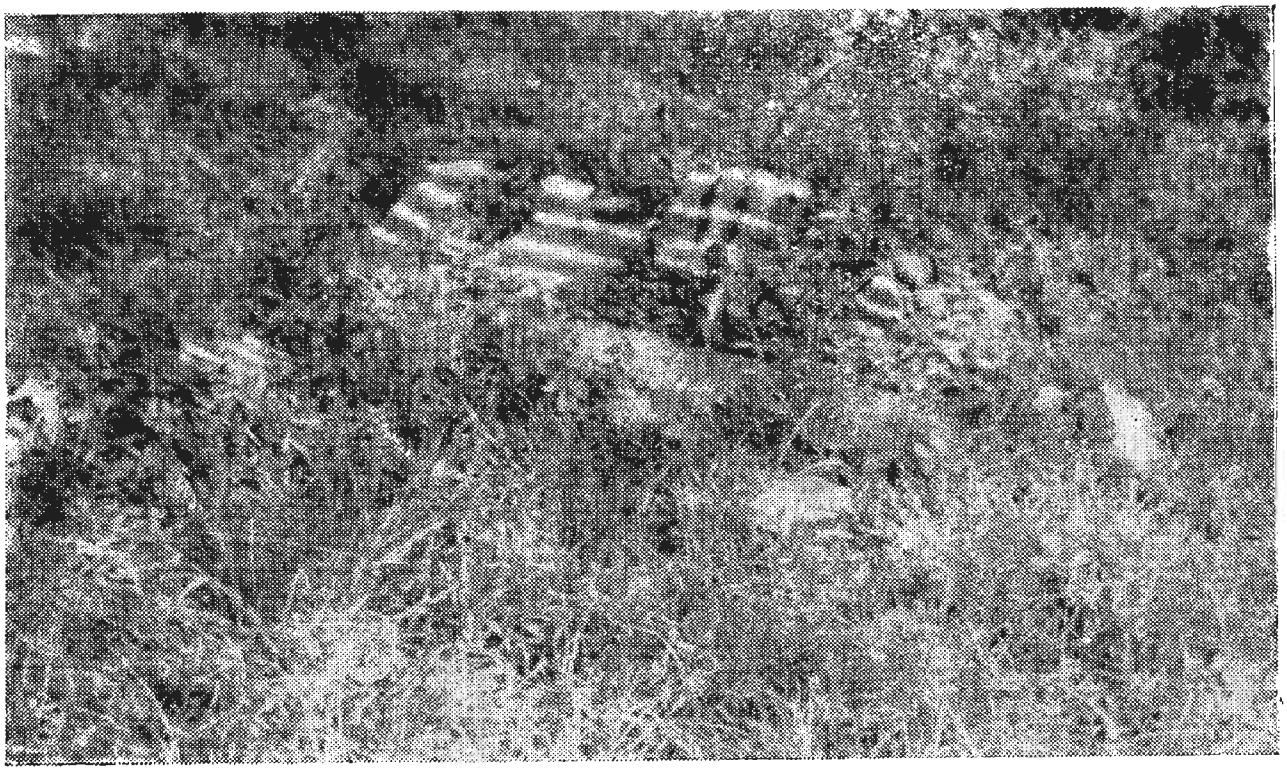


Fig. 29—Chenchu deities. *(Chapter I – Para 14)*

They worship deities like Peddamma, Garigelamma, Tirumalaiah, Tandruti, symbolised in stones scattered in the nearby forest.

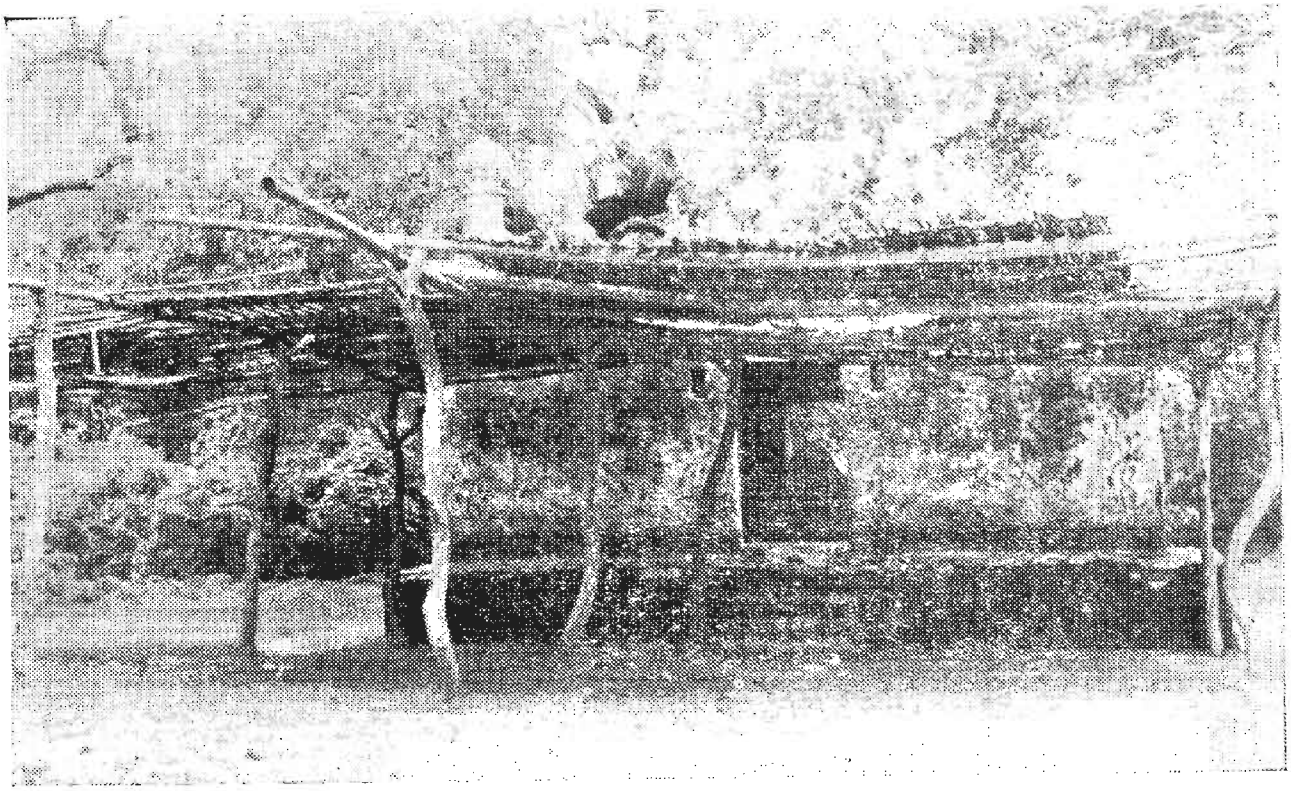


Fig. 30—Murthjavali *daraga* **– A look from outside.** *(Chapter I – Para 14)*

A Muslim saint Murthjavali lived in this area in the years past.

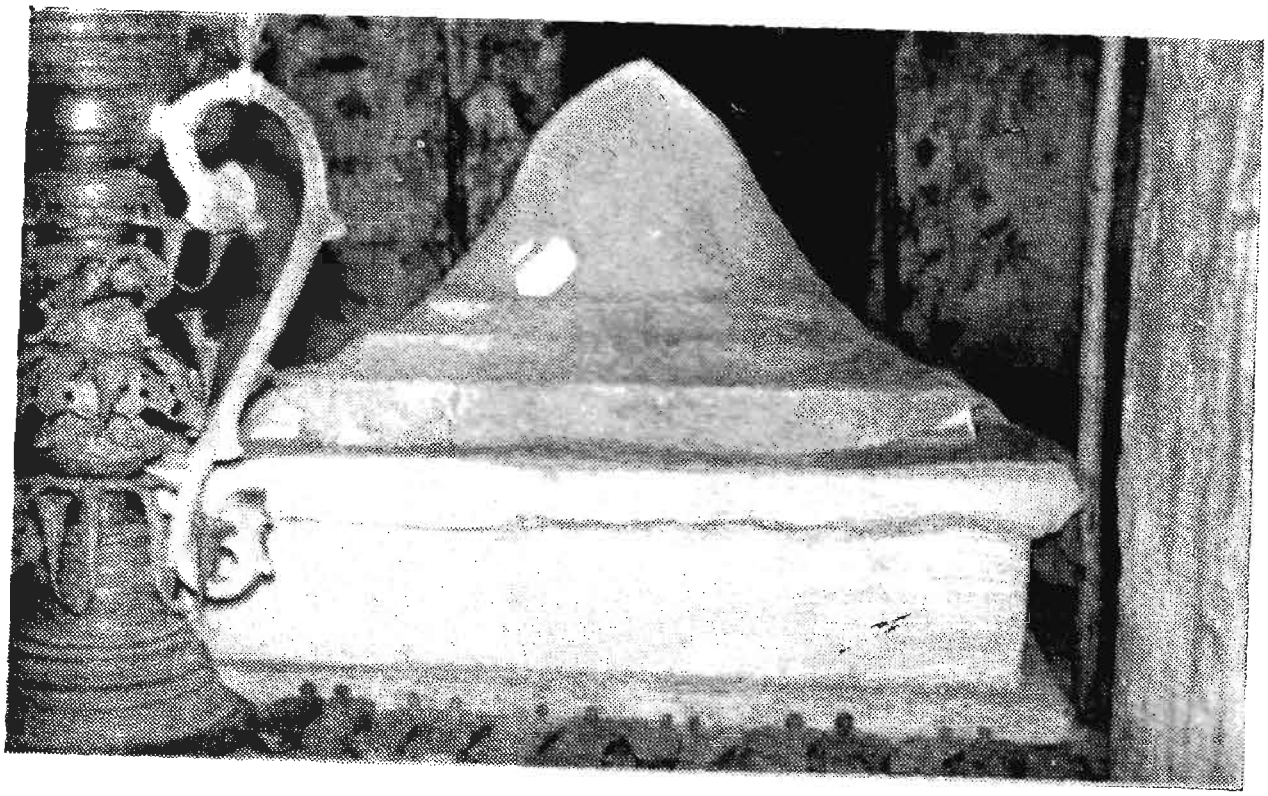


Fig. 31—Murthjavali *daraga* **– A closer look at the tomb of the saint.** *(Chapter I – Para 14)*

The Chenchus have developed a supreme faith in the healing and the procreative powers bestowed by the grace of this saint. Occasionally they take vows in the name of this *daraga* located at a distance of about 2 miles from Byrlutigudem. It attracts devotees from the nearby villages and from all religious denominations.

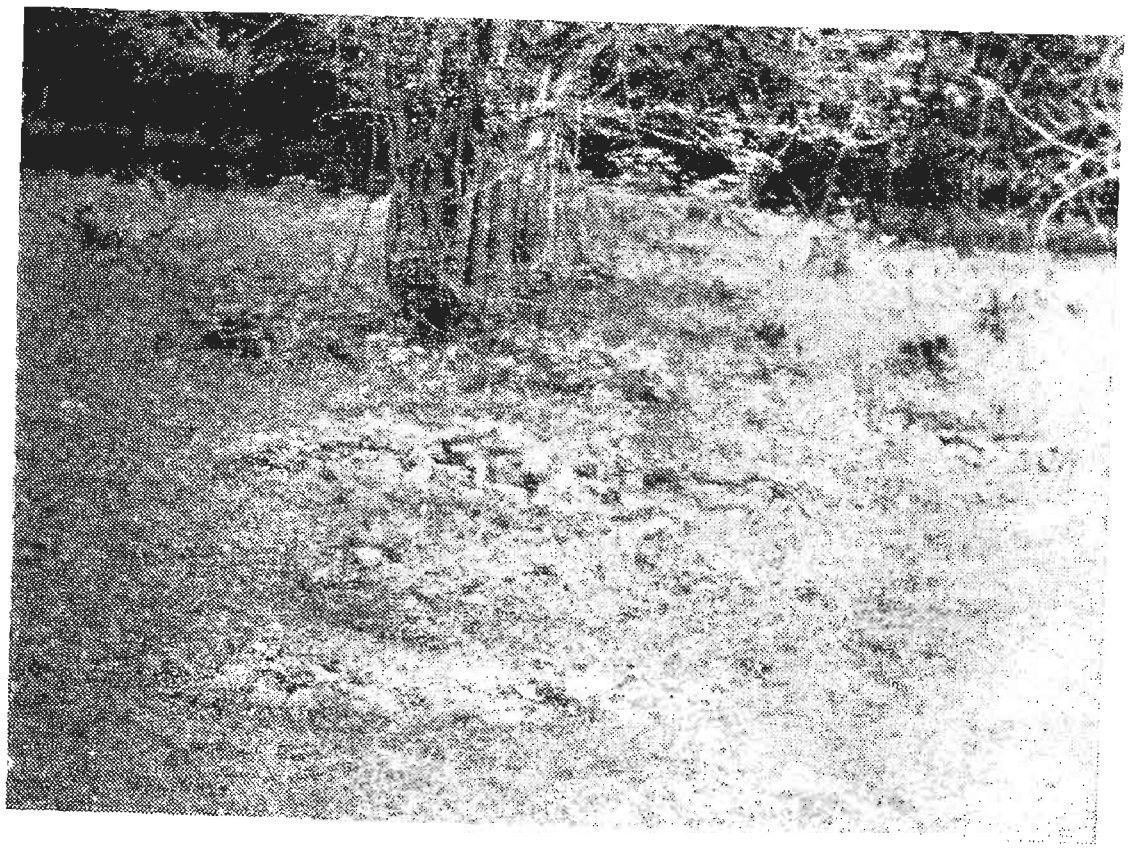


Fig. 32—The Chenchu funeral and burial ground. *(Chapter I – Para 13 & Chapter III – Paras 26 & 27)*

On the burial spot or cremation place they put up some stones and pebbles and form mounds.

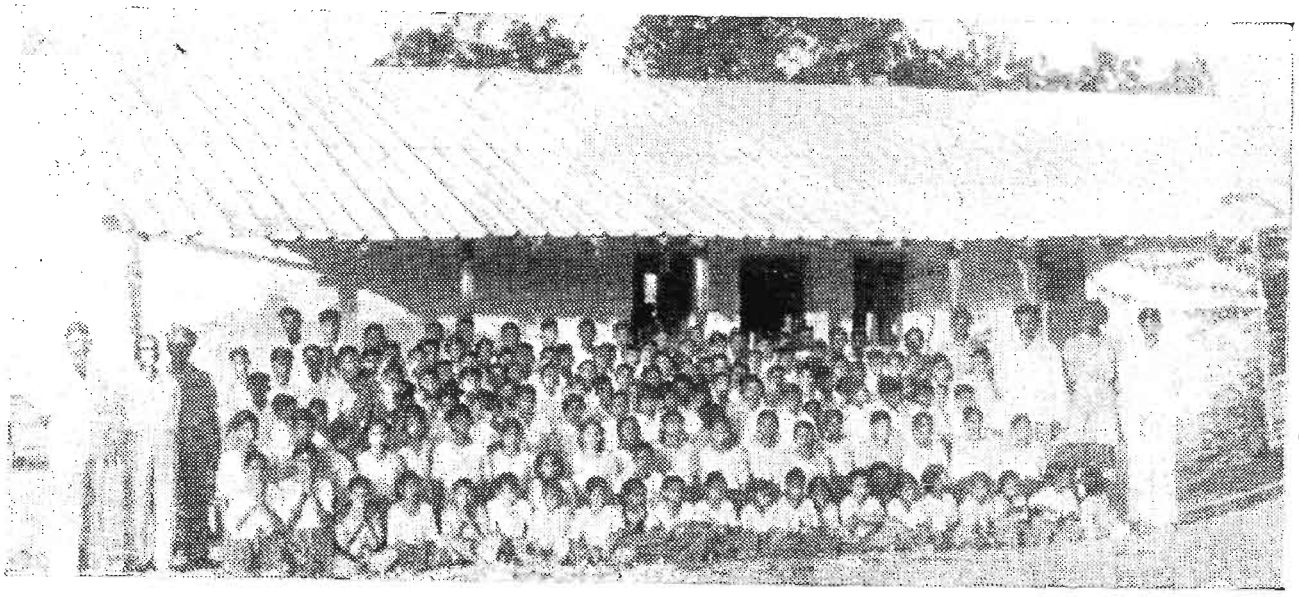


Fig. 33--The Chenchu Higher Elementary School - Staff and Students. *(Chapter V - Para 31)*

The School is a new cultural centre for developing the cultural habits in the Chenchu younger generation. The older Chenchus consider the School as a welcome feature.



Fig. 34—The Byrluti School Colony. *(Chapter I - Para 12 & Chapter V - Para 31)*

The Chenchu Residential School has become one of the successful institutions and holds out great promise for developing the Chenchus. The School area throbs with cheerful Chenchu children and hums with their prattle. They beam with new hope and aspirations. It is slowly inculcating among the boys and girls a sense of the value of disciplined life.

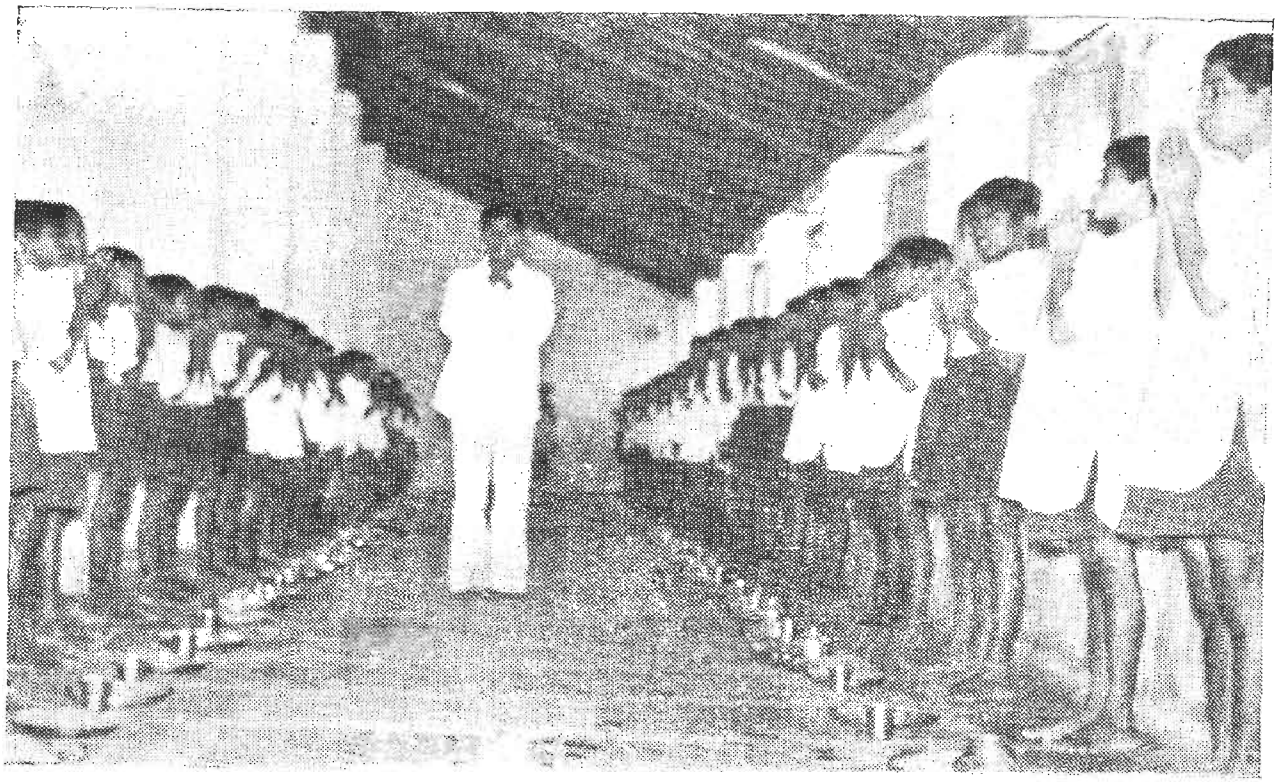


Fig. 35—The Chenchu Boarding Home – Boys pray at dinner time.
(Chapter II – Para 21 & Chapter V – Para 33)



Fig. 36—The Chenchu Boarding Home – Girls at dinner. *(Chapter V – Para 33)*

The Boarding Home has been one of the most potent and really worthwhile centre in developing the faculties of the Chenchus. Both the boys and girls are kept in the residential school and imparted elementary education.



Fig. 37—Farewell – The outgoing students at the Chenchu Boarding School.
(Chapter II – Para 21)
Every year some boys and girls are sent up for higher education in Craft Schools



Fig. 38—Child Welfare – Women Welfare Organiser assisting the Health Inspector in vaccinating the Children. *(Chapter V – Para 29)*



Fig. 39—The creche and nursery of Women Welfare Centre. *(Chapter V - Para 29)*

As the Chenchu children grow out of their mothers' lap, the Women Welfare Centre stretches its programme to take care of them. They are served with nutritious food, put to early schooling and taught good habits. After their midday meal, they are allowed to rest for a while in the clean surroundings at the centre.

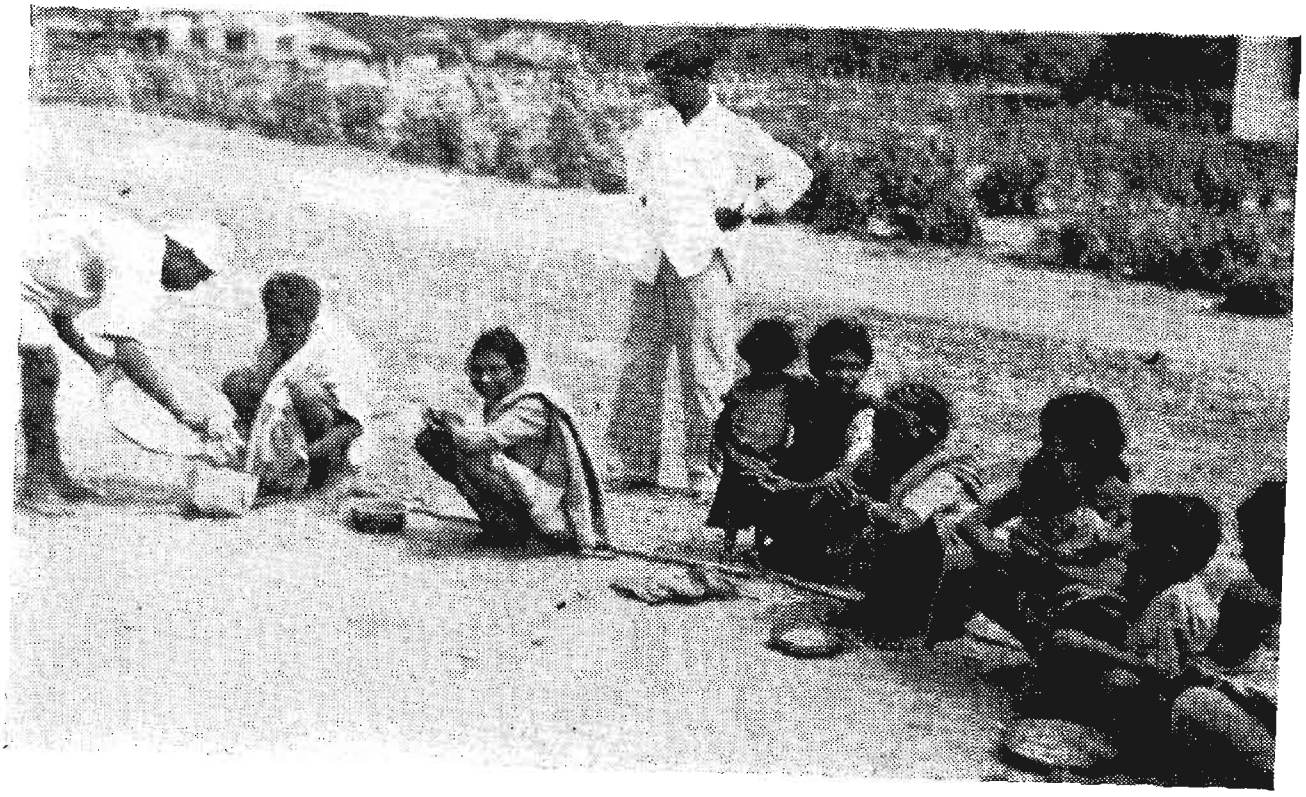


Fig. 40—*Annadana* : Feeding the destitute. *(Chapter V - Para 33)*



Fig. 41—An invalid Chenchu waiting for food near the Boarding Home.
(Chapter V – Para 33)

The Chenchu Boarding Home moulds not only the future of the younger generation but provides also some spill-over services like food to the needy and old Chenchus, occasionally.



Fig. 42—The Chenchu families. *(Chapter II – Para 24)*

Ask them to pose for a photo, they hold their breath. The Chenchus seldom come out of the hut just for a call and on goading and insistance through the Village Headman or the Forester they reluctantly come out and stand before you to show their innocence. On persuasion, they answer the queries with apparent indifference.



Fig 43—Gulla Edanna's family.

(Chapter II – Paras 15, 20, 22 & 24)

Everything – dress, housing etc., is modern and up-to-date. Who says they are Chenchu tribals? They are better fed, better clothed, better educated and better disciplined to play their role in the new social order either as salesman in Co-operative Society or as attenders in the school and Women Welfare Centre or as guards and watchmen in the forest administration.

Chapter I

THE VILLAGE

Introductory

Byrlutigudem is a tribal village which lies nestled in a jungle of the Nallamallai ranges of the forest clad hills in Kurnool District. This village is inhabited by what is believed to be one of the most ancient and also perhaps the most backward of the tribes of South India, namely, the Chenchus. They are spread over in small habitations dispersed over the western and southern stretches of the Nallamalai ranges mostly in isolated groups. The existence of the Srisailam shrine of all-India fame in the heart of the Nallamalais where the river Krishna gorges through the hill ranges creates an atmosphere which seems to pervade the life of tribal inhabitants of this area and has been an important cultural factor in linking up the Chenchus with the plains people. The Chenchu tribal habitations most of which not easily accessible are spread over in these picturesque forest covered hills on both sides of the river Krishna, the northern side falling in the Telangana area* in Mahbubnagar and Nalgonda Districts and the southern side in the Andhra* area, mostly in Kurnool and Guntur Districts. The uplift of this backward tribe has engaged the attention of the Government for nearly a century. The amelioration of this tribe in the area under study in Kurnool District is in charge of the Forest Department of the State Government. Byrlutigudem village, which forms as it were, an eastern gateway to the Srisailam temple, is now an important centre of several developmental activities instituted by the State Government for the uplift of the Chenchus. By virtue of this, the picture of the village reflects the life of the Chenchu tribal, both old and new, as the following report would show.

Location

2. Perhaps the nearest point at which the Nallamalais can be reached from Kurnool is *via* Atmakur, a small headquarters town of a sub-taluk, 42 miles due east of Kurnool on the way to Srisailam. The Kurnool–Srisailam bus route is now a well-known highway and it passes through Atmakur town which reflects the influence of the forest that lies only 8 miles away from this town, as can be seen from the logs of timber, the heaps of bamboo that are met within the town and the common spectacle of the khakhi uniformed and the green turbaned Forest Guards moving about the area. It is also the headquarters of the Forest Range Officer of Byrluti Range. Proceeding further east from Atmakur about 8 miles on the Srisailam road one enters the thick green deciduous forest of the Nallamalai hills. These hills fall gradually towards the west and fold from the main ridge running in a westerly direction descending into the plateau of Atmakur. Passing through this picturesque sub-montane forest for about two to three miles, one cannot fail to notice a group of strange looking conical huts lying dispersed in a forest clearing in the midst of a tamarind tope on the left, close to the road near 51st milestone from Kurnool (Fig. 1). One or two odd looking and ill-clad men may be darting across from hut to hut or a man may be found seated comfortably with his hair being dressed or lice being removed by a woman sitting behind him or a mother with her child in the sling and a bundle of firewood on her head returning home from the forest (Fig. 7) or a few odd children peeping out strangely from inside a dark hut. This is the village of Byrlutigudem considered to be one of the largest Chenchu habitations of the area. The location of this village is between 78° – 42′–50″ east longitude and 150° – 53′–14″ north latitude at a height of 1,150 feet above mean sea level. Situated in a flat area in the midst of the forest the village is bounded by Nagalutigudem village in the north, Pasurutla village and the Bhavanasi river in the south, Rollapenta village in the east, Siddapuram tank, Siddapuram settlement (a colony for Vadda, a criminal ethnic group now being rehabilitated) and Sanjivanagaram (a Lambadi colony) in the south-west and Krishnapuram(a well settled multi-ethnic village) in the west (Map II). Map I shows the general location of this village in the district of Kurnool. The photographs (Figs. 1 & 3) given at the beginning of this monograph may also be referred to.

*The predominantly Telugu speaking districts of Mahbubnagar, Hyderabad, Medak, Nizamabad, Adilabad, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam, Nalgonda in the erstwhile H·E·H. the Nizam's Dominion (Hyderabad) were known as Telangana area. After the formation of Andhra Pradesh in 1956, these districts continue to be known as Telangana area while the Telugu districts of erstwhile Madras State are known as Andhra area.

Physical aspects

3. The soil of the area is light sandy loam of moderate depth sometimes mixed with small boulders or pebbles. The land on which the Chenchu houses are put up is located at a distance of 6 to 12 miles away from the hill ranges gently sloping towards the north-west. The Chenchu residential huts at Byrlutigudem are constructed in two distinct parts (Map III). The eastern part of the habitation area where conical huts are found (Figs. 1 and 3) is seated on a slightly raised land when compared to the habitation area in the west which is newly formed as a Chenchu housing colony with 50 new houses built by Government engaging non-Chenchu labour under a scheme of colonising the Chenchu sponsored by the Government of India. The sluice of Siddapuram tank separates the old Chenchu habitation area and the new Chenchu colony. Bhavanasi, a small river, flowing south of the village towards the north-western direction feeds this tank. When this tank (located towards the south-west of the village at a distance of a few furlongs) over-flows in the rainy season, the new Chenchu colony which is located in a low-lying area is completely flooded (Fig. 2). About a mile down in the north-west there is Gosai Katta (now a breached tank) and the newly reclaimed cultivable land as its *ayacut* area, a part of which is allotted to the residents of the Byrlutigudem new housing colony.

Flora

4. The forest surrounding this village beginning with an open thorny scrub or inferior deciduous type generally improves to superior pole forest towards the foot-hills. In general, it may be noted that the forest surrounding this village is not only a source of timber, bamboo, firewood but also of green manure, fodder and other vital minor forest produce of great commercial value. From olden times this tract is known as *moolika nadu* or *moolika seema* (a tract of medicinal herbs) and has been a source of medicinal herbs, barks and roots, edible roots, tubers, fruits and flowers, honey etc.

5. Among the inferior deciduous type, the species that are generally found here are *chirumanu* (anogeissus latifolia), *chikreni* (albizzia amara), *pachari* (dalbergia paneiculata), *billudu* (chloroxylon swistenia), *tella tumma* (acacia leucophloea), *vepi* (hardwickia binata), *tunki* (diospyros melanoxylon), *ulinda* (diospyros chloroxylon), and *somi* (soymida febrifuga) etc. Among the superior deciduous type of medium dimension the following species such as teak, *vegi* (ptorocarpus marsupium), *nalla maddi* (terminalia tomentosa), *ippa* (bassia latifolia) and other soft wood topes are found. Among bamboo types, the species of *bongu veduru* (bambusa arundinacea) and *sanna veduru* (dendrocalamus strictus) occur in the area flowering gregariously over a fairly extensive area in the locality of Byrlutigudem. Small spots of semi-evergreen types consisting of gian nangifera indica, dalbergia lanceolaria, mimusop memeceylon, *dirisenam* (albizzia lebbeck), *tellamaddi* (terminalia arjuna), and *neredu* (eugenia jambolane) etc., are also found in and around the perennial sources of water supply. Among trees yielding minor forest produce, tamarind is the most important one. Others are *sara* (buchanania latifolia) *karaka* (terminalia chebula), *kunkudu* (sapindus emarginatus), *rela* (cathartocarpus fistula), *tangedu* (cassia auriculata), *modapu* (bauhinia vahlii) and *verrapoliki* (sterculia urens). Grasses occuring in the forest consist mostly of edible strains of good fodder value with the exception of a few strains of the cymbopogon group. *Bandevu gaddi* or *edamulla gaddi* (heteropogon contortus), the spear grass is estimated to be on a larger area and next in the order of frequency comes *nendra gaddi* (sohima nervesum). Other grass types are *gogadai gaddi* (panicum trypheron), and *teynendra gaddi* (andrepogon pumilus).

Fauna

6. The surrounding forest is inhabited by wild animals and birds. The Statement on page 3 gives an idea of wild life found in this area. In the village, the Chenchus keep dogs as their pets. None keeps fancy birds. They however keep poultry. She-buffalo and goat are reared by a few families as domestic animals.

Climate

7. The climate of this area is generally dry and the months from March to May are the hottest when the temperature goes upto 110°F. (43.33°C). With the outbreak of the south-west monsoon early in June, the temperature drops by about 10°F (6°C) to 15°F (8°C) and thereafter, the climate is agreeable and sometimes delightful till about the middle of September, when a short spell of hot weather is experienced before the onset of the north-east monsoon. The cold weather sets in towards the end of November when the minimum temperature goes low to 45°F (7.22°C) at nights. The first three

Statement I

WILD LIFE

Mammalia

Carnivora

Acluroidea (Cat like)

1. Tiger (Zn. Panthera tigris, Ln. Puli)
2. Panther (Zn. Panthera Pardus, Ln. Chiratapuli)
3. Jungle cats (Feles Chaus, Ln. Adavipilli)
4. Hyena (Zn. Hyena, Ln. Thadas)

Arctoidea (Bear like)

1. Foxes (Zn. Vulpes Bengalesis, Ln. Nakka)
2. Jackal (Zn. Canisaurcus, Ln. Nakka)
3. Bear (Zn. Melurses Utsinus, Ln. Elugubanti)

Harbivora

Suidea

1. Wild Boar (Zn. Suscristatus, Ln. Adavi Pandi)

Rodentia

Duplicidentata

1. Rabits (Zn. Cryctologus Cuniculus, Ln. Khargosh)
2. Hares (Zn. Lepus, Ln. Kundelu)

Simplicidentata

1. Squirrel (Zn. Sciurus, Ln. Udata)
2. Porcupines (Zn. Hystris Oristata, Ln. Mullapandi)

Primates

1. Monkeys (Zn. Macaca mulatts & M. Sinica, Ln. Kothi)
2. Langurs (Zn. Semnopithocus entellus, Ln. Langur)

Antelopes

(Having single stem horns which develop annually)

1. Wild sheep (Zn. Hemitragus Spp, Ln. Adavi gorre)
2. Blue bull (Zn. Boselphus tragcamelus, Ln. Neel gai)
3. Black buck (Zn. Antelope Cervicapra, Ln. Kalbeet)

Deer

(Having forked horns which are annually replaced)

1. Sambar (Zn. Rusa Unicolor; Ln. Sambar)
2. Spotted Deer (Zn. Axis exis; Ln. Jinka)
3. Common deer (Zn. Muntiaous Muntjak; Ln. Duppi)

Aves

Birds

1. Duck (Zn. Anas Platryncnos, Ln. Bathu)
2. Teal (Zn. Anas Creeca, Ln. Dupki)
3. Jungle fowl (Zn. Gallus, Ln. Karukodi)
4. Peafowl (Zn. Pavo Cristatus, Ln. Mor)
5. Partridges (Zn. Perdise, Ln. Titar)
6. Quail (Zn. Coturnise, Ln. Eatar)
7. Pigeon (Zn. Colombia Livia, Ln. Pavuralu)
8. Herons (Zn. Ardea Cinerea, Ln. Bada Bagla)
9. Storks (Zn. Ciconia, Ln. Surkhad, Kali)
10. Snipes (Zn. Lymno Cryptes)
11. Night Jar (Zn. Caprimugus, Ln. Chakrot)

Reptilia

1. Lizards (Zn. Lacertidea Spp., Ln. Girgut & Bhorphor)
2. Snakes Pythons (Zn. Pythonmolurus, Ln. Azdha)
3. Karaits (Bungaru Spy)
   Cobra (Zn. Naja, Ln. Naga)

N. B: Excepting the wild sheep all other antelopes and deer have horns in the male only.

Abbreviations: 1. Zn.: Zoological name. 2. Ln.: Local name.

months of the year are usually clear and fine with little or no rain, and the wind blows with moderate force from the south-east. In April and May wind shifts round to the south-west and increases its velocity and generally brings in some rain towards the end of the latter month. During the four succeeding months the wind is for the most part westerly and brings with it a fair amount of rain but by September the south-west monsoon is over and during the transition period before the north-east monsoon sets in, the wind is light and variable and very heavy rain often falls over the whole area; the heaviest showers usually occur during the south-west monsoon. After October the wind is light but heavy dew falls.

8. Rainfall recordings of the Forest Department at Byrluti rain guage station shows the 20 year average (1925–1945) as follows :

Statement II

PARTICULARS OF RAINFALL

Month	*Rainfall* (*in inches*)	(*in millimetres*)
January	...	...
February	...	...
March	0·24	6·10
April	0.63	16·00
May	2·64	67·06
June	4·12	104·65
July	9·37	238·00
August	7·61	193·29
September	9·23	234·44
October	4.53	108·06
November	0·51	12·95
December	0·02	0.51
Total	**38.90**	**988·06**

The period, July to September is the heaviest rainy season in the year. The south-west monsoon which breaks in June and continues till September is the chief source of rainfall. The monthly rainfall ranges upto 9.37", a peak figure attained in July.

9. The rainy season and the early cold weather are supposed to be the worst periods when malaria would be rampant while the hot weather from February to June is considered safe for camping in this area. Byrlutigudem area has, however, been losing its notoriety for malaria due to the operations under the Malaria Eradication Programme.

Size of village

10. This village is one of the enclosures in Byrluti Forest Range, having an area of 7.00 acres. A part of this area is occupied by the Chenchu residences. At the time of survey, March 1960 there were 74 households in this village (Table 1). The tribal population living in the Chenchu habitation part of the village was 291 made up of 142 males and 149 females making an average size of 3.9 per household. This population was covered for the survey. Table 2 shows the population of the entire Byrluti village including the institutional population of the school and those living in the colony according to the 1961 census count. It accounted for 456 persons made up of 257 males and 199 females spread over 82 households and a Chenchu Boarding School.

Scope of survey

11. This survey covers the life and economy of the Chenchu tribal population in the *gudem* but not the institutional population living in the eastern part of the village *i.e.*, Byrluti colony. The native population of the *gudem* is entirely made up of the Chenchus. No other tribe, caste or community lives with them in the neighbourhood within the *gudem*. While it is realised that the community life of the Chenchus is likely to be considerably influenced by the non-Chenchu population living in the village, outside the *gudem*, it has not been possible to cover such population in any detail, due to the limitation of time and the limited scope of the survey as originally conceived. The part played by the institutions themselves in the life of the Chenchus is, however, discussed at the appropriate places.

Residential pattern and some important public places

12. The Chenchus generally live in groups of huts called *gudems*. The huts in their traditional setting are found scattered here and there or in small clusters. They are not aligned to a straight foot-path or any track in a straight line. Each hut is a separate structure put up within a distance ranging from about 290 feet to 3 feet from one hut to another. Map III shows the lay-out sketch of these huts. Any visitor to this village is sharply struck by the appearance of two worlds in this village, the old and the new as it were. The old world is sandwiched between the new housing colony for 50 families located in the west and the Byrluti school colony area in the east. As one

walks along the Atmakur–Srisailam road from west to east (from 50/6 milestone to 51/2 milestone) he will first meet the old Chenchu habitation area (the *gudem*) to the left near about 51 milestone and about 3 furlongs further down the road he will suddenly come across a fine set of modern looking constructions that are put up in a clearing made in the midst of the forest adjacent to the road fringed with teak plantations (Fig. 34). The new constructions represent a colony consisting of a Forest Rest House, a Higher Elementary Residential School for the tribal boys and girls, a Sub-dispensary, a Women Welfare Centre and a Co-operative Sales Depot. Just beyond the Forest Rest House there is an old pond with stone revetment and some ruins of an old temple-like construction and a *mantap* (Fig. 4). This area referred as Byrluti school colony represents the new world where the younger generation of the Chenchus are being shaped in an altogether different atmosphere (Map III).

Burial ground and crematorium

13. The Chenchu burial sites are dispersed in two compact areas, one in the north and another in the south of the habitation area at a distance of about ½ a mile from the *gudem*. Each clan (*gotra* or *intiperu*) has a separate spot in the same plot customarily assigned to them (Fig. 32). Except the Chigurla clan whose burial and cremation ground is located in the north of the village (about 6 furlongs away) which is known as Thipurammapenta, all other clans of the village use the site located in the south of the village on the bank of the Bhavanasi river as cremation and burial ground (Map II).

Places of worship

14. There is no deity housed in any permanent structure within the habitation area. But Sunkulamma, a female village deity, is worshipped at a place selected *ad hoc* in the centre of the village under some tree. Annual worship of this deity takes place at this assigned spot. During other seasons this spot does not show any signs of a shrine symbolised and distinguished by any marks or material structure. With the establishment of the new housing colony, the shrine of Sunkulamma has shifted from the old habitation area to the new one. All the Chenchus in the village have accepted this new site for offering worship. Except Sunkulamma all other deities or saints are worshipped either invoking them at the house or outside the habitation area in the forest where they are symbolised in stones with no anthropometric form (Fig. 29). Frequent visits are made by the Chenchus to a shrine (locally known as *daraga*) of a Muslim saint, Murthjavali whose tomb is housed in a fairly pucca structure near Nagaluti at a distance of 1½ miles from this village (Figs. 30 and 31).

Sources of water

15. Before the establishment of the Forest Rest House, the Residential Elementary School and the new Chenchu housing colony, in the neighbourhood of the *gudem*, sources of water for drinking and other purposes were the Bhavanasi river or Siddapuram tank. Sometimes, the stone pond near the Forest Rest House was also used. In the non-rainy season some small pits were dug in the sand bed of the Bhavanasi river to obtain the spring water for drinking purposes. At present (1963 December) these natural and old water sources have been supplemented by three drinking water wells newly constructed near the Forest Rest House, the Chenchu Residential Elementary School and the newly built Chenchu housing colony. Even now many Chenchus resort to the river and tank as they sometimes cannot afford to have a rope and a bucket or have not developed the habit of using them for drawing water from the well. Many Chenchu men fit a bamboo ladder into the well (near the Forest Rest House) as it is a shallow one and descend down the ladder into the well to fill their earthen pitchers.

Administrative and welfare institutions and markets

16. The Forester, an official functionery in the Forest administration, who has some administrative control over the Chenchus lives near the Forest Rest House. As mentioned earlier, the Women Welfare Centre, the Residential Higher Elementary School, the Sub-dispensary are located at one place in the Byrluti school colony (Map III). The Co-operative Sub-Depot located in the school colony serves as the marketing centre for Chenchus both for the sale of minor forest produce and for the purchase of domestic requirements. Itinerant traders frequent the village to sell snacks, sweets and savouries from Atmakur. Sometimes these traders settle down for a month or two in this village in the honey collection and tamarind harvest season to conduct their business (Fig. 9). On every Monday which is a *shandy* day at Atmakur, the Chenchus visit the weekly market.

History of the village

17. It is not clear how ancient Byrlutigudem is and or when the Chenchus first settled in this village. It is said that in the earliest times these primitive forest dwellers were almost one with the nature; their only shelter was a forest tree or a cave, and the jungle leaves perhaps constituted their only bodily cover.

> "In Scot's 'Ferista', the Chenchus are described as they appeared before Prince Muhammad Masum, a son of Aurangazib, who passed through Kurnool District in 1694, as "exceedingly black, with long hair and on their heads wore caps made of the leaves of trees. Each man had with him unbarbed arrows and a bow for hunting. They molest no one and live in caverns or under the shady branches of trees. The Prince prensented some of them with gold and silver, but they did not seem to put any value on either, being quite unconcerned at receiving it. Upon the firing of a gun, they darted up the mountains with a surprising swiftness uncommon to man."[1]

If this was the condition of the Chenchus in the 17th century, about 270 years ago, their habitations fixed at one place bearing a proper name of the place must have been a later development. Earlier, when they started putting up small conical thatched huts or oblong low huts, these habitation areas came to be known as *pentas*. This name signifies that either the Chenchus were living as close neighbours to Lambadis who used to keep a large herd of cattle (for *penta* means a place where dung heaps are made) in the forest for grazing purposes or for sometime they themselves were keeping a good number of cattle stock. Some of these old habitation areas still bear the names like Pothurajupenta, Thipurammapenta, Rollapenta and so on. The *gudem* at Byrluti could only have been more recent. But Byrluti must have been a well-known halting place for the pilgrims to Srisailam from the very ancient times as the spring pond and the *mantap* near the Forest Rest House would indicate. It is likely that the Chenchus who seemed to have worked as the guides and protectors of pilgrims as they passed through the jungles must have lived in this area from quite ancient times but perhaps under more primitive conditions. But the erection of huts and the formation of the *gudem* bearing the name Byrlutigudem were obviously a later development. It is said that the Forest administration caused the Chenchus residing in the neighbouring *pentas* like Thipurammapenta and Pothurajupenta to move away from there. This was in keeping with their forest conservation policy which necessitated them to settle the Chenchus at one place in a defined enclosure so that they may be amenable for proper control to dissuade them from such destructive acts of indiscriminate burning and felling as would harm the forest wealth. According to a well informed local teacher, Topi *intiperu* families were the first settlers in Byrlutigudem. Then followed Dasari, Mandla and Chigurla *intiperu* families. Perhaps because of the fact that the Topi *intiperu* families were the first settlers, the village headman (Reddy) is appointed from among the Topi *intiperu* and subsequently the Deputy Headman (Karnam) was chosen from Mandla *intiperu*. As mentioned earlier the Chigurla *intiperu* families have retained their attachment to their ancestral places and even now they cremate and bury the dead in the site of Thipurammapenta, which was their original home. There is evidence to show that the Chenchus of Byrluti area were the first to come under the impact of the administrative and ameliorative measures instituted by the Government from time to time. The following account recorded by E. Thurston in the first decade of this century indicates the nature of the stages through which the Chenchus of the older generation in this village have passed through.

> "A striking contrast is afforded between those who inhabit the belt of forest stretching from Venkatapuram to Bairnuti, and those who dwell in the jungle on the skirts of the great trunk road, which formed the chief means of communication between the principal towns until the Southern Mahratta Railway diverted traffic into another channel. In the former we behold the Chenchu semi-civilised and clothed. He possesses flocks and herds, smiling fields and even gardens, and evinces an aptitude for barter. The superiority of the Bairnuti Chenchu has been brought about by the influence, example, labours, and generosity of a single Englishman, who built a substantial stone dwelling in the depths of the great Bairnuti forest. There also he erected indigo vats, and planted indigo, and a grove of choice mango grafts, orange and lime trees. He bought buffaloes, and by careful selection and breeding evolved a magnificient type. These buffaloes have now become almost entirely fruit-eaters, and are engaged in seeking for and devouring the forest fruits, which-particularly the mowha and forest-fig — litter the ground in vast quantities. This habit of fruit eating imparts to their milk a peculiarly rich nutty flavour, and the cream is of abnormally rich quality. The Chenchus manufacture this into ghee (clarified butter), which they turn to profitable account."[2]

1 E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Volume II (Madras; 1909), pp. 27-28
2 *Ibid.*, p. 34

This prosperous picture of the Chenchus seems to have ended as an episode without resulting in a sustained course of stable development.

18. The name Byrlutigudem can be split into two parts, Byrluti and *gudem*. *Gudem* means a habitation area. Byrluti itself can be analysed into two syllables namely *Byrlu* and *uti*. The first syllable *Byrlu* apparently refers to a deity Bhyrava and the second portion *uti* would perhaps refer to *uta* which means a spring. In the neighbourhood of the old stone rivetted pond near the Forest Rest House, already referred to, with a Sivalingam installed in its midst, it is reported that there existed a shrine of Bhyrava deity. The association of this deity Bhyrava with the water spring, *uta* became, perhaps, an eponymous basis for the name of this village later. The constant usage and its diminutive effect has turned the original name Bhyravanuta or Bairnuti (as used by E. Thurston) into Byrluti, now. This derivation gains credence when it is observed that another neighbouring Chenchu village in the vicinity bears the name Nagaluti, where there are shrines of *Naga* (serpent) and Veerabhadra (a deity) located near a water spring *(uta)*. *Naga* + *uta* would have become in due course Nagaluti. Byrluti and Nagaluti formed a couple of important halting places locally referred to as **mettas* out of the six *mettas* that lay on the padestrain route to the famous shrine, Srisailam. Obviously, these halting places were chosen near some natural water springs and to accord them with the religious atmosphere on the pilgrims' passage some shrines of Bhyrava or Naga must have been erected at these places and the natural water springs renovated as stone riveted ponds by munificient devotees as an act of piety. Thus the names of these places came to be referred to as Byrluti and Nagaluti and the Chenchu habitations in the adjacent area bore the names of Byrlutigudem and Nagalutigudem.

* for more details see Chapter IV



Chapter II

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENT

A. PEOPLE

Origin and history of the Chenchus

1. It is believed that the Chenchus inhabited this area much earlier than the Dravidians themselves. *Manu Smrithi*[1] mentions this tribe's name as 'Chunchus' and treats them on a par with the Andhras. They lived mainly by hunting in the forest. Their ancestors were referred to as the Adi-Chenchus meaning that they existed from times immemorial. An ecological meaning is sought to be attributed to the word Chenchu by interpreting that a person who lives under a *chettu* (tree) is a Chenchu. In Telugu the same is referred to as follows:

"చెట్లక్రింద నివశించుటవలన చెంచు అను శబ్దము వచ్చెను."

Some say that the original name *Chunchu* (which has now become Chenchu) has reference to the curly hair which is one of their characteristic physical features. Some others say that because these people were in the habit of eating a kind of rat which is locally known as *Chunchu* the same term has been in usage to designate these original settlers.

2. There is a popular religious legend that the Man-lion God, Narasimha (the fourth *avatar* of Lord Vishnu) obtained as bride the Chenchita or Chenchu Lakshmi from amongst one of the damsels of this tribe living in these hills. Connected to this an interesting story is narrated about how the Chenchu women at present have come to be dark and ugly. Chenchita who originally belonged to this tribe was a damsel of unsurpassable beauty and was loved by Lord Narasimha; but when she was let down under pressure from His senior consort Adi Lakshmi, she cursed that all Chenchu maidens in future should never bear good looks so that such a plight as she had faced herself would never befall any Chenchu woman. She is then said to have plucked *bilva* (aegle marmelos) leaves and smeared the darkish juice of these leaves on the faces of the Chenchu women. From then onwards they are believed to have become dark and generally ugly.

3. Some Chenchu elders of Pechcheruvu village (9 miles away) and Srisailam area claim that the female deity Bhramaramba of Srisailam also hailed from their tribe and Lord Mallikarjuna (the chief deity of Srisailam) fell in love with her. The story is told that a herd of cattle belonging to a king named Chandragupta of the area, part of which is known now as Srisailam, were looked after by the Chenchu herdsmen. They used to take the cattle for grazing near about the present site of Mallikarjuna temple. Among the cattle, a black milch cow after returning home never used to give milk. The herdsmen were upbraided on this account. From that time onwards they began carefully watching the movements of the cow. After sometime it was discovered that the cow had made it a routine to go alone towards a narrow pass and return after a while. They went to the spot and made a search of the enclave but none could be found. On another day, they noticed that a young man in the same spot was milking their black cow. When they went to catch him, he disappeared into a cavern and never returned. For many days they tried to get him out but when all their means and plans failed, their women and girls came forward and at last one of the maidens succeeded in getting the man out of the cave, (who later is deified as Mallikarjuna) who fell in love with her and married her as the second wife, the first wife being Parvati. Later, when the site emerged as a holy shrine the Chenchu began enjoying a special status in the service and festivities at the Srisailam temple and continue to do so even now. The legend of the same tone as recorded by Sri N. Ramesan is as follows:

> "According to this legend prevalent among the Chenchu tribes, Lord Siva came once to Srisailam on a hunting expedition, and fell in love with a beautiful Chenchu woman whom he married, and who used to accompany him in his hunting expeditions to the neighbouring forests. Hence, even today Lord Mallikarjuna is known among these tribes as "Chenchu Mallaiah". This tribal legend is beautifully borne out by an interesting bas-relief, on the *prakara* of the temple, in which a tiger is shown as being killed by Lord Siva with a thrust of his trident. In this Lord Siva is shown as being followed by Parvati dressed as a forest woman with arrows and four dogs. It is interesting to note, that the Chenchus have free permission, even today, to go into any part of the temple, including the *garbha griha* enshrining the sacred Linga. It is in fact, this tribal people, that help to drag the car in the big *ratha* festival of the temple and also at other minor services within the temple. During the great Sivaratri festival when thousands of people congregate here to bathe in the sacred waters of the Pathalaganga and worship Lord Mallikarjuna, the Chenchus also go and worship inside the *garbha griha* independent of all the priests."[2]

1 Chapter X, 48.

2 *Temples and Legends of Andhra Pradesh*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan (Bombay : 1962), pp. 14-15

This legend depicting the close association of the Chenchu Tribe with Srisailam shrine is further corraborated by the celebration of a festival in honour of the deity Bhramaramba for 3 days on the Telugu New Year's day when they sacrifice animals to Her.

4. Not related to the deities and shrines is another folk tale current among the Chenchus in this village. This was narrated by Shri Arthi Guravadu aged about 75 years and his wife Srimathi Arthi Palankamma aged about 60 years living in the Chenchu housing colony of Byrlutigudem. The story goes as follows: Long long ago there was a family belonging to Sugali (Lambadi) community. The family did not have any children. They had a female dog which also did not bear any pups. The couple felt very unhappy and undertook all possible vows and entertained the saintly and the learned in the hope that with their blessings it might be possible to beget children. One day a saintly person visited their place. The couple welcomed him and made his stay comfortable. When he enquired about their welfare they said that they did not beget any children and even their dog has also become barren. He took pity over them and gave 2 morsels of food meant to be eaten by the wife and 4 morsels of food meant to be given to the dog. Blessing the family the saint went on his way. The husband and wife thought that they could get more children if the 4 morsels meant for the dog were eaten by the wife. Accordingly, the woman took 4 morsels of food which were meant for the dog and the dog was given 2 morsels of food meant for the woman. After some months, to their great surprise the dog gave birth to two pretty little girls whereas the woman gave birth to pups. This distressed them very much and they became envious of the dog and drove her away. They, having realised their fault committed due to their greediness, themselves left the place once for all. The dog had to find her own shelter. She took both the babies to a safer ravine in the forest and went on supplying the babies fruits and milk adopting some of her own methods. She used to go to the nearby villages and steal away small pots and pegs containing milk, cooked food and bring them to the babies. As the children grew older the dog realised the necessity of clothing. She went to the house of a weaver in the nearby village and stealthily brought the clothing. Thus sometimes by stealing from the neighbours and sometimes by scaring away the itinerant traders and grocers, the dog kept the supply line for her children steady and plentiful. As years rolled on, the two sisters grew into womanhood. One day when the mother dog was out, they were watching the water course standing on a hillock near their home. A man who had come for hunting was walking along the water course and saw the image of these two girls reflected in the water. With great surprise he looked up to the top of the hillock to see whether there were any real girls at all. But he could see none. Minding his own business he went on watching the placid water. Again the images appeared. He carefully studied the girls and their location as reflected in the water. Suddenly he ran up the hillock and caught hold of the elder sister and took her away to his place. The younger sister got scared and ran away into the jungle. After sometime she came in search of her elder sister. But she was not to be found there. The elder sister who was taken away by that man showered all along the route beads, flowers and other personal things to help her younger sister to identify the route along which she had travelled. The younger sister followed up the path and arrived at a place and found that her elder sister was living with a man. She also began living with her sister. After some days, she was taken as a partner by a man living nearby. Thus both of them began to live a happy domestic life and were looking forward to meet the mother dog. The mother dog having returned to her abode did not find her pretty daughters. Getting perturbed at this, she went in search of them. By smelling the path along which the children had made their way, the dog went in search of them. At last she was able to arrive before the house of the eldest daughter. The eldest daughter recognised the mother dog and treated her very kindly. Then she put her on the way to her younger sister's house. As she came near the younger daughter's house, the younger daughter could not identify the mother dog and drove her away. But the mother dog persisted and began forcibly to go near her. The daughter became wild and beat her (the dog) so severely that the latter died on the spot. The eldest daughter after having sent the mother dog to the younger sister's house was anxiously waiting for her return. When she could see no sign of her returning, she went in search of the mother herself and to her great shock found her lying dead. With great sorrow, she brought the dead body of the dog and tied it up to the roof in her house in the upper storey. When the younger sister came to know of this incident, with great re-

morse she begged her elder sister to pardon her for the tragic end of their mother caused by her. When both the sisters went up to see the dead dog, lo! the whole body of the dog had become gold. Then both the sisters felt greatly astonished and had all praise for the mother who, even in spite of the mistake done by her daughter, could still be affectionately benign to the very end and even in her tragic death could bequeath wealth for the happy life of her children. The Chenchus claim that they are the descendents of such a worthy dog. Even now they say and it is a fact that they have a great place for the dog in their day-to-day life. The dog is free to live with them as one among the members of the family and they even share their food with it. They keep their hearth always reserved for it as it were, as the comfortable place of sleep in the night. To a query as to why they have not built a pucca mud oven and instead are using 3 stones to make the oven, the answer given by them reflects their sentimental attachment to dog. They said that the dog will not be able to sleep comfortably in the mud oven. Instead it digs up the earth from the oven and deforms the mud structure. So they keep 3 or 4 stones to make a oven, and the dog can accommodate itself in the oven without causing any deformity.

Social structure

5. The Chenchus of this village believe in the existence of the ethnic sub-divisions among them like the Koya Chenchu, Konda Chenchu, Yenadi Chenchu, Ura Chenchu and Chenchu Dasari. The area of their distribution is as below:

Ethnic sub-division	*Area of their habitation*
Koya Chenchu	Bhadrachalam, East Godavari District
Konda Chenchu	Nallamalais, Kurnool District
Chenchu Dasari	Kurnool District
Yenadi Chenchu	Not reported
Ura Chenchu	Found in towns and in well settled villages (specific districts not known)

Some Chenchu elders of the neighbouring village, Pechcheruvu (9 miles away) mentioned the name of Deva Chenchu as another sub-division also. Members of these different sub-divisions do not inter-marry. The Chenchus residing in Byrlutigudem call themselves as Konda Chenchus (meaning Chenchus living in hills). According to the Chenchu elders of the village under survey, Yenadis and Chenchus are different. Yenadis eat in Chenchu houses but not *vice versa*. There is no inter-marriage between them.

6. The Chenchus are an endogamous group formed into exogamous *gotras*. Sometimes the terms *intiperu* and *kulam* are used as synonyms for *gotras*. † The following *gotras* are found among the Chenchus in Byrlutigudem. Arthi, Baramala, Bhumani, Chigurla, Dasari, Garaboyana, Gulla, Kudumala, Mandla, Pulicherla, Topi, Uttaluri. *Gotra* is an important element of Chenchu social structure as it serves to identify the person with his patrilineage and acts also as a social determinant to consider the permissibility for partners in marriage.

Legendary significance of the gotra

7. The Chenchus of Byrlutigudem do not know how the *gotras* came to be formed. An elderly Chenchu from Pechcheruvu village who worked as a teacher for sometime gave the following explanation for the formation of the *gotras*. Certain families in the bygone days got associated with particular activities or incidents and a related name came to be attached to that family but it did not involve their refraining from using the objects associated with their respective *gotra* names. The following are some examples:

Name of gotra	*Explanation*
Arthi	A family which reared plantain trees near its house
Nimmala	A family which reared lime fruit trees
Kudumala	A family which used to make *kudumu* (a kind of sweet prepation)
Uttaluri	A family which had a reputation for hunting *udatalu* (squirrel)

Pulicherla: Long ago there were seven brothers and a sister. This family had a reputation for doing magical feats by spells and sprinkles. This created wonder and curiosity among the people around. The magic feats were such wonderful acts as converting themselves into tigers, or taking any shape they liked and so on. The seven brothers got their sister married. The brother-in-law who had heard of such magical feats done by his wife's brothers became curious and asked her one day whether she also knew such magic feats. She said, she also knew.

† In this monograph the terms clan and sect are used as synonmys to *gotra*.

He became still more curious and asked her to demonstrate. She agreed to this and handing over the child to her husband, gave some instructions to him as to the things he should do. She gave him some ash saying that when he feels satisfied of the form she takes before any untoward thing happens, the ash should be sprinkled on her and he must protect himself and the child from any danger that may occur. He said he would do his best. Accordingly she announced that she would turn herself into a tigress and he should take precautionary measures. By her magic feat she converted herself into a tigress and began roaming about ferociously. He watched for a while with interest, but when the tigress began her onslaughts on him and the child, he frantically climbed a nearby tree keeping the child in a sling hanging down on his back. For a while he was stunned at the scene and became panic-stricken. He began searching for the ash to sprinkle on the tigress. In his frightened mood, the child slipped away from his sling in the back and fell down. The tigress devoured the child. With this, he lost his balance of mind and did not know what to do. The tigress ate the child and moved about growling ferociously and after a long time went away into the jungle. Then he came down the tree with great fear and grief and reported on what all had happened to his brothers-in-law. All of them went in search of the tigress. Having found her in the deep forest they sprinkled the ash to convert her into human being. But alas! the upper half of the body showed a human form and the lower half the form of the tigress. They realised that because the tigress had already eaten a human being the efficiency of their magic spell and sprinkle did not have the complete effect and they failed to rescue their sister. Finding no other way, she got converted herself into a full fledged tigress and went out into the forest for good. This tragic incident connected with the magic feat of converting human beings into tigers by a family gave the name of Pulicherla (meaning tiger makers) to that family. From that time onwards it is believed that the *gotra* name Pulicherla came into vogue.

8. It was revealed during the survey that a few new *gotras* have come into being creating some problems in deciding the eligibility for marriage with those persons*. In a specific case it was found that the original *gotra* reference has been lost. It came to pass that a family began to live in a house structure called *Chavadi* after their immigration into Pechcheruvu village. The family name as used in the village went by the name Chavadi and the same was reported as their *gotra*. After sometime when marriage questions arose for the members of the family the Chenchu elders were at a loss to identify the Chavadi *gotra* within the traditionally current *gotras* among them. Later, they had to give due recognition to this new *gotra*. Some such tendencies are noticed in Byrlutigudem village also. One person named Lingadu who is the Deputy Headman of the village is currently referred to invariably as Karnam Lingadu. In the same way the Headman is referred to as Reddi Edanna. The words Karnam and Reddi are the names of the functionaries in the heirarchy of village administration in this area established by the Government. This functionary names *prima facie* sound as the *gotra* names. In day-to-day references they are referred to as Karnam Lingadu or Reddy Edanna. Only a further investigation reveals the *gotras* of these persons.

*This was reported in Pechcheruvu village

Population

9. The Chenchus in the whole of Andhra Pradesh number 17,609 constituting only 1.33% of the total Scheduled Tribe population in Andhra Pradesh; 77.59% of them are found concentrated in the tract on either side of the Krishna river in the Nallamalai hill region of Kurnool and Guntur and Amarabad plateau of Mahbubnagar Districts. The districtwise distribution of the Chenchu population of the State is given in Table 15.

10. The following Statement indicates the growth of Byrluti village population since 1951:

Statement III

PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN POPULATION FROM 1951 TO 1961

Year	*Population*	*Percentage increase*	*House-holds*	*Percentage increase*
1951 (Census count)	238	...	60	...
1961 (Census count)	456	91.59	82	36·66

It is presumed that the 1951 population covers both the Chenchu habitation area as well as the colony residents and the institutional population at the

Residential School then. When the survey was done in 1960, only the habitation area of the Chenchus was covered and it consisted of 291 inhabitants. The 1961 census count in the village covered the native population at Byrlutigudem, the institutional population at the Residential School, the development staff and their families etc., in the colony. The abnormal increase of 91.59% over the decade may be explained by the increasing strength of the Residential School population who come from various neighbouring villages and the immigrants working in the developmental institutions in the colony.

11. The following Statement gives the distribution of Chenchu households and population (1960) in the *gudem* classified by the *gotras*:

Statement IV

POPULATION OF CHENCHUS BY GOTRA, SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD AND NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS

Name of gotra	*Average size of household*	*Number of households*	*Population*		
			Males	*Females*	**Total**
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
All Gotras	**6**	**74**	**141**	**150**	**291**
Unspecified	...	1	4	2	6
Arthi	3.57	7	13	12	25
Baramala	5.00	2	6	4	10
Bhumani	5.00	1	4	1	5
Chigurla	3.25	12	17	22	39
Dasari	3.63	11	21	19	40
Garaboyana	3.00	2	2	4	6
Gulla	4.00	12	23	25	48
Kudumala	5.00	1	3	2	5
Mandla	4.40	5	13	9	22
Pulicherla	6.00	3	8	10	18
Topi	3.28	7	8	15	23
Uttaluri	4.40	10	19	25	44

It is observed from the above statement that Gulla *gotra* forms the major group in the village. Uttaluri, Dasari, Chigurla, Arthi, Topi, Mandla, Pulicherla and others come next in the order of numerical strength. Bhumani, Kudumala and Garaboyana are in a minority. The size of households among these *gotras* varies from 3.00 in Garaboyana to 5.00 in Baramala, Bhumani and Kudumala *gotras*.

Family type and size

12. It may be observed from Table 10 that out of the total 74 households, 57 or 77% are simple families and 14 households are of intermediate type and only 3 are of joint type. A simple family consists of husband, wife and unmarried children while an intermediate family comprises married couple, unmarried brother, sister and one of the parents. A family consisting of married couple with married sons/daughters and with married brothers and sisters is treated as joint type. According to March, 1960 data (Table 3) out of the 74 households it was found that 46 households (or 62.16%) had 4 to 6 members per household. 23 persons (or 70%) lived in such households. 26 households (or 35.14%) had 2 to 3 members accounting for a population of 62 persons (or 21.31%). Only 2 households (or 2.70%) had a size ranging from 7 to 9 members per household and contained 16 persons (5.50%). The average size of the Chenchu household in the *gudem* was 3.9.

Physical appearance

13. The Chenchus are of medium stature, the height varying from 5′ to 5′-10″ among males and from 4′-6″ to 5′ among females. They are dark in complexion with broad nostrils and high cheek bones. Their eyes are black and seem to have a sharp piercing look about them. Except the more modernised ones, the men do not cut their hair but allow it to grow and hang loose in curls. Most of them tie their hair into a knot behind the head (Figs. 5 and 16). The *Kurnool Manual* records that the Chenchus "resemble what might be the produce of a cross between Jacoon aborigines of the Malaya peninsula and a common Telugu ryot of their neighbouring villages."[1]

14. In the last few decades, the close contact of the Chenchus with the plainsmen has undoubtedly brought some change in them. Though a considerable number of them still present the picture as described 300 years ago, they are now not so scared of a gun nor do they disappear into the wilds as described by Ferishta. Some of them who have taken to better means of livelihood have, in their dress and appearance, tried to come to the level of the plainsmen. It was reported during the survey that some Chenchu women due to poverty have been developing a tendency towards illicit sexual contact with the plainsmen coming from the neighbouring villages and marketing centres like Atmakur and making money. Due to these contacts certain of the essential morphological characteristics are slowly disappearing. In one of the recitation demonstrations held among the

1 Quoted in *A Manual of the Kurnool District* (Madras: 1886), p. 122

Chenchu boys in the local Residential School, a top Forest Officer wanted that one of them should recite a piece of Telugu poem. When the teacher asked a boy, the Officer was wondering whether he was a Chenchu at all. The teacher had to intervene and confirm that he is a Chenchu boy. Later, when the teacher who had 14 years of experience working among them was interviewed, he revealed that due to the above mentioned tendency it is becoming increasingly difficult in some cases to identify a Chenchu just by his physical appearance.

B. HOUSING

15. The hut is small and compact. Figs. 6 and 8 show the typical conical and oblong Chenchu huts in this village. It is erected by its owner with the assistance of one or two nearest kinsmen like wife, wife's brother and son. Almost all the materials needed for the huts are secured from the jungle free of cost. They are good at handling bamboo and weaving the bamboo splints into a wattle wall. They do not observe any formality regarding the selection of a site for putting up the hut. After selecting the area which is normally adjacent to their relatives' (the distance may range upto 300 feet) they mark off a fairly elevated circular area of about 10 to 12 feet diameter. Sometimes the floor level is raised by putting some extra earth. A central pole is then erected. Along the periphery of the circular area of the hut short posts of 4 feet height are fixed to the ground. From the central pole on to the side posts bamboos are tied. These bamboos are generally bushy and have twigs to support the thatch on them. Some huts, particularly the oblong ones, are so constructed that there is no wall at all except a bamboo mat hung as a side screen. The thatched roof reaches the ground as seen in Fig. 10. In a conical hut, invariably a wattle wall is made with thin bamboo splints, the smooth green surface of the splints facing outside. This wall is secured to the vertical posts erected on the circumference of the site. In some cases, especially where the hut owner works as a salaried employee at the Residential School or the Woman Welfare Centre, the wattle wall is plastered with mud and dung and white-washed (Fig. 43). In erecting the wall an opening is left for the door. The door consists of another piece of bamboo wattle more closely woven than the wall itself. The door is merely secured to the opening by means of a string or a strip of cloth. It can completely be taken off when the people are inside the hut or tied up closing the entrance when they leave for work. The roof is made up by covering the bamboos with layers of forest thatch which they themselves collect from the forest.

16. Chenchus, however, observe formalities at the time of first entry into the house. Monday and Thursday are considered to be auspicious days. The head of the family as also all other family members take bath; nearest relatives like brothers, sisters, brothers-in-law and cousins are invited on the occasion. The central pole in the house is marked with vermilion powder. A cocoanut is broken or a fowl is offered, in the name of the family deity. The invitees are entertained to the day's meal.

17. There is only one house in the *gudem* which is a pucca one with stone wall and flat mud roof. This belongs to the Village Headman, a Chenchu. But the construction of this house is not complete. He has spent Rs. 900 for the last 20 years without any help from the Government. The sources of finance are only his savings from agricultural production and the salaried income from his occupation of Village Headman. He gave a contract to one Vaddi Naganna of Krishnapuram for Rs. 800. The building labourers were recruited from Krishnapuram as Chenchus could not work as building labourers. His sons have, however, erected their huts nearby in their usual conical pattern. Fig. 8-A illustratesthe internal layout of a Chenchu hut. They generally keep the inside of the hut quite clean. The floor is swept and periodically smeared with cow dung. The roof, however, will generally be dark, covered with black soot and cobwebs. The hearth which is nothing more than three stones kept together over a hollow made in the ground (Fig. 11) so as to support a pot is usually located inside in the northern corner. There is no escape for the smoke in the case of mud plastered wattle walled huts which filters through the thatch at the top leaving the black soot to stick on to the ceiling. The domestic utensils are arranged close to the hearth. A broom and a low bamboo cot are generally found inside the hut. The bow and arrow are to be found stuck amidst the bamboos of the roofing. It is also usual to find a fishing contrivance *(kadama)* hanging outside the hut from the branch of a tree are on the ground which can be seen in Figure 27.

18. The picturesque traditional conical Chenchu huts are now being replaced by some oblong huts got constructed by the Forest Department under the Chenchu amelioration scheme. These, numbering

50 are put up in a separate site at a distance of about 2 furlongs to the west of the old habitation area. The appearance of the new model huts may be seen in Fig. 2. They are two roomed houses with wattle walls and grass roof.

C. DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Dress

19. The Chenchus dress very scantily. In the *Kurnool District Manual* the dress of the Chenchus has been described as follows :

> "The men are merely in a state of nudity having only a piece of cloth round their loins. The women dress more decently than men, in the style of the wandering female basket-makers and resemble them in features more than their neighbours, the Telugu people of the plains."[1]

It is observed in *Ferishta* that the Chenchus used to wear caps made of leaves of trees, in the 17th Century ; later, at the beginning of the present century E. Thurston writing on the Chenchus observed :

> "Some Chenchus bear on the head a cap made of wax-cloth, deer or hare skin. By the more fashionable the tufted ear or bushy tail-end of the large Indian squirrel *(Sciurus Indicus)* is attached by way of ornament to the string with which the hair of the head is tied into a bunch behind. Leafy garments have been replaced by white loin clothes and some of the women have adopted the *ravike* (bodice), in imitation of the female costume in the plains."[2]

20. In the last three centuries considerable change has come about in the mode of dress of the Chenchus. The men do not wear skin or wax-cloth cap and leafy dress any more, but the dress of the men particularly of the older generation, living at present, continues to be as scanty as it used to be. It consists of a mere strip of cloth called *gochi batta* passed in between the legs to cover the nudity and the ends of the cloth are secured by passing it over a waist thread (Fig. 25). Several have, however, been putting on an upper cloth during cold season (Fig. 21). It is also used for covering themselves at nights in the absence of a *duppati* (a thick cotton cloth). The younger generation is gradually taking to the wearing of shirts which they get from the merchants of the plains. The close association of the Chenchus of this village with the Forest Department officials and the staff and students of the school in the Byrluti colony who wear neat uniforms (shorts and shirts) had led the men to take to the habit of wearing knickers as well (Fig. 43). The dress habits of women have not changed much since the beginning of this century. A short saree is wound round the body in an uncouth way without many folds or pleats unlike the mode of wearing of a saree by the women of the plains (Fig. 7). The saree piece worn by the old women is oftentimes short coming down only just below the knees. A simple bodice or *ravika* is worn to cover the upper part of the body. The ends of the bodice are secured by being tied into a knot in front. The description given in the *Kurnool Manual* that the dress of the women is more like that of the bamboo-weaving women (apparently Yerukulas) appears quite appropriate. It may be a point of interest that the tribal women of the hilly areas of Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam and Godavari Districts do not generally wear a bodice or jacket whereas the Chenchu women invariably wear a bodice. The man's dress unless he goes in for a shirt or an upper cloth costs almost nothing, for, oftentimes even his *gochi batta* which is just a long strip of cloth about 5" to 6" wide is obtained by tearing a strip from his wife's saree. The cost of a saree varies form Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 and the *ravika* costs Re. 1 to Rs. 1.50. If a man can afford the luxury of having a shirt it may cost him about Rs. 5. The upper cloth or *duppati* as it is called, costs Rs. 5 to Rs. 10.

21. The Chenchus have started dressing their Children like those of the plains' children. A boy usually puts on a *gochi* and a shirt and the girl wears a frock. Slightly older girls wear *pavada* or *parikini* (a sort of skirt) purchased from the *shandy*. The school going children are provided with a set of dress—for boys a set of knickers and banian, and for girls, *parikini* and *jackets* (Figs. 35 and 37).

22. It will thus be observed that they have not been slow in taking to the dress of the plainsmen if a need or an occasion arose and if they could afford. But the majority of them are still unaffected. The probable reason why it has not come about is firstly, that they are not able to really afford it; secondly, their segregation within the forest might have led them not to fall an easy prey to the temptation of trying to imitate the people of plains. Amongst those whose economic conditions have improved by their being employed as regular employees in the Forest Department or servants in the

1 *A Manual of the Kurnool District*, p. 123

2 E. Thruston, *op. cit.*, p. 37

schools and so on, the change in the mode of dress is obvious. They try to keep pace with the requirements of their improved status. Fig. 43 clearly illustrates this. They do not seem to have much incentive to improve their dress and appearance unless they find it necessary.

Ornaments

23. Generally speaking, men do not wear any ornaments as such except small rings made of brass, white metal or silver which are worn in the helix and lobes of the ears (Fig. 5). Some men wear spiral rings round the fingers which are supposed to be talismans to prevent swelling by bee bites. The men of course wear a waist string which can hardly be called an ornament.

24. The ornaments of women are also very few and of very poor quality compared to those worn by the women of some other hill tribes like the Kondhs, Samanthus and Savaras who inhabit the Agency tract of this State. But the Chenchu women invariably have a few chains of coloured beads hanging round their necks (Fig. 42). In the *Kurnool Manual* it has been observed that :

> "They do not wear any ornament of gold or silver; they, however, use copper ornaments, and adorn their necks with rosaries of *guruvindu ginjas* (abrus precatorious)."[1]

Of late, however, the women who can afford have started to wear ear rings or *konkipulla* made of silver in the helix of the ear (Fig. 18). A silver or gold chain (*golusu*) is also worn connecting the *konkipulla* to the rear knot of the hair. *Konkipulla* and *golusu* together are said to cost about Rs. 2.50. Generally, women wear cheap type of ear rings made of brass and studded with white stones called *mukkari*, a pair of which costs only 0.50 P. *Mukkupudaka* or nose screw made of aluminium is also worn on one of the nostrils. This costs only 0.25 P. The neck ornaments consists of only a chain of beads which may be coloured glass beads or the red *guruvinda ginjas* or sometimes made out of porcupine spikes cut and pierced through to form beads. Most women genelly have glass bangles round the wrists. Aluminium wrist bands called *kadiyalu* costing 0.25 P. each are also worn. *Mattelu* or toe rings (Fig. 43) made of aluminium costing 0.25 P. a pair are worn on the second toe of each foot in the case of married female. All these ornaments are secured from the weekly *shandy* held at Atmakur.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 123

25. *Matte* (toe ring), *tali* (a silver badge tied round the neck) and a string of black beads are the symbols of married status as far as woman's ornaments are concerned. Glass bangles are prohibited for the widows. Regarding dress there is no special mode to signify the marital status.

26. *Tattooing*: Chenchu women bear tattooing marks of a dot or tiny triple lines diverging from a point upwards on the forehead.

Hair style

27. The women dress their hair by combing it back and tying it into a knot called *koppu* (Fig. 18). In the *Manual of Kurnool District* it is stated that the women smear their faces with oil extracted from *sara pappu* (buchanalia latifolia) and *kanuga pappu* (galedupa indica) and that the men do not do this. This practice does not seem to exist now. The Women Welfare Centre supplies cocoanut oil for dressing the hair of women and children. Menfolk use cocoanut oil for hair twice in a week. Among men, the older generation still allow the hair to grow without trimming and it is merely secured behind by a knot (Fig. 5). Sometimes the head is shaved all around the lock of curly hair which is combed back. The younger generation, however, have started getting their hair cropped by a barber at the weekly *shandy* at Atmakur. Some of these tribal men have even learnt the knack of using the shaving razor and they try mutually to serve one another (Fig. 23). It is not an uncommon sight to see pairs of women clearing the lice off their hair mutually (Fig. 17). The lazying man also gets his lice removed by the woman.

Bathing habits

28. Though they claim that they take their bath every alternate day the appearance of most of them indicates that they do not have their bath for days on end. The infants and younger childern are given bath generally in the evening (Fig. 22). The Women Welfare Centre's demonstrations and advice are bringing out slow improvements in their sanitary habits. Use of washing and toilet soap is popular among a few of them. Among the 8 households intensively surveyed (out of 74) 3 were reported to be using toilet soap while 4 were using washing soap (Table 7).

D. OTHER MATERIAL EQUIPMENT

Furniture

29. The Chenchu households do not have any furniture excepting a low bamboo cot very ingeniously made by themselves. It is about 9" or 1' high and about 5½' long and 3' wide (Figs. 13 and 16). They also keep a *thadika*, a flat bamboo mat of 6' × 3' prepared by themselves with bamboo splints. About 10 persons in the village know the art of making bamboo cots. For a cot they charge Rs. 2.50. The cot and the *thadika* are commonly used by them for the purpose of sitting or lying down. In the rainy season when the floor of the huts become dampy every hut is furnished with the *thadikalu* (mats) (Fig. 23). Among the 8 sample households (out of 74 households) intensively surveyed, it was found that two households possessed bamboo cot and *thadika* (Table 7).

Domestic utensils

30. Their domestic utensils consist of a few earthen pots and cheap aluminium utensils (Figs. 12 and 13) like, *sarava :* a vessel used for cooking gruel out of rice or *korra* (small coarse millet) or for cooking *jonna annamu* (cooked jowar) or *sankati* (a pasty preparation out of cooked millets), *kura sarava:* a smaller pot used for cooking *pulusu* or curry which is no more than salt, chillies and tamarind boiled in water, *neella kadava*: a big earthen pot used for fetching water.

31. Besides these, other utensils like an aluminium plate for eating, a tumbler for drinking water or a *chembu* for holding smaller quantities of water are also found in almost every hut. Earthen pots are used for storing *mahuwa* flowers or *ippa puvulu*. Grains are stored either in earthen vessels or in bamboo baskets. Steel trunks are used for keeping clothes by a few persons who are working as salaried employees (Table 7). Use of mirror and hurricane lantern, though not very common, is found among a few households (Table 7). All the vessels are purchased from the *shandy* at Atmakur.

32. Other articles of domestic usage like *rolu* (mortar), *rokali* (pestle) and *tirugali* (grinding stone) are also found in use. Among 8 households (out of 74 households) surveyed, only one household possessed these articles (Table 7). The mortar is made by the Chenchus themselves. The pestle and grinding stone are got made by the Vaddara Caste men of Siddapuram settlement, a nearby village, by paying an amount ranging from Rs. 4 to Rs. 6 for a pestle and Rs. 9 for a grinding stone. Winnow, broom and other domestic accessaries like *teddu* (wooden laddle), wooden *pappu gutti* (cooked dhal grinder) are also made by the Chenchus themselves.

The hearth

33. The hearth inside the house is prepared by making a dug out stove using a bare set of three stones. In a very few cases they are plastered over with mud to support the cooking utensils. Some of them customarily keep the hearth in the south-east corner for no specific reason assigned by them.

Implements

34. The implements employed by them are those useful in the pursuit of their occupations like forestry labour or collection of minor forest produce (Figs. 14 and 15). These are described below :

Dokudupara : This consists of a flat iron piece which is secured to a long bamboo shaft of two to three feet long by inserting the flat spike into an end of the handle which is bound over with an iron ring. This is used while working in the plantations to loosen the soil and remove the weeds. This is purchased either at Atmakur or at Venkatapuram village.

Karrapara: This consists of a strong iron rod of about 1¼' long fixed to a fairly thick bamboo shaft of 2' to 3' long. It is used for loosening the surface of the ground and digging out roots and tubers which form part of their food. This is purchased from the blacksmith at Atmakur.

Chenchukatthi : It is a hatchet with a strong broad iron blade fixed to a short handle and is used for cutting bamboos and splicing them. It is also used for skinning wild game. This is purchased from the blacksmiths at Atmakur; sometimes they get it prepared by Chenchus of other villages. It costs Rs. 10. When not in use the *katthi* is secured in a leather sheath known as *vora* hung to the waist string on the side. This is got prepared by the Madiga (Scheduled Caste) men of the nearby villages paying Rs. 3.

Kodavali (sickle): This is not different from the one in use in the adjoining plains and is used by them for cutting grass or thatch for roofing the hut. Sometimes it is also used when they work as agricultural labourers.

Goddali (axe): This is a common axe as found elsewhere and is used by them to clear jungle growth and hew the wood. They carry it hanging on their shoulders when they go out for work, as Figures 16 and 20 would illustrate. Both the sickle and axe are purchased from the blacksmiths at Atmakur.

The bow and arrow: It is difficult to imagine any traditional Chenchu without a set of bow and arrow invariably so when they leave for the forest. Though not reputed to be great marksmen they use the bow and arrow quite frequently to secure game. The average bow is about 44″ to 55″ long made out of a slightly flat and thick bamboo splint of about 2″ to 2½″ width slightly tapering at both ends which are notched. The bow is strung with a strong splint of bamboo which is secured to the ends of the bow by means of a strong cord made out of deer, or sheep sinew. The flat and thick bamboo split is decorated by badges of iguana skin. They are quite at home in handling the bow. The arrow consists of a thin strong bamboo stick with an iron point the tip of which sometimes is said to be poisoned. The other end of the arrow has feathers inserted. Three types of arrows are used by them (Fig. 15).

Goraka, arrow also known as *pothambu* which has a solid point is used to shoot small birds, rats, squirrels etc. Another type, *billambu* which has slightly flattend shape tapering into a sharp end is specially suitable to shoot rabbits. The third type of arrow which is flatter and sharp on both the sides tapering into a sharp end is known as *ambu* and is used to shoot bigger game like panther, deer, etc. In all these three types the other end of the arrow which is a bamboo reed is smartly dressed with the feather of eagle or crow tightly wound with a string. Some arrows have a mere wooden stub at the end instead of the metal point and these are intended to shoot at birds. But this is not very commonly used by them. Arrows are made by themselves at their houses by securing horseshoe pieces which are heated and beaten to the required shape by a hammer. There are about 20 Chenchus who know the craft of making arrows while every grown-up man makes the bow. They charge 25 P. for making an arrow. Annually the Forest Department holds archery contest as a part of the annual celebrations of the school at the Byrluti colony in which the contestants show a fairly good measure of marksmanship (Fig. 25).

Kaduma (fishing basket), a type of fishing equipment is made out of bamboo splinters and *ari* fibre (Fig. 27). There are about 20 Chenchu men in the village who are skilled in making these fishing equipments.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 124

E. DIETARY HABITS

Food

35. The *Kurnool Manual* records as follows:

> "They eat cholam, ragi and millet which they get sometimes by stealing the ryots' crop, sometimes by bartering the jungle produce, and sometimes by purchasing the grain with the money obtained by the sale of the jungle produce. They eat also a species of wild tubers called *Chenchu gadda* and the flesh of all animals killed in chase excepting tiger, cheetah and wolf. They do not boil the meat but heat it over the fire and eat. The flesh of the monkey called Jungar or *kondamuchu* is much relished by them; in the hot months a species, lizard guana (*udumu*) is in great request."[1]

The food habits of the Chenchus do not seem to have changed very much from what has been observed about 80 years ago when the above was recorded in the *Kurnool Manual*. However, they can no longer be accused of obtaining the grains by stealing the ryots' crop or by burglary. Most of the Chenchus of this village are now employed as forest labourers either under Forest Department or by the forest contractors. Some of them have also been appointed as regular employees of the Forest Department. They have thus been making an honest livelihood and have been securing their grains from their own earnings. One improvement noticed is that they have taken to the eating of rice also. Rice eating has to be considered as a sign of acculturisation. The food habits induced by the hostel attached to the Chenchu school in this village, regular flow of money income through wage earning activities and the availability of grains at reasonable price in the Co-operative Stores might have generally influenced the change in their food habits in this area. Among the 8 households intensively surveyed (out of 74 households), 4 households reported to be using rice whereas all the 8 households were using coarser grain like *jowar* (Table 12). *Sankati* prepared out of *jowar* is their staple diet.

36. They still continue to be the gatherers of jungle tubers to supplement their food. The tubers which they secure from the forest go by the following names: *chenchugadda, venabalagadda, urragadda, nulugadda, thamaragadda, kaluvagadda.* The *nulugadda* has to be secured by digging the earth fairly deep about two or three feet below the surface of the ground. The tubers are initially boiled in water and the water is thrown out and only then they become edible. The raw tubers are said to produce an irritating effect in the throat if consumed without the boiling process. They use greens which are also mostly secured from the forest area. These greens are *devadaru* leaves, *boddaku, doggalaku chenchalaku, pendlipeddikura, nallakura, alikamamidikura* and *pullakura.* They supplement their food by eating such fruits as *kondaethapandlu* (March), *kondaneridipandlu* (April), *velagapandlu* (November–December), *seethaphalam* (September–October), *tinki* fruits (March–April–May). Among flowers they use *kaluva* flower (July–September) and *ippa* flower (March–May). In the tamarind fruit season (January–February) the dried twigs and branches of tamarind tree are burnt to ashes. This ash is collected and preserved in an earthen pot for day–to–day eating mixed with tamarind fruit. The tamarind fruits are brought and the shell is removed. This seeded tamarind is mixed and kneaded with the tamarind ash and then eaten. The seeds are thrown out after eating. This dish is known as *chintha mudda.*

37. By the constant search for tubers, leaves, flowers, berries and other jungle produce they have also developed a knack of tracking wild game. With the bow and arrow they are able to shoot down rabbits, peacocks, jungle fowls, doves, parrots, jungle sheep, squirrels, iguana etc. Deer and young sambar are also sometimes shot. For hunting, the husband and wife usually make the hunting party. Sometimes people among close kinship groupings like brothers, cousins, brothers-in-law join the party. March to June is the hunting period. With the wild game preservation rules of the Forest Department, the Chenchus are restricted in using guns for the game. Some among them feel that this prohibition has resulted in snatching away the food from their mouth and they have to depend only on their crude tools like the bow and arrow.

38. The observation in the *Kurnool Manual** that the Chenchus do not boil the meat but heat it over the fire and eat, can be quite believed as it was personally observed by the Editor of this monograph in another area of the Nallamalai where no sooner did he happen to shoot a porcupine and hand it over to the Chenchus than the latter skinned the animal and within no time consumed the raw flesh without even heating it over the fire. In view of the jungle life they lead they might not have developed the niceties of culinary art.

39. With the rare exception of one or two families, the Chenchus by and large, do not seem to keep by any store of food except *mohuwa* flower for sometime. Theirs is, practically, a day–to–day existence. Several of them seem to suffer from malnutrition and the resulted skin diseases. During difficult seasons they subsist on *mohuwa* flower only which is stocked in big pots. The *Chenchugadda* has become an indispensable part of their diet. An interesting legend is told of how the *Chenchugadda* which was once said to have been one of the tastiest tubers had lost its taste and had become very inferior. "OBALESUDU, the ruler (God) of the Chenchu Kingdom took pity upon them (Chenchus) and asked them what type of food they would like to prefer, at the instance of his newly wedded charming Chenchu Lakshmi claimed by the Chenchus as their daughter. The Chenchus who were much intrigued over the question feared that the ruler God might take away all the good things they should name, mentioned to Him only inferior yams and kept back for themselves two really delicious and sweet yams, namely, 'Chenchugadda and Yalvarugadda' and the Lord after receiving these presents blessed the inferior ones with sweetness and from that day they became sweet. The yams which were really sweet before and which the Chenchus kept back lest the Lord should take them away became bitter." From that day it is believed the Chenchus' misery started and continues unabated till to-day.

40. The Chenchus generally take their food two times a day. As seen from Table 11, all the eight sample households that were interviewed had reported that they take two meals a day. The morning meal called the *udaya bhojanam* is taken between 8 a.m., and 10 a.m. The evening meal or the *mapati bhojanam* is taken between 6 p.m., and 8 p.m. The morning meal generally consists of *sankati* eaten together with some *karam* (chillies) and common salt. Some households take rice gruel

* *Ibid.*, p. 124

with salt. The evening meal consists of *roti* prepared out of *jowar* flour taken with a little salt, chilli, tamarind and onion. In seasons when the Bhavanasi river and Siddapuram tank are full and are favourable for fishing, they catch fish and use it mainly for the domestic consumption.

Drinking and smoking

41. The Chenchus are quite fond of drinking. The drink consists mainly of the liquor distilled from *mohuwa* flower or *ippa* flower as it is locally called. A clever distilling apparatus is made by making use of two earthen pots which are connected by a bamboo conduit and the whole thing is made air-tight. The bigger pot in which the *mohuwa* flower is fermented, is placed over fire. The vapour passes through the conduit which slopes down to the smaller pot. The conduit and the smaller pot are covered with moistened rags and frequently wetted, which are intended to condense the spirituous vapour to form the liquor. The *mohuwa* flower liquor is very potent and a thorough favourite with the Chenchus. Figure 24 shows one such distilling plant in operation. An elderly Chenchu reported that in the olden days, they were in the habit of preparing liquor out of barks and flowers by using honey in place of jaggery for their home consumption. But now-a-days liquor making using *tumma chekka* and jaggery on a commercial scale is rampant among a few Chenchus. Such a centre is a favourite haunt not only for the Chenchus but sometimes to the neighbouring plainsmen who stealthily go to spend an evening to enjoy the liquor. It is a heartening feature that the children who stay most of the time in the hostel away from the parents are free from the influence of drink.

42. The smoking habit is quite common both with the men as well as women. They smoke *beedis* and cigars made of country tobacco purchased at the local co-operative sub-depot. Chewing of areca-nuts and betel leaves and tobacco is also quite a common habit especially with the women.



Chapter III

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Pregnancy and birth

Chenchus surmise vomiting sensation and stoppage of mensus as indications of pregnancy. No minute restrictions are placed on a pregnant woman in regard to diet. But some believe that eating wild boar meat harms her. There is no ceremony performed after conception or before child birth. Some men do not have their hair cut or removed when the wife is pregnant. The pregnant woman is forbidden from visiting funerals or taking part in consoling the bereaved. In some cases marriage ceremonies are also not attended by her. The pregnant woman expresses her desire for certain edibles like rare roots, flowers, birds and animals. If these could be procured from the forest, the husband satisfies her wishes. If they require to be bought at the market, lack of purchasing power often prevents her from getting the things through her husband. If the parents of the woman are alive and could afford to maintain their daughter during and after child birth the daughter is taken home for the first delivery. If the parents' house is in the same village she just goes to their house; if she has to walk several miles to reach her parent's house, either the husband or her parents accompany her. Otherwise, the delivery takes place in the house of husband. To count the pregnancy period they mark it from a festival or the time of visit of some important person to the village or any major incident in the house or village. Chenchu women believe that the pregnancy period lasts for 9 months in the case of male babies and 10 months in the case of female babies. They give their own explanation for this discrepancy because of the sex. They believe that male children are born earlier because, the male has an instinctive liking for outdoor work to earn his livelihood and make a surplus for his wife and children. Hence God has ordained that they should be born sooner. Hence the male child gets into the world of work as soon as possible. Female children, they say, stay longer in the womb of the mother because females by nature wish to stay at home longer and with comfort.

2. The pregnant woman works till the time when she begins to complain of labour. If she is at home, some experienced woman in the neighbourhood assists her during the labour time. There is no separate hut or screened apartment in the house specially prepared for delivery. No cot is used for woman to sleep or lie down. Bodily posture at the time of delivery is in the sitting position. For support to the labouring woman a hanging rope from the roof is provided. If the pregnant woman goes out in the forest for gathering fruits or fuel either alone or with her husband it is not an uncommon thing to find her giving birth to a child in the forest and coming home with the child as though the child brought by her has been just found in the forest. Such cases have been reported wherein a pregnant woman for instance, 4 years ago, when returning home on a rainy day crossed a hill stream and got the labour pains even before she reached her hut. Under a tree she gave birth to a child. She was all alone. There was no knife with her. She cut the umbilical cord by pounding it against a stone with another stone, washed the child in the nearby hill stream and wrapping the child in a cloth she went to her hut. But unfortunately after some days, the child died. In another case, the Women Welfare Organiser at Byrluti reported that a Chenchu woman working as ayah in the Centre was on duty till the very day of delivery. One day she absented herself from work. On the following day she came with a child and reported that she could not come the previous day because of the child birth. Though such cases are rare, they are by no means unusual. If the delivery takes place in the habitation area, an experienced woman in the neighbourhood is invited for assistance at the time of delivery. She may be one among the kinship relation or from outside. There is no specific *gotram* or caste/tribe to which this experienced woman should belong. In difficult cases, the experienced woman applies her hand in conducting delivery cases. The umbilical cord is cut in a crude way with the sharp edged *katti* (knife). It is carefully disposed off by putting it inside the whole of a bandicoot. Sometimes they adopt the practice of tying it to the roof also. No explanation was given for observing such practices. A piece of cloth burnt to ashes mixed with castor oil is applied to the child's umbilical cord cut till such time as the cut dries up. Of late, they are freely using boric acid with bandage (which is locally known as *boddu mandu*) supplied by the Women Welfare Centre. The elderly woman who assists in the delivery puts

the placenta in an earthen pot and buries it by the side of the house. The newly born child is daily given hot water bath, on the very spot where the placenta is buried. No specific reason was assigned for choosing this spot for the child's bath. As soon as the delivery is over, the mother is given liquor. On the second day *kashayam* is prepared by boiling *vepachekka, nelavemu* leaf, garlic and pepper and the decoction is given to her as drink early in the morning even before she washes her face. One time food is given to her for 5 to 8 days. The diet consists of boiled rice or *sankati* made out of grinded *jowar*. They use roasted chillies. It is powdered with hand in a small mud vessel and mixed with garlic and salt. Oil and dhal are avoided for about a month. In the same hut she either lies down or sits always by the side of fire. The baby is made to lie on the torn clothes spread out on the ground as bed sheet and wrapped in the clothes. The mother covers her head with a piece of cloth. The child birth is apparently not followed by any definite period of pollution. From the time of birth upto 5th day the experienced woman attends to the care of the child like fomenting and giving bath. For her services she is paid Rs. 2, on the fifth day, in the case of male child and Rs. 1.50 P.in the case of female child.

3. The Chenchu women are now availing themselves of the facilities provided by the modern maternity services. In the initial period, they did not come forward to engage the services of the midwife. But now their customs and beliefs are in no way retarding the capacity of the community to avail itself of the modern maternity service.

4. The normal duration of suckling varies among the Chenchus upto four years. It is reported that there are cases when the mother sometimes suckles two children, the first and the subsequent born at her breast. At the time of weaning away the child, they are in the habit of using neem leaf juice to smear the mamilla. There are no restrictions regarding diet or activities for the mother during the lactation period. From the first year onwards, the child begins to eat all kinds of food including the berries, the roots and herbs which the elderly members take. There are no conscious and scrupulous attempts made to regulate infant's food habits and habits of defecation and general cleanliness. There are no ceremonies associated with the first feeding of the child.

Abortion and contraception

5. Some Chenchus believe in contraception and they practise it by using certain kinds of herbs. The woman eats leaves of some herbs which is a guarded secret, during the period of regular mensus flow from the first day to the third and takes restricted diet avoiding onion, chilly and salt. Daily they take three pills made out of these herbs. There are one or two informed women among the Chenchus who administer these contraceptive herbs. The reasons for taking to contraceptives by woman are reported to be two: (1) to avoid emotional disharmony with the husband which is prone to arise because of the suspicious nature of the husband regarding her chastity and (2) to limit the size of the family. Abortion is practised by women in case they indulge in illicit sexual contact, to avoid unsocial strictures from the husband or the community. Asafoetida and garlic are used from the first month of pregnancy. Some women use *pappai* fruit to effect abortion. They consider barrenness to be an act of God and try to get it cured by taking indigenous medicines from the itinerant medicine-men who will be visiting this place occasionally from towns and other settled areas. They consult the Yerukulas (an ethnic group) for curing barrenness. On their advice they take some herbs and promise some vows to various deities and saints. Dargaiah (properly known as Mirthujavali), a Muslim saint whose tomb is located at a distance of about a mile from Byrlutigudem is frequently visited by the devotees on that account. It was reported by the Women Welfare Organiser that there were a good number of still births and the reasons assigned for them are the beatings and physical ill-treatment by the husbands during the pregnancy period and also the defective diet taken by the pregnant woman. They do not know any cause for still births. But they broadly believe that there is no debt *(runa)* and that is why the child is dead. They are satisfied if the mother safely gets over the difficulty and they hope that they can have many more children if the mother is safe and healthy. They believe that infant deaths are caused by *dayyam* and *pisacham* (evil spirits). They have no preference either for a male or a female child. But when a Chenchu couple gets a female child the mothers' brother asks for the child to be given in marriage to his own son.

Naming ceremony

6. After about a month of confinement the mother is taken back to her husband's house by the

husband with no ceremony. There is a practice of naming the child even while it is in mother's womb. This procedure it is believed, will propitiate the invisible spirits and facilitate easy delivery. This practice is resorted to only when the parents do not have any children and take a vow in the name of some deity or saint. If there is no such name already chosen, the Chenchus do not give a name till the child attains the age of about 5 years or more. A common name 'Mugenna' for boy and 'Mugemma' for girl is given from the day of birth till the day when they decide upon the proper name with reference to their ancestors or the deities. Under some circumstances it so happens that the child begins to cry and does not properly suckle milk or play cheerfully. This is carefully observed by the elders and if it continues, they begin to suspect that some godling or ancestral spirit or evil spirit is causing this uneasiness. Then they invite a magico-religious person (male) of their own tribe, a resident of Rudracode, a village at a distance of about 8 miles from this village. This person is locally designated as *gaddecheppevadu* (meaning a person who would diagnose the situation through the magico-religious method). He goes on fast for the day and takes liquor before starting his proceedings. The belief is that between 8-00 p.m., and 1-00 a.m., the invisible spirits haunt the place and inform the person properly. He sits beating a *tappeta* or drum. Sometimes others may also play this *tappeta* when he goes into trance. He goes on invoking the names of the deities and the ancestral spirits. Successive repetition of and lingering reference to the names of the deities or the ancestors give a clue that the same deity or ancestor has to be propitiated as the same has possessed the ailing child. By 1-00 a.m., the whole proceedings will be over. Then the prescription starts. The following articles are employed in the prescription: lemon, cocoanut, *sambrani*, scented sticks, vermilion, turmeric, betel leaves and nuts. *korinda nara* (a kind of fibre), *veluthuru nara* (a kind of fibre) and liquor. The liquor is drunk by the *gaddecheppevadu*. He makes a twisted thread out of the fibre mentioned and smears it with tumeric paste. Then, 9 knots are made to this thread. This knotted thread is pierced through the lime. After burning the incense invoking the spirit of the ancestor or the deity, he ties it round the neck of the baby while the ailing baby is seated facing east. When the child gets into normal moods, the parents believe that the spirit of the ancestor or deity is satisfied. Sometimes, without the proceedings of *gaddecheppinchadam* an elderly member of the family gives a name to the child to commemorate the departed ancestors or the family Gods.

7. The male Chenchu name terminates in 'adu' or 'lu' or 'aiah' or 'anna' like Lingadu, Rajugadu, Guravadu, Chinnagadu, Venkatigadu, Achigadu, Mallugadu, Nagalutigadu, Bakkavadu, Ankadu, Veeradu, Nagulu, Rajulu, Palankaiah, Bayanna, Edanna, Chinnanna, Papanna, Mugenna and Linganna. The female name terminates in 'amma' as for instance, Lingamma, Guruvamma, Edamma, Golusulamma, Palankamma, Mugemma. Many-a-time in familiar or intimate addresses the female name becomes a diminutive like Lingi, Guruvi and so on. The names Lingadu or Lingamaiah or Lingamma are derived from the deity named Lingamaiah whereas such names as Guruvappa or Guruvadu or Guruvamma are derived from the name of the deity Gurappa; Bayanna is from the deity Bayanna, Veeradu from the deities Veerabhadra and Veeradu, Mallugadu from the deity Mallikarjuna of Srisailam, Venkatigadu and Tirumalaiah from the deity Venkateswara of Tirumalai. Tandruti refers to the deity Tandruti. The husband and wife do not pronounce their reciprocal proper names while accosting each other nor do they mention the name of the spouse to a third person. They refer each other vicariously by using the kinship relation through their children.

Tonsure ceremony

8. When the child (male or female) attains the age of three or four years, tonsure ceremony takes place. The child is taken on any convenient day to the shrine of Edamma near Nagaluti (4 miles off) or of Nagamma, Erramma, Dargaiah, Mallamma, Vamalamma, Savadamma, Onti Veeranna, Bayanna, the last one located near Rudracode (8 miles away) on any convenient day. These deities are mostly situated in the midst of forest. On the date of ceremony the child's maternal uncle or the child's grandmother initiates the hair cutting by applying scissors to some locks. After this another person proficient in hair-shaving completes the tonsure.

9. There are no ceremonies or special observations connected with initiating the child to learning.

Puberty

10. Generally, the Chenchu girls attain puberty by their sixteenth year. This is locally referred to in Telugu as *ediginadi* or *padchu samarthainadi* meaning

that the girl has attained maturity. The girl is kept in one corner of the hut and she keeps that place clean and tidy by sweeping the floor and plastering it with cowdung and water. She is given an arrow smeared with turmeric powder and a lime stuck to the tip of the arrow. The girl applies turmeric powder to her body and wears a cloth coloured with turmeric. Old Chenchu women assist her in doing all these things. Her movements are very much restricted. Even a fear is created in her that if she goes about in the village or in the forest indiscriminately as before, something inauspicious will befall her. In the evening other women of the *gudem* gather before the girl's residence. The girl is decorated with ornaments and jewels of brass and aluminium. On this occasion women sing the following song :

"చిట్టి ఎలుకలన్ని చీరెలు కట్టుక
"Chitti elukalanni chirelu kattuka
పెండ్లి వడ్లు దంచంగ
Pendli vadlu danchanga
జమ్మి ఆకుల విస్తర్లు కుట్టి
Jammi akula vishtarlu kutti
భక్ష్య భోజనము వడ్డియ్యంగ"
Bhaksha bhojanamu vaddiyanga"

which literally means "all the small rats wearing sarees are pounding the paddy to supply rice for marriage, getting the *sami* leaves stitched into leaf plates and preparing to serve food and sweetmeats." Evidently there is a lot of fun in this song intended to make the girl anticipate her marriage. For five days the group meetings and songs will go on, and on the fifth day, she is taken near a bush or under some tree and is given hot water bath. She washes her clothes and then enters into the house.

Marriage

11. Marriage as a social institution is universally in practice among the Chenchus. Their marriage is performed in two ways *i. e.,* by negotiation and elopement. Marriage by negotiation is designated locally as *pelli* (which literally means marriage) and marriage by elopement is termed as marriage by *raji* (love). In 1960, out of 69 marriages investigated 73.92% (51 marriages) were marriages by elopement *(raji)* and 26.08% (18 marriages) were those by negotiations. Three cases of marriage by elopement have been reported one in 1961–62 and two in 1962–63 respectively. In these cases, the consent of the parents and the community were not taken into consideration.

Permissible partners for marriage

12. *Gotram,* also known as *kulam* is the determining factor for choosing the partners for marriage. Person belonging to the same *gotram* is not eligible to be a partner. In the same way, some *gotras* are considered eligible only if they are in the classificatory kinship relation like mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter or cousin's (sister's) daughter. In other words, if the *gotras* are related in the classificatory relationship of brother, the members cannot be partners for marriage. Normally, the Chenchus marry among their own tribe only. There is no taboo for choosing a partner within the same village. Among kinship category, *menarikam* (marrying mother's, brother's daughter) and *eduru menarikam* (marrying father's sister's daughter) and marrying one's own sister's daughter are in vogue and are preferred. Customarily there is a strict taboo for marrying younger or elder brother's widow. The younger brother considers the sister-in-law as mother and hence does not marry. The elder brother strictly avoids the younger brother's wife both by touch and inter-commensality. It is said that he does not even touch the end of her saree. In the case of death he does not even touch her corpse. Rather, he arranges to bring in other people to carry the corpse to the cremation ground than touch it. They do not eat food in the earthen plate used by either of them. They do not eat in their unwashed eating metallic vessel after meal while there is no such objection for a father or mother and son or the siblings for such commensality. In the case of earthen eating vessel, even after washing, it is avoided in the case of the elder brother and younger brother's wife relationship. In the *Manual of the Kurnool District* it had however been observed that "Chenchu widows, like the wandering Lambadis, generally marry the brother of the former husband; if there is no brother, they are allowed to marry others." This custom seems to have developed among the Chenchus as a result of the contact with the Lambadis. But there is a strong resentment, among some against such marriages. But in spite of it, there are a few cases wherein a brother has married his deceased brother's widow. For instance, in 1963 it was reported that Uttaluri Dalagadu married his elder brother's wife. The attitude towards such marriages is one of mixed feeling of indifference and disapproval and no

punitive action has been taken against the reported case. The elderly Chenchus say that such cases are in the nature of lapse or an exception to the general rules of marriage.

13. The following Statement gives the marital relationship contracted between *intiperus* among Chenchus.

Statement V

MARITAL ALLIANCES BY INTIPERU

S.No.	Name of *intiperu* to which women belonged before marriage	No. of women with reference to *intiperu* in Col. (2)	Name of *intiperu* into which women mentioned in Col (3) married
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Arti		
2	Baramala	1	Arti
		1	Chigula
		3	Uttaluri
		1	Vatterla
3	Chigurla	1	Baramala
		3	Dasari
		2	Garaboyana
		5	Gulla
		1	Topi
		2	Uttaluri
4	Dasari	4	Chigurla
		3	Gulla
		1	Mandla
		1	Topi
		2	Uttaluri
5	Garaboyana	1	Bhumani
6	Gulla	1	Arti
		1	Baramala
		4	Chigurla
		2	Dasari
		1	Garaboyana
		1	Mandla
		1	Pulicherla
		1	Topi
		1	Uttaluri
7	Jalli	1	Arti
		1	Dasari
		1	Uttaluri
8	Kudumala	1	Baramala
		1	Dasari
		2	Gulla
		1	Mandla
		1	Pulicherla
9	Mandla	1	Chigurla
		1	Dasari
10	Nimmala	2	Baramala
		1	Pulicherla
		1	Raya

Statement V—*(Concld.)*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
10	Nimmala—*(Concld.)*		
		1	Totakala
		4	Uttaluri
11	Pulicherla	3	Arti
		1	Dasari
		2	Uttaluri
12	Selam	1	Gulla
13	Topi	1	Arti
		1	Dasari
		1	Indla
14	Tota	1	Chigurla
		1	Dasari
		1	Mandla
		1	Topi
15	Uttaluri	4	Chigurla
		3	Dasari
		3	Gulla
		2	Mandla
		1	Topi
		1	Tota

Consanguineous marriages

14. Among 64 households covered for consanguineous marriages survey (August 1961) 110 marriages were investigated. Out of those marriages, 25 alliances were within the consanguineous relationship and the remaining except one unspecified fell outside the consanguineous group (Table 14). Out of the 25 consanguineous marriages, 10 were contracted with father's own sister's daughter *(eduru menarikam)*, 7 marriages each with own sister's daughter *(menakodalu)* and mother's own brother's daughter *(menarikam)* and one among other blood relationship (Table 13).

Preliminaries for marriage

15. Normally, when a boy begins to grow a moustache, the parents begin to look for a girl. "We know where the girls are and we go and see", they say. With this end in view they visit the girl's village and approach her parents along with some friends and close kinship relations asking them whether they are willing to give the girl to their son. This visit is not accompanied by any ceremonies, or feasting, nor any presents exchanged between the two families and in many cases this discussion is preliminary and purely of an exploratory nature. If the party shows a tendency to approve the connection, as a gesture of acceptance and agreement for marriage the father of the groom offers liquor to the girl's father and in some cases to some tribal elders and close relatives who include the girl's mother's brother also and who attend the discussions. This final agreement is reached after an

informal acceptance by all the parties to the marriage either on the same day or some other day which they consider as auspicious. The essence of the agreement would be announced which says that so and so girl belonging to so and so *gotram* is given in marriage to so and so boy belonging to so and so *gotram*. In some cases the participants for the marriage negotiations may be the boy, his parents, the girl and her parents. There are cases wherein some Chenchus addicted to drink and have no means to get liquor, indulge in the following procedure if they have a daughter. In spite of the young age of the girl, her father approaches an eligible person who can afford to give him money or who is running a liquor distillery or selling liquor and addresses him saying, "*Alluda* (son-in-law), I shall give my daughter in marriage to you, serve me some drams of liquor." If the person agrees and serves him liquor the girl is surely his. No going back on the word. If the girl's father goes back on his word and gives his daughter in marriage to another person, it is considered as *thappu* (meaning offence) and he is liable to collect compensation from the girl's father. But marriage by such a type of negotiation is less common. Occasionally, the matter is talked over with the elders of the respective villages, according to which the young man and the girl have little influence on the choice of the marriage-partner and are supposed to abide by their parent's decision. Sometimes, the tribal elders are formally informed of the marriage settlement after the marriage has been fixed.

16. In reality, however, the young people are generally consulted and indeed the young person presses his parents to seek the girl of his choice. In their ideas and demands on female attractiveness and the qualities which their bride should possess, Chenchus are probably less differentiated than the more highly civilized people, but events tend to show that they will undergo a considerable amount of difficulty and inconvenience in order to follow the dictates of their hearts. It is indeed in those cases where the young people take the initiative that marriages are brought about in a manner quite different from that now considered correct by the elder members of the community.

Marriage proceedings

17. After the consultation with the tribal elders any Sunday or Monday or Thursday is fixed up for marriage celebrations. Marriage takes place at the residence of the bride. The bridegroom's party starts from their place and arrives at the bride's place in the evening with their friends and relatives taking the bridegroom to the accompaniment of a *thappeta* and / or *mangalimelam*, a local orchestra composing of band, pipe and *dolu*. The latter is a recent feature and is brought from Krishnapuram, a neighbouring village, 3 miles away. The payment for the musical services varies from Rs. 10 to Rs. 15. *Thappeta* is an indispensable musical instrument played by the Chenchus themselves. Just before the arrival of the groom's party, a pandal is erected in front of the bride's house. But this is not a universal arrangement. After their arrival the bridegroom's party presents the bride price, clothes and ornaments to the bride. Bride price, varies between Rs. 3 to Rs. 25, clothes include a cheap red bordered white saree called *talambrala cheera* and a blouse piece; ornaments usually presented to her are *kallagolusulu* (ankle chain), *kadiyalu* (leg ornaments) *munjethi kadiyalu* (wrist bangles), *oddanamu* (waist belt), *sandibandi* (a waist ornament), *katta danda* (shoulder ornament), *kammalu* (ear ornaments). The choice of the ornaments for presentation is mainly determined by the financial position of the groom. There are cases where no ornaments were presented. But a *talibottu* (a marriage locket) is a 'must' to be presented by the bridegroom. It is made of either brass or silver or gold. After these presentations the groom's party is entertained to a vegetarian dinner. After dinner, the bride is prepared for the marriage. This is locally known as '*pellikuthuru cheyuta*' (literally meaning preparing the bride). The Kolagallu (hailing from Uttaluri and Mandla *intiperus*) and their wives attend to this ceremonial preparations for the bridal pair. After the ceremonial bath the bride wears ornaments and dress presented by the bridegroom. Turmeric paste is smeared on her face, hands and legs. Similarly the bridegroom is also prepared for the marriage pandal. The bridegroom wears a shirt, a new *gochi*, a headgear and a shoulderwear. He does not wear footwear. All these clothes are white in colour and are sprinkled with turmeric colour in the ends and on the borders. The bride and the groom are brought into the pandal and paired. The *pellipeddalu* (a panel of elders for marriage) headed by Bhumani *gotra* elder (called Kularaju), Kudumala *gotra* elder (called Pardhan), Mandla and Uttaluri *gotra* elders (called Kolagallu) sit before the couple and all other relatives and tribal elders sit around. At all Chenchu marriages in Byrlutigudem, the Uttuluri family must necessarily be present. It is the responsibility of the Uttuluri people to put up

the pandal as also to prepare hot water and bathe the bride. They are given customarily Re. 1.25 p., 3 *padis* of rice and liquor. Under the pandal, separating the bridal pair, the Kolagallu (Uttaluri *gotra* elders) place a staff. Aligning the staff on either side are placed betel leaves and betel nuts in the name of the family deities and the ancestors who are invoked for blessings on this occasion. Under the direction of the Kularaju, the Kolagallu place the hand of the bride in the hand of her mother's brother (*menamama*) and he in turn is asked to put the hand of the bride into the hand of the bridegroom. The *menamama* (mother's brother) ties the end of the shoulderwear of the groom to the end of the saree folded on the shoulder of the bride. This knot is known as *Brahmamudi* (meaning Creator's knot). After this the Kularaju and his assistants ask the tribal elders gathered around *"barapannandrella kulama, talibottu kattutaku selavena?"* meaning All the elders of the *kulas* over the age of 12, will you give leave to invest the bride with *talibottu*?" All that are present in the gathering say *"selave, selave"* (meaning yea, yea). Then the Kollagadu ties the *talibottu* (marriage locket) in the neck of the bride. After this, *nalugu* (greengram-flour and water) is smeared to the newly wedded couple by the Kolagallu. Then one of the Kolagallu gives a set of neatly folded betel leaves and a nut in the hands of the bride to keep it in her mouth. Then the bridegroom is asked to bite the projecting end of the folded betel leaf held in the mouth of the bride. The whole assembly observes pin-drop silence to listen to the biting stroke and encourages the shy bridegroom to bite the betel leaf at one stroke. As he bites, the whole assembly claps in ovation and approval. Then the Kolagallu ask the assembly whether every one present there heard the sound of biting the betel leaf. If any one could say 'no' (invariably they say 'no' for two or three times) then this is repeated again. Now the initiative is taken from the girl's side. After this, some of the friends and relatives present cash or cloth to the newly wedded couple. Then they are given bath. Following this, the newly-wed boy beats *thappeta* (drum) while to its accompaniment, his sweet heart dances. Some relatives and friends offer liquor to the new couple. Till the morning they go on dancing and beating the drum. Sometimes both the husband and wife dance together in an intoxicant mood to the tune of *thappeta* beaten by another person. This is a sort of recreation and amusement for the marriage party and a formal way of introducing the newly wedded couple to a life of intimacy and harmony. Recitation of marriage songs was not found in vogue in the village under survey. On the next morning after first meal, the newly wedded couple are taken to the bridegroom's house accompanied by relatives and friends. The newly wedded couple continue to move with their upper clothes tied in the *Brahmamudi* form. The bridegroom holds a spear or a *chenchukatti* in his right hand and while he walks along with his wife, a white long cloth is spread over them to form a canopy. This party proceeds led by a *thappeta* dance. As the party returns to the bridegroom's house, some presents in cash are made to the bride and the bridegroom by friends and relatives. The consummation also follows with no elaborate ceremony. The whole party is treated to a feast. It is a custom among the Chenchus that once marriage is over and if the girl has attained puberty, she must always live with her husband. The couple will invariably set up a new household after marriage.

18. The marriage expenses range from Rs. 50 to Rs. 200. One Shri Karnam Lingadu spent Rs. 200 for the marriage of his neice. In this case Rs. 5 was given to the bride's father towards *voli* or bride price. The remaining amount was spent on food, liquor and ornaments like *talibottu, mattelu, kammalu, kadiyalu* and clothes like saree, *ravika*, dhoti and shirt - all costing about Rs. 150.

19. As mentioned earlier, marriage by elopement which is locally termed as *raji* is in vogue. The omission of all formalities of marriage at the conclusion of a union may be due to the refusal of the parents to agree for the marriage or to the fact that either of the partners has been married before. In some cases, children who grow up in a family, the parents of which were previously either separated or divorced, are denied continuous parental care and protection. Such youngsters who feel almost orphaned have few chances for a regular ceremonial marriage and hence resort to elopement. When a young man and a girl decide to live together and their parents oppose their intention, they sometimes run away and live by themselves in the jungle until time has lent sanction to their union or they join another local group where they have sympathetic relatives and in such cases asylum is seldom refused. Once the couple are blessed with one or two children they return to one of their villages and are accepted as married couple where their status is in no way inferior to those married with full ceremony.

Widowers and widows often dispense with all ceremonies when they marry again but the parents of a young girl who give their daughter to a widowed man may insist on his providing the customary gifts and wedding feast. Yet very many Chenchu women who have run away from their husbands or who have been forsaken enter into new unions undistinguishable from real marriages and live with their partners as respected members of the community. It is reported in Byrlutigudem that the married boy lives with his widower father-in-law or widowed mother-in-law after marriage to give protection and security to the latter in old age. This is perhaps due to most marriages being contracted within the village itself and all the houses being close together. A few households have also reported that their sons are at present living with their fathers-in-law who are even 8 to 10 miles away from this village.

20. The *Kurnool Manual* gives the following account of the ways of marriage once predominant among the Chenchus:

> "They practise polygamy. But the Western Chenchus do not intermarry with the Eastern Chenchus, nor with those on the Northern side of the Kistna. However, the clan named Iranivari *tega* of Musalimadugu gudem intermarries with the Northern Chenchus, while another named Kannani *tega* of Palutla gudem has relatives among the Markapur Chenchus and never intermarries with the western tribes.
>
> The Chenchus do not marry with the Telugus on the plains. Captain Nelson, who lived among the Chenchus for upwards of ten years, mentions an instance in which a brick-maker of Cuddapah District married a Chenchu girl. Their custom as regards the prohibited degrees of affinity is the same as that of the Hindus below.
>
> The Chenchus do not follow a uniform custom in respect to marriage ceremonies. Their marriage is performed in three ways. A man wishing to marry selects his own bride, and both retire for one night by mutual consent from the gudem. On the following morning, when they return, their parents invite their friends and relatives, and by formally investing them with new clothes, declare them duly married. To complete the ceremony a meal is given to those assembled on the occasion. The second method is as follows:—A small space, circular in form, is cleaned and besmeared with cowdung, in the centre a bow and an arrow tied together is fixed in the ground and the bride and the bridegroom are made to move round it, when the men assembled bless them by throwing some rice over them and the marriage is complete. According to the third mode, a Brahmin is consulted by the elders of the family; an auspicious day is fixed and a raised pial is formed, on which the bride and the bridegroom being seated, a *tali* is tied and rice poured over their heads. The services of the Brahmin are engaged for three or four days and are rewarded with a piece of new cloth and some money. This ceremony resembles that of the ryot class among the Hindus. It is evidently a recent Brahminical innovation, and is observed only by a few clans which come in contact with the people in the plains. In a statement taken from Chenchus in 1810 by the Brahmin agents of Colonel Mackenzie, no allusion is made to this mode of performing the ceremony. On marriage occasions generally tom-toms, if available, are also beaten and a dance takes place."[1]

21. Present survey in this village showed that no Brahmin priest was employed at the time of marriage. The first two modes of marriage mentioned are in vogue with some minor variations.

Divorce

22. Either man or woman is free to initiate divorce. The party moves the tribal elders to regularise the divorce as a result of a woman going away with another man. If the husband and the wife dislike each other, for a time they live in the fold of their family under strained personal relations. These strained relations may take the form of teasings and mutual bickerings in different moods. The co-operation between husband and wife in attending to domestic core may completely break down. The wife expresses her non-co-operation by neglecting to attend on the husband in such routine services as supplying water, serving food, making fire, cordial talk etc., as he comes in the evening from his work in the forest or as he leaves to his work in the morning next day. The tired man resorts to violent scolding which develops into a verbal warfare between husband and wife and may end up in the husband severely beating his wife. This strained situation may get corrected as the days roll on or may worsen and become unstable. This may result in the wife running away to her parents' house or living alone separately or establishing contacts with another sympathetic man. This eventually in many cases results in wife going away with another man and on some day the vigilant husband discovers his wife living with another man. Then, the husband tries to move the tribal elders for claiming compensation.

> "In the first instance, the aggrieved husband may try to exact compensation from his wife's new partner and it depends on circumstances and his personal influence whether his claim is satisfied. But under no circumstances can he compel his wife to return, once she has entered upon a new union."[2]

Moving the Tribal Council to get sanction for claiming his compensation is locally known as *nasab*

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 125–126

[2] C.v.F. Haimendorf, *The Chenchus*, Macmillan & Co., Ltd. (London: 1943) p. 141

pettadam. This assembly is also known as *kula panchayat*. The aggrieved husband informs the tribal elders of his village about the case and presents the facts over a sumptuous dinner and liquor. The aggrieved husband with the sanction from the tribal elders of his village informs the tribal elders of the village where the wife lives that a particular individual has eloped with his wife and that he would come on such and such day to claim the compensation from the latter. With this move, if the compensation is not paid, an elaborate meeting and proceedings take place in the village where his wife lives with the new partner. The aggrieved husband takes some of his village elders with him and offers non-vegetarian meal and liquor to all the tribal elders that make the *nasab* or *kulapanchayat* in the wife's village. In the end, the new partner has to give the compensation fixed by the tribal elders and meet all the food and liquor expenses incidental to the *nasab*. Many a time, the very thought that he has to bear the extra expenses of the *nasab* itself compels him to pay the compensation earlier. In addition to the compensation, the wife has to part with the ornaments presented by the former husband. She takes away all her personal belongings like utensils and clothes. Small children usually remain with the mother while the grown-up ones stay with the father. The demand for compensation is easy in cases where the marriage took place with all the attendant ceremonies wherein the tribal elders become obliged to help the person in realising his compensation by virtue of their having been participant witnesses in the marriage. But in cases where marriages had taken place by elopement which does not formally involve community participation, the aggrieved person has to establish his *bonafides* by treating the tribal elders to a sumptuous meal. In many cases the preliminary expenses become so forbidding that the demand for compensation is not effectively made at all. Thus the social and economic controls to stabilise marriage relations become very ineffective. As the institution of polygyny is in vogue, the wife can continue to live with her husband as long as she likes to stay even after her husband takes a second wife. The *Kurnool Manual*, however, observes :

> "The Chenchu women are, generally speaking, very chaste and faithful".[1]

According to C. V. F. Haimendorf–

> "Adultery is in itself not considered a cause for ejecting a wife, and during the mohua flower season, when men and women are frequently drunk, a fair amount of promiscuous love-making occurs."[2]

The present survey reveals that there are no professional prostitutes among the Chenchus but premarital and sometimes extra-marital illicit sexual intercourse do exist. Some case studies regarding separation and divorce are given in Chapter V. Inter-tribal or inter-ethnic group marriages seldom take place. But, in this village a stray case wherein a Muslim has taken one Chenchu woman as his wife was reported.

Death

23. As soon as life is extinct, the corpse is washed by permissible relations, the feet are smeared with turmeric and legs with ashes, the hair is loosened and washed and then anointed with ghee or oil ; finally the corpse is wrapped in the cloth of the deceased and a four anna or eight anna coin is tied to it. All ornaments are removed while glass bangles and other trinkets (in case of woman) are buried with the body. The most precious of woman's ornaments are kept behind by her heirs.

24. It is a custom among the Chenchus that unless and until all the persons belonging to the particular sept or *gotra* in which the death has occurred call on the family of the dead, the corpse is kept as it is and then all of them gather and join the funeral procession. If they go against this custom other members of that sept raise serious objection and such act is treated as a *tappu* or social offence and the person responsible will be fined heavily, which may even go upto Rs. 100. In the case of the death of a woman, her parents do not touch her. The belief is that once she is given in marriage they have no right over her and it is the entire responsibility of *intiperu* (sept) persons to whom she is related to conduct funeral and obsequies. If the deceased has no near kinship relations in the *gotra* (sept) the persons of the parent *gotra* attend to the funeral on the specific undertaking that the property there afterwards belongs to them. All the members of the family, the nearest relatives and the members of the sept in which the death has occurred drink liquor. Perhaps, this they do just to forget their grief. The cost of the drink will be about Rs. 15.

25. If the corpse is a child, it is carried on the shoulders or on the hands by the father or the uncle

1 *Ibid.*, p. 126
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 141

(father's brother) if they are not alive, by any other nearest relative. The adults are carried in a bier, the corpse being placed in a laying position. Before the corpse is taken to the burial ground all the persons that participate in the funeral procession drink the *ippa poovu* (*mohuwa* flower) liquor. This practice is very rigidly observed. If they take the corpse without drinking the liquor, the responsible member will be fined by the other members of the sept and it is treated as a social offence. No trumpets or drums are engaged for the funeral procession. After proceeding about one and a half furlongs from the village site towards the burial ground, they stop for a while and place a little quantity of *jowar* on the corpse and then carry it to the burial ground. They cannot explain the significance of such a halt. They simply say that it is a custom coming down from their ancestors.

26. Each sept or *gotram* among the Chenchus has a separate spot (scattered on the same site) to bury or cremate the dead (Map II and Fig. 32). Chenchu families belonging to Dasari, Chigurla, Kudumula, Gulla and Mandla septs cremate the corpse. On reaching the burial ground, it is a custom that the people of that particular sept alone should dig the grave or at least formally begin the digging. After this any person from among the relatives that follow the funeral party to the ground can complete the work. While burying, the head of the corpse is kept pointing towards the south (*kati-kamula*). A gunny bag is placed in the pit and on that the corpse, covered with a piece of cloth, is placed and then the pit is refilled with the earth. All the persons that followed the corpse return to the village after the burial. Only those persons who carried the corpse take bath at the house while other members simply wash their feet and take another dose of *ippa poovu* liquor. The pollution lasts for three days. In some cases it lasts till the 15th day known as *peddadivasamu* when final obsequies are performed. During the pollution period the neighbouring householders do not touch the bereaved members or offer fire.

27. In the case of the death of a married person, on the third day after the cremation of the body, the ash and the remainings are collected and buried. A heap of stones are placed over it (Fig. 32) after offering non-vegetarian food in the name of the dead. This obsequies day is called *chinnadivasamu*. All the persons belonging to the sept join the bereaved family for taking food and liquor. The expenditure on this day is about Rs. 35.

28. After 15 days or a month from the date of death, another obsequies takes place. This day is known as *peddadivasamu*. On this day also offering of non-vegetarian food to the dead is made by mixing it in a hill stream or a pond in the name of the departed. Drinking follows invariably. On this day, the bangles, *tali*, *matte*, black beads of the widow are removed. She is eligible to remarry only after the performance of *peddadivasamu*. The expenditure both on *chinnadivasamu* and *peddadivasamu* ranges from Rs. 10 to Rs. 200. These expenses are met either by advance borrowing from bamboo contractors at Atmakur or farmers at Krishnapuram and other neighbouring villages. In cases of the death of the destitutes, each Chenchu household contributes annas four or a rupee towards obsequies expenses.

29. There is no annual ceremony performed in the name of the dead. But on any festival day they burn the incense in the name of the ancestors.

Superstitious beliefs

30. The Chenchus believe in luck and superstition. If they see any eatable animal or cow early in the morning as they get up they consider it a good omen. If they see a buffalo or a widow they consider it a bad omen. If a dog comes without shaking the ears but shaking the tail and goes forward, again, it is a good omen. But if it crosses him by shaking the ears it is bad. If they see young children they consider it to be a good omen. If in the night, *gudlaguba* (owl) and *guntanakka* (fox) cry, it is a bad omen, and they consider some calamity or an un-toward thing happens in that corner. If the tiger roars during April/May they consider that the coming year will bring them good rains and days. There is no belief attached to the domestic animals or peculiarities about them. Number 7 is considered to be an unlucky number: 7 animals should not be kept; 7 men should not go together. One-time sneezing is considered to bring ill-luck; but the two-time successively brings good luck. Falling of food from hands is an omen indicating arrival of relatives. If the water pot falls down it is considered to be a bad omen. Crossing people bringing vacant pots or fuel is considered to be an ill-luck and it causes disappointment. Crossing *rokali* (pestle) or *gaddapara* (crow-bar) is considered

to bring bad luck. To ward off the effects of evil eye, they mix turmeric powder in boiling water. If it turns out red then they consider that the evil eye has fallen on the person and the coloured water is used to wave before him to ward off the evil eye effects. If the water is yellow then they consider that no evil eye effect is there. Chilli, salt, and a hair plucked from the head, are put into a *chembu* (small water vessel) and it is waved down the person two times each in the front and back and this is put invertedly in a plate containing water. If the water in the plate is sucked up into the *chembu* it confirms their belief that evil eye has fallen. If the water is not sucked into the *chembu* they consider that there is no evil eye effect. Then they lift the *chembu* up and the water is disposed off in the street. This is done both in the morning and in the evening. Some sort of mascots like copper, tin or paper in which some secret phrases are written are obtained from the Koya Chenchus (a tribe) of Bhadrachalam and Peddetigollalu (a caste) and they tie those things round the neck of the person.

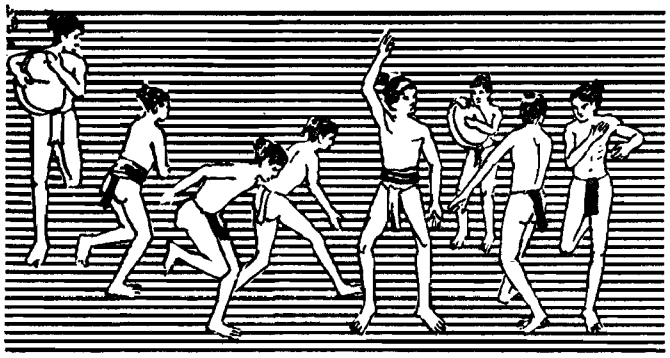
31. They believe that April to August is the lucky period for marriages. If a person is born on Friday he dies at any time and if he is born on Saturday he will be poor and miserable and if a person is born on any other day than these he will be good and prosperous. There is no luck or ill-luck attached to the cutting of hair or nails. Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday are considered to be bad days for starting on a journey or undertaking any business. Monday, Thursday and Sunday are considered to be auspicious.

Chenchu tests to show innocence

32. There are three methods by which the Chenchus testify their genuine feelings and truthfulness and to demonstrate their innocence: (1) dipping their right hand in a boiling pot containing cowdung water. Here, the contestants declare their innocent stand regarding the charges made against them and dip their hands into the boiling cowdung water. If the hand gets burnt it is an indication that whatever charges made on him are true. The belief is that if he is true and guiltless he does not get hurt. Such a case has been reported to have been brought to the notice of the Women Welfare Organiser who had to dress the bruises of both the persons caused by this test. Details of the case are as follows: One day a resident of Nagalutigudem got drunk and in his intoxicant mood entered into his elder brother's hut where his brother and sister-in-law were sleeping. As he entered, he fell on the sister-in-law. The elder brother got excited and then alleged bad motivations to the younger brother in doing this. The younger brother declared that it was not intentional but was only accidental due to his intoxicant mood. But mere declaration could not satisfy the elder brother. Both of them resorted to this test of dipping their right hands in the boiling cowdung water. As a matter of practice this test is conducted when both the parties get fully drunk. It is also said that this test is done in the presence of some elders. Unfortunately in this case both the persons got their hands burnt. Even then the Chenchus believe in this practice.

33. Another test is putting the right hand into the mouth of the snake-hill (*putta*) located near Peddanagaluti, a place about 2 miles away from the village. The belief is that the snake in the snake-hill does not bite the innocent party. But the person who committed the fault will surely have the snake bite. No case involving this test was, however, reported in this village.

34. Gripping the red hot crowbar is another test administered to a person to prove his faultlessness. No cases of having resorted to this test have however been reported in this village.



Chapter IV

ECONOMY

General

1. The traditional life of the aboriginal Chenchu was such that his fundamental needs of food, drink, clothing and shelter did not involve any round-about methods of production and complicated processes of exchange. His dependence directly was on Nature. His individual and community life was organised to procure food by hunting, collecting honey, fruits, nuts, flowers, leaves, roots and tubers. For his shelter either he lived under a tree or made some *ad hoc* hut by putting up bamboo wall and thatched roof. For his clothing, he used barks, leaves and skins. Social relations involving marriage and death were centered round the presentation of the food articles and liquor to the participants and partners. Life was one total process expressing an integrated mode and value of life. Evaluation of such life defies sectoral or dimensional understanding and when done so never gives a complete picture of a life organised as a very simple and integrated order of community. Thus, the traditional Chenchu life could hardly have attached an abstract economic value to anything that could be determined by market forces. Occasionally however, he came into contact with the passing pilgrims to the holy shrine of Srisailam and the hordes of armies and conquerers who crossed the jungles and hills. They were treated with regard and respect and there was mutual goodwill between the Chenchus and the neighbouring communities and passers-by. As an instance, the attitude of the Chenchus towards such passers-by can be read in the account of Scott's 'Feristha' mentioned in Chapter I. Further Krishnadevaraya's reference to them and other tribals in *Amuktamalyada** bears testimony to the mutual trust and cordiality that prevailed between the Chenchus and his people.

2. However, till the time that the Government took measures to tame the Chenchu and harness his efforts to productive work looking to his needs, he was no more than one amongst the jungle fauna enjoying freedom to its brim living in the shade of trees under a very temporary sort of roof. He filled his belly by whatever edible produce he could collect from the forest and made himself happy by drinking the *mohuwa* liquor. The intercourse between the tribal and the plainsmen was not altogether lacking. The forest contractors and merchants did come into contact with them, obtained the forest produce like honey, *sarapappu*, edible roots etc., by paying him nominal amounts. There was yet another opportunity when the Chenchu came into contact with the plainsmen *i.e.*, on the occasion of Sivarathri festival, when thousands of pilgrims from various parts of the country trek miles on his land through the forest to reach the holy shrine of Srisailam. In the unfamiliar country, the guides and protectors through these forests were generally the Chenchus. It had become almost a monopoly of the Chenchus to act as the guides to the pilgrims for which they rightly collected a *metta* fee of an anna per person (of this more later). They also in some cases acted as coolies for transporting luggage and carrying *doli* and palanquins of the pilgrims. Under the unfavourable terms of marketing of minor forest produce to the plainsmen, precarious source of income of the annual *metta* fee and being not quite habituated to work in a disciplined way for the bamboo contractors in forestry activities, the Chenchus could not be expected to have enjoyed any stable economy.

3. With the disintegration of the political setup in the Deccan in the 18th Century and the gradual spread and consolidation of the British Raj in the Madras Province in the 19th Century, political and economic freedom and order of Chenchu life came to be strained and restricted. When the Forest Settlement in the latter half of the 19th Century was taken up beginning with the Government Order in 1862 on the report of Captain Rundall and subsequently with Madras Forest Act of 1882, a turbulent reaction and hysterical behaviour pattern of the Chenchus have taken place to a policy and administration which for the first time in the centuries of evolution infringed their sovereignty and drove a nail to their freedom loving life. In contrast to the smooth going and undisturbed life of the Chenchus in the 16th and 17th Centuries, the picture in the latter part of 19th and the early decades of the 20th Century has been one of struggle for asserting their rights and resisting any administrative control over them. Attempts were made by the then Government of Madras to restructure a hitherto unified and harmonic community organised on

* One of the great poetic works in Telugu language

traditional lines molesting none but for self perpetuation and defence. These attempts sprang more to serve the needs of an order and administration whose methods were motivated by the instincts of possession and acquisition of Forest Wealth by perpetual political domination rather than to evolve a better life for them with their co-operation. This drew a wedge into their community life and slowly weakened its solidarity. As they were rubbed on the wrong side, their reaction was worse than that of a savage. Sometimes as a consequence of these ill thought out measures and interferences by the Government, no wonder they could no longer make a distinction between a police or a pilgrim, a high-handed forest administrator or a benevolent Government servant. Perhaps deeper researches into the Indian Social History would show that the struggle for Independence in the Tribal areas began the very day when he was told that he has to take permission to cut this tree or to build his hut here or fish in this stream or burn this grass or shoot this game. But his behaviour pattern was commented upon in the way which made the Chenchu an outlaw and a criminal. The following extract gives the typical image of the Chenchu as was formed in the mind of the Forest Administrator then :

> "...It is commonly supposed that the Chentzus are a semi-wild, innocent, inoffensive hill tribe, living on roots, honey, wild fruits, and game. If this was so, we should have no difficulty in controlling them. They are actually a semi-wild, lazy, drinking set of brigands. They levy blackmail from every village along the foot of the hills, and, if any ryot (cultivator) refuses to pay up, his crop silently disappears on some moonless night. They levy blackmail from every pilgrim to the shrines in the hills. They levy black mail from the graziers in the hills. They borrow money from Komatis and Buniahs (merchants and money-lenders), and repay it in kind—stolen timber, minor forest produce, etc. They are constantly in debt to the Komatis, and are practically their slaves as regards the supply of timber and other forest produce. They think nothing of felling a tree in order to collect its fruits, and they fire miles of forest in order to be able to collect with ease certain minor produce, or to trace game. They poison the streams throughout the hills, and in short do exactly as they please throughout the length and breadth of the Nallamalais". The contractor of Forests expressed his belief that this picture is not overdrawn, and added that the Chenchus are "a danger to the forest in many ways, and I have always thought it a pity that they were given some of the rights at settlement, which stand against their names."[1]

And surely this approach missed the perspective of the social dynamics of a community constrained by its ecological setting and primitive techniques of extraction and production.

4. With this understanding of the Chenchus' place in the forest, Forest Administration framed many rules which severely restricted their life and movements. As years rolled on, there was a widening mistrust between these two. But soon the Forest Administration realised the basic nature of the situation, and then onwards took a different approach and began drawing up programmes for the amelioration of the Chenchus. With the dawn of Independence, the attempt of the Government to ameliorate and develop the economic position of the Chenchus in general and Byrlutigudem in particular has been to introduce new factors influencing the economic life in the village by providing an educational, marketing and a new agricultural base for their development.

Economic resources

5. The extensive forest surrounding this village is the main resource for the Chenchu economy. Wage earning activities, collection of minor forest produce and goat rearing are centered round the forest resources. While the enclave of Byrlutigudem has been settled by the Forest Administration at 7.00 acres which covers the residential area as well as the forest for the home use of the Chenchus where they can exercise free rights over the land and the trees, for collection of honey and tamarind, there seems to be no such restriction in practice. They have a right to collect minor forest produce as well in the area leased out to the Chenchu Co-operative Society, Atmakur. In addition to the collection of minor forest produce, a substantial source of regular periodical money income is through the working of the bamboo and timber coupes, nursery, forest plantation and other forest works like lining and undergrowth burning organised by the Forest Department.

6. Agricultural land is another natural source for the village economic activity. Within the enclave of the village and on the outskirts of the habitation area, there is no extensive land allotted by the Forest Department except a few patches of dry land used for agricultural purposes. Under the scheme of Land Colonisation for the tribals of the village under survey an area of 250 acres is being reclaimed now. This agricultural tract is about a mile away towards the north of Byrlutigudem located as an *ayacut* area down the Gosaikatta tank.

7. Goats, poultry and she-buffaloes are the main livestock maintained by the Chenchus. It

1. E. Thurston, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

was estimated that there were about 350 goats and 3 she-buffaloes in the village. Generally, most of the Chenchu households have a cock or a hen.

8. Fishing is one of the minor seasonal economic activities for the Chenchus. The area for fishing is the nearby Siddapuram tank and the Bhavanasi river.

Factors influencing economic life in the village

9. The economic life of the tribals in the village is influenced by the following factors: (1) Forest Administration and the recognition of Chenchu rights, (2) Forestry activities, (3) Chenchu amelioration and land improvement activities, (4) Improvement of communications, (5) Expansion of marketing facility, (6) Prohibition laws, (7) *Mirasi* system. Changes brought about from time to time in these factors have been slowly affecting the attitude, working habits, income and consumption pattern of the Chenchus in this village.

Forest administration and the Chenchu rights

10. At the time of Forest Settlement, the Forest Department admitted liberal concessions and rights in favour of the Chenchus. In addition to the rights of the occupancy and cultivation of lands they are allowed to graze their cattle and goats free of charge. They also enjoy rights of way, rights to water places and places of worship, rights to collect specified minor forest produce from the natural growth only but not from the area which was the result of special plantation or protection under the control of the Forest Department. These minor forest products may be used not only for their *bona fide* domestic consumption but also for sale to the general public. In 1883–84 the Forest Department made it a rule that they should sell their minor forest produce to the Forest Department or their agents at specified rates. This policy was in pursuance of the objective of rescuing them from the unscrupulous exploiting methods of trade practised by the neighbouring merchants to whom they were heavily in debt. The right to buy the specified items of minor forest produce from the Chenchus at rates fixed periodically by the District Forest Officer in consultation with the Collector was reserved to the Forest Administration. These minor forest products were sold annually to a contractor. In 1897–98 this policy was abandoned as the results were not encouraging. This lead to revival of the old order wherein the Chenchus used to sell the produce directly to the merchants of the adjoining areas. The Forest Administration thought of providing an agricultural base for stabilizing their economy and accordingly allotted some lands for cultivation adjoining to their habitation area. Further, during 1905 to 1914 large scale forest plantation activities were undertaken engaging the Chenchu labour, at a considerable expense to provide them continuous work. But as this did not yield expected results it was given up. Between 1914 and 1917 when the Forest Administration stopped its programme of large scale plantation engaging Chenchu labour, they resorted to their acts of violence, crime, defying the laws and rules and even plundering of the crops of the nearby villages. This created a serious law and order problem. So, in 1917, the Government appointed a Special Officer to enquire into the troublesome situation created by the Chenchus. As an outcome of this enquiry, the Government appointed a Special Officer, a Sub-Assistant Surgeon and an Education Superintendent specially meant for their welfare. In spite of these administrative measures, the situation did not improve. Again the Forest Department began working emergency coupes near habitation areas to control and regulate their unruly behaviour. This policy was unremunerative and hence was again given up in 1925. Thereafter it was made a compulsory condition that the contractors working the bamboo coupes should employ the Chenchu labour for exploiting the forest resources. So, to implement these measures of control and regulation effectively every Chenchu *gudem* was put in charge of a Headman and a Deputy Headman (from among the Chenchus) who were employed on a salary basis, to keep a regular attendance call on the Chenchus both in the morning and in the evening. Any one who absented himself without any credible reason was suspected and severely dealt with. Due to these impositions, they began to look upon the Forest Administration with fear and distrust and felt that their forests have been snatched away from their hands, and that whatever ameliorative measures were undertaken to make them better off were no compensation. This kind of regimented administration continued till the middle of '40s. With greater experience gained in administering the freedom loving Chenchus, a deeper constructive approach to their problems has been evolved by the Forest Department. Consequently, the policies were so devised on the educational and economic front that they have resulted in opening up of a Residential School, and a Co-operative Society for marketing

minor forest produce. In 1940 the Atmakur Chenchu Co-operative Purchase and Sale Society was established for the collection and disposal of four items of the produce *viz*, tamarind, honey, wax and myrobalam. Further, in the programme of forest development, the Forest Administration has been continuously keeping in its view the land requirements of the Chenchus for expanding cultivation, permission to allow increasing number of cattle and goat strength for free grazing purposes and the monopoly right over the minor forest produce.

11. The working of bamboo coupes by the contractors or their agents at Atmakur is one of the important factors determining the livelihood of the Chenchus. These contractors or their agents advance loans to them a week before they actually work and also on occasions like festivals, birth, marriage and death. In addition to the employment opportunities in the bamboo coupes, they get themselves employed directly by the Forest Department for plantation, weeding, clearing the coupe lines, and on works like burning the undergrowth and other wood material for forest regeneration.

Chenchu mirasis

12. The Chenchus have customary economic collections levied on the pilgrims to Srisailam and cultivators of land bordering the forest. These customary collections are known as Chenchu *mirasis.*

Srisailam metta mirasi

13. Customary collection of money known as *metta* is a kind of levy paid to the Chenchus by each pilgrim to Srisailam at the time of Mahasivarathri festival (February-March). This was directly collected by the villagers at their village gate through which the pilgrims had to pass. This had its own historical significance from times immemorial symbolising inter-community relations and culture contact. The rate of *metta* was one anna (0.06 P.) per head till 1955. This was increased to 0.12 P. in 1962. With the introduction of direct motor buses and taxis to Srisailam from 1957, the manner and method of collection has changed. Prior to 1957, every pilgrim had to go by walk. He needed protection and guidance from the experienced Chenchus who were quite at home in the jungle land as masters of it. But now this need for protection and guidance has lost its meaning and necessity when the distance could be negotiated by motor vehicles. Hence the pilgrims refused to pay the *metta*, Later the forest officials and the Police had to intervene and regulate the *metta* payments by the pilgrims. In 1952, the Government realised that the *metta* collection in the traditional way was an anamolous practice and not justifiable in the changed transport and communication set-up. Hence this was discontinued. In view of it, the Government fixed an estimated *metta* amount due to each Chenchu village on the basis of an average of *metta* collections received by them in the previous years. This amount is now paid by the Government to the Chenchus of Srisailam area. There is a proposal to reduce the *metta* collection amount thus compensated by the Government in the course of the next three years.

Watchmen of the agricultural fields—another mirasi system

14. This is a pattern of customary economic relationship existing between the Chenchus of Byrlutigudem and the cultivators (non-tribals) of Krishnapuram, Amalapuram, Siddapuram, Indiresam and other neighbouring villages bordering on the Reserve Forest area. The terms and features of this economic relation which goes by the name *mirasi*, are as follows : The cultivators of the forest border villages have collectively engaged the services of the Chenchus to guard their crop from the time it comes for fruition till the time it is harvested. This is spread over a period of one or two months *i.e.*, from November to December. This relationship is in practice for over many generations. The Chenchus know that it is their duty to do the job of guarding the crop. The cultivators of the border villages also remind them and expect them to undertake this work. Traditionally these *mirasis* are confined to some families only and has been kept as a hereditary service. In return, the cultivators pay them at a rate of 4 to 5 Madras measures *(padi)* per acre cultivated by them. During this period of one or two months, they spend their days and nights with their families near the fields. This collective *mirasi* system to guard the crop is further supplemented by employing them to guard their crop by individual cultivators on their own also. This agricultural crop guarding service lasting for about a month is known as *kavali*. For this service the cultivator pays Rs. 5 per week.

Land reclamation and colonisation scheme

15. Another factor which is affecting the base of the economic life of the Chenchus who have hitherto been a food gathering tribe, is the imple-

mentation of land reclamation and colonisation scheme near this village.

Improvement in communications

16. With the opening of the State Highways connecting Srisailam with Kurnool, Guntur, Vijayawada and Hyderabad and direct buses plying on them, the traditional route of the pilgrims and the traditional modes of transport have been completely dislocated. This has caused another major sentimental and traditional break-down in the socio-economic set-up affecting the Chenchus.

Expansion of marketing facility

17. The establishment of the Atmakur Chenchu Co-operative Society (in 1940) at Atmakur for purchase and sale of minor forest produce brought by the Chenchus and the establishment of a Co-operative Sub-Depot at Byrluti to sell domestic requirements to the Chenchus and purchase minor forest produce from them has helped them to have the advantages of fair price.

Prohibition law

18. The law prohibiting liquor making, selling and drinking has been affecting their economic activity. Prior to the enforcement of the Prohibition Law in this area the adjoining plains village people had access to the liquor makers and sellers in their own areas. The neighbouring plains village distillers used to come to this village and buy the *ippa* flowers or the bark of *tumma* tree to prepare the liquor. With the introduction of prohibition, this industry has taken its roots in Byrlutigudem because it has inherent advantages for bootlegging. For instance, the Prohibition staff may not likely be very strict with the Tribals. According to the Madras Abkari Act, a tribal can drink and it is not an offence if he is found in a state of drunkenness. These advantages have created a demand from outside for liquor manufactured by the Chenchus who in the beginning were making liquor for their own consumption. But, now, many households are running distilleries to make liquor not only for their own consumption but also to sell it outside. In fact, the tendency has been that some of the illicit liquor traders have promoted the idea of making illicit liquor by paying them advance money and assuring them a ready market. This has resulted in a regular export of liquor in tins to the neighbouring plains villages. Some Chenchus have made liquor making a worthwhile economic activity. They can easily procure the chief ingredients *viz, tumma chekka* (a kind of bark) from the forest and jaggery from the merchant at the weekly *shandy* at Atmakur. They either purchase or hire the distillation plant (consisting of pots and the conduits). An investment of Rs. 10 per week easily gives a net profit of Rs. 5. These illicit liquor distilleries have demonstrated that they can serve as an easy and lucrative means of earning. The Forest Laws forbidding shooting of game in the forest have also affected their traditional occupation of hunting. They are prohibited to use guns. Now they can only hunt smaller games which has affected the supply of flesh thus impoverishing their already poor diet.

Economic activities – Brief description

19. The following statement gives a rough outline of the calendar of economic activity among the Chenchus.

Statement VI

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY CALENDAR OF CHENCHUS, 1961

Month	*No. of days normally available for employment*	*Nature of economic activity*
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*
January	20	Bamboo and timber coupe works; preparation of forest nursery beds ; tamarind collection
February	20	Bamboo and timber coupe works; tamarind collection, Srisailam; *metta* collection
March	20	-do-
April	20	Sowing operation in forestry nursery beds; honcy collection; *ippa* flower collection
May	20	Honey collection; *ippa* flower collection; burning the forest undergrowth and wastage for forest regeneration
June	10	Honey collection ; burning for forest regeneration
July	10	Bamboo coupe works; forest plantation work
August	20	Bamboo coupe works ; weeding operations in forest plantations
September	20	-do-
October	20	-do-
November	20	Soil work in forest plantation; watching agricultural crop fields in the border villages; collection of agricultural rent from their tenants in the neighbouring villages
December	20	-do-

Thus it is evident from the above that they are gainfully employed for four days in a week.

Agriculture

20. As Byrlutigudem is a forest village, a total area of 7.00 acres as mentioned earlier has been allotted as an enclosure for residential purposes by the Forest Administration. In addition to this area, the Forest Department have allotted lands for cultivation purposes to the Chenchus. By 1943, 71 acres of dry land and 4 acres of wet land were under plough. In a less rigid way each family began cultivating a plot of land. They were under no obligation to pay any land tax or cesses to the Government. After a few years, due to death of cattle the cultivation was abandoned. The following developments with regard to land cultivation and ownership was reported by some of the elders in this village.

21. During the time of Shri Anantha Thirth Rao (perhaps an Officer-in-charge, Chenchu Amelioration Scheme) the following 9 persons in the village took to cultivation as a result of the grants and loans made available by the Government: (1) Uttaluri Peddachchigadu, (2) Uttaluri Pedarajulugadu, (3) Chigurla Pettivadu, (4) Chigurla Naganna, (5) Gulla Nagalutigadu, (6) Chigurla Edanna, (7) Topi Edanna, (8) Chigurla Nadipireddy, and (9) Madugalavadu, 7 pairs of bullocks and 7 carts were given to these 9 cultivators as 2 among them took to joint cultivation. At the first instance, 5 acres of land were reclaimed by the Government by engaging hired labour. Another extent of 15 acres of land was slowly being made ready for cultivation. Uttaluri Rajulugadu, Chigurla Edanna and Chigurla Naganna were given the newly reclaimed land of five acres. Chigurla Naganna took active interest and on his own efforts with the help of Garaboyana Venkateswarlu reclaimed about 10 more acres of land and started cultivation. Of the 9 persons, 3 were able to cultivate the land for 2 years on their own and raise crops. For these 2 years agricultural operations went on well. The Chenchu Officer brought in the agricultural labourers mostly of Mala caste from Venkatapuram. Slowly the Chenchus began to learn the methods of cultivation and inter-cultural operations by working with these labourers. The crops raised were *vellarapuvadlu* (a kind of paddy), *arika* and *korra* (small millets) all of them being cereals and millets.

22. The loans for bullocks and carts were given to them on terms of annual instalment re-payments. The total value of the investment in bullocks was Rs. 500 per pair and Rs. 350 per cart. From the second year of payment, those who earned a monthly salary began paying Rs. 5 per month. Others earned some income by giving their cart and bullock services for transporting timber and bamboo on hire and used the receipts in paying up their instalments. In later years, it was reported, they had to pay the money in bulk due to large arrears. This condition forced them to alienate their bullocks and carts. The bullocks were sold at Rs. 400 to Venkatapuram and Atmakur ryots. In contrast to the Chenchus of this village the Chenchus of such other villages as Pedamantenala, Chinamantenala and Chintalamudupu which are in the same tract were able to clear off their dues by selling some of their assets like goats, sheep and cattle. Now many of them have become settled agriculturists. The Chenchus of Byrlutigudem could not fall back on such assets to clear off their debts as they had to incur a heavy loss of cattle due to epidemics and diseases during 1940-45. This reduced them to insolvency. As a result of this, all of them gave up cultivation on their own. Among these 9 persons who took to cultivation then and abandoned, 7 are living even now as old people.

23. From that time onwards they have again reverted back to forestry labour as their main occupation. Their interest in agriculture continues but is confined only to about 9 households. They have leased out their lands to the cultivators of the nearby villages who are plains people and the Chenchus have become, as it were, the landlords. This has lead to a net work of tenancy relations between them. The form of tenancy is known as *saribhagam* meaning equal sharing of crop. Seeds are supplied by the tenants. The tenant takes the responsibility of attending to agricultural operations like ploughing, broadcasting and inter-cultural operations. Costs incurred in connection with harvesting and also the total produce are shared equally between the landlord and the tenant.

24. Later in 'fifties, another attempt was made to create conditions for the Chenchus to take to agriculture. This time the principle of co-operation was harnessed for this purpose and a co-operative farming society was established.

Reclamation and Chenchu Land Colonisation Scheme

25. Registered on 28-3-1957, the Chenchu Land Colonisation Co-operative Society started functioning from 30-3-1957. This was under the Land

Colonisation Scheme of Byrlutigudem and Nagalutigudem sanctioned by the Government of India under the centrally sponsored schemes during the period of Second Five Year Plan. The objective was to settle 100 Chenchu families of the two neighbouring *gudems* (Byrluti and Nagaluti) by providing the following amenities :

1 Reclamation of 500 acres of land for cultivation purposes at 4 acres of dry and 1 acre of wet land per family
2 Irrigation facilities
3 Construction of a hut per each family
4 Supply of agricultural implements
5 Supply of improved seeds
6 Share capital
7 Sinking of wells
8 Construction of godown-cum-office
9 Construction of staff quarters
10 Civic amenities
11 Staff

The Society started functioning with 40 members on the roll with a share capital of Rs. 200 *i.e.*, Rs. 5 per member. This Society was put under the charge of a Senior Co-operative Inspector of Co-operative Department, as a Secretary for managing the Society.

Management and working of the Society

26. The Society is managed by a Board of Directors consisting of seven members of whom the Deputy Tahsildar, Atmakur, the Forest Range Officer, Byrluti and the Agricultural Demonstrator, Atmakur are the ex-officio Directors while the rest being the Chenchu members. The Deputy Tahsildar, Atmakur and the Forest Range Officer, Byrluti are the ex-officio President and Vice-President of the Society, respectively.

27. By the end of 1958–59 an amount of Rs. 91,016 was spent on land reclamation, housing and allied activities. The following budget allotment was made for the year 1959–60 :

		Rs.
1	Construction of 30 huts at Rs. 475 each	14,250
2	Construction of shed for keeping the bulls	1,000
3	Purchase of 7 pairs of bulls including maintenance	9,500
4	Purchase of seeds at Rs. 15 per family	600
5	Labour for cultivation	3,000
6	Advance for agricultural operation	2,150
7	Combined office and godown	14,000
8	Wells	1,000

During 1959–60, an area of 150 acres of land was made fit for cultivation. As the Chenchus were not habituated to cultivation the Board of Directors of the Society resolved to take up the cultivation directly through the Society. It was thought that they would take up cultivation on their own, after the expert guidance and demonstration given by the society. For the first year in 1959 an extent of 72 acres was cultivated by the Society to enable the Chenchus to learn the art of cultivation. Towards the fulfilment of this purpose the Government also sanctioned the posts of one Agricultural Fieldman with 2 Demonstration *maistries* during the year 1959–60. During 1959–60, a sum of Rs. 15,750 out of the total allotment of Rs. 60,000 sanctioned for the continuance of the scheme was transferred to the Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Kurnool as he was kept in charge for the entire running of this Society for carrying out agricultural operations. A sum of Rs. 5,432 was spent for agricultural operations. There was a loss of Rs. 5,279·13 in 1959–60.

28. During 1960-61, the lands were distributed and handed over to the members of the colony to take up individual cultivation. But they did not come forward on the plea that they were unable to meet the expenses of cultivation. As it was considered not desirable to keep the lands fallow without bringing them under plough, the Board of Directors resolved to associate the members with the Society in joint cultivation for the year 1960–61 as was done in 1959–60. Accordingly, cultivation was taken up in an area of 110 acres incurring an expenditure of Rs. 4,452·81 towards the cost of cultivation. Again there was a loss of Rs. 2,235·94 to the Society during the year 1960–61. During the year 1961-62 no intensive cultivation was taken up for the reason that there were breaches of Gosaikatta tank consequent upon heavy rains in 1961. Subsequently, the Society has not been working effectively. It was reported that some bulls died either of wild animal attacks or of disease. A few Chenchus have, however, been taking interest in the land in their own traditional way. But they are not cultivating on their own, neither owning bullocks and agricultural implements nor using the services and bullocks of Society. They have fallen back on the tenant cultivators of the neighbouring villages.

29. In 1963 (November), the following Chenchus of Byrlutigudem were reported to have leased out the lands to the farmers of the nearby villages.

Statement VII

PARTICULARS OF LEASED OUT LANDS

Sl. No.	Name of cultivator	Total acreage			Lands under: Cultivation in the old plots (in acres)			Lands under: Cultivation in newly reclaimed plots under Gosaikatta (in acres)		
		Wet	Dry	Total	Wet	Dry	Total	Wet	Dry	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1	Karnam Lingadu	3	4	7	...	4	4	3	...	3
2	Topi Edanna	16	3	19	10	...	10	6	3	9
3	Topi Eranna	3	...	3	1	...	1	2	...	2
4	Dasari Edanna	6	4	10	...	4	4	6	...	6
5	Garaboyana Venkateswarlu	1	3	4	...	...	...	1	3	4
6	Chigurla Naganna	2	2	4	...	...	...	2	2	4
7	Chigurla Tandruti	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	2	2
8	Garaboyana Gurappa	...	3	3	...	...	...	...	3	3
	Total	31	21	52	11	8	19	20	13	33

Note :—The acreage is a rough estimate given by the Headman and the Deputy Headman of Byrlutigudem village

The above statement shows that an extent of 52.00 acres of land is being leased out by them to the farmers of the neighbouring villages. Of these 52 acres, 63.46% or 33 acres is under plough in the newly reclaimed area under Gosaikatta. The remaining area of 36.54% or 19 acres is cultivated in the old plots near about the habitation area. Of the total of 52 acres, 59.61% or 31 acres is wet cultivation and the remaining 40.39% or 21.00 acres is dry. The area under wet cultivation was increased as a result of the new land reclaimed under Gosaikatta tank.

Statement VIII

TENANCY AND CROP SHARING PATTERN, 1963

Sl. No.	Name of Chenchu cultivator	Name of the tenant	Residence of the tenant	Caste/ Community of the tenant	Crop grown and share of crop received by the Chenchus (in padi): Arika	Kandi	Manchivari	Valarapodlu	4 months' paddy
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1	Karnam Lingadu	Pinjari Buddanna	Krishnapuram	Pinjari	50	...	...	150	...
	-do-	Pedda Masum Sab	-do-	Muslim					
2	Topi Edanna	Ediga Seshanna	-do-	Ediga	50	...	...	200	60
		Pinjari Masum Sab	-do-	Pinjari					
		Lingareddy Mandakan Sab	-do-	Muslim					
3	Topi Eranna	Pinjari Chinabuddanna	-do-	Pinjari	60	...	30	...	...
4	Dasari Edanna	Vadde Daragaiah	-do-	Vadde	...	...	...	200	...
5	Gariboyana Venkateslu	Vadde Chinnanna	-do-	Vadde	50	...	...	50	...
6	Chigurla Naganna	Telugu Venkataiah	Amalapuram	Telugu	100	...	...	100	...
7	Chigurla Tandruti	Peda Masum Sab	Krishnapuram	Muslim	150	...	...	...	...
8	Garaboyana Gurappa	Masum Sab	-do-	Muslim	...	...	...	...	...
				Total	460	...	30	700	60

Note :—The quantity of foodgrains is an estimation made by the Headman and Deputy Headman of Byrlutigudem village. One *padi* = 1.5 Kilograms

Crop pattern and crop sharing

30. The Statement VIII at page 40 gives some particulars regarding the crops grown, the name of the Chenchu cultivator, the caste, and the residence of the tenant to whom he has leased out his land and the quantity of crop obtained as his share. The total crop share received by the Chenchus of the village under survey in 1963 is estimated at 1,250 *padi* or 18.75 quintals. Based on this, it may be estimated that the total net agricultural production on their lands is 37.5 quintals (*i.e.*, total agricultural production deducting weeding, harvesting and thrashing expenses) which is divided into two equal shares between the landlord and the tenant. The 9 tenants are the residents of Krishnapuram located at a distance of about 3 miles. Among these tenants there are 2 Muslims, 3 Pinjaris (a sub-group among Muslims) and among Hindus there are 2 Vaddes locally pronounced as Yeddollu, one Telugu and one Ediga caste cultivators.

31. Occasionally, the Chenchu landlords receive an advance not exceeding Rs. 5 from their tenants.

32. It is estimated based on the need of the Chenchus for foodgrains at a rate of 5 *padis* of paddy for a family of 6 persons per day that the annual foodgrain requirements of this village works out to 873.00 quintals of paddy and in the case of *jowar* 436.50 quintals would be sufficient. In 1961 and 1962 there was no foodgrain production in this village due to heavy rains and floods. In 1963, the crop share for the Chenchus of this village was estimated at 37.50 quintals of paddy. This formed 2·14% of the total requirements of this village. They buy the remaining bulk of their requirements *i. e.*, 97.86% either at the local Co-operative Sales Depot or at the weekly *shandy* at Atmakur or substitute a portion of these needs with forest fruits, flowers tubers and roots. This proves the great need for sufficient foodgrains to be grown in the lands around to feed this poor tribal population adequately. Greater stress should be laid on agricultural development

Animal husbandry

33. Chenchus are taking interest in animal husbandry. They rear buffaloes, goats, sheep and keep poultry. The following statement gives some details regarding the ownership of animal stock.

Statement IX

DETAILS OF ANIMAL STOCK

Year	*No. of households possessing animal stock*	*Category and numbers*									
		He-buffalo	*She-buffalo*	*Buffaloes-young stock*	*All buffaloes*	*Bulls*	*Cows*	*Goats*	*Sheep*	*Poultry*	*Dog*
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*	*(7)*	*(8)*	*(9)*	*(10)*	*(11)*	*(12)*
1943*	95	4	40	16	60	10	...	86	...	...	...
1961** (August)	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	41	...	7	1
1962***	...	...	...	...	12	8	10	101	5	...	...

* C. v. F. Haimendorf, *op. cit.*, p. 315

** Sample Survey data, Village Survey, Census 1961 (8 households were covered)

*** *Working Plan for Nandyal Forest Division*, 1964-65 to 1978-79, pp. 97-98

The above figures though lacking in complete statistical comparability with regard to coverage, show broadly a tendency of consistent growth and interest in goat rearing found among them. Poultry keeping is also fairly well cultivated and consistently pursued. They sell each fowl at a rate of Rs. 2. Rearing cows, bulls and buffaloes is not so persistently followed up. At present many of the cows, bulls and buffaloes are reared by the non-Chenchu residents at Byrluti School Colony and only a very few Chenchus rear buffaloes. The goats are reared for sales. If the number of goats is large they construct a separate goat pen. If the goats are about half a dozen, they are accommodated in the main living room itself (Fig. 19). They mostly follow the practice of acquiring goats by a system known as *palu* (meaning share). Under this system, they bring a few goats from the goat and sheep farmers of the

nearby villages and rear them. When these goats breed, the mother and half the number of the kids are returned to the owner and the other half retained by them. They use goat milk for home consumption.

Forestry labour

34. As mentioned earlier, the main economic base of the Chenchus is forestry. From 1880 onwards, the Forest Department had assumed the responsibility of providing them regular work in plantations and cutting operations. The economic activities of collection and selling of minor forest produce under the regulation of the Forest Department did not regiment their work behaviour very much. On the other hand the bamboo cutting and dragging, teak and bamboo plantation work had to be pursued in a regimented framework of time and rate schedule under the supervision of the Forest Officials. Later on, when the forestry coupe work was organised by the contractors, they have been employed on piece-rate system. Though they gained freedom from the time schedule they could work upto a very short time only. It has been a common impression and feeling among the forest works contractors and Forest Officials that "the Chenchus even when well paid seldom work consistently, but only do just as much as will provide them with immediate food and other bare necessities. Once a man has earned a small amount he takes rest until the money is expended and he is forced to resume work." Sometimes the Chenchu labourer receives an advance of Rs. 10 or Rs. 15 from the contractors and works till he puts in that value of work. The Chenchus are expert at cutting bamboos and splitting them. For splitting 15 bamboos each into 4 splinters he is paid a remuneration of Re. 1. From bamboo cutting or splitting, a working Chenchu earns Rs. 3 to Rs. 6 per day. But the working days for the Chenchu assisted by his wife are only 3 to 5 days in a week. When the bamboo coupe work spot is within a distance of about 2 miles, they leave the habitation area by 9–30 a. m., after their morning meal and return by 3–30 p. m., and when it is at a distance of about 3 or more miles, they temporarily camp near their work spot where they can secure water. The wife invariably accompanies the Chenchu man to the work spot. By week-ends they visit their homes. The forest contractors operate bamboo coupes and timber coupes for nearly 8 to 10 months in a year and they are under an obligation to employ Chenchu labour which has assured the latter a fairly reliable avenue of employment.

35. The second economic activity connected with forestry on which they are dependent is the labour connected with teak and bamboo plantation work undertaken by the Forest Deparment directly. A group of men and women are assigned a particular job on a piece-rate system. The kind of work in plantation consists of digging the pit for transplantation, making the ground ready as nursery bed and such other connected soil work, transplantation, weeding, fencing, burning the wastage and unwanted undergrowth. For instance, the rate of wages for weeding is one rupee for a plot containing 500 plants. For burning undergrowth and wastage to regenerate forest growth a group of 20 Chenchus a re assigned an area of one acre for a total amount of Rs. 20. This works at Re. 1 per labourer per day. Wages paid for other activities also work out at a rate of Re. 1 per worker daily.

Collection of minor forest produce

36. This economic activity in forestry is in keeping with the traditional ways of the Chenchu living. They feel quite at home in this self-employed means of livelihood. Many of the able bodied men, engaged in collection of minor forest produce are occasionally assisted by their women-folk also. Important minor forest produce collected are honey, wax, tamarind, *ippa* flower and *sara pappu*.

Collection of honey

37. The Chenchu is an expert in honey gathering. Honey collecting season commences from March–April and lasts till June. The favourable period for collecting honey is round about the full moon day. The collection may be continuously spread over upto a week round about full moon day. The Chenchus go out for collecting honey in groups of 2 to 10 persons. Sometimes they leave the habitation area and camp in the forest, moving from one place to another in search of beehives. The beehives locally known as *pera* are found on trees, bushes and gorges along the walls of steep mountain cuttings. They explore in advance the location of the *pera*. They move about from place to place collecting honey and stocking it in tins. While on long camps, they take with them their wives and children too. While honey collection from beehives located on trees and bushes is somewhat easy, it is a hazardous activity in sites located in gorges and ravines.

These spots in latter sites are locally known as *saris*. The *saris* located in specific areas are customarily assigned to certain *intiperus* or septs. The customary right to collect honey in these areas rests with specific *intiperus* though, of late, it has become flexible. When persons belonging to other *intiperus* are taken for help, some share is given to them.

38. In collecting honey from the *sari* a minimum number of 3 persons is necessary to form the operating group. They have made it an indispensable condition that the kinship relationship between two persons who are actively engaged in honey collecting activity should be one of himself and his wife's own brother *(bavamardi) i.e.*, brother-in-law. They have developed such a unique confidence in their wives' brothers that the latter have never let down the former in discharging their strategic and life risking duties.

39. As soon as they reach the steep point of the mountain cuttings *(sari)* where they find the beehive, each one in the group prepares himself for the respective role. At this point, a brief account of the logistic aspects of the site may help in appreciating some of the crucial psychological factors in the situation felt by them (Fig. 26). Suppose the beehive is located at the edge of a steep mountain in a gorge or a narrow ridge. The steep slope does not allow an easy and straight climb. The height of the beehive from the ground point is at such a distance that an ordinary wall bamboo ladder does not reach it at all. Hence, they select a nearest strong tree at the top of the *sari*. If there is no tree, they fix a strong wooden peg on the top of the mountain. To the trunk of this tree or the wooden peg a strong rope is fastened. Along the other end of the rope at a convenient length down, a bamboo ladder *(bongu)* which is no more than a mere single bamboo with the side spikes intact is tied. This is hung down from the top so that it swings to and fro pointing down to the base. The lower end of the bamboo ladder is again tied with a rope and hung down to the ground. The actual length of the rope which is swung from the top of the *sari* the length and position of the bamboo ladder fastened to it, the tail end rope of the bamboo ladder are so adjusted that they can be easily swung and handled so as to help the main honey collector to reach the beehive for operating conveniently. The rope used is prepared out of fibre of *bauhinia* species. It is in this hazardous site that the main operator has to embark on honey collection. Then the main honey collector, standing near the peg, drapes himself in a white cloth putting one end of the cloth on his head covering the head and the chin and the other end spreading on the back as a flap. He keeps his eyes uncovered by the cloth. He tightly belts his waist with a white cloth. A plaited rope made of the fibre of *bauhinia* species is tied round his chest and a long end is left hanging down from the chest. Then he slowly descends holding the rope which is tied to the peg or a strong tree trunk, and along this rope reaches the bamboo ladder down which is fastened to the same rope at a convenient point. Having reached the bamboo ladder down, he makes himself secure standing on the bamboo ladder at a convenient point. Then he ties his body firmly with the chest rope to the bamboo ladder. This gives him perfect security on the bamboo ladder and enables him freely to use both his hands for honey collecting operation (Fig. 26). At this juncture, his brother-in-law stands at the top of the *sari* near the peg occupying a crucial position. We can imagine the Chenchu swinging on the bamboo down feeling every moment how his life is hanging round the rope tied to the peg or the trunk of the tree. It is as though the man at the peg can at any moment cut the rope and put an end to his life, who is hanging below to crash him completely to pieces hundreds of feet down the ravine ! It is only the implicit confidence reposed in his *bavamardi* (wife's brother) that enables the Chenchu to face this hazard. He believes not even his father or brother or any other nearest relative other than the wife's brother in this task. His supreme confidence in wife's brother acts as built-in psychological complex keeping him in stable mood under such crucial circumstances because the Chenchu firmly believes that the wife's brother always wishes the welfare of his sister and his sister's husband. In the case of any other person related to him in any other kinship relation, a Chenchu always suspects the motives of the person because, he can take this opportunity to wreak vengeance on him or cause death to him so that he can marry his widow. Mostly, the Chenchu is always suspicious of other men's relations with his wife and carefully keeps her under his influence. The brother-in-law at the top of the *sari* participates in honey collection by dropping the accessories tied to the rope and sending them down. Another person who stands below in the ravine at a convenient point helps the main honey collector by swinging his bamboo ladder so as to make him reach nearer the

beehive. A splinter bundle emitting smoke (which is made of dry splinters and green leaves) called *sudi* is tied at the tip of a long staff. This is tied to a rope and slowly let down towards the main honey collector who stands on the bamboo ladder. The main honey Collector holds the *sudi* in both his hands and swings himself towards the beehive to drive away the bees by sending up smoke. If the beehive is not located near enough to reach by an easy swing, the man standing down, holds the rope tied to the end of the bamboo ladder and drags it to help take the main honey collector's position nearer the beehive. When sufficient smoke is emitted from below and near the beehive, the bees fly away. Then, he shouts or makes signs to the brother-in-law on the top to lift up the *sudi*. The *sudi* is taken up. Next, a honey basket attached to a stick is tied to a rope and let down towards the main honey collector. Side by side with his basket another craft known as *sellam* (which is a flat wooden blade of about 2 feet in length and 5 inches in width) tied to another long staff is also let down. The main honey collector holds the basket (tied to the end of a slim bamboo) in the left hand and the *sellam* (tied to the end of another slim bamboo) in the right hand and gets ready to remove the beehive. The man, down below holding the tail-end of the rope drags the bamboo ladder aside to help the main honey collector to arrive at the correct position and have an easy reach to the beehive. Then having arrived at the convenient position, he holds the staff of the basket in the left hand just under the beehive and chops off the beehive completely with the *sellam* so as to make it drop into the honey basket (Fig. 2(A)). Then the whole beehive falls in the honey basket. After this operation both the *sellam* and the honey basket are drawn up by the brother-in-law at the top. The main operation of the honey collection now being over, the main honey collector unfastens his body tied to the bamboo ladder and comes up climbing the ladder with the help of the rope. At the top of the *sari*, his brother-in-law receives him cordially. Later, all the three participants in honey collection join together and separate the honey comb and squeeze it in a tin or a pot and take it with them to their house.

40. At a time they bring honey measuring one lb. to eight lbs. These smaller quantities are sold at the local co-operative sub-depot. The proceeds are divided among the members of the honey collecting group equally. If they procure honey in large bulk say in 20 to 25 kilograms, it is taken directly to the main depot at Atmakur or to some private trader.

*One Madras measure weighs between 3 lbs. to 5 lbs.

41. The following Statements give the sales made by the Chenchus of the neighbouring villages at the Co-operative Sales Depot, Byrluti.

Statement X

PARTICULARS OF HONEY SALES

Date	*Quantity of honey in Madras measures**	*Price per Maaras measure*	*Total value*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		Rs. P.	Rs. P.
1—4—1963	16.00	3.25	52.00
2—4—1963	16.00	,,	52.00
4—4—1963	18.00	,,	59.50
17—4—1963	7.00	,,	22.75
17—4—1963	16.00	,,	52.00
4—5—1963	16.00	,,	52.00
18—5—1963	42.00	,,	136.50
22—5—1963	60.00	,,	195.00
23—5—1963	60.00	,,	195.00
26—5—1963	30.00	,,	97.50
28—5—1963	100.00	,,	325.00
1—6—1963	130.00	,,	412.50
10—6—1963	40 00	,,	128.00
15—6—1963	50.00	,,	162.50
20—6—1963	40.00	,,	130.00
29—6—1963	26.75	,,	86.94
15—7—1963	4.50	,,	14.62
7—8—1963	8.50	,,	27.62
12—9—1963	30.00	,,	97.50
20—9—1963	30.00	,,	97.50
Total	**740.75**		**2,396.43**

Statement XI

PARTICULARS OF RAW WAX SALES

Date	*Quantity of Raw wax (seers)*	*Price per seer of 20 tolas*	*Total value*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		Rs. P.	Rs. P.
5—4—1963	18	0.37	6.66
29—4—1963	6	,,	2 22
18—5—1963	34	,,	12.58
24—5—1963	40	,,	14.80
10—6—1963	100	,,	37.00
14-10—1963	12.25	,,	4.53
Total	**210.25**		**77.79**

Total value of honey and raw wax sold by the Chenchus at Byrlutigudem Co-operative Sub-depot from 1-4-1963 to 14-10-1963 was Rs. 2,396·43 P. and Rs. 77·79 P. respectively.

42. All those who sold their minor forest produce during the above period at the Byrlutigudem Co-operative Sub-depot did not necessarily belong to Byrlutigudem alone. But a majority of them belong to Byrlutigudem and Nagalutigudem. In addition, many-a-time, the Chenchus of this village sell their minor forest produce directly at the Chenchu Co-operative Society at Atmakur and sometimes directly to the merchants also. Hence. it is not possible to estimate correctly the total value of minor forest produce *i. e.*, honey and raw wax collected and sold by the Chenchus of this village.

43. Tamarind is another important item of minor forest produce collected and sold by them. They enjoy a customary right to collect the fruit from the tamarind trees located by the side of their huts. Among themselves each family retains its right for tamarind collection from those trees. In addition to those trees, they go about collecting tamarind from the trees round about their village in the forest area. The tamarind thus collected is not purchased at the local Co-operative Sub-depot but the Chenchu Co-operative Society at Atmakur directly purchases from them. Villagewise figures of tamarind collection at this Society are not available. However, the performance of the Chenchu Co-operative Society at Atmakur may give an over-all picture of the economic aspects of the minor forest produce collection which generates income to the Chenchus.

The Atmakur Chenchu Co-operative Society

44. The Atmakur Chenchu Co-operative Purchase and Sale Society Ltd., P. No. 459 was registered as a Co-operative Society under the Madras Co-operative Societies Act VI of 1932 and started working on 29-1-1940 with its area of operation extending over the Nandyal Forest Division of Kurnool District. The objects of the Society are (i) to encourage self help, thrift and co-operation among members, (ii) to purchase from members and non-members outright the minor forest produce collected by them in kind or cash, (iii) to arrange for the sale of minor forest produce purchased from members and non-members to the advantage of the Society, (iv) to rent or own godown to facilitate the storage of produce and (v) to take contract or lease under Government or quasi-Government Departments and work them with a view to provide wages for members. All members are exclusively the Chenchus. The Society has 477 members with a paid-up capital of Rs. 1,990·40 P. There are 120 persons from this village while the rest belong to other Chenchu villages. There are 16 Directors on the management of the Society as per by-law No. 17, 12 of them are Chenchus, not exceeding one for every Chenchu gudem (meaning Chenchu village) and 4 *ex-officio* Directors. (1) The District Collector, Kurnool is the *ex-officio* President, (2) the District Forest Officer, Nandyal is the *ex-officio* Vice-President, (3) The Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Kurnool is the *ex-officio* Director and (4) the Forest Range Officer working within the jurisdiction of the Society and selected by the President of the Society is the *ex-officio* Secretary. The services of a Forest Ranger to work as Secretary of the Society free of cost and free services of two Junior Inspectors of Co-operative Department to work as Managers of Sub-depots are given.

Business of the Society

45. From the date of starting, the Society is progressing steadily. It completed its 21st year of working in 1961. To provide work and to supply all the domestic requirements of the Chenchu members and non-members and other hill tribesmen, sub-depots are opened at Byrluti and Pechcheruvu villages. A godown has been constructed by the Atmakur Co-operative Society at Byrluti by spending Rs. 20,000. The following are the minor forest produce collected by the Society: (1) Tamarind, (2) Raw honey, (3) Raw bee wax, (4) Gallnuts, (5) Marking nuts, (6) *Ippapaluku*. A nominal royalty of Rs. 15,000 to the Forest Department and Rs. 400 to the Revenue Department and Rs. 268 to the Manager, Siddapuram Settlement is paid by the Society. In return, the tamarind trees in poramboke lands adjoining Byrluti Reserve Forest and those in the Reserve Forest are given to the Society.

46. During the year 1961, 1,140 Qts. of green tamarind, 1,476 Qts. of unshelled tamarind got shelled by the Byrluti Chenchu Boarding Home pupils and Atmakur local coolies which came to 663 maunds of shelled tamarind, 3,930 lbs. of honey and 1,600 Madras measures of gallnuts were collected by

the Society by paying collection charges amounting to Rs. 6,054·66 P. During the same year 1,140 Qts. of green tamarind, 3,767 lbs. of honey, 51 lbs. of bees wax (old stock), 1,600 Madras measures of gallnuts and 650 maunds of shelled tamarind were sold till 1-9-1961 amounting to Rs. 9,806.75.

Mirasi system

47. Under the customary rights to collect some levies either in cash or in kind, the Chenchus derive some income annually from two source *viz*, Chenchu *mirasi* relating to the customary payments from the neighbouring cultivators and Chenchu *mirasi* of *metta* fees collected from the pilgrims to Srisailam. These *mirasi* rights are hereditary and are limited to some families of a particular *intiperu* only in the village. In return for the customary levies collected, they escort and guard the pilgrims and their property.

48. The cultivators of the neighbouring villages give some Chenchus of this village a customary payment of 4 Madras measures (6 kilograms) of corn per acre cultivated. Those who receive such payments are known as Mirasidars. The following Mirasidars from Byrlutigudem collect their levies from the villages mentioned against their names.

Statement XII

PARTICULARS OF MIRASIDARS

Name of Mirasidar	*Name of village from whose cultivators they collect mirasi*	*Quantity of corn received*
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*
Chigurla Nagadu	Venkatapuram	4 Madras measures (6 Kgs.) of corn per acre
Topi Chinna Edanna	Ananthapuram h/o Siddepalle	-do-
Gulla Pedda Edanna	Siddepalle	-do-
Gulla Tandruti	Siddepalle	-do-
Chigurla Chinna Edanna	Ananthapuram h/o Siddepalle	-do-
Dasari Edanna	Siddapuram Settlement	-do-

49. The second *mirasi* or right to customary collection relates to *metta* receipts from the pilgrims bound to Srisailam shrine. As noted earlier, it has been a custom from time immemorial for them to collect money from each pilgrim and in return, they have been rendering the service of escorting them with safety to their persons and possessions through the jungle to their next stage. The following *mettas* (meaning stages) are there for a pedestrian pilgrim going to Srisailam from the western end covering a distance of about 25 miles: Byrluti, Nagaluti, Pechcheruvu, Basavannagudi, Hatakeswaram (also known as Atakeswaram) and Srisailam. The Chenchus inhabiting villages nearby this pilgrim's passage customarily collect the levy from the pilgrim. The following were the customary rates:

	Metta Rates Rs. P.
Per adult person	0 12
Per *doli* (a conveyance in which a person is carried in a cradle-like thing by two or more persons)	1·00
Per pack animal (cow, horse or ass)	0·12

In the period between Sivaratri (February) and Ugadi (March) they collect this levy. During this period pilgrims visit Srisailam shrine for Mahashivaratri festival in honour of Siva in February and another festival in honour of Amba Devi (Bhramaramba) on new moon day, the eve of Ugadi (the Telugu New Year's Day) in March. The forest subordinate officials help them in the collection and distribution of the *metta* fees among them. Till, 1937, the *metta* fee per person was 0·06 P. This was enhanced to 0.12 P. afterwards. The total *metta* collections in 1961 was about Rs. 9,000. After the formation of the State Highway road connecting Atmakur, Dornal and Srisailam in 1957-58 with Hyderabad, Vijayawada and Kurnool the pedestrian traffic along Byrluti-Nagaluti-Pechcheruvu-Srisailam path became very thin. The *metta* collection on this route also became negligible as most of the pilgrims who visit Srisailam in public or private conveyances could not be constructively and smoothly contacted for collecting the *metta*. It was a problem to stop the vehicles and collect the fees at Srisailam or at other intermediate stations. To obviate these difficulties and also to prevent inconvenience caused to the pilgrims, it was decided in 1962 by the Government of Andhra Pradesh that the regular *metta* fee collection by the Chenchus from the pilgrims should be discontinued and in lieu of it the Srisailam Temple authorities should give an amount of Rs. 84,000 which equalled to the 5 year average of the previous 5 year collection from all *mettas*. But it was reported by the Executive Officer of Srisailam Temple that the Temple has not paid the amount due to paucity of funds and as such the Government made over some money to the Forest administration for distributing it among the Chenchus. Thus, for the first time in

the history of the Chenchu Administration *metta* fees were not collected during the Sivaratri festival in 1962. It was also reported that this compensatory payment will ultimately be discontinued after sometime. In 1961–62, the payment towards *metta* compensation was about Rs. 8,000 and in 1962–63 it was about Rs. 6,000. The amount so collected was placed at the disposal of the District Forest Officer, Nandyal for distribution among the Chenchus. Out of this Rs. 4,640.11 P, related to Nandyal Forest Division. The share of this village (Byrlutigudem) in 1963 was Rs. 375. There are 16 Mirasidars consisting of 30 families and each family got a share of Rs. 12.50 P. This *metta* payment was sometimes made in kind, for instance, clothing. If there is a greater number of nucleus families running independent households in the *mirasi intiperu* or *gotra* the ultimate value of *metta* collections received may be a petty sum of Re. 1 or less. Some of the Mirasidars who might have migrated to other villages make it a point to go over to their original ancestral village to receive the *metta* collection. In some Chenchu villages like Nagalutigudem and Pechcheruvu, the *mirasi* for *metta* collection is exclusively confined to one *intiperu* (gotra) families. Thus, in Nagalutigudem, families belonging to Gulla *intiperu* are the receipients of *metta* collection and at Pechcheruvu village Nimmala *intiperu* families raceive it. But in this village (Byrlutigudem) the *mirasi* right for *metta* collection is spread over as many as 16 *intiperus*. This is perhaps because of the formation of this village by the forest administration by grouping the Chenchus who were formerly scattered at several places and consequently the absence of the natural and customary first settlers who could claim so by virtue of tradition and custom. It is obvious that the Chenchus have tried to maintain their right to *metta* collection very zealously. It will be a great disappointment to them if this little fund which they annually expected to receive is stopped altogether. It would appear essential to please these simple tribesmen by giving them some petty annual grant.

Salaried employment in the forest services and developmental institutions

50. A new class of salaried earners among the Chenchus has emerged due to the impact of the Chenchu ameliorative activities undertaken by the Forest Administration. The following Statement gives some particulars of the jobs taken up by them.

Statement XIII

PARTICULARS OF SALARIED EMPLOYEES

Name of Person	*Sex*	*Nature of Job*	*No. of persons*	*Salary per month* (in Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Bayanna	M	Beat guard (forest)	1	63
Chigurla Venkataiah	M	Gudem guard (forest)	1	59
Reddy Edanna	M	Village Headman	1	56
Karnam Lingadu	M	Village Deputy Headman	1	56
Dasari Edanna	*M*	*Peon in Co-operative Sales Depot*	*1*	*45*
Dasari Chinna Edanna	M	Watchman	1	35
Gulla Chinna Edanna	M	School peon	1	60
Dasari Golusamma	F	Cook (boarding home)	1	15
Pulicharla Bayanna	M	–do–	1	15
Uttaluri Golasanna	M	Ward Boy	1	25
Uttaluri Edamma	F	*Daya* in Women Welfare Centre	1	25
Pulicharla Guramma	F	–do–	1	25
Unspecified	M	Peon	3	180
		Total	**15**	**659**

M: Males F: Females

It shows that 15 persons or 21% of the Chenchus in the age group 15–59 years are working as salaried employees in the Forest Services, Chenchu Higher Elementary School and Women Welfare Centre.

51. Table 4 All Tables are given in the Appendix to their monograph gives details of the traditional occupation of the 74 households covered by survey. The contemporary picture of the occupational pattern of the Chenchus has, however, been changing as a result of the definite impact of the ameliorative activities for Chenchus undertaken by the Forest Department (Table 5). In 1960 March, out of the total 74 households surveyed 9 households or 12.16% have changed over from their traditional occupations. Of them, 7 households have changed over from forest labour to the salaried services, 2 households have switched over from the salaried service as Bungalow watchmen to forest labour. Among the households that have taken to new jobs, only in one household both the husband and wife were working as salaried members. In other households the working member depended on forestry labour and collection and disposal of honey, tamarind, *sara pappu* or on goat rearing.

Intensive household economic survey

52. Eight households which formed 10% of the households in this village were intensively surveyed

to know the household income and expenditure pattern. It was not possible to arrive at the actual total number of working days that a Chenchu labourer worked in the bamboo coupe for his wage and it was also not possible to estimate the amount of income derived from the sales of minor forest produce per working person or per household. Study of a few cases revealed that a bamboo coupe labourer normally worked for 5 days in a week and for 8 months in a year from October to May. He earned on an average a wage of Rs. 3 per day. In the remaining period he worked in the forest plantation on such works as making nursery bed, transplantation, weeding and fencing earning a wage on an average of Rs. 8 per month. While it was not possible to estimate household income accurately even for the sample households a very rough quantitative monetary income picture for the whole village is attempted below :

Statement XIV

PARTICULARS OF INCOME

Source of Income	*No. of workers*	*House-holds*	*Rate of earning*	*Total income*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
			Rs. P.	Rs. P.
Wages (Bamboo coupe work and plantation)	51*	...	512.00 per annum	26,112.00 *
Minor forest produce (honey and wax only)	N. A.	...	N. A.	2,474.22
Tamarind	N. A.	...	N. A.	N. A.
Animal husbandry (including poultry, goats and dairy)	4	...	N. A.	N. A.
Craft (bamboo containers and cots)	N. A.	...	N. A.	N. A.
Salaries from services	15	13	25.00 to 63.00	659.00
Metta collection	...	30	12.50 each household	375.00
Agriculture	...	8	...	87.05
			Total	**29,707.26**

*This is provisional
N.A. = Not available

53. It is seen from the above Statement that no information was available regarding the amount of income derived by them from such important minor forest produce as collection of tamarind, animal husbandry products, rural crafts such as bamboo basketry and cot making, as the ignorant Chenchus were not able to indicate specifically what the income derived through these sources was. It may be hazarded, of course, very arbitrarily, that they may likely to get from these three sources not more than about Rs. 11,000 per annum of which it may be safely assumed that tamarind brings them a substantial part. Based on this, roughly speaking, the annual village income may be about Rs. 40,000. Thus, roughly 65% of it is derived from forestry labour, *viz*, wages earned by bamboo coupe and plantation work, 28% derived from minor forest produce including tamarind, 1·65% derived from salaried services, income from *metta* forms about 1% with animal husbandry and crafts coming next in order whereas agriculture contributes a very negligible part of their income. Thus it may be safely said that their economy depends very largely on forestry labour and collection of minor forest produce both accounting for about 93% of the annual village income. The per capita income therefore works out to Rs. 172.41 per annum.

54. Table 9 shows that out of 8 sample households studied only one household with an annual income of more than Rs. 301 and less than Rs. 600 is in debt amounting to Rs. 40. This was borrowed for consumption purposes in the form of advances from the bamboo coupe contractor of Atmakur under whom he worked. He was under no obligation to pay interest on this borrowed money.

55. Their expenditure pattern as revealed by the study of 8 households is shown in the Table 8. The main items of expenditure are food, drink, clothing and lighting. The annual household expenditure on food is Rs. 474·41 P. which forms 65·90% of the total expenditure whereas on drinking and tobacco it is Rs. 172·75 P. or 20·48%. Next comes clothing which forms 9·68%. The last and the least is kerosene with 3·94%. This expenditure pattern is with reference to an average household of the size of 3·62 persons with an average annual household income of Rs. 783·11 P.

Case studies

56. Dasari Venkatigadu who lives with his wife and child ekes out his livelihood depending on bamboo coupe labour spread over 8 months and on Forest Departmental plantation work for about 2 months in a year. He is an illiterate while his wife has studied upto IV class in the local Chenchu Elementary School. His son is studying in Chenchu Boarding School. He earns per each working day an average wage of Rs. 3 from bamboo coupe labour. When he gets employment in forest plantation works, he daily earns about Re. 1. He owns 30 goats and 5 fowls. His wife, in addition to attend-

ing to the jobs of keeping the house, tends these goats and looks after poultry. Occasionally, he supplements his income by selling goats and fowls. *During honey collection and tamarind season he* supplements the household income by collection and sale of honey, wax and tamarind. He is however not able to say how much exactly he derives through these. Normally they take their meal twice in a day—in the morning between 8 a.m., and 9 a.m., and in the night between 7 p.m., and 8 p.m. They do not eat beef. On an average he spends Rs. 77 annually to buy shirts, saries, jackets and *duppati*. He purchased a hurricane lantern three years back. But he does not use it regularly and instead he keeps a chimneyless kerosene *buddi* and spends 0.62 P. on kerosene every week. The family is habituated to use washing soap. He says that occasional social functions like marriage and death involve an expenditure of Rs. 100 or so. He tries to keep his expenditure within the range of his income and very rarely goes into debt.

57. Baramala Narisigadu aged 60 years lives with his wife and two sons. Himself and his elder son are the earning male members in the family. His wife attends to the household work and supplements the household income by working in forest plantation now and then. His little son is taken daily by the *dai* of Women Welfare Centre to the pre-basic school (locally known as *chinnabadi*) at the Women Welfare Centre. He is also skilled in making bamboo mats (*tadika*) and cots. He takes three days to procure raw material and to make a set of cots and *tadika*. Some merchants from Atmakur side come to his house and buy these bamboo products at Re. 1.75 P. each. The order for work from the merchant is not continuous and whenever he receives the order he adjusts his other activity of working as wage earner in bamboo coupe so as to suit this work. His son, Baramala Veeranna, who is sufficiently grown up to help the father in his work goes to the bamboo coupe or forest plantation for 5 days in a week. The son earns Re. 1.75 P. per day while the father earns Rs. 2 per day. Honey collection and tamarind fruit harvest forms another source of income. They leave the house for work by 9-30 a.m., after the morning meal and return by 3-30 p.m. Just after return they drink liquor (*sara*) and relax. The liquor is either prepared by himself or purchased from any other Chenchu who runs the distillery in the village. A minimum quantity of *sara* costs 0.37 P. Per week about Rs. 10 is spent on food articles. Rs. 72 is spent on clothing annually. No kerosene light is used in the house. They depend on the flame of specially made fire for lighting purposes till they finish their night meal by about 8 p. m. Then onwards, if it is a cold night, the same fire is kept smouldering until next morning to warm the members of the family. They sleep on bamboo mats made by themselves with very scanty coverings and bed sheets. The household uses soap. They smoke *beedis*. According to him social functions such as marriage and death involve a minimum expenditure of Rs. 30. On occasions connected with birth, an expenditure of Rs. 5 is incurred. For festivals such as Nagula Chavithi, Dasara, and Ugadi he spends Rs. 6 on each festival. The household has not incurred any debt.



Chapter V

CULTURAL LIFE AND VILLAGE ORGANISATION

Language

The Chenchus speak Telugu with an intonation of their own which sometimes sounds harsh but pointed and terse in its finish. Before one gets oriented to their pronunciation and accent, it sounds as though they speak their own lingo. It is sometimes believed that the Telugu spoken by them is the original language with all its chastity untarnished by the influence of Sanskrit. For example, to indicate that the crop is not ripe for cutting, their usual expression is "*Chenu koyya radu*" and to denote their unwillingness to remain in a particular locality they say, "*Niluva buddi radu.*" [1] These indicate the characteristic terseness of Chenchus' spoken Telugu. Below are given some examples of Telugu words used among them :

Statement XV

SOME TELUGU WORDS SPOKEN BY CHENCHUS AND THEIR MEANING

Telugu as spoken by the Chenchus	*Corresponding standard Telugu in adjoining plains*	*Meaning in English*
(*1*)	(*2*)	(*3*)
Rasi	*Rara*	Come here
Poye	*Po*	Go
Aendukava	*Enduku*	Why
Avadu	*Yevadu*	Who
Ayasi	*Yesi*	Kill it
Padcha	*Balika or Ammayi*	Girl
Tendemu	*Thondamu*	Elephant's trunk
Kethi	*Kothi*	Monkey
Nomli	*Nemali*	Peacock
Kedi	*Kodi*	Cock
Kedavali	*Kodavali*	Sickle

Folk lore

2. The Chenchus have a folk tradition of relating to themselves the story of how the Lord Narasimha fell in love with their tribal girl. Any account of their life and culture will be incomplete without relating this fascinating story of the romance between Lord Narasimha and Chenchu damsel which is sung in ballad and often enacted as a dance drama also. This story truly reflects the hard but carefree life and culture of this jungle-dwelling tribe. The enchanting conversation between the two fancified figures on their first encounter runs as follows :

"Nrisimha: Who art thou O damsel, figure of pure gold ?
Who is your peer in this wide world ?
What handsome features, delicate frame
Enchanting form and winning face,
Why stand 'st thou firm and far from me,
While I of cupid's fury stand acquired.

Chenchitha: What is it to thee who I am
Come not near me or cross my way
Speak from a distance, in courtesy
If not, you shall taste soon enough
The sharpness of the arrow from my bow.
O thou of cheeks so big and large protruding teeth,
And eyes of bulging balls
Unruly whiskers great
Forehead marks long and straight
And matted hair and rounded waist
Stop, where thou art
Frightened am I not
You will be dished in no time,
By the fury of my kith and kin.

Nrisimha: O lass, why roamest thou in the wilderness
And spread not thy glance at me
What crime have I committed.
That you should be so hard-hearted
Cluster of glittering diamonds art thou
My tongue hath no words to utter
In praise of Him who created thee
Come on as thou art, cruel or tender,
Treading the woods, climbing the hills
But dodge me not.

Chenchitha: Figure of lion and man combined
How are you worthy of me ?
Away with your dalliance
Beware of my piercing dart
Flee to your mountain fast.

Nrisimha: O girl of elephant gait,
With bodice of rubies and pearls
My chest heaves
To hold you in embrace
I am the Lord of the Bhadra hill.
The daughter of the mountain King
Parvati is all praise for me
The King of Gods Lord Indra
Offers worship unto me
But parted from you, I cannot remain
Awake, I cannot endure
And sleep will not come to my eyes.

After a few more spicy exchanges, the couple get to like and love each other and then follows another

[1] V. Raghavaiah, The Yanadis, Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh (New Delhi ; 1962) p. 336.

dialogue quite characteristic of the carefree unsophisticated and exhuberant wild Chenchu life and its "Lord of the jungle" traditions.

Now that the hearts of the couple have been locked in love, the usual but inexhorable formalities and tests entitling anybody to the hand of a Chenchu maiden had to be gone through and the Chenchu girl challenges Narasimha.

Chenchitha: Can you climb the trees
Can you clear the shrubs
Can you get me honey
Guarded by the buzzing bees.

Nrisimha: Trees can I climb
Birds can I hit
And sweet honey from the bees
Can I get you sure.

Chenchitha: Can you pierce the jungle growth
Can you get into the thicket tough
Can you strike the elephant
With thy fist, O! lion of a man.

Nrisimha: I can foot the wood all over
Every kind of fruit will I bring
And all the hill streams can I swim
Every water fowl and beast can I bring
To the Lord of Chenchu tribe shall I bow
With the Chenchu folk in emity shall I live.

Chenchitha: Can you get me the peacocks
With their slant and slyish neck.

Nrisimha: Certainly, my beloved
Believe me, I swear here and how
I shall ever by your word abide.

On the satisfactory conclusion of these tests in the immediate presence of Sikhinayakudu, the Chenchu Chief, the father of Chenchulakshmi, surrounded by all the rank and file of the valiant Chenchus, the romantic alliance was finally sealed.

After spending some days in the loveable company of his new bride and in the exhilarating surroundings of Chenchu jungle life, Narasimha returns to his capital with his new bride only to find himself face to face with an explosive and embarassing situation created by the imperial first wife Adilakshmi, who refused to look at and much less have anything to do with the jungle girl. Then unending domestic bickerings result which finally get composed and the elder wife condescends to take the Chenchu girl as her co-partner in *Narasimha's* joys and sorrows.

The mythological aspect that surrounds the story apart, the incident bears a very natural and realistic touch and might have referred to a real love affair that took place between one of the local rulers bearing the name of Narasimha and the damsel of a neighbouring Chenchu tribe known as Chenchita. It is perhaps the fertile imagination of an enterprising Telugu poet that correlated the mythological episode of Lord Narasimha, slayer of Hiranya Kasyapa, and the Narasimha above referred to. This gains support from the fact that the *Bhagavatam* which relates the story of Hiranya Kasyapa and his son Prahlada makes no mention of Chenchulakshmi.

One humorous side episode that emerges from Chenchita's love story is the cogent explanation that is offered by the present day Chenchus for the not very complimentary looks borne by Chenchu women nowa-days. Chenchus ascribe it to a curse pronounced by Chenchulakshmi when she was slighted by Adilakshmi and relegated to a secondary place in the ruler's mansion, that the succeeding generations of Chenchu women should bear no good looks, for should they ever do so there would be the risk of their being carried away by the altogether not too faithful rulers of the land. That is why the tripping Telugu repartee of the Chenchus pointedly asks:

Manchi (good) *Manchi* (good) *Adapaduchulu* (damsels) *Chenchuvallaku* (for Chenchus) *Enduku* (Why)?

Ponchi (Under cover) *Ponchi* (Under cover) *Obalesudu* (Lord Obalesudu or Lord Narasimha) *Ettakapoyya* (carry away) *tanduka* (for)."[1]

3. The Chenchus are children of Nature and through every vein of their life there runs the instinct to follow their own inclination. Even the hours of leisure connote the self same spirit of independence, individualism and spontaneity which characterises their more serious activities, and it is therefore not surprising to discover that adult Chenchus indulge in no organised form of sport, that children have few community games and that both singing and dancing are expressions of mood, based on improvisation rather than on stereotyped forms.

4. Folk dances are not common but the *thappata* or *dappu* dance which is popularly known as *Chenchata* wherein both men and women stand opposite to one another and dance with abandon to the tune of the *dappu* is indulged in, normally after drink. Sometimes men hold arrow and bow while dancing. No songs accompany to the beat of the *thappata*. Social occasions like marriage and worship of clan and village deities are invariably followed by *thappata* dance. The *thappatas* are made by the Chenchus in the village itself. Sarvashri Arti Guravadu, Uttaluri Pedarajugadu and one or two other old Chenchus are skilled in making it. A *thappata* is made by rivetting goat skin to a circular wooden hollow flat frame. The wood may be of tamarind tree or *beliki* tree. At the time of survey (1963 November) there were five *thappatas*. Gene-

1 V. Raghavaiah, *op. cit.*, pp. 418 to 422

rally, every adult chenchu is good at playing the *thappata*. They evince keen interest in *Chenchunatakam*, a Telugu folk play which depicts the story of Lord Narasimha falling in love with a Chenchu girl (which has also been adopted for a Telugu film titled *Chenchu Lakshmi*) mentioned earlier. To the accompaniment of harmonium or *tabala* a few Chenchus sing *Chenchunatakam* songs with action and dance. Sarvashri Gulla Edadu, Uttaluri Chinnanna, Gulla Tandruti – all old people – evince great interest in such recitations. When in drunken mood, both men and women behave in a romantic way and express themselves in singing; or sometimes attack in an outright way the policies of neighbours and the Government in so far as it relates to their welfare and ordinary business of life. They spend their leisure time in going into the forest for hunting carrying bows and arrows, sometimes accompanied by their wives and dogs; some spend time in making ropes, arrows and bows (Fig. 28).

Play habits

5. All the School going Chenchu children stay in the hostel attached to the Chenchu Higher Elementary School in the Byrluti Colony. Very rarely they visit their homes during school working days. The following are some of the games played by the boys and girls:

1 Kothi Komachi (Monkey play)
2 Chillagodi
3 Puttachendu
4 Tokkudu Billa
5 Chirupatti
6 Baligudu (Kabadi)
7 Ambula Pandyam (Archery contest)
8 Playing family roles—a mock household and
9 Imitating *thappata* dance.

Religion and worship of deities

Clan deities

6. Chenchus worship deities which are traditionally associated with each *gotra* (clan, *intiperu* or surname). The following Statement gives some particulars.

Statement XVI

DETAILS OF CLAN DEITIES

Name of gotra (clan), intiperu (surname)	*Name of deity worshipped as Kula-devata by the gotra shown in Col. (1)*	
	Male deity	*Female deity*
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*
Pulicherla	Gurappadu	...
Nimmala	Veerabhadrudu	Edamma
Gulla	Nagamayya	...
Jalli	Lingamayya	...
Dasari	...	Edamma
Bhhumani	Poturaju	...
Topi	...	Edamma
Kudumala	Nagamayya	...
Tokala	Gurappa	...
Mandla	Nagamayya	...
Avula	Lingamayya	...
Uttaluri	Poturaju	...
Arthi	...	Ankamma
Baramala	Bayanna	...
Chigurla	Nagamayya	...
Garaboyana	Gurappadu	...

Statement XVI—*(Concld.)*

The above particulars show that there are more male deities than female deities and the same deity is worshipped by more than one clan (*gotra*). These deities symbolised in stones are worshipped both at home and in the forest scattered about within a range of 12 miles *viz*, Nagamaiah and Veerudu (in Pasurutla, 8 miles), Bayanna (near Rudracode), Edamma (near Nagaluti, 4 miles), Eramma, Mallamma (near Siddapuram tank bund, 2 miles in the west), Poturaju (in Garigala, 8 miles in the east) and. Ankalamma (near Nagaluti). In addition to the above clan deities some families worship the following deities occasionally: Tandruti (a male deity near Rollapenta), Nandala Swami (near Rudracode), Golusulamma (near Nagaluti), Vemalamma, Savadamma, Onti Veeranna, Manthenalamma (10 to 16 miles away from Byrlutigudem in the east), Katamaraju and Bhairavadu.

Village deities

7. In addition to clan and family deities mentioned above, they propitiate the female dieties like Sunkulamma and Peddamma as the village dieties a week after Ugadi festival in the month of March—April. An earthern idol is prepared and kept in the centre of the village under a tamarind tree symbolising Sunkulamma. An elderly male person belonging to Chigurla *intiperu* officiates as the priest. He offers a fowl or a goat contributed by the village community and the meat is equally distributed among all their families.

Deities associated with diseases

8. The Chenchus are in the habit of propitiating female deities to ward off diseases over which they are believed to preside. Nagulamma is supposed to bring small-pox, Ammathalli to bring chicken-pox and cholera. Atalamma to bring measles. These deities are propitiated by offering a fowl or a

goat, as and when they entertain fear regarding the occurence of such diseases. All the people in the village join together in the community worship.

Symbols of deities

9. The deities are symbolised in rough stones or trees especially, neem tree. For instance there are neem trees scattered in the jungle and worshipped in the name of the deities like Peddamma, Mallamma, Yellamma and Poleramma. A few educated of the younger generation keep the pictures of Siva, Srirama, Anjaneya, Srikrishna, and Venkateswara hung on the wattle wall in their houses.

Other regional deities and saints

10. The Chenchus visit Srisailam to worship the Lord Mallikarjuna and the Goddess Bhramaramba whenever they take vows in connection with improvement of their health or curing of diseases.

11. Dargaiah, a Muslim saint is very commonly propitiated by the Chenchus. The name Dargaiah, has been a derivative of 'Darga', a Urdu word, meaning a tomb of a Muslim saint. The proper name of this Muslim saint is Murthujavali. It was reported that he did meditation on a hill known as Tippa clothed with thick forest located at a distance of 4 miles from this village. He died there, and his remains were brought and buried at Nagaluti which has become a sacred spot, since then both for Muslims and Hindus including Chenchus of the neighbouring village who visit periodically this *Darga* (sacred burial). They have reposed great faith in the healing and beneficial powers of this saint. The childless Chenchus take a vow to offer the Dargaiah (so is the saint known among them) wooden sandles (*pavukodi*) and clothes in case they are blessed with children. Some of them offer fowls or goats. Offering of cocoanut too, in the Hindu mode, is a common feature of worship and burning of incense and offering of flowers are also there.

Festivals

12. The Chenchus celebrate the following festivals: Ugadi, Nagulachavithi, Dasara, Sankranti and Sivaratri. A few educated among them celebrate Deepavali festival also. There is an opinion that they have become slowly habituated to perform these festivals because of their association with the Hindus of the neighbouring villages. On the eve of Ugadi some of them visit Srisailam to witness the Amba festival associated with the name of Bhramaramba deity. On this day, at the village, they cut a fowl in the name of Peddamma and partake in a feasty meal. On Nagulachavithi (August–September), they take bath in the early hours of the day and wear new clothes if they can afford ; otherwise they wear washed ones. Nagamaiah (Serpent-God) is worshipped on this day. On Dasara festival they go to *jammi* (*sami*) tree for worship. They break cocoanuts and burn incense. These modes of celebration, it was reported, have been recently adopted by them and have been propagated by the cultural atmosphere at the local school through the students studying there. During Sivaratri festival some of them visit Srisailam and hitherto they used to spend the time mostly in collecting *metta* fees and helping the pedestrain pilgrims on their way to Srisailam. With the abolition of *metta* fees they feel a vacuum in the cultural role they played in inter-personal and group relations with the pilgrims.

13. On these festivals, they cook rice adding jaggery and cocoanut or they cook Bengalgram with jaggery. This is the sweet dish for the festival. In the evening hours, on the festival days, they fully drink. The expenditure on each festival varies from Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 and annual expenditure for a household on all festivals works to about Rs. 30.

Village organisation

14. As mentioned earlier, this village was formed by the Forest Administration into a habitation area by bringing in the Chenchus who were living scattered in the forest area. As it is an enclave in the Reserve Forest, it is under the administrative control of the Forest Range Officer, Byrluti, (stationed at Atmakur) and under the direct supervision of the Forester stationed at Byrluti. At the village level, the Forest Administration has appointed a Headman and a Deputy Headman (who are respectively known as Reddy and Karnam) from among the Chenchus of this village. They are paid a monthly salary of Rs. 56 each. Their functions are to control the movements of the Chenchus of the village and keep their activities in the forest within the framework of the Forest Administration rules. They have to report such cases of unruly and indisciplined acts of the Chenchus to the Forester as they find from time to time. They have to assist the School Teachers and other ameliorative staff at the village in the performance of their functions. They should report cases of theft, death and birth to the Forester.

Kulapanchayat

15. Apart from these functioneries there has been in existence from time immemorial a council of Chenchu tribal elders locally known as Kulapanchayat or Nasab. The tribal elders are known as Peddamanushulu (meaning elderly persons).

16. The Kulapanchayat is composed of the male elders from each *gotra* (*kula, intiperu*, surname, clan are synonymus for *gotra*) and is headed by an elderly person known as Raju (literally means king) who hails from Bhumani *gotra* and is assisted by two other functionaries. As a minister to this Raju is an elderly man of Kudumala *gotra*. This post is locally known as Pardhani (meaning minister). Two persons belonging to Uttaluri and Mandla *gotras*, locally known as Kolagallu (meaning whips-attenders and servants) assist the Raju and Pardhani in convening and conducting the Nasab. Its jurisdiction is limited to cases that occur within the village or to its residents. The two functionaries, *i.e.*, the Raju and Pardhani are denoted by them in a metaphorical way as *peddapuli* (meaning big tiger) and *elugubanti* (meaning bear), respectively.

17. The posts of the Raju, the Pardhani and the Kolagallu are hereditary on the rule of the nearest kin or next senior kin belonging to Bhumani, Kudumala and Uttaluri and Mandla *gotras*. Persons of the nearest propinquity succeed them with the general consent of the Kulapanchayat. The Peddamanshulu (elders) representing each *gotra* are admitted into the Kulapanchayat by virtue of their age, nearest kinship relationship of the deceased member, their wisdom and eloquence. At present (1963) the following persons constitute the Kulapanchayat in this village.

Statement XVII

DETAILS OF KULAPANCHAYAT

Sl. No.	*Name of person*	*Name of post*
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*
1	Bhumani Peddaiah	Raju
2	Kudumala Chinna Nagadu	Pardhani
3	Mandla Lingadu	Kolagadu
4	Uttaluri Edanna	Kolagadu
5	Chigurla Nagudu	Peddamanishi
6	Topi Chinna Edanna	-do-
7	Uttaluri Peddaraju	-do-
8	Dasari Chinna Edanna	-do-
9	Arthi Guravadu	-do-
10	Gulla Nagalutigadu	-do-

Role of functionaries

18. The Raju in the Nasab presides over the session and pronounces the decisions. The Pardhani effectively acts as the principal adviser to the Raju. Through him the Peddamanushulu communicate with each other effectively to arrive at an unanimous decision regarding the case under hearing. The Kolagallu act as orderlies, whips and protocols to keep up the decorum and just proceedings of the assembly. They look to the communication aspects like calling in all the elders (Peddamanushulu) to the meeting for making the quorum. They also attend to the cooking and distribution of food when a community kitchen is organised on occasions like long sessions of the Kulapanchayat of marriage occasions. If the Kolagallu do not meticulously attend to their duties they are made liable to bear the expenses incurred by the litigants on whose account the assembly is called for. If they deviate from such customary practices such as order of precedence in serving food, they are called upon to pay the penalty equivalent to the amount imposed as fine in the concerned case.

Function of Panchayat and nature of disputes

19. Broadly, Kulapanchayat functions to regulate and stabilise the social relations (*kulayavaram* or *kulakattadam*) among the Chenchus. The nature of the disputes handled by the Kulapanchayat relate to marriage, divorce, separation and minor thefts. But cases relating to murder and major thefts are reported to the Sub-Inspector of Police at Atmakur. Any social conflict that cannot be settled amicably between two persons or families, or among a group of persons, occasions to move the Kulapanchayat for action. In such cases like marriages it is moved to secure proper sanction for marriage as a social act. Its participation and sanction give the married couples the right to move the panchayat for any justice in future.

20. Moving the Kulapanchayat for a session is customarily known as *nasab pettadam*. It assembles near the house of the person against whom allegations are made and whose case has to be investigated and heard. In other cases like fights or bickerings they meet at a central place in the habitation area under a tree.

21. No case has come up before the Kulapanchayat during 1961-1963. In 1959-60 a case involving elopement was brought before the Kulapanchayat. One, E., the daughter of C. C. E.,

of this village was married to a boy of Narapareddikunta (15 miles away). She gave birth to a child and later the child died. She returned to her father's house after four months. Details of the inter-personal relations between the husband and wife are not known. For a long time she continued to stay with her parents and developed intimate contacts with a Chenchu young man belonging to Gulla *intiperu.* He was unmarried and younger than herself. However, after sometime both of them settled down as husband and wife but with no social sanction. This news reached her legitimate husband at Narapareddikunta. He hastened to this place to move the Kulapanchayat for justice. He brought 20 Madras measures of rice, one goat, 10 bottles of *ippa povu* liquor, salt, chillies, onions and other spices, along with him. The Kularaju, Pardhani and Kolagallu were contacted and were offered liquor courteously. The Kularaju and Pardhani summoned the Panchayat to hear the case. At a convenient place near the house of the accused, under a tamarind tree, the tribal council assembled. One of the two Kolagallu went about in the habitation area to invite the elderly person of each *gotra* (*kula* or *intiperu*) to participate in the Nasab (Kulapanchayat). Some bamboo mats were spread as seats for the tribal elders. One of the Kolagallu stood in the assembly to maintain order and decorum. Great care was taken to see that all representatives of the *gotras* were present. When the elders were satisfied with regard to the attendance, the proceedings of the Panchayat started. Among the elders, a person who knew the full details of the case presented it to the assembly on behalf of each party. After this briefing, the tribal elders began making their observations. Clarifications were made with the plaintiff and the respondent. The Kologallu stood and maintained the order in the assembly. Now and then the Pardhani made out the pertinent points emerging out of the discussion. Finally the Kularaju gave his award. All the tribal elders expressed their opinions and comments. Finally it was decided that the respondent has to pay the compensation to the plaintiff *i.e.*, the aggrieved husband. In deciding the compensation, the Kulapanchayat took into consideration the marriage expenses and the maintenance expenses incurred by the previous husband on account of his wife. An amount of Rs. 60 was fixed as the marriage expenses and another amount of Rs. 60 as maintenance expenses. In addition to this amount, the respondent was asked to bear the entire expenses of food and liquor served to the tribal elders. This decision was unanimously approved by the tribal elders. After the meeting the Kolagallu attended to the preparation and serving of food and liquor to the tribal elders. The Kularaju and Pardhani were served first and other tribal elders subsequently.

22. Another such case occured in 1957–58 when one T. K., eloped with C. M.'s wife. This also ended in asking the respondent to pay the compensation for the aggrieved husband.

23. In some cases, they have the practice of taking their cases to the Forester who uses his good offices to bring the parties into amicability redressing their grievances. The Headman and the Deputy Headman of this village play an important part in the tribal council by being a link between the tribal council and the Forest Department. In some cases final decisions are recorded and each party commits itself to conform to the decisions in writing. This writing is done with the help of the Forester or the local teacher. For this purpose, the tribal council moves from the habitation area to the School or the Forestor's premises. After completion of this formality they return to the habitation area to wind up their meeting with sumptuous meal and liquor.

24. Whenever awards and decisions are given by the Kulapanchayat, they are obeyed by both the parties without any protest. But the norms and mores in their social and economic life have been slowly losing their original vigour and rhythm. Due to administrative and economic changes the Chenchu social organisation has also been slowly loosing their high degree of integration.

25. There is neither any Statutory Panchayat in the village nor the village falls under the administrative jurisdiction of any Community Development Block. All the Law and Order administration and ameliorative programmes for their welfare are carried out by the Forest Department through their personnel.

Other aspects of social and cultural life

Women Welfare Centre

26. The Women Welfare Centre under the administration of the Director of Women Welfare, Andhra Pradesh State Government was started on 26th January, 1959. One of the objects of this centre was to initiate such activities and programmes in Women and Child Welfare as to bring about a change slowly in the mental outlook of Chenchu

women for the betterment of their life. Byrlutigudem and Nagalutigudem are the most important villages being covered under this programme. The area of activities include imparting advice on and assistance to family income, maternity, hospitalisation, rehabilitation, running of pre-basic classes and creche.

Women welfare

27. The Organiser and Maternity Assistant accompanied by conductress and peon go out for house visiting from 10–30 a. m., to 12–00 noon. They contact women and explain to them about the sanitary conditions, hygienic habits, maternity and child care, nursing, hospitalisation and enquire about the employment conditions of women and men as well. Medicines are administered to the ailing persons. From 2 p.m., to 5 p.m., community centre for women is conducted where simple crafts like tailoring, spinning and embroidery and tape making are taught. Adult education classes are also conducted enabling the young women to develop new habits and motivations which are the basic things needed in making them to take to new crafts to supplement the family income. In the Centre, the Women Welfare Organiser explains to them about health, hygiene, nutrition, care of children and their education, benefits of being a literate and learning crafts. Excursions are also arranged once in a year for the members of the centre. The Maternity Assistant attached to the Centre attends to pre-natal, delivery and post-natal cases.

28. Some case pictures of Chenchu families highlighting some typical problems of Chenchu women are presented below:

Case studies

(1) Uttaluri Nagamma aged about 30 years has studied upto 5th standard. In 1959, she was living with her husband by name Uttaluri Edanna, and was appointed as ayah in Women Welfare Centre. She was given Rs. 25 per month. Due to some misunderstanding and suspicion her husband began to ill-treat her. This resulted in Nagamma going away from the *gudem* to Indiresam village. After three months, it was reported, she went from Indiresam to Srisailam. From there she returned back to Byrlutigudem and again sought employment in the Women Welfare Centre. But then, opportunity was not there. Now she is living with another man. She is in a precarious economic position as her present husband is not able to look after her properly and she is in search of livelihood.

(2) Dasari Golusamma aged 27 years has completed 5th standard. In 1959, she was appointed as ayah in the Women Welfare Centre. She was a widow with a child. For five years she was living as a widow looking after her son. She was persuaded by her relatives to get married and settle down. Accordingly, she was married to Uttaluri Edanna. Round about 1960 February, her husband was charged of robbery and theft caused to pilgrims to Srisailam. He was sent to jail. Even though the relatives advised her to get married again, she refused to abide by the advice. Later after 1 1/2 years Uttaluri Edanna was released from jail, she went to Atmakur and brought him to the village. But the husband began to entertain suspicion on the chastity of his wife. She was ill-treated and heckled by him for several days. She bore it patiently and the Women Welfare Organiser also advised her not to cut away her relationship with her husband in spite of some of these emotional outbursts. Slowly, Uttaluri Edanna realised the true nature of the situation and began to have harmonious relations with his wife and now they are happy and have a child also.

(3) Chigurla Golusamma aged about 35 years, wife of Chigurla Ambigadu, had four children. Of them, one aged 3 years died three months back due to swelling of the body and other sorts of complaints. Two years earlier her husband had died due to similar swelling. One of her daughters who has studied fifth class in the local primary school is now married to one, Uttaluri Lingadu. A son aged 7 years is studying in the first year in the local Chenchu Higher Elementary School. There is another child aged two years who is admitted into the pre-basic school at the Women Welfare Centre. She collects Chenchu *gadda* for her food purposes and is depending on the food occasionally given at the Boarding Home.

(4) There is another case of Uttaluri Erakka, wife of Uttaluri Thirumalayya. She got herself separated from her husband, because he used to beat and ill-treat her. This kind of ill-treatment with Chenchus is very common, associated with excessive drinking. Now she is depending on occasional food given by the Boarding Home. Her two boys are admitted in the Boarding Home and the eldest daughter is married to a person in Indiresam village. She is eking out a precarious living

by selling broom-sticks, raw *moduga* leaves, *kunkullu* (soap-nut), *velegapandlu* (wood-apples). She sells soap nuts to the Komatis of Atmakur. She sells *velegapandlu* to the Kapus at Krishnapuram, exchanges broom-sticks for old clothes in Atmakur, also exchanges fuel for buttermilk at Sanjivanagaram. She collects edible roots like Chenchu *gadda* to supplement her food.

(5) There is a case reported in the village wherein a Chenchu who is employed as peon discovered that his wife had illicit contacts with a Muslim of Atmakur who is a bamboo contractor. His wife used to go away for several days. The husband tried again and again to bring her back and keep her under his control. But this was a failure. As the days went on she became pregnant and the husband intrigued with his wife saying that he is responsible to maintain only her and not the child conceived in her illicit contact. But later on their relations were softened because of the liberal outlook of the husband. She stayed with him and gave birth to a child. And again now, it is reported she has fallen in her old line of illicit contact and their inter-personal relations are not happy.

Child welfare

29. The Creche-cum-Balwadi School of the Centre caters to the needs of children of the age group 1 to 6 years. They are provided with morning milk, midday meal and clothing. This is slowly creating conditions to encourage the women in appreciating work opportunities to supplement the family income. The centre spends 0·50 P. per child on each working day. All the children stay in the centre from 8-00 a. m., to 5-00 p. m., and are looked after by the Day Nurse, the Senior Basic Teacher and 2 ayahs appointed in the centre. At 9 a. m., children are given *ragi java* (gruel) with jaggery; at 12 O' clock in the noon rice with dhal and vegetables are served. They are allowed to take rest between 1-00 p. m., and 3-00 p.m., (Fig. 39). In the evening light tiffin like *pesarattu* (a sort of cake prepared out of greengram flour) *guggillu* (boiled bengal or greengram) are given to them. In the evening the conductress and ayahs leave them at their respective dwellings. Once in a week, they are given oil bath. Daily, cocoanut oil is applied to their hair and then combed. The Women Welfare Centre staff also attend to the needs of health services and medical care of the children (Fig. 38) by taking them to the nearby local hospital. Since they stay in the centre from dawn to dusk, they are trained in good habits under the soft guidance of Women Welfare Centre staff and through community life at the centre. They are smart and have eagerness to learn new things and take great interest in songs, free play, interesting stories, rhymes and countings.

30. The Statement given on pages 60-61 shows the progress made by the Women Welfare Centre in Byrlutigudem, Nagalutigudem and other neighbouring villages. No figures are available for the Chenchus of this village separately. Daily average attendance in the pre-basic classes was 34·67 in 1962 which compares favourably with an average of 21 in 1961. In 1963 this has increased to 37·36. 50% of the children belong to Chenchu tribe while the remaining belong to Sugali (Lambadi) tribe. The average number of women attending the Women Welfare Centre has slightly decreased from 16.00 in 1962 to 14.64 in 1963. Adult education programme showed a very discouraging performance. Average number of persons attending the Centre in a month other than centre timings in a casual way was 48 in 1962 and increased to 64·36 in 1963, showing the increasing useful role of the Centre in the social and economic life of the tribal community. The hospital services are also sought by a good number of persons. The monthly average has decreased from 9·75 in 1962 to 6·00 in 1963. First aid and medical services are very largely sought for. On this account the monthly average number in 1963 increased to 282 from 240 in 1962. Number of meetings and demonstrations are being steadily maintained. Regarding the crafts taught to the Chenchu women, tailoring has been very useful. The monthly attendance of the number of persons who got training in this crafts increased from 4·17 in 1962 to 6·09 in 1963. Making of tape used for cots has been introduced in 1963 and the average number of persons getting training in it was 2·73. Next to tailoring and tape making, a few persons have been taking interest in spinning and embroidery also. The average number of persons getting training in these crafts in 1962 was 1·25 and has increased to 2·46 in 1963. Maternity and child care services have been increasingly availed of by the tribal community. The monthly average of antenatal cases attended to, increased from 4·75 in 1962 to 11·18 in 1963. Post-natal cases attended to, increased in the same period from 5·33 to 13.09. The delivery cases conducted increased, during the same period from 0.92 to 3.00. Average monthly general cases though forms a very large size, decreased from 156.50 to 104.27.

Statement XVIII

Statement

PROGRESS OF ACTIVITIES OF

Period	Number admitted into schools	Daily average attendance of persons				Number of persons trained in crafts			
		Pre-basic class	Community centre	Adult literacy class	Other than centre times	Tape making	Tailoring	Embroidery	Spinning
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
January 1962	...	25	9	...	20	...	...	...	...
February	15	34	19	...	65	...	...	...	...
March	...	38	15	...	71	...	3	...	1
April	...	36	16	...	82	...	4	...	2
May	...	34	18	...	43	...	8	...	...
June	...	37	25	3	52	...	10	...	2
July	...	40	20	7	27	...	8	...	...
August	...	38	12	...	27	...	4	...	6
September	...	32	14	...	18	...	5	...	4
October	...	38	13	...	47	...	5	...	...
November	...	37	15	...	104	...	3	...	...
December 1962	...	27	16	...	20	...	...	...	...
Total	**15**	**416**	**192**	**10**	**576**	...	**50**	...	**15**
Monthly average	...	34·67	16·00	0·83	48·00	...	4·17	...	1·25
January 1963	...	39	6	...	50	...	4	2	3
February	...	40	14	3	76	3	6	4	3
March	...	41	12	...	40	2	6	4	2
April	...	41	14	...	48	2	5	1	2
May	...	46	14	...	63	3	5	...	1
June	16	42	15	...	44	2	6	...	1
July	...	33	16	...	118	8	7	...	3
August	...	25	13	...	76	3	7	...	3
September	...	37	22	...	80	2	7	...	3
October	...	31	17	...	61	3	7	...	3
November 1963	...	33	18	...	52	2	7	...	3
Total	**16**	**408**	**161**	**3**	**708**	**30**	**67**	**11**	**27**
Monthly average	...	54·00	13·42	0·25	59·00	2·50	5·58	0·92	2·25

Note: 50% of the children belong to Chenchu Tribe while the remaining are from other Scheduled Castes and Tribes.

Source :—Women Welfare Centre, Byrluti,

XVIII

WOMEN WELFARE CENTRE, 1962–63

Number of persons benefited by						*Number of*			
		Maternity and child welfare serivces							
Hospital	*First aid*	*Antenatal*	*Postnatal*	*Deliveries*	*General*	*Meetings held*	*Practical demon-strations held*	*Case studies*	*Period*
(*11*)	(*12*)	(*13*)	(*14*)	(*15*)	(*16*)	(*17*)	(*18*)	(*19*)	(*1*)
7	228	...	...	...	...	6	3	...	January 1962
9	209	12	9	3	79	4	3	...	February
7	210	6	2	2	51	4	...	2	March
9	219	2	4	...	23	3	2	...	April
7	229	2	...	...	32	2	2	...	May
11	219	11	13	...	219	3	2	3	June
4	320	9	12	...	320	3	2	...	July
21	297	5	7	...	318	3	...	...	August
17	297	2	1	2	297	2	2	4	September
9	290	2	1	1	40	3	...	1	October
3	192	3	7	1	57	4	...	...	November
3	170	3	8	2	42	...	...	...	December 1962
117	**2,880**	**57**	**64**	**11**	**1,478**	**37**	**16**	**10**	**Total**
9·75	240·00	4·75	5·33	0·92	123·17	3·08	1·33	0·83	Monthly average
...	3	8	4	2	40	1	...	...	January 1963
15	300	6	3	1	...	4	3	...	February
10	310	...	1	...	40	4	2	...	March
5	300	6	8	4	323	3	1	...	April
6	405	6	16	5	150	4	...	...	May
...	...	6	10	2	120	2	...	...	June
6	478	28	16	6	180	2	1	...	July
8	316	14	18	2	10	3	3	...	August
7	318	20	19	4	110	2	2	...	September
3	402	16	23	4	92	3	3	1	October
6	270	13	26	3	82	3	2	1	November 1963
66	**3,102**	**123**	**144**	**33**	**1,147**	**31**	**17**	**2**	**Total**
6·00	282·00	11.18	13·09	3·00	104·27	2·82	1·55	0·18	Monthly average

Chenchu Higher Elementary School and Boarding Home

31. There is a residential Boarding School named Chenchu Higher Elementary School in Byrluti village (Figs. 33 and 34). The District Forest Officer manages the School under the controlling authority of the District Collector who is also the special Chenchu Officer. The total expenditure incurred during 1960 for the maintenance of the School and the boarding home was Rs. 40,000. The history of the School goes back to 1918 when the School was started with one teacher and 28 Chenchu pupils. From 1935 this developed into a two-teacher School (one Secondary grade and another Lower grade). The following Statement gives some particulars relating to the progress of the School.

Statement XIX

STRENGTH OF THE CHENCHU HIGHER ELEMENTARY SCHOOL FROM 1949 TO 1961

School year (June to May)	*Standard*	*Total*	*Pupils*		*Remarks*
			Males	*Females*	
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*
1949	I to V	93	50	43	Chenchus only
1950	I to VI	116	66	50	,,
1951	,,	125	70	55	,,
1952	I to VIII	142	84	58	,,
1953	,,	117	71	46	,,
1954	I to VIII	109	72	37	,,
1955	,,	102	71	31	,,
1956	,,	103	59	44	After 1955, pupils of Sugali Tribe and Scheduled Castes were admitted
1957	,,	102	67	35	,,
1958	,,	134	83	51	,,
1959	,,	173	112	61	,,
1960	,,	210	142	68	,,
1961	,,	178	118	60	,,

32. Before 1949 there were 60 pupils on rolls and in 1949 the strength increased to 93 with the conversion of this School into a Higher Elementary School by amalgamating two other Schools situated in Nagaluti and Rudracode villages. The staff was also increased from 2 to 4 Higher Grade Teachers. It became a full fledged Higher Elementary School having all the eight standards in 1954. The strength of the pupils also showed an increasing trend upto 1952 but thereafter there was a steady decline upto 1957. Since then with the admission of Mala and Madiga Scheduled Castes and Sugali tribal children the strength began to show an upward trend. The first batch of pupils was sent to VIII Standard Public Examination in 1955. As the teaching staff was inadequate the results were not impressive. But after 1955, with the strenous efforts of the teachers, 50% of the pupils were coming out successful in the Public Examination. By 1958, two Higher Grade teachers were promoted to Secondary Grade and a fresh appointment of a pre-vocational instructor was made. But the performance in the lower standards *i. e.*, I to V was not promising due to the dearth of High Secondary teachers. The Headmaster of the School felt that despite all these obstacles the School has been progressing well but it is very much desirable to convert the School into a Middle School and standardise promotions to higher standards without the need for a Public Examination for the VIII Standard as at present. This is desirable because the Chenchu pupils are much below the standard to take up the Public Examinations.

33. The Boarding Home is attached to the School and is managed by a warden and a matron who are also teachers in the School under the supervision of the Headmaster, and the Forest Range Officer, Byrluti. The hostel was established in 1949 and was exclusively open for Chenchus upto 1955. In 1956, the admission was extended to Scheduled Castes and another Scheduled Tribe. Pucca buildings were constructed for the pupils' residence and dining hall (Figs. 35 and 36). Lodging facilities are made for boys and girls, separately. They are supplied with free clothing and all the School material. Free medical aid is also made available to them. They spend their leisure time in doing garden work, growing vegetables for their hostel needs. With the establishment of the boarding home there has been a gradual reform in the habits and customs of the Chenchu children, slowly patterned to the habits of the plains' people. It has been a great factor in influencing the life of the children and their

parents too, in so many ways. This has further helped to lessen the difficulties of the teachers by bringing all the children out of their traditional home atmosphere which is not congenial for their healthy growth due to the unsound economic position and primitive living conditions of their parents. The parents pay occasional visits to their children at the boarding home and keep in touch with them. The liberal atmosphere of the boarding home provides free supply of food to some deserving and invalid Chenchu adults and old people as well (Figs. 40 and 41) in times of need.



Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

Despite all the ameliorative measures undertaken by the Government, the Chenchu is still a primitive forest dweller with a precarious economy. Excepting a few who have taken up Government service, as Forest Watchers, Peons and Salesmen in Co-operative Stores, the majority seems to live a life of day-to-day existence as ever. It is not complimentary that even after decades of instituting the ameliorative schemes for the Chenchus, their condition continues to be so primitive.

2. Among the schemes instituted by the Government for the uplift of the Chenchus in this tract, the existence of the School, Welfare Centre etc., at Byrluti colony has undoubtedly been bringing enlightenment to the tribal. The younger generation is being brought up in an atmosphere of discipline, cleanliness, better health and surcharged with some ambition for better living. Provision of permanent dependable sources of income, better nutrition and adequate medical and maternity facilities will obviously improve the condition of the Chenchus in the remote areas.

3. It has been realised that the Chenchus cannot, of course, be weaned away from the forest to which they are almost wedded. The condition has to be improved in their own surroundings. Some lands will have to be reclaimed and irrigation facilities provided and the Chenchu trained to wield the plough and raise crops and an atmosphere of hope and cheer should be created in and around his own habitation. A change cannot be brought about in a day or two. The problem requires a constant, close and sympathetic approach.

4. The Land Colonisation Scheme has been a failure among the Chenchus. Even the new model houses built for them have been more to satisfy the itch of ameliorative sense on the part of the Government rather than to cater to the felt needs of the Chenchus with a continuous responsibility to develop them inculcating a spirit of self reliance and self-development. The whole programme needs a careful evaluation and realistic assessment of the situation. The question whether the middle aged Chenchus have the necessary attitude for cultivation of land has to be patiently studied. The idea of settling them as agriculturists needs a long range approach. Also cultivation is not a common vocational solution for all the Chenchus. Diversified vocational training helps to structure the faculties of younger generation in choosing their occupation. This has to be approached as an extension programme of training and settlement right from the stage when the Chenchu pupils go out from the portals of the School. A co-ordinated developmental administration making the School the centre for orientation and extension service for a settled economic life are likely to achieve better results.

5. The ameliorative programme for Chenchus has a tradition of its association with the Forest Administration. If the idea of developing them is understood to be not merely of an ameliorative type but of a programme of development wherein they can develop a capacity for higher sense of responsibility and creative action, there is a need for a more concentrated and determined effort in a different administrative set-up to make them feel that they are equal to the rest of mankind. An *ad hoc* Tribal Developmental Block covering the entire Chenchus where opportunities for local leadership and initiative are provided under statutory Panchayati Raj institutions is worthy of exploration and experimentation as a pilot project.

APPENDIX I

TABLES

The Tables 1, 3, 4, 5 and 10 presented herein are based on the data collected in respect of 74 Chenchu households inhabiting the *gudem* in March 1960. In August 1961, when the village was revisited for consanguineous marriages survey and intensive socio-economic survey, there were 64 households inhabiting the *gudem.* While all the 64 households were covered for consanguinity survey, intensive socio-economic survey was limited to eight sample households only. Tables 6, 7, 8, 9, 11 and 12 represent the eight sample households while Tables 13 and 14 give the particulars for all the 64 households.

TABLE 1

Surveyed Households and Population

		Population		
Year	*Number of households*	*Persons*	*Males*	*Females*
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*
1960	74	291	142	149

N. B :—The figures given in this Table refer to Chenchu habitation portion *(gudem)* only.

TABLE 2

Area, Houses and Population

	Area		Density per sq. mile	No. of houses	No. of households	Population		
Year	*Acres*	*Hectares*				*Persons*	*Males*	*Females*
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*	*(7)*	*(8)*	*(9)*
1961	...	...	...	82	82	456	257	199

SOURCE: *1961 Primary Census Abstract.* This village is in the Reserve Forest area and the extent of area has not been furnished in the *Primary Census Abstract.* This Table covers the entire Byrluti village *i.e.*, the indigenous Chenchu population of the Chenchu habitation area (*gudem*) in the west as well as the institutional population living in the school, hostel, staff quarters etc., of the colony in the east.

TABLE 3

Size and Composition of Households

	Single member			2 to 3 members			4 to 6 members			7 to 9 members			10 members and over		
Total No. of households	*No. of household-holds*	*M*	*F*	*No. of household-holds*	*M*	*F*	*No. of household holds*	*M*	*F*	*No. of household-holds*	*M*	*F*	*No. of household-holds*	*M*	*F*
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*	*(7)*	*(8)*	*(9)*	*(10)*	*(11)*	*(12)*	*(13)*	*(14)*	*(15)*	*(16)*
74	...	...	...	26	30	32	46	105	108	2	7	9	...	...	...

M: Males F: Females

TABLE 4

Traditional Occupation by Households

Name of traditional occupation (1)	*No. of households* (2)
Bungalow watchman	2
Forest labourer	71
Unspecified	1
Total	**74**

TABLE 5

Occupational Mobility, 1960

From traditional occupation (1)	*No. of households changing over* (2)	*To contemporary main occupation* (3)
Bunglow watchman	2	Forest labourer
Forest labourer	1	Salesman in Co-operative stores
-do-	1	Peon in school
-do-	2	Village Officers
-do-	1	Cook in Chenchu hostel
-do-	2	Out of the two households whose traditional occupation was forest labourer one household has taken up begging and another household has changed as Village Officer but retired at the time of survey.
Total	**9**	

TABLE 6

Possession of Livestock and Poultry

Kind of livestock (1)	*No. of households possessing* (2)	*Total No. of heads of livestock* (3)
Bovine		
Milch cattle	...	...
Draught cattle	...	...
Ovine		
Goat	4	41
Other livestock		
Dog	1	1
Poultry		
Fowl	3	7

TABLE 7

Material Culture—Possession and Use of Furniture and other Consumer Goods

Particulars (1)	*No. of households* (2)
Furniture and utensils	
Bamboo cot	2
Tadika (thatti)	2
Trunk box	1
Mirror	1
Tirugali (grinding stone)	1
Rolu (mortar) and *rokali* (pestle)	1
Other consumer goods	
Hurricane lantern	1
Toilet soap	3
Washing soap	4

TABLE 8

Average Annual Expenditure

		All households		
Occupation (1)	*No. of households* (2)	*Items of expenditure* (3)	*Expenditure per household* (4)	*Percentage to total expenditure* (5)
			Rs. P.	
Forest labourer	8	Food	474.41	65.90
		Lighting	66.24	3.94
		Clothing	69.71	9.68
		Drinking and tobacco	172.75	20.48

TABLE 9

Indebtedness by Annual Household Income and Households

Income group (in Rupees) (1)	*Total No. of households* (2)	*No. of households in debt and total amount of debt*		*Percentage of Col. (3) to Col. (2)* (5)	*Average indebtedness for households in debt* (6)
		No. of households (3)	*Total amount of debt* (4)		
			Rs.		Rs.
300 & below	2	...	...	...	...
301 — 600	2	1	40	50	40
601 — 900	...	...	...	...	...
901 — 1200	...	...	...	...	...
1201 & over	...	...	...	...	...
Total	4	1	40	50	40

TABLE 10

Nature of Family

Total No. of households	Types of families living in the households			
	Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Others
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
74	57	14	3	...

Simple :—Husband, wife and unmarried children

Intermediate :—Married couple and unmarried brother/sister and one of the parents

Joint :—Married couple with married sons/daughters or with married brothers/sisters

TABLE 11

Dietary Habits by Households

Total No. of households	Households taking						
	Two time meals	Breakfast, midday meal and supper, coffee or tea, with light dishes between midday meal and supper and tea or coffee at any other time	Breakfast, midday meal and supper, coffee or tea with light dishes between midday meal and supper	Breakfast, midday meal and supper, coffee or tea alone between midday meal and supper	Breakfast, midday meal and supper	Two time meal and coffee or tea at one time	Other types
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
8	8	...	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE 12

Staple Food and Dietary Habits

No. of households taking				Total No. of households
Rice	Wheat	Coarser grain like millet or jowar or maize	Roots	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
4	...	8	8	8

TABLE 13

Marriages by Consanguinity

Own sister's daughter (menakodalu)	Mother's own brother's daughter (menarikam)	Father's own sister's daughter (eduru menarikam)	Other blood relationship	Elder brother's widow	Younger brother's widow	Wife's sister
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
7	7	10	1	1	...	5

TABLE 14

Marriages

Total number of households	Total number of marriages	Consanguineous		Non-Consanguineous		Unspecified	Monogamous		Polygamous		Polyandrous	
		Number of households	Number of marriages	Number of households	Number of marriages		Number of households	Number of marriages	Number of households	Number of marriages	Number of households	Number of marriages
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
64	110	21	25	52	84	1	*	*	*	*	*	*

* As the information on separation, divorce and death, the time elapsed since such events are not recorded in the schedules, data for these columns could not be furnished.

TABLE 15

Distribution of Chenchu Population in Andhra Pradesh, 1961

	Name of district	Males	Females	Total	Percentage to total Chenchu population in Andhra Pradesh
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1.	Srikakulam	23	27	50	0.28
2.	Visakhapatnam	33	18	51	0.29
3.	East Godavari	72	57	129	0.73
4.	West Godavari	206	196	402	2.28
5.	Krishna	254	239	493	2.80
6.	Guntur	1,713	1,500	3,213	18.25
7.	Nellore	118	107	225	1.28
8.	Chittoor	382	365	747	4.24
9.	Cuddapah	40	43	83	0.47
10.	Anantapur	3	5	8	0.05
11.	Kurnool	2,965	2,872	5,837	33.15
12.	Mahbubnagar	2,333	2,278	4,611	26.19
13.	Hyderabad	281	298	579	3.29
14.	Medak	20	21	41	0.23
15.	Nizamabad	24	35	59	0.34
16.	Adilabad	13	7	20	0.11
17.	Karimnagar	26	24	50	0.28
18.	Warangal	286	235	521	2.96
19.	Khammam	52	61	113	0.64
20.	Nalgonda	198	179	377	2.14
	Total	**9,042**	**8,567**	**17,609**	**100.00**

APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY OF SELECTED VILLAGES IN ANDHRA PRADESH

Annexure I

CENSUS OF INDIA, 1961

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY

Village Census and Occupation

PART I–HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

			Size of household		Occupation				
						Contemporary			
S.No.	*House number*	*Head of the household*	*Family*	*Others*	*Traditional*	*Main*	*Subsidiary*	*Socio-economic group of the household*	*Remarks*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)

APPENDIX II

Annexure II

CENSUS OF INDIA, 1961

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY

Village Census and Occupation

PART II–HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

Revenue No.....

Census Code No.....

Village :.....House No.....

Taluk : ..... Date : .....

District : ..... Investigator : .....

State : .....

1. Name of the Head of Household : .....

2. Community : ..... Caste : .....

3. Age : ..... Sex :.....

4. Literacy : ... .

I. Land

If the household possesses land give—

(a) Total area in acres

(b) Total area under cultivation

(c) Area comprising homestead

(d) Name of the crop	Money value of quantity obtained last year	Money value of quantity sold (if available for the past three years)
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*
(i) Paddy		
(ii) Wheat		
(iii) Maize, *jowar* or *bajra*		
(iv) Pulses, including gram		
(v) Sugarcane		
(vi) Barley		
(vii) Vegetables		
(viii) Jute		
(ix) Chillies		
(x) Tobacco		
(xi) Oilseeds		
(xii) Cotton		
(xiii) Ginger		
(xiv) Fodder or bamboo or cane		
(xv) Fruits		
(xvi) Other agricultural crops		

II. Subsidiary occupation

(a) Do you own any cattle or poultry ?

Give numbers.

(i) Milch cattle

(ii) Draught Bullock

(iii) Cows, goats, sheep, pigs, duck, geese and fowls

(b) How much milk or milk products do you sell ?

(c) Vegetable growing — vegetables grown, and amount consumed and sold.

(d) Net annual income.

III. Industry

Do you conduct any industry — the nature of industry or industries — whether cottage or small — and the amount invested on each industry — the names of partners in the industry.

(a) What are the products ?

(b) Which of them do you sell to neighbours or in the market ?

(c) Have you taken up this industry for the first time in the course of last five years ?

(d) Have you adopted any new tools or instruments for running this industry ? If so, name the details of the tools and the instruments.

(e) Net annual income — give details of costs and income :

(i) Payments to managers and staff

(ii) Amount spent on raw materials

(iii) Other expenses

(iv) Receipts from Sale

(v) Net income for the past three years.

IV. Indebtedness

If head of household is in debt —

(a) Amount taken this year

(b) Amount borrowed in the past — when taken ?

(c) For what purpose ?

(d) Mention amount of debt outstanding

(e) Source of credit — rate of interest.

V. Supplemental income

Other sources of income — Wages of members of the family working elsewhere — Other income, if any — (give particulars)

VI. Savings and Investments — Income from investments

(a) Income from assets (Interests, Dividends, etc.)

(b) Income from sale of assets

VII. Details of cost of farming analysed by the three main items

(i) Seeds, manures and implements :

(a) What is the organic manure used ?

(b) Do you use chemical fertilisers ?

(c) Do you use any new agricultural implements the use of which has been taught to you for the first time in the last five years ?

(d) Do you borrow agricultural implements from others at the time of cultivation ?

(e) Do you take help of neighbours at the time of sowing or harvesting ?

(f) Do you assist your neighbours and receive help at the time of cultivation in the shape of manual labour ?

(g) Are you adopting land improvement measures like reclamation, soil conservation, consolidation, etc. ?

(h) What is the increase in irrigated area ?

(i) Give details of use of improved seeds — crop-wise

(j) Do you use pesticides ?

(k) Are you adopting improved methods of cultivation, like Japanese method of paddy cultivation ?

(l) Has the Gram Sevak ever come and talked to you ?

(m) Has he demonstrated any of the improved agricultural practices mentioned above ? If so, did you follow his advice ?

(ii) Cost of cultivation

(iii) Taxes

(iv) Net annual income from land.

VIII. Repayment of loans

Amount of debt repaid during the year

Interest paid.

IX. Capital investment

Amount spent on purchasing :

(a) Land

(b) House

(c) Agricultural implements, cattle

(d) Savings bonds, shares, treasury bonds etc.

(e) Gold and silver.

X. Education

(a) How much did you spend last year on the education of your children ?

(b) How many of your children are reading at school or college ?

School : Male/Female

College : Male/Female

(c) Does any member of the household regularly read a newspaper or listen to news broadcasts through the Community Radio Sets ?

(d) Annual expenditure on education.

XI. Diet

(a) How many times a day do the members of the household take their meals ?

(b) What are the usual items of diet at each meal ?

(c) What are the foods or drinks prohibited ?

(d) How many times do you take each —

1. Coffee or tea
2. Tiffin

(e) Annual expenditure on diet.

XII. Clothing

(a) What are the main items of clothing purchased normally in a year ?

(b) Annual expenditure on clothing.

XIII. House rent

(a) Is the person living in a rented house ?

(b) What is the annual expenditure on rent ?

XIV. Fuel and Lighting

(a) What fuel is ordinarily used for cooking ?

(b) What is the amount spent on lighting — the type of lighting — whether electric or merely through kerosene or coal.

XV. Furniture, utensils, etc.

(a) Does the household possess a bedstead/cot—wooden/tape or coir/chair/table/mirror/bench/stool/wall-shelf? (Cross out those not found).

(b) Is the household using any new kind of furniture for the first time in the last five years ?

(c) Expenditure on purchase or repair of the item ?

XVI. Other consumer goods

(a) Does the household possess hurricane lantern/petromax or hazak / battery / torchlight / kerosene stove/ bicycle/gramaphone/radio set ?
(Cross out those which do not apply).

(b) Has any of the items been acquired for the first time in the last five years ? If yes, which are these articles ?

(c) Does the household use toilet soap/washing soap ?

(d) Are clothes sent to washerman to be cleaned ?

(e) Expenditure on the above items this year for purchasing, repairs, etc.

XVII. Expenditure on social functions

(a) Marriage

(b) Death

(c) Birth, etc.

XVIII. Average annual expenditure

Income minus expenditure = plus or minus

Rs.....

Note : Give sketches and photographs wherever possible.

Annexure III

CENSUS OF INDIA, 1961

SURVEY OF CONSANGUINEOUS MARRIAGES

House No. | Revenue No.

S. No. of Household : | Census Code No.

Name of head of household : | Date :

Surname or family name of head of household : | Investigator :

Questions	(Use separate column for each marriage including for more than one wife or one husband)					
	First married male (head of household, if male)	Second married male	Third married male	Fourth married male	Fifth married male	Sixth married male
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)

A. Husband

1. Name
2. Relationship to head of household
3. Age in completed years
4. Married for how many years
5. Place/Village/Taluk, distance before marriage
6. Mother tongue
7. (a) Religion before marriage
   (b) Religion after marriage
8. Main Caste/Tribe
9. Sub-group within Main Caste/Tribe
10. *Gotra*/*Kul*/Totem or other similar sub-division
11. Other marriages of husband, if any

B. Wife

12. Name
13. Age in completed years
14. Place/Village/Taluk, distance before marriage
15. (a) Religion, before marriage
    (b) Religion, after marriage
16. Main Caste/Tribe, before marriage
17. Sub-group within Main Caste/Tribe, before marriage
18. *Gotra*/*Kul*/Totem or other similar sub-division, before marriage
19. Age at first marriage
20. Duration of present marriage
21. Other marriages of wife, if any

Questions	(Use separate column for each marriage including for more than one wife or one husband)					
	First married male (head of household, if male)	Second married male	Third married male	Fourth married male	Fifth married male	Sixth married male
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)

C. Relationships

22. Are the husband and wife related in any way ?

23. If "Yes", whether the relationship is a blood relationship (having common ancestors) ?

24. If the answer is 'Yes' for C-23, give in a condensed form, the informant's statement regarding the blood relationship, and draw the pedigree (with abbreviated names wherever mentioned by the informant) against the appropriate relationship among those given below :—

(a) Whether married to his own sister's daughter (husband and wife's mother being brother and sister having both parents same) ? (Diagram **a** of Instruction 16)

(b) Whether married to his own brother's daughter (husband and wife's father having both parents same) ? (Diagram **b**)

(c) Whether married to his mother's own sister (husband's mother and wife having both parents same) ? (Diagram **c**)

(d Whether married to his father's own sister (husband's father and wife having both parents same) ? (Diagram **d**)

(e) Whether married to his mother's own brother's daughter (husband's mother and wife's father having both parents same) ? (Diagram **e**)

(f) Whether married to his father's own sister's daughter (husband's father and wife's mother having both parents same) ? (Diagram **f**)

(g) Whether married to his mother's own sister's daughter (husband's mother and wife's mother having both parents same) ? (Diagram g)

(h) Whether married to his father's own brother's daughter (huband's father and wife's father having both parents same) ? (Diagam **h**)

(i) Whether married to his step-sister's daughter (husband and wife's mother having only one parent in common) ? (Diagram **i**)

(j) Whether married to his step-brother's daughter (husband and wife's father having only one parent in common) ? (Diagram **j**)

Questions	(Use separate column for each marriage including for more than one wife or one husband) First married male (head of household, if male)	Second married male	Third married male	Fourth married male	Fifth married male	Sixth married male
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
(k) Whether married to his mother's step-sister (husband's mother and wife having only one parent in common) ? (Diagram **k**)						
(l) Whether married to his father's step-sister (husband's father and wife having only one parent in common) ? (Diagram **l**)						
(m) Whether married to his mother's step-brother's daughter (husband's mother and wife's father having only one parent in common) ? (Diagram **m**)						
(n) Whether married to his father's step-sister's daughter (husband's father and wife's mother having only one parent in common) ? (Diagaram **n**)						
(o) Whether married to his mother's step-sister's daughter (husband's mother and wife's mother having only one parent in common) ? (Diagram **o**)						
(p) Whether married to his father's step- brother's daughter (husband's father and wife's father having only one parent in common ? (Diagram **p**)						
(q) Whether there is any other blood relationship, not specified above, between the husband and wife ?						
25 If answer is "Yes" for C-22, but "No" for C-23, ascertain whether the relationship is one of the following :—						
(a) Elder brother's widow						
(b) Younger brother's widow						
(c) Wife's sister						
(d) Daughter-in-law						
(e) Mother-in-law						
(f) Others, specify :						
26. Name and status of informant :						

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FILLING UP CONSANGUINEOUS MARRIAGES SURVEY SCHEDULE

1. General

It is essential to collect the information on all the marriages in the household. The household and the married male are only reference units; the real unit in this survey is a marriage. Hence each column corresponds to one marriage and it does not matter whether the same person comes in another column. The information may also be collected for widows and other married women temporarily residing in the household.

The same person may come in two or more columns in the following situations:—

(a) Polygyny, and marriage after death or divorce of previous wife,

(b) Polyandry, and marriage after death or divorce of previous husband.

(c) Polygyny and polyandry occuring together and marriage of a widower to a widow or when both partners are divorcees.

Polygyny occurs when a person has two or more wives at the same time. For example, suppose A has married B, C and D. B and C are living D is dead. The information under **A.Husband** (Q. 1) will be the same in 3 consecutive columns, except for Q. A-4 and A-11. If information about A has been collected under Col. (2) put "same as (2)" at the head of Col. (3) and (4) and enter "Col. (3) and (4)" against Q. A-11 in Col. (2). The information about B, C and D will be given in Col. (2), (3) and (4) respectively under **B-Wife** and **C-Relationship.** With respect to D, who is dead, enter "Dead ...years back" in Col. (4) at the beginning of **B-Wife.** The same method can be used even if D is divorced.

Polyandry occurs when two or more persons have a wife in common. In some parts of the country and in some communities, brothers together take one wife. Usually in such a situation the male partners are likely to be of the same household. For example suppose three members, A, B and C have taken D as a common wife. Here also 3 consecutive columns will serve the purpose. Information under **B-Wife** will be the same, but that under **A-Husband** and **C-Relationships**, will differ. If one of the husbands, say A is dead (or divorced), put "Dead (or divorced)...years back)", at the head of the corresponding column. The column numbers for husbands B and C are to be put against Q. B-21 in the column corresponding to husband A.

In the case of remarriage of a widow or a divorced woman, the above technique may be followed, except that previous husband may be of a different household. It is necessary to collect information on such persons also, but enter "Different household" against Q. A-2 in the corresponding column.

In some places. polygyny and polyandry may occur together. For example, two brothers may have a wife in common, at the same time one or both of them may have other special wives. The situation is the same when a widower marries a widow. Suppose A's wife B is dead and now he has married C whose first husband D is dead. We would have to use three columns, one for A-B, another for A-C and the third for C-D; appropriate column numbers would have to be entered against Q. A-11 and Q. B-21.

It is not necessary to use consecutive columns in polygyny and polyandry. One has only to give the appropriate references against Q. A-11 and Q. B-21, as the case may be.

For the purpose of this survey, two persons may be taken to be married when they claim to be so, irrespective of whether the marriage has been solemnized by social rites or law or not.

No row is to be left blank. If the answer is "Not known", enter "N.K" In some cases, Q. C-23, 24, and 25 may be skipped. Then put a diagonal line against the whole question in that column.

2. Surname or family name

In those places and communities where surnames are not of much use as a reference, family name or the name of the head of household is to be given.

3. Relationship to head of household (A-2)

In widow remarriage, etc., the answer might be "Different household" (see 1 above).

4. Married for how many years (A-4)

If a person is married in 1950, the answer will be 11 years irrespective of whether the wife is living, dead or divorced.

Since the answer to this question is the number of years elapsed since a particular marriage, it will differ for the same person if he or she has got more than one marriage.

5. Place/Village/Taluk before marriage (A-5)

This will be of particular relevance in places where developmental activities, leading to labour immigration etc., are taking place. Give the village and taluk where the husband was residing immediately before his marriage. It is absolutely necessary to give the name of the taluk.

The answer to this question may also differ in polygamous relationships.

6. Main Caste/Tribe (A-8)

In the case of tribals, give the name of the tribe and enter (T) alongside.

In the case of religions other than Hinduism the major sub-divisions may be taken as the main castes, e. g., Shiya and Sunni for Muslims.

7. Sub-group with Main Caste/Tribe (A-9)

In the case of religions other than Hinduism, minor sub-divisions may be taken as the sub-groups, *e.g.*, Khoja, Bohra, Memon, Sayyad, etc., for Muslims.

8. Gotra/Kul/Totem (A-10)

In some areas Brahmins are generally divided into *gotras*; Kshatriya and Vaisyas into *kuls*. The names for analogous divisions might differ between different places and between different communities. For example, it is known by the name *devak* among Marathas and *bali* among some Karnatak communities. It is necessary to first ascertain whether any such sub-divisions within which marriages are prohibited or between which marriages are promoted exist in the area and community concerned and then enter the specific sub-division against Q. A-10. When the term is different from *gotra* or *kul*, cross it out and enter the term in their place.

Most tribes have totemic taboos, but they will not be able to give an answer to a direct question. Ask whether some animal or bird (totem) is prohibited to be killed or eaten (tabooed) or some tree or plant (totem) is prohibited to be cut (tabooed). Enter the name of the animal or tree mentioned.

If such specific taboos occur among non-tribals (but not some general prohibition, like meat eating among Brahmans) this may be taken note of.

9. Other marriages of husband (A-11)

In the case of a divorcee or widower remarried or a polygomous man, enter the column numbers wherein details of his other marriages have been taken down against A-11.

10. Particulars of wife (B-14-18)

These refer to her details before her marriage and not to what she acquired through marriage.

11. Age and duration of marriage (B-19-20)

B-19 refers to age at first marriage, not necessarily the present one. It does not also refer to age at consummation, in the case of child marriages.

B-20 refers to present marriage.

An inconsistency between the answers to B-13, 19 and 20 will be due to other marriages.

12. Other marriages of wife (B-21)

In the case of a divorcee or widow remarried or a polyandrous woman, enter the column numbers wherein details of her other marriages have been taken down against B-21.

13. Relationships (S-22)

C-22 refers to any type of relationship, whether consanguineous or not. If the answer is "No", skip C-23, C-24 and C-25.

14. Consanguineous relationships (C-23)

There is said to be a consanguineous relationship between the husband and wife when they have at least one common ancestor. To get a correct answer to this question it would be necessary to give some orientation to the informant by citing some simple cases of consanguinity, given under C-24. Before accepting a negative answer, make yourself quite sure that the informant has understood what you want.

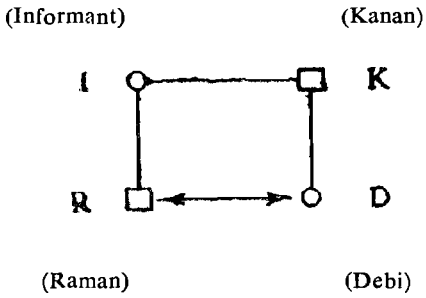
If the answer is "No", skip C-24.

15. Informant's statement (C-24)

When the informant begins his or her statement by expressing his or her relationship with the husband or wife, *e.g.*, when an old lady says, "Raman is my second son, He is married to Debi. She is the daughter of Kanan, my younger brother", condense the statement to read as follows: "Husband Raman, married to mother's younger brother, Kanan's daughter Debi" and enter against C-24 at the head.

16. Pedigree figures

Draw the pedigree corresponding to the informant's statement against the appropriate sub-question in C-24 and put abbreviated names along side the symbols in the figure using I for the informant. For example given above (See 15), draw

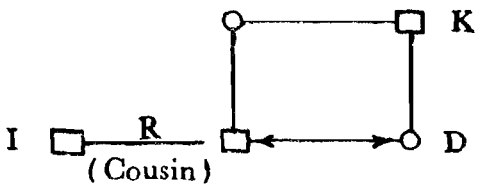


against C-24.

Pedigree figure is very simple to draw. A good grasp of the fundamental principles, given below, will enable you to draw even a very complicated figure.

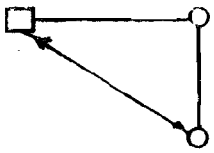
□ denotes a male, **O** a female, a horizontal line (in some complicated cases it might be a bit curved) a sister-brother relationship (called *sib*); a vertical line, a parent offspring relationship (*i.e.*, one generation) and a straight line, either horizontal or diagonal, with arrows at both ends denotes a marriage relation.

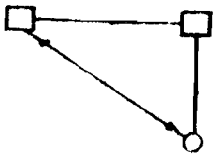
In drawing the pedigree, always start from the informant even if that person does not come into the particular marriage. If a cousin of Raman had given the information about him (See 15 above), the pedigre will be

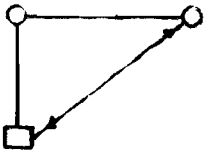


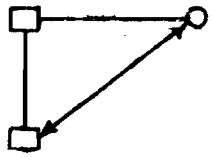
It is customary to place the husband (□) at the left hand bottom of the diagram and the wife (**O**) at the right hand bottom, and join them by a two pointed arrow, horizontal or diagonal.

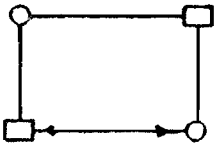
The figures for the simple but most important cases enumerated under (a) – (p) in C-24 are given below. The connexion of the informant to any link in any of the figures has not been shown.

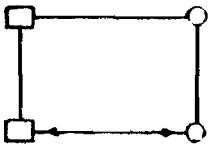
(a) 

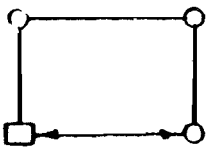
(b) 

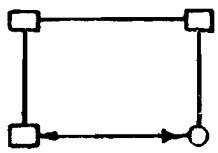
(c) 

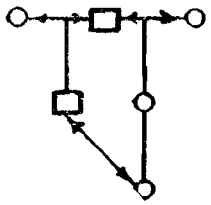
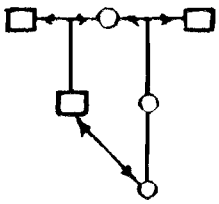
(d) 

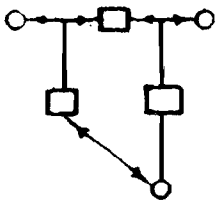
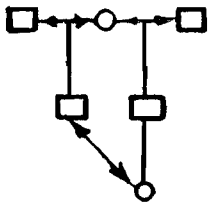
(e) 

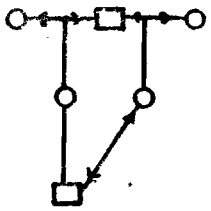
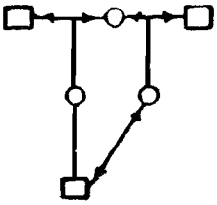
(f) 

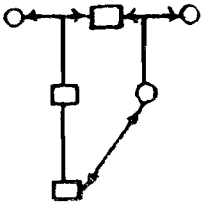
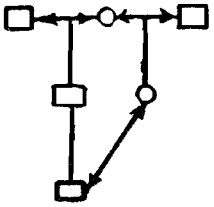
(g) 

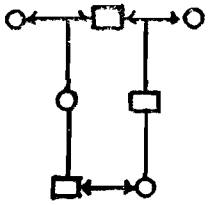
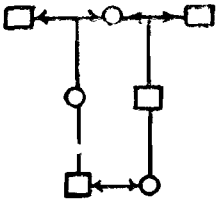
(h) 

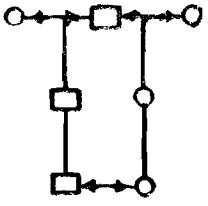
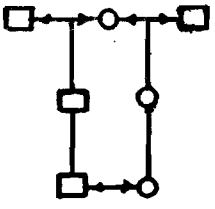
(i)  or 

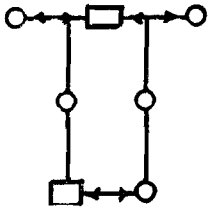
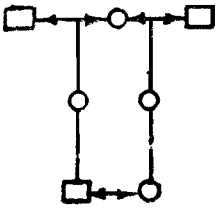
(j)  or 

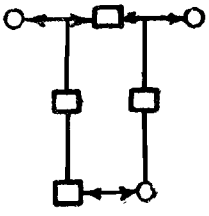
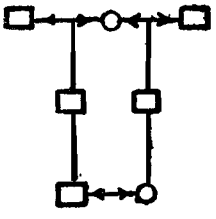
(k)  or 

(l)  or 

(m)  or 

(n)  or 

(o)  or 

(p)  or 

You would have to think and draw a pedigree onlyfor C–24 (q). A study of the way the figures have been drawn for C–24 (a) – (p) will enable you to do this easily.

It is absolutely essential to draw the pedigree figure before leaving the household. Then only you would be able to get any further information necessary for completing the pedigree figure.

17. Other relationships (C–25)

These refer to relationships other than consanguineous. No pedigree is to be drawn in these cases.

18. Informant (C–26)

If possible, the informant should be the married male himself or his wife; if so, put "Self" or "Own wife" as the case may be, against C–26. *If they connot be contacted, the best informant is an elderly female member of the household.* In that case, note down her name and relationship to head of household or husband or wife against C–26.

19. Some essential precautions

Marriages between blood relations are quite common in most parts of the country, but there are many places where they are exceptional. Again, certain types of marriages may be quite reprehensible and viewed with contempt in some places and communities. Particular care should be taken to assure the informant that no offence is meant. It would be wise to tell them right in the beginning that some of the questions might be irrelevant as far as they are concerned, but we are asking them only because of our ignorance of their customs and to assure them that no offence is meant. Questions should be so framed and put that the informant does not feel that we view with favour or disfavour any type of marriage. Vernacular rendering of the questions should be done with care, particular attention being paid to the appropriate use of terms for blood relationships and other types of relationships.

GLOSSARY

Ammathalli . . Goddess associated with smallpox

Arika . . Kodo millet (Paspalum scrobiculatum)

Ayacut . . Irrigable area under a water source

Bavamaridi . . Wife's brother

Buddi . . A chimneyless kerosene oil lamp

Chavadi . . A building used for common purposes by the community

Chembu . . A small tumbler either of metal or earth

Chenchukatti . . A kind of hatchet used by Chenchus

Chettu . . Tree

Chinnadivasam . . Initial obsequies

Dokudupara . . A kind of spade

Doli . . An improvised palanquin-like thing used for carrying old persons

Duppati . . A thick cotton blanket

Ediginadi or Padchu Samarthainadi A girl attained puberty

Eduru menarikam . . Marrying father's sister's daughter

Gochibatta . . A small strip of cloth tucked in the waist-string by men to cover the nudity

Goddali . . Axe

Golusu . . Chain

Gosayikatta . . Name of the tank

Gudem . . Habitation area

Guruvindaginja . . A kind of bead (Abrus precatorius)

Intiperu . . Family name or surname

Ippapaluku . . Seeds of bassia latifolia

Ippapuvvu or mohuwa flower . . Flowers of bassia latifolia Liquor is extracted from it

Jonna annamu . . Cooked jawar

Kadiyalu . . Aluminium wrist bands

Kadumu . . Fishing basket

Kalla golusu . . Ankle chain

Kammalu . . Ornament of the ear

Karrapara . . A kind of spade

Kashayam . . A decoction prepared out of indigenous herbs and leaves

Katikimula . . Southern corner of the burial pit where the head of the corpse is placed

Katta danda . . Ornament of the shoulder

Kavali . . To watch

Kodavali . . Sickle

Konkipulla . . Ornament of the ear

Koppu . . Hair tied into a knot

Korra . . A kind of millet

Kudumu . . A kind of sweet preparation

Kulam . . Caste/Tribe

Kulapanchayat . . Caste/Tribal Panchayat

Kulayavaram . . Social relation in a caste/tribe

Kurasarava . . A small pot used for cooking curry

Mantap . . A stone structure with pillars and roof; A structure for placing an idol

Mapati bhojanam . . Night meal

Matte . . Toe ring

Menarikam . . Marrying mother's brother's daughter

Metta . . Halting stage

Mirasi . . The traditional economic relationship between Chenchus and the neighbouring people

Moolikaseema or Moolikinadu A tract of medical herbs

Mukkari . . Ear ring

Mukkupudaka . . Nose screw – an ornament

Munjethikadiyalu . . Wrist bangles

Nagulamma . . A female village deity

Nasab pettadam . . Convening the Kula-panchayat

Neelakadava . Water pot

Oddanamu . . Waist belt

Padi . . A local measure

Pappugutti . . A wooden handle to grind the cooked dhal

Parikini . . Skirt

Pavada . . A kind of skirt

Pavukodi . . Wooden sandals

Peddamanushulu . . Elderly persons

Peddadivasam . . Final obsequies

Penta . . Dung

Pera . . Beehive

Pulusu . . A liquid dish prepared with tamarind mixed with water plus chillies

Ravika . . Bodice

Rokali . . Pestle

Rolu . . Mortar

Runa . . Debt

Sandibandi . . A waist ornament

Sami or Shami . . Prosopis spingera – A tree that is worshipped during Vijayadasami

Sankati . . A pasty preparation of cooked millets

Sara . . Indigenous liquor

Sara pappu . . Seed of buchanalia latifolia

Sarava . . A vessel used for cooking rice gruel

Sari . . Hazardous spot in a ravine where a beehive is located

Saribhagam . . Equal share

Sellam . . A wooden flat handle

Sudi . . A bundle of splinters

Sunkalamma . . A female village deity

Tadika . . A flat bamboo mat

Talambrala cheera . . A saree presented by the bridegroom to the bride at the time of marriage

Tali . . Marriage locket

Tappeta . . A large tambourine like instrument but without jingles

Teddu . . Wooden laddle

Tirugali . . Grinding stone

Tumma chekka . . Bark of acacia arabica

Udaya bhojanam . . Morning meal

Ugadi . . Telugu New Year's day

Vellarpu vadlu . . A kind of paddy

Vepachekka . . Bark of neem tree