

PREFACE

CHAPTER - I

Culture flowers in language and literature.

Society acquires more and more skills as they go along converting all natural resources to their advantage. Tribal life is still at the doorstep of civilization and has not yet dared to lose its moorings.

Interests of civilization necessitated to reserve vast tracts as ‘forest’ (‘adavi kattu’ అడవికట్టు). Timber merchants made good this opportunity engaging tribes as labourers in forest works. All these are recent developments.

From the dawn of history, the tribal people waded through odds from nature to culture. This cultural march in the forests (అడవి), valleys (ఁళాయ), meadows (బయలు) mirrored in their language and literature. They are our “contemporary ancestors”. The desire to study this early phase of Telugu culture through their literary forms and crafts, performing arts, is expressed by Sri Suravaram Pratapareddy in his *Andhrula Sanghika Charithra* (1945) an echoed in “*The Jaanapada Geya Sahityam*” of A.P. Prof. Biruduraju Ramaraju (1956).

Language, more particularly to the point, literary form, embellishes life and permeates thought-currents. Literary devices, conceits and figures like analogies, similarities, metaphors, symbols add flavour to the regional beauties³. The urge for gathering more and more pleasurable experiences is at the root of all the infinite stages of evolutionary process. It is a seeking – a seeking from all directions – a quest and a journey towards a single goal while it is also a social heritage, passed

on from generation to generation, belonging to various habitats and ages. (Space, time and emotion, cognitive styles)

Songs & games enhance the pace of work, and unity among group-members. Riddles sharpen intellect, reinforce worldview. Story-telling improves narrative and communication skills. When these genres are transferred to posterity, the talents of one age transform into the next in both mind and body. The society thus equipped moves forward.

If pain and pleasure are like the black and white clouds, the various art forms are like the silver lining around them. They creep over and cover the whole lattice of community life beautifying it all over. They reflect the heights and depths of lifes unseen icebergs. Strike any note, the total culture will unveil itself vibrating with melody reaching rapturous heights.

Environment shapes livelihood. The understanding between mind and nature influences both⁴. The band-groups gain more technological expertise. Skill improves. Division of labour evolves. Leaders emerge. A conjunction of so many positive factors establishes order of social set-up, which turns a new leaf in the history of society.

This new set-up coins new idiom in language and provides a new refinement to the outlook of society. New societies bring in new patterns of behaviour and identity. However, mutuality between two cultures makes both of them dependent either as epiphytes or parasites.

This dependence or this desire for coexistence or this policy of give and take measures the value of a culture. “Culture is living together”.

Art transforms the unquenchable thirst for pleasure into creativity and makes the burden of weary life light. Every village turns out as a Gokul where Lord Krishna played the flute.

Howsoever complete the rural life; it is a rural dimension of civilization. The civilized traditions of temples, almanacs, festivals, epics, philosophical dialectics and sophisticated religious faiths on one side and the rural tradition with all its highly exciting folk-festivals like ‘Bonalu’ (బోనాలు) awful mother-goddesses ‘Bodrayi’ (బొద్రాయి) Garagalu’ (గరగలు), spirits possessing the priests, terrifying wild dances and revelry of all kinds, sacrifices, ballad-singing, fairs and what not, on the other – all these command equal respect without any kind of reservations. Yet, the methods of worship reflect social status.

Most of the villagers are farm-labour, tenants of farmers. Drudgery in round-the-clock work, insufficient income and regular insinuations from masters become the usual chore in the lives of the villagers.

The wealth of the village goes to the markets in the town. The folk look forward to the fairs, more for the niceties and novelties⁵. The binding force between society and mother-earth revolves around self-interest and ownership. People grow commercial crops to become rich. They consult astrologers, pray to gods and live a moral life with a hope on profit. Their ethical conduct is the best safeguard of the system. They crave for justice but never fight for it. Caste differences, economic disparities and social status cause social distinction. The growth of wealth in a family makes women more dependent. Crafts weave their web around agriculture and encourage people to form new groups, which turn into new castes later on.

In spite of caste differences, the systems of worship, dance and song are the same for all in folk tradition. Unity in diversity preserves the local stamp among different castes. However, economic status and caste difference do not permit some people to participate in this singing or dancing. They just remain spectators. Songs are prone to become lyrical, as they tend to be subjective. In folk songs and dances, rhythm loses its rigour giving scope for solo, melodious tunes.

The system of rural life adjusts itself to the civilized processes around. Agrarian system and civilization are the two sides of a coin, one influencing the other. Agricultural produce is the raw material with which the villager goes to the town to be exploited there by the artificial mercantile operations transacted in gold and currency.

The people in remote villages have a different tale to tell. Lack of communication facilities compels them to live a life of aloofness, contentment, accommodative tendency and relatively independent spirit. New techniques and knowledge are not accessible to these remote areas. As such, the people lead a life of ignorance, squalor, want and discomfort. They are accustomed to bonded labour, being subjected to the insolent might of their masters and getting used to a life of drudgery and unhappiness.

These are the unavoidable consequences in the march of civilization.

The Indian culture is one of the most ancient traditions of the world. Owing to many geographical hurdles, there are many regions in the hill- tracts of central India which maintained their identity in absorbing this great tradition. This state of affairs has been well-described in our epics and scriptures.

Between North India and the south, many hills interspersed with forests. Only the great saint Agastya, steadfast as he was, was able to cross the great and important hill among them, the Vindhya and reach the south.

The Eastern Ghats in the hill tracts of Central India are neither contiguous hill range nor a plateau, but a chain of small hills, with valleys and running brooks separating one another. They look like small independent jungle kingdoms ruled by the hills⁶.

The Indian tribal tradition is hidden in the dark corners of history and who knows Researchers in future may bring into light their less known talents and adaptations to the changing situations.

Isolated by the geographical setting, the tribal people keep themselves apart not only from the civilized community of the plains, but also from the other tribes of the remote forests and lead a kind of ethnocentric life, sharing the same micro-habitat. Fear and attachment towards nature is pivotal in their thought processes.

There is a saying in the villages: “A native fears the graveyard and stranger fears water body”. (ఉన్న ఊరువాడికి కాటి భయం పొరుగువాడికి నీటి భయం) Danger to a

stranger lies in the secret sources of water like pools and puddles, because he feels that they are out of bounds! Strangers fear water for that reason! The natives are afraid of grave yards due to the haunting feelings and memories associated with the buried or cremated.

The tribes live in forests. A bush may hide a viper! A leaf of a tree may exhale or exude poison! A pool of water may bring a disease! A stream may carry one down and drawn! These happen when the tribes do not have location-specific knowledge and the ways to appease the presiding deities.

The tribes are all practical-minded. They believe in the motto: “No pains, no gains”. They believe that they cannot prosper if gods are angry, because the gods own the forest. Pluck a fruit, hunt a game, gather honey or tap palm wine, or clear a hillock (podu) – the deities of them should be appeased.

The tribal village as a whole resembles a joint family. The basis for relationships among them is either the surname or the clan name. A village claims the ownership of the surrounding forest. If a neighboring villager crosses the border, while hunting, he should share the game with local people. The extent of the land owned by a villager depends upon the extent of the forest he felled for “podu” (పోడు). These rights remain with him as long as he cultivates the land.

The farmer of a village in the plains restricts his love to his own field, where as the tribe’s area of operation extend into the forest. The tribes collectively own the trees in the middle of the village (పొరంబి) where as the trees near a particular house belong only to that field family.

Tribes have no wealth to be stolen. Every day is a working day (పిట్టనుకొట్ట, పొయిలోపెట్ట Shoot a bird, fry and finish.) No need for him to speak a lie. New tribes entering a village may form new castes or new clans but never a new “class”. Division of labour goes along with gender/age. Maidens or youngsters – each has a right to marry according to his or her own choice. Womenfolk do vie with men participating in games and sports and enjoying all pleasures in villages and fairs. Chorus is the norm-no solos.

The tribes recognize seasons observing the changes in nature. They know no almanacs. If the villagers are not literate, the tribes have not even heard of it. Priesthood in a tribal village has been a very ancient tradition and it is hereditary. The priest’s family leads the rituals, relatives join them as assistants (తెంకలు) while the whole village participates in them. Popular sayings become precepts, being young is a fun and revelry is worship.

As time advances, many new tribes enter the forests with new modes of living. They evolve a system of settlements. If they cannot mix with the natives, they reconcile themselves to form new streets or new villages and live there. Once they settle, they entertain everyone with their own nuances of culture suited to their talents. They might have learnt this kind of harmonious coexistence from the nature around where birds and beasts, flora and fauna, hills and dales coexist. What nature lacks is moral order? If this is not culture, what else is it!

Each tribe is proud of its identity. In spite of all restrictions, cultural transference among the tribes is often contagious. Now and then, a maiden or youngster from one tribe steals the heart of a person of the opposite sex, belonging to a different tribe and both flee away breaking the steel frame of the caste system.

As the environment differs from habitat to habitat each tribe reacts to it differently in eking out a suitable livelihood. Hence, a tribe evolves its native idiom and style in creative art most naturally. Chorus is the norm, no solos.

Priorities decide perspectives. When civilized needs and purchase of goods from outside become a must, economic perspective occupies the centre of attention. People then demand for right to property. Disparities among groups become inevitable. Trade and profit get a rooting.

The demands of a civilization are as extensive as are its needs and ideals. As needs increase, distances shrink. Mountains bow their heads. Systems change. Perspectives alter. History ushers in new turns and twists.

The evolution of polity in Rampa country in Godavari valley (గోదావరిలోయ)

It is not easy to identify today the tribes referred to in the Brahmanas and Puranas. Aithereya Brahmana contains a scanty description of the primitive 'mutibs' living by the river Musi. The Vayu Purana does not consider the land of Kalinga as pure because caste system or Varna Ashrama Dharma is not sacrosanct there. Bodhayana recommends expiation for one who travels in the land of Kalinga⁷.

In Andhra Pradesh today the tribes Bagatha, Valmiki and Konda Kammari in the forests of Visakha, Kondareddis of the Godavari valley and Chenchus or Nallamala have Telugu as their mother tongue. The renowned anthropologist, ChristofonVan Heimendorf, lived with the Chenchus and Konda Reddis for five years and wrote two pioneering books namely 'The Chenchus of Hyderabad' and

‘The Reddis of Bison hills’. Dr. Muniratnam Reddy’s doctoral thesis describes sanskritisation among Bagathas. Gangadhar and Anilgupta produced a document on the resource management of Chenchus P.K.Bhowmick’s book “the Chenchus” illustrates the life style of Chenchus.

Bhima Mahipati of Chakrakota (Bastar) belonging to Naga dynasty reached the present Thoyyeru, adjacent to Devipatnam of East Godavari District, after having been vanquished by Prolaya Raju of the Kakatiyas. The Adivasis of Bastar followed the rulers. The original tribe retreated to the more interior hillside regions. At that time Musunuri Prolaya was ruling the present Bhadrachalam and Palvancha, having Rekapalli as his head quarters. Vanquished by Anapotanayaka who represented Musunuri Kapayanayaka, the kings of Naga dynasty left for Rampa near Chodavaram and ruled the adjacent region until 1880 After the Rampa rebellion, this kingdom merged in the British Empire.

The “Koyas” (కోయ), followed them. with skills in the farming methods of “chelaka” (చెలక), they began settling in the lower regions. Because of language difference and also because the Koyas are beefeaters, intermarriages between Konda Reddis and Koyas were not possible.

Unable to withstand the onslaughts of Kapaya Nayaka and Anapotha Nayaka some families of Reddy Kings eg., the Pallala family, belonging to Rajamahendravaram penetrated into ‘Chiluvuri Manyam’ (చిలువూరిమన్యం) Kondamodalu (కొండమొదలు), Gujjumamidivalasa (గుజ్జుమామిడివలస), Kaanivada and Bodlanka via Reddipolavaram, Kotanagavaram, Tekuru and Sivagiri, crossing the river, Godavari. These Pallalas were ‘Governors of twelve ‘muthas’. (పన్నెండు ముఠాలకు నల్లగవర్షర్లు పల్లాలవారు) They brought with them their ‘gurus’

(jangams). They entered into marital relations with the Telugu tribes and were called Konda Reddis. The native tribes living in the vicinities of Rajamahendravaram, Korukonda, Ramagiri and Polavaram desisted from eating beef, either because they did not have cows or because they assumed that such prohibition would add weight to their social standing. They did not eat the meat of the bison either, liked by Koyas. Similarity in customs and common language made it possible for them to assimilate themselves with some of the later immigrants.

At about the end of the 18th century, Kannama Raju and his retinue, migrated to Gurutedu from Bejjagivada, on the borders of Andhra Pradesh, beyond Sileru (now in Orissa). They were proud of their blood royal. Soon, they became Reddis themselves by intermarrying with the Konda Reddis.

The Chekka family, which arrived at Duccherti via Addatigala, in the 19th century, might have reached that place from the lowlands of the district. After the confiscation of the Golugonda estate by the Britishers, they came under the British rule. They were absorbed into the Reddis⁸

Attracted by the prospects of farming in this region and fed up with the life of bonded labour under the feudal landholders of Jaadi and Koraput, the Kaapus and blacksmiths began fanning out into the Visakha district on one side and into the district of East Godavari via Gurutedu, Maredumilli, Yarlagadda and Ramavaram on the other.

The Pallala, Kattula, Guriteti and Chekka families, who migrated earlier, were once under the Rampa-Golugonda chieftains. The Zaddangi area was under the zamindari of Peddapuram. The British continued the Muthadari system. As

these ‘muthadars’ (chiefs of different bands) were scattered in remote places, communication network became necessary and this was filled by the ‘Malas’ (మాల) or ‘Valmikis’ (వల్మీకి) who came in handy to undertake this task, as they are used to such works in the plains. They collected taxes, transported farm-produce and did other estate functions. They spread out from the Bobbili region into Srungavarapukota, Vaddadi, Madugula, Golugonda Gudem, Darakonda and Gurtedu, Duccherti to Rampachodavaram.

The Valmikis revolutionized the economy. They settled as ‘Kolagandlu’ (కోలగండ్లు) or ‘Barikas’ (బరిక) (village servants) in villages, courts/Govt. They simply fanned out into all parts of the ‘manyam’ as merchants and farmers. Royalty, agriculture, smithy, trade and commerce expanded acquiring new dimensions. As *shanties* and fairs proliferated, the tribes graduated themselves into rural-folk.

The polity in the meadows in Visakha manyam (విశాఖ బయళ్ళు)

In the Godavari valley, The upper reaches with slopes of the hills are inaccessible, where as the Visakha manyam is interspersed with meadows, receiving heavy rainfall.

Under the rule of the zamindars (chieftains) of Madugula, Golugonda and Kasipuram, migration from lowlands increased. As the Telugu people advanced into these regions, the local tribes gradually retreated into the interior regions of the hills.

Bagathas (bhaktas or rajabhaktas, loyal to the crown) who were the soldiers of the erstwhile kingdoms, now acquired lands in these parts became 'muthadars'. The migrants who came from different directions established kinship with the Bagathas and they increased in number. Agriculture expanded with the people building bunds on hill slopes to enable terrace farming by diverting streams. Commercial crops like pippali, ginger and turmeric were grown on an extensive scale in addition to slash and burn agriculture.

The Bagathas emerged as a ruling class. They put on the sacred thread to secure the status of 'Kshatriyas' (క్షత్రియ). The 'Kotiyas' (కోటియ) adopted the same procedure, but their trials ended up in their being called only as 'chitti bagathas' (చిట్టి బగత). The blacksmiths went a step further, abstained from eating meat and became disciples of Gaganananda Swami of Balighattam. They too put on the sacred thread and became 'Ojulu' (preachers). The Valmiki's gave up eating beef, came under the influence of the gurus of Guritedu, started Haribhajans and built temples for Sri Rama. The potters of Orissa avoided eating outside. The 'pata

poojaris' (singing priests పాటపూజారి) among Konda Doras perform 'Nandi' (నంది) and 'koluvu' (కొలువు) festivals. Even the blacksmiths learnt these fertility rites and took to priesthood.

Different penalties were imposed upon people, to prevent members from transgressing caste restrictions. There were penalties like 'doppa kattadulu' (డొప్పకట్టడులు), 'kula tappulu' (కులతప్పలు), atonements, 'chotakulu' (చోటాకులు) and 'gurukatnalu' (గురుకట్నాలు). Hearts do not succumb to these physical controls. As such, even for the escapades, societies should find new sanctions.

During marriages, people of different castes consider it opportune to respect each other by establishing new relationships through friendship- rituals. (నేస్తంకట్టుకోవడం) Barring matrimonial alliances and communal dinners, people encouraged nearness and familiarity among different castes.

Society in India split into two categories of communities – those who eat beef and those who have given up beef. Tribes are no exception. Bagathas, Malakaras, Kotiyas, Khonds, Mooka Doras, Mannem Doras and Reddi Doras were all men who did not eat beef. Beef eating was voluntary among Konda Doras, Gadabas, Ojus, Valmiki, Ghasis, Paidis and Dumbus. The castes are formed in the same order of high and low. Houses were built in villages in the same order. Once, Bagathas were soldiers. Valmiki were eulogists in the courts of kings, kolagandlu. Gadabas were palanquin bearers. Ghasis were grooming the horses. Porajas were trumpeters and bandsmen. The people of these skills attend to their respective tasks during marriages and festivals. They were paid at the time of the harvest a share of the yield.

All castes were represented at the village council. The munsifs, muthadars, Bagatas and the Reddis are village elders. The muthadars used this position and demanded bonded labour from the villagers. All wet lands of the village belonged to them. The villagers should work in their fields without expecting wages. They should thatch the roofs of the houses of the elders. When officers came on visit, it was their duty to clear the pathways, carry 'dolis', provisions and 'chilly tapals' (మిరపకాయ టపా) and perform such other sundry duties. The caste rules do not tolerate lapses. There were sayings in vogue among the tribes to the effect that (కులపట్టె పట్టు - వలపట్టె పట్టు) "caste-grip was like the grip" of a net and "one could cross a heap of food but not the line drawn by caste". (కుండెడు కూటికి దాటగలడు గాని కులానికి దాటలేడు). In spite of the punitive measures, life in the jungles was not burdensome, because the regions abounded in root, herb or fruit and the tribes there took fasting in its stride.

The military and the police ruthlessly crushed the tribes during the Rampa and Rama Raju revolts.

The hunter gatherers in the Nallamala forest (నల్లమల అడవులు)

There is a striking difference in the life styles and conditions between the people in the meadows (బయళ్ళు) of Visakha, Godavari valleys (లోయలు) and those of the Chenchus of the Nallamala forests. (అడవులు)

The moderate woods of Nallamala surviving on sedimentary soil, have little scope for shifting cultivation. They provided shelter for many a vanquished chieftain and king. The Chenchus, who joined their troops turned out as Yenadis in the lower regions.

Sri Sailam, Sri Parvatha sangharamam, and Vijayapuri of the Ikshwakus belong to these parts providing spiritual inspiration to the Indians for thousands of years. So much so, the Chenchus are long acquainted with the cultural emissaries and pilgrims who regularly visit these places.

With more and more people migrating from plains to settle in these parts, the unfortunate Chenchus turned into labour with no further forest regions to recede.

The Lambadis experienced in farming, grazing and dairy maintenance spread out into these parts. The Chenchus tried to learn from them these skills, but they lacked the necessary tenacity to improve the skills.

It is to be noted that these Chenchus, in spite of some shortcomings, greatly influenced the Telugu culture, in turn, got influenced by it.



Out of a hundred thousand years of man's history, the use of tools and implements is ten thousand years old. What goes for the modern civilization (industrial revolution) is yet to complete five hundred years. The Telugu tribes were forced to undergo all these changes of modern civilization in a record time of a few decades.

Culture on the physical plane can be acquired in courses of time, but it is difficult to alter the mind-set of a community!

The next chapter deals with the man-nature equation in these hill tracts.

సంప్రదించిన గ్రంథాలు - ఉపయోగించుకున్న ఉట్టంకింపులు

1. “ఆంగికం భువనం యస్య వాచకం సర్వవాఙ్మయం
ఆహార్యం చస్తతారాదీః తంసమః సాత్త్వికం శివం”

- కూచిపూడి భాగవతులప్రార్థనాగీతం.

2. “అంతకడివెడు పాలలో ఒక్కొంత మీగడ పేరినట్టులు
మనకు మిగులును గతము లోపలి మంచి, అదియే సంప్రదాయము”

-సినారె.

3. Lore. Munro E. Edmonson. Chapter I. No. P.1. Science is a differentiable mode of acquiring transmitting knowledge. In contrast to lore, it rests on a narrow base. Science attempts to come to grip with the world through a strict pre-occupation with denotative meaning and logical relational state willing to include connotation and analogy as well . And what is distinctive lore and literature is their pre-occupation with connotative semantics and analogic systems of thought.

4. Field theory & social sciences . K. Lewin, P.240. Dorwin Cartight Pub., New York. 1951. Geographical, ecological environment is independent of the thought of the person. This produces in perceptual organs i.e. the retina, the behavioural environment. In consciousness this evokes the phenomenal behaviour. Finally, this last gives rise to the real behaviour which in turn reacts on the environment and takes place there.

5. The little community peasant society and culture. Robert Redfield. Phoenix Book. University of Chicago 1967

P.21 - They are the rural dimensions of civilisation.

P.20 - Kroeber puts it simply peasants are definitely rural and live in relation to market towns, they form a class segment of a larger population which usually contains urban centres, sometimes metropolitan capitals. They constitute part societies with part cultures.

Page 39 - In East Indian communities, the Pandits and Gurus show by their examples and tell by their teaching another and higher version of the same life which the ordinary peasant lives. The great and little traditions are inter-dependants.

Page 49 - In fact, the social position of a person depends on which of the two traditions he determines to live by.

6. ప్రాచీనాంధ్ర చారిత్రక భూగోళము; కుందూరి ఈశ్వరదత్తు, 1963.

నేడు మహేంద్రపర్వతములు తూర్పుకనుమలను పేరబణగుచున్నవి. మహేంద్రగిరి గంజాము మండలములోనున్నది. ఈ కొండలు ఉత్కలరాష్ట్రమునుండి తూర్పు సముద్రతీరమునకు నూరు నూటయేబది మైళ్ళదూరమున శ్రీకాకుళము, విశాఖపట్నము, తూర్పుపడమటి గోదావరిమండలములు, కృష్ణా, కర్నూలు, నెల్లూరు, కడప మండలములోనుండి, దక్షిణమున మధురామండల ముపకకు ప్రాకియున్నవి. ఇవి నిమ్నోన్నతములుగాక, దాదాపు రెండువేలయడుగుల ఎత్తును మించలేవు. విశాఖపట్నము మండలములో పాలకొండలనియు, గోదావరీ మండలములో మలయములేగాక, పాపికొండలనియు, నెల్లూరు, కడపమండలములలో పాలకొండలు, వెలికొండలనియు కర్నూలుమండలములో ఎర్రమలలు నల్లమలలనియు, చిత్తూరు మండలములో శేషశైలము, కాళహస్తిగిరులనియు, ఈకొండలకు వివిధ నామములు.

ఆంధ్రదేశములోని సుప్రసిద్ధనదులగు గోదావరీ, కృష్ణ, పినాకినీనదులు పడమటిదిశనుండి ప్రవహించి, మహేంద్రగిరులను జీల్చి సముద్రగాములవుచున్నవి.

విశాఖపట్టణ మండలములో సింహగిరిపై వరాహస్వసింహస్వామి, ఖమ్మము మండలములో భద్రాద్రిపై శ్రీరామచంద్రవారి, కృష్ణామండలములో ఇంద్రకీలాద్రిపై కనకదుర్గ, కర్నూలుమండలములో నల్లమలలపై శ్రీగిరిమల్లిఖార్జునుడు, గరుడాద్రిపై అహోబిలనారసింహుడు, చిత్తూరుమండలములోని శేషాచలముపై శ్రీవేంకటేశ్వర స్వామియు ఆంధ్రప్రదేశమునకు అరిగాపులై, యావదాంధ్రప్రదేశమును పరిరక్షించు చున్న దైవశిఖామణులు.

7. Geographical data in early puranas Mr. Singh, 1972 P. 271.

In the opinion of Dr. H.L. Roy Chaudhari, the Mutibas of Itareya brahmana or Muchipas of the Sankhyana sroutasutra should be identified with the Musikas living on the bank of River Musi. (A people of this name also lived near river Indus). The Vayupurana regards Kalinga as an impure country where Ashrama Dharma does not prevail. Bodhayana recommends expiation for one who travels in the land of Kalinga.

8. Rebellious Hillmen : The Gudem Rampa Risings 1839-1924. David Arnold, Subaltern Studies I, OUP-1997. P.88

P.89. Gudem and Rampa demonstrate two fundamental characteristics of subalternity in India (and perhaps in peasant societies generally). The precise forms that these took were, no doubt, moulded by the physical environment of the hills and by that almost universal antipathy which hillmen feel towards the inhabitants of the plains.

P. 91. But despite the divisions imposed on the area by outsiders, it has a unity of its own that is more than topographical. Many hillmen belonged to the Gond family of tribals (adivasis) and spoke, with extensive Telugu and Oriya borrowings, the kui language. Their social and religious practices, though greatly influenced from outside, yet possessed distinctive features. Although social anthropologists have emphasized the isolation of popular movements it is striking how much communication was possible between hillmen scattered over this vast area- and how rapidly a fituri begun in one locality could spread to neighbouring tracts. Although Gudem and Rampa had territorial identities of their own, many of the sites sacred to their inhabitants lay outside the tracts, and there is evidence, too, of contacts with hillmen in adjacent areas. It would seem, in fact, that the whole southern and eastern arc of the uplands—from the Godavari to the hills of Madugula—constituted the broader territory with which the Gudem-Rampa hillmen identified themselves.

Who were the hillmen? There is a perplexing variety of answers. In 1847 the Agent for Visakahapatnam claimed that there were no hill tribes at all in Gudem, only a small population which was of 'pure Hindu race'. Writing almost a century later, C. Von Furer-Haimendorf took a diametrically opposite view, asserting that both the principal hill communities in Rampa (whom he identified as the Koyas and the Hill Reddis or Konda Bagatas) were tribals. He maintains that the so-called Hill Reddis are not related to the Reddi or Kapu castes of Telugu peasants and that the name 'Reddi' may have become attached to them solely because they were subjected to the Reddi Kings of Rajahmundry in the fourteenth century. Throughout his monograph Furer-Haimendorf insists on the primitiveness of the Hill Reddis. Their physical features, their food-gathering and shifting cultivation, their 'simple mindedness' and gullibility in dealing with plainsmen, their 'unimaginative and unspiritual' mentality—all are adduced to demonstrate the Hill Reddis' extreme backwardness. The Koyas, by comparison, are pronounced to be 'progressive' and 'dynamic'. Furer—Haimendorf records the claims of some Hill Reddis to be immigrants from the plains and distinct from the indigenous population, but he is reluctant to accept such claims and holds to his conclusion that the Rampa Reddis are essentially the same primitive tribe that he had found in the hills to the north and along the banks of the Godavari in Hyderabad.

A more satisfactory identification of the hillmen is to be found in the colonial administrator's reports and gazetteers, and in Edgar Thurston's caste and tribes of southern India.

‘Christoph von Furer—Haimendorf, The Reddis of the Bison Hills: A Study in Acculturation (London, 1945), PP. 8-10, 28, 35-46, 164-76, 239. Appears that the Reddis of Rampa and Gudem were freshwater fishermen and Bhaktas, a caste of Telugu-Speaking freshwater fishermen and cultivators, said to be distantly related to the Kapu and Telaga Peasant castes. Thurston notes that in Madugula and in the Golgonda zamindari (which encompassed the Gudem hills) the Bagatas were accorded a privileged position. Here their name was reputedly derived from bhakti(in acknowledgement of their special devotion to the local rulers) and in return for their services they had received land grants as mokhasadars (holders of individual villages) or were appointed village headmen (padalu). Elsewhere in confirmation of this view, Bagatas are described as ‘lords of the hills’ and as long established immigrants from the plains, who constituted all, or almost all, of the muttadars in Gudem and Rampa.

P. 95. Alongside these main communities, and in far smaller numbers, were other hillmen. Kammars, prominent in several of the risings, were blacksmiths by caste, but often practicing cultivation as well. According to Furer Haimendorf they had ‘close affinities’ with the Konda Doras, but held a social position inferior to both them and the Koyas. P.12. Two kinds of priests are mentioned. The jangams were lingayats particularly associated with the Saivite muttadars and Bagata headmen. Furer-Haimendorf thought that they were probably relatively recent immigrants and believed that they intermarried with muttadari families. P.13. Accounts of the 1886 rising in Gudem also refer to a group of priests known as Sivasaris drawn from the Konda Doras, but we have been unable to find any other reference to them.

P.110. Commercial penetration had not waited for the road building of the 1880s however. Even before the Rampa rebellion of 1879 –80, traders and moneylenders were pushing into the hills and beginning to undermine the traditional economy. Malas, a caste of untouchables who in the lowlands were among the most despised of Hindus, were quick to see the economic opportunities created by the more stable conditions of the 1850s and 1860s, and by the gradual extension of British control after 1848. Operating at first as petty traders, like the Brinjaris before them, peddling goods from their pack bullocks and spending months on their trading expeditions into the hills, they acquired the capital and expertise to develop into flourishing traders. They extended their activities to money-lending to cultivators and muttadars, and took over hill villages as their own settlements. In the Malas wake came Komatis, the affluent and powerful trading caste that dominated commerce, especially the grain trade, in the plains. Unlike the Malas, the Komatis rarely lived in the hills, nor did they trouble with petty trade. They sought the larger profits to be made from timber, opium and drink or from the mortgaging of muttadars estates.

* రెడ్డిరాజ్య చరిత్ర (2001) మల్లంపల్లి సోమశేఖరశర్మ. తెలుగు విశ్వవిద్యాలయం. పుట. 133.

అభిజ్ఞానశాకుంతలం వ్యాఖ్యలో కాటయవేముడు వివరించిన తన విజయాలలో

1. మొల్లేటిదుర్గం (తూర్పుగోదావరి గంగవరం మండలం)

2. కిమ్మూరుదుర్గం 3. వజ్రకూటం 4. బెండపూడి 5. రామగిరి.

మొల్లేటిదుర్గం: అచటి శాసనమున కాటయవేమారెడ్డి పుణ్యప్రాప్తికై వుప్పల హన్మయ వేమసముద్రము (తటాకము) నిర్మించెనని ఉన్నది. ఈ శాసనం ఒక అక్షరమైనా వదిలి చదవాలని స్థానికుల అభిప్రాయం.

కిమ్మూరుదుర్గం: పెద్దాపురమునకు ఆరుమైళ్ళు ఉత్తరమున ఏలేటి ఒడ్డుననున్న కాండ్రకోట కిమ్మూరని జనశ్రుతి. స్థలచరిత్ర ప్రకారం (క్రైఫియత్) కాటయవేమారెడ్డి అనంతరము రెడ్డి పెదవెంకప్ప కిమ్మూరు, ప్రోలునాడు, కొత్తపల్లి, గరుగుమిల్లి, కొర్వాడ, గూటాల, ఇసుకపల్లి పెదపాత్రునికి దండపటముగా నొసగెను. నిర్ణయించిన సైన్యమును పోషించుటకైన ఖర్చులు పోసు మిగిలిన ఆదాయమును రెడ్డి పెదవెంకప్పకు ఇవ్వవలెనని నియమము.

పుట. 138 జైపూర్జమీన్ పాలకులను ఝాడ్ఖండ్ పాదుషాలని వ్యవహరింతురు. అది నందపూర్ రాజుల బిరుదనామము.

◆ The early History of Deccan, Yazdani, General, Editor. Part VII – XI P.578. Beta-I succeeded by his son Prola who is set to have subdued a number of Chiefs hostile to his overlord to have straightned the Chakrakuta vishaya, i.e. Chakrakot in Bastar.

◆ ఆంధ్రులచరిత్ర సంస్కృతి: ఖండవల్లి లక్ష్మీరంజనం బాలేందుశేఖరం. పుట.250.

మంచికొండవంశములోని కేశవనాయకుడు ఆంధ్రదేశమున నొకసామంతుడుగ నుండెను. కూనయనాయకుడు ఈయన పుత్రుడు. కూనయకుమారుడు ముమ్మిడి నాయకుడు కాపయనాయకుని మేనగోడలిని వివాహమాడెను. నేటి భద్రాచలము తాలూకాలోని కూనవరమాయన పేరిటిదే.

◆

భారతి, మాసపత్రిక 1967 అక్టోబరు, నవంబరు. ముసునూరు సాంబశివ రామమూర్తి. ఈ వ్యాసంలో పేర్కొన్న తామ్రశాసనం చాలా విశేషాలను బయట పెడుతున్నది. 'నాగవంశమునకు తొలిరాజుని వేములునాడుదేశములోని గండవాడ. వింధ్యాద్రి నివాసమునగలిగిన దోషమున పరిహరించు దివ్యతీర్థము రంభను (రంప) భీమమహిపతి రెండవరాజునిగా చేసికొనెను'.

◆ Madras districts gazetteers, statistical appendix for Vishakapatnam Distrist. 1915.

P.7. In the Agency tracts, the average density of population increased from 67 to 81 per square mile during the decade (1911) . The increase is probably due to in small measure to accurate enumeration – but at the same time there is no doubt that the people of the plains have lost to some extent their fear of the agency and have been migrating theither.

◆ Culture and Public Action, ed. Vijayendra Rao and Michael Walton Permanent black, 2004, New Delhi. p. 164

Mahatma Gandhi once explained, development thinking requires “a recognition that economic activity, at every stage of technical development, has no value except as a contribution to a social aim”.

◆ District Gazetteers, Godavari by F.R.Hemingway, 1907.

◆ The Rampa Agency East Godavari dist., Mr. V.N.Seshagiri Rao. Extra Asst. Conservator of Forests 1933. Madras, Superintendent Govt.Press.

◆ Evolution of Scheduled Areas and Changes in Muttadari System in Andhra area (1724 - 1970), Dr. V.N.V.K. Sastry, K.V. Subba Reddy, Tribal Cultural Research & Training Institute of Hyderabad 1991.

◆ Tribes of India : The Struggle for Survival, Haimendorf - 1994 OUP.

◆ Report on the Socio-Economic Conditions of the Aboriginal Tribes of The Province of Madras - 1948, A.Aiyappan - Govt.press, Madras.

◆ Extinction. J.C. Daniel. Natural History Series.

P.15. only in the last 500 years has man began to be the cause of extinction.

◆ Alluri Seetharama Raju 1983 J. Mangamma, State Archives. A.P.

