

**SOCIO-ECOLOGY OF A TRIBE: THE CHENCHU
(A FOOD -GATHERING TRIBE IN ANDHRA PRADESH)**

Economic activities and social organisation
General description and honey collection

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Traditionally the Chenchus are semi-nomadic food gatherers living in the midst of forests. In olden days they subsisted completely on various types of food stuffs available in the forest. There was no specific *staple food* and the people engaged themselves in obtaining *seasonal food* stuffs. However Chenchugadda a sort of tuber, brownish coloured with white complex was said to be much eaten tuber and of which Chenchu are fond of. But this tuber is available for about 6 months from August to December. Some 100 years back the Chenchus life was intricately interlinked with the forest and they did not know any sort of marketing or economic value of the forest produce except occasional exchange of forest produce to some necessary requirements (salt, chillies) from the plains people.

Forest wealth forms the main economic resource to the Chenchus. A greater part of their income is earned by engaging in forestry works, keeping watch over others' agricultural fields, selling liquor, bamboo-walls, fire-wood. Minor forest produce and government service also from primary occupation to certain families. Besides for almost all families, collection of food produce from the forest from a subsidiary occupation. During favorable season, most of the people actively engage in collecting forest produce, both for consumption and selling engage in collecting forest produce, both for consumption and selling purpose. During such seasons the Chenchus do not want to work for daily wages in the forest department. They prefer to go to forest and collect food materials and eat.

Honey is one of the seasonal food stuffs which the Chenchu collect with great interest, commitment and dexterity.

The Chenchu recognize five varieties of honey:

1. Pera : This honey is found in very big trees and gorges and ravines with big bees.
2. Thodidi: found on trees with red colouredbees.
3. Mosara: Found in the tree trunks with small and round bees.
4. Kannegulla: Found on trees and bushes with small bees.
5. Junti: Found on trees and palm trees with white strapped bees. This honey is supposed to be most delicious.

The first variety is available in large quantities.

Unlike the other pursuits of food gathering, collection of honey is a difficult task, requiring great skill, courage and expedient material for operation of the activity. Honey is collected from different sources like trees, furrows, bushes, ant hills, cliffes and gorges, while collecting honey from bees located on trees and bushes is somewhat easy, it is hazardous expedition in sites located in gorges and ravines. They have developed remarkable techniques of collecting honey specially in order to overcome difficulties that arise in reaching the bee-hive.

Collection of honey is something more than a mere subsistence activity. Developed out of quest for food, it has emerged into a more systematic, socially, politically and religiously determined and organised form of activity. Several rules and regulations are strictly observed in order to avoid dangerous competitions and disruptive tendencies that may arise in claiming ownership of bee-lines. A Chenchu who intends to collect honey must invariably seek help from others.

A Chenchu can claim ownership over particular beehive by making a deep cut in the main stem of the tree or by planting a wet branch on the ground near the ant-hill or berth in which the honey-line is present. Besides certain trees and some locations in the mountains like cliffes or gorges or certain hills are customarily owned by few families. The sole authority to collect honey from these locations lies exclusively on the respective family members. The allotment of locations is said to have been done by the Chenchu ancestors in order to maintain peace and solidarity among the people. Each location is associated with family deity and it is believed that it safeguards the honey line and kills the people who do not have any claim over it.

Certain locations are associated with a story and the locations are named after the hero or heroine who are personified as deities. Sometimes it is believed few locations are dangerous and inhabited by ghosts and they do not allow others to collect honey. Theft of honey is considered to be a great crime, religious performance and serious investigations accompany any such foul act to trace out the thief. But theft is highly uncommon as honey collection from cliffes involves many people.

Even to collect honey from small and tiny locations with easy access also requires at least three to four people. Same is the case with respect to honey collection from trees, ant-hills and bushes. And all people cannot collect honey from various sources. One has to learn the art of collection starting from small bushes and gradually develop his skills in collection of honey from trees and trunks of trees and then from ravines and cliffes. To collect honey from gorges, ravines and cliffes, one has to participate in a series of such operations helping in various aspects, starting from cooking fuel to squeezing honey from beebushes and weaving of rope from the fibre of a particular tree called Madapu chettu and helping the

chief collector to descend into the valley and aiding him in approaching the honey-comb etc., This also requires a sort of skill in understanding the behaviour of bees.

Honey collection from various sources requires different techniques. Honey collection from ant-hills and bushes does not require much strain. Bees are driven away by torches made out of green leaves and twigs and dried grass which produces a cloud of smoke. The torch is carried by the collector his head and face covered leaving some gap to see with a cloth that also covers his trunk. Once the bees are driven away the bee-line is cut into pieces collected in a basket which is already smeared with wax. Collection from ant-hills and bushes required a minimum of two people but three people are ideal. One man will never venture collecting honey for the reason that he has to keep the smoke-splinter with him till he drives away the bees and if one bundle is burnt off immediately he requires another one which is to be supplied by another person.

Honey collection from trees and tree-trunk is somewhat difficult. Various techniques are used in reaching the honey comb. One method is to climb the tree. A minimum of four people are required to collect honey from trees. The honey deposit is to be approached by two people when one person drives away the bees and cut the comb and the other has to hold a basket in which the honey combs are collected. The third person has to stay somewhere near the top of trunk of the tree to assist the operators passing on them the implements like knife, smoke-splinter, basket etc.. The fourth man has to stay on ground assisting the third person handing over the required material.

Another method of approaching the honey-comb is to use a sturdy bamboo pole, its twigs are trimmed to small spikes to climb up. The bamboo pole is placed in a proper place somewhere around the top of the trunk and it is held firmly, by one or two persons while the chief operator is climbing. After reaching the top of the trunk the operator makes his way to the honey comb further climbing, the branches. This technique is generally used to collect honey form the trunks or from branches having easy access.

Sometimes the honey deposit may be found on very big trees having a height of around 60 to 80 or more feet. The honey comb may be somewhere on the top of the tree on a branch. In such cases the Chenchu cut a green bamboo not very sturdy but one having a diameter of about 6 to 7 inches with strong twigs. It is well trimmed leaving short spikes. It's wider and is pounded with a stone or axe to make it flexible. Then one strong short and somewhat slender or of the same diametre of the bamboo pole piece of branch of a tree is taken. Dried pieces are avoided and only green branch is selected. Then the pounded part is made to pass over the middle of the piece of wood and fastened tight with the fibre. It appears just like cross. The length of bamboo pole will be around 25 to 30 feet. The chief operator climbs to the top of the trunk or branch with or without the sturdy bamboo pole with spikes. If the

trunk of the tree is very bulk or if the height of the top of the tree is too high, then the bamboo pole is used. Then the operator takes the hooked slender poll and fixes it in already chosen place nearer to the honey comb. The spot is generally chosen at a steep angle of bifurcating sturdy branch. The spot should be at an elevation of at least 3 to 4 feet to the landing point or the honey comb as the case may be, so that the operator can easily approach the honey comb. Some times two to three bamboo poles are used depending upon the height of the tree and also the pattern of branches and access to the honey comb. Sometimes the branch in which honey comb present is cut off when it is not possible to reach the honey comb. In such cases also the bees are driven off by smoke torch by fixing it to long pole.

In this case also the chief operator will have an assistant who also climbs along with him. One or two people take the position somewhat below the honey comb and they would be in a position to reach the collector easily. Another person may be still below the third and fourth persons and two or three people will be on the ground.

For collecting honey from the ravines and gorges a minimum of 10 people are required though only three to four people might actually involved in collection of honey. Generally about 15 to 20 members of close relatives and confides embark on this expedition. Collection of honey from the ravines and cliffes begins generally in the month of May and ends by June end. And the honey will be collected a week around full moon day and the operation too lasts for about a week days.

Speculations about collection of honey takes place at least 2 to 3 weeks before they actually collect. Generally each *serri* (mountain cliff where honey is being regularly deposited) is owned by four or more families generally belonging to one exogamous unit (clan).

The eldest person among the owners will initiate and he gathers all the owners and discusses with them. If anyone of them is an expert in collection of honey, he will be asked formally whether he is willing to collect honey. Sometimes the eldest person himself will be an expert or his son. If there is no expert among the owners then they think about others who can collect. Generally each group of owners will have one or two experts who are engaged for operations each year regularly. These experts may belongs to the native village of the owner are alone contacted. The experts are either called for or intimated about honey collection and takes their willingness to participate. The owners fix up a day and convene a meeting. They discuss about how many people are expected to participate in the operation. They plan out budget for the operation, duration of operation, performing religious ceremony etc., they also discuss about the raising of investment. They explore all the possible resources like cooperative society, local merchants or any person (s) among themselves from whom they can borrow some money or goods. They also estimate how many tins of honey will be yielded. The owners along with an elderly person would have already visited the honey deposit by the time meeting is convened. Meeting is always

convened by consulting with the Peddamani of the village and few elderly persons will also be involved. Once they finalize everything, they fix up a day to go to the honey deposit.

Meanwhile the owners procure all the groceries and necessary equipment. They take along with them 3 or 4 baskets which was smeared with wax. The basket is called *Thene Butta*. A flexible branch of a tree called *Peeli Chettu* is tied in the groove of the basket at its brim and this slender raften is fixed to another to another long strong bamboo stick and this looks like a big spoon.

A wooden implement called *Alleem* (a flat wooden blade of about 8 feet in length and 5 inches in width) is used for cutting the comb into pieces.

Before they go they worship the family deity of the owners. Next day after propitiation they reach the spot and may erect a temporary hut, much away from the location. The next day they propitiate the goddess of the forest called *Mallalamma* and also deities associated with the location. They also propitiate their ancestors who used to collect honey in those locations since times immemorial. Sacrifice of goat or fowl is also offered to Mallalamma. That day they do not undertake any work but plan out what is to be done. They will not go nearer to the location on that day. Next day all the people will go to the location and start doing work. Some people are asked to fetch the fibre of a tree called Madapu tree (bauhinia species). Some people collect dry splinters and other collect green leaves. Few other people tie splinters and green leaves into bundles, of having to 3 ½ feet length and 2 to 2 ½ feet diameter. Nearly 40 to 50 bundles are prepared. When the fibre is brought the chief collector and his brother-in-law or a close associate start planting it into strong threads of about 20 to 30 feet length. Four five lengths of such rope is planted. Again slender ropes of the same length are also plaited which is used to pass on required implements to the collector during the operation.

The beeline will be located at the edge of a steep mountain in a gorge or a narrow ridge. Sometimes it will be in small cave like portions in the mountain cuttings. The steep slopes 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 _____. If there is no tree they fix a strong wooden peg on the top of the mountain. To the trunk of the tree or wooden peg the strong rope is fastened. Along the other end of the rope at a convenient length down, a bamboo ladder (bamboo with spikes) is tied. This is hung down from the top so that it swings to and fro. The lower end of the bamboo is again tied with a rope which is swing from the top of the *serri*, the length and position of the bamboo ladder fastened to it, the tail rope of the bamboo ladder are so adjusted that they can be easily swing and handled so as to help the main honey collector to reach the beehive for operating conveniently. The chief collectors 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 is tied round his chest and a long and is left hanging down from the chest. Then he slowly descends holding the rope which is tied to the peg or tree and along this rope reaches the bamboo pole. He makes secure standing on the bamboo ladder at a convenient point. Then ties his body firmly with the chest rope to the bamboo pole. This gives him perfect security on the bamboo pole and enable him freely to use both the hands. At this juncture his brother-in-law stands at the top of the *serri* near the peg occupying a crucial position. The Chenchu have an implicit confidence in their brother-in-law and believe that the wife's brother always wishes the welfare of 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 cause death to him by cutting down the rope so that he can enjoy the proceeds of the honey location and if possible his wife also. But it is not always the case that only brother-in-law should be on the top. Any person can also be on the top whom the chief collector believes. And generally more than five to six persons will be on the top assisting the collector by passing on the accessories tied to a separate rope. Sometimes another person also stays on the ground in the valley or at a convenient place just below the honey comb and helps the main collector by swinging his bamboo pole so as to make him reach nearer the beehive. The smoke torch is passed on to the collector with which he will drive away the bees. Then the honey basket is sent down and also *allem* (wooden blade) either together or separately. The collector holds the baskets just under the beehive and chops of the beehive completely or piece by piece with the *allem* so as to make it drop into the honey basket. The honey basket and the wooden blade are lifted up. The collector unfastens his body to the bamboo poles and comes up. The honey is squeezed and collected in tins or pots and the wax is placed in a different basket. They keep one stone in the honey and wax to ward off spirits. After the successful completion of the task some honey and wax is offered to the deity *Mallalamma* and a part of it is offered to the deity by throwing it on four directions of the location and the other part is eaten by all members.

Depending upon the size of the *serri* and number of honey combs, two to three people may descend on separate ropes.

The following account presents the factual details of different locations in different villages and their owners.

Name of the Village	Name of the honey deposit	Name of the exogamous group of the owners and No. of owners	Since how many years honey collection was abandoned & Reason
Peccheruvu Atmakuru Tq.	a) Nagulaserri b) Peddagodugu	Pulicherla 4 persons	3 years. The owners are not well-versed with the honey collection

Kurnool Dist.	c) Kareganiserri d) Baianna Chaliserri e) Erra serri		and they have changed their occupation to Govt. service and Agriculture.
	f) Eeka Serri g) Kanugantuserri	Pulicherla 6 persons	Collecting every year
	h) Manillacherri i) Pelikarallaserri	Pulicherla 3 families	Last year did not collect due to lack of investment
	j) Gajjalakonda serri	Pulicherla 3 persons	Collecting every year
	k) Kanuguntha serri	Nimmala 4 families	Not collected since two years due to disputes in sharing.
	l) Kudupaserri	Dasari 2 families Joint share each family having 3 persons and 5 persons	Collecting every year
	m) Pai Serri & Kindi Serri	Nimmala and families	Last year not collected due to disputes.
2. Basapuram Near Gajupalle (Nandyal Tq.) Kurnool Dist.	Deva Serri Konda Serri Bugya Serri Pamu Serri Vegu Sakkalu Nemili Serri	Pulicherla 3 persons	Last before year they did not collect it as they could not summon the chief collector in time. Approximately yield will be 10 tins.
3. Bairulutigudam (Atmakur Tq.) Kurnool Dist.	Papagani Serri Chinthagundam serri	Arthi 2 persons	Collecting every year
4. Nagalutigudem (Atmakur Tq.) Kurnool Dist.	Paki Serri Bethamma Serri	Gulla 8 persons	Serious disputes still collection is going 3 owners disclaimed ownership.
5. Thummalabayalu (Markapur Tq) Prakasam Dist.	Kudapa Serri Pitterbokkalaserri Piddarutta serri	Dasari 2 persons Bhumani 3 people	Collecting every year. This year it is doubtful. Collecting every year.
6. Chinthala (Markepur Tq.) Prakasam Dt.	Dhinna Serri Pedda Serri	Kudumula 3 persons	Collecting every year
7. Peddamanthanala, Markapur Tq. Prakasam Dt.	Kudupa Serri Lingam Serri	Dasari 1 person Bhumani	Collecting every year Collecting every year. This year

		4 persons	doubtful the chief collector is dead.
8. Vatvarlapalle (Achampet tq.) Mahbubnagar Dist.	Moodem Serri Kingera Gundam Seeri	Chigurla 2 persons Chigurla 2 persons	Disputes
9. Mannannoor (Achampet Tq.) Mahbubnagar dist.	Loddu Serri Erradari serri Maheswaram Serri Gadeswaram Serri	Kanimooni 4 persons Marripollu 3 persons	Collecting every year Collecting every year
10. Farahbad (Achampet Tq.) Mahboobnagar Dist.	Eedu Kurava Madapa Kurava Jelapula Serri Gadila Serri Tamarind tree Papaim vager Neella Kalera Pala Kurava Bokka Janatree	Eranala and Thokala 2 persons	Yearly collection
11. Abbarajukunt agudem (Atmakur Tq.)	Deva serri Momu Serri Chinnaiah Serri Sadi Kala Addi serri Peddaiah Serri	Thola 2 families Mokala 1 family Paramasi 3 families Bhumani 2 families	

Honey collection

Example3

Farahbad offers an excellent example of true hunting and food gatherers way of life. Might be due to intractable hospitality of the forest, the people had not developed frequent contacts with outsiders, or might be due to the isolated location of the village from the places of modernity preventing sufficient culture-contact.

Farahbad falls in the administrative jurisdiction of Achampet Tq. in Mahaboobnagar district. To reach the village one has to start either from Mannannoor or from Srisailam and get down at a place called Chowrashtra – no village or people are found at this place. A narrow mud road lead into the forest which bifurcates over a distance of 4 km., are leading towards east and another towards northwest. The latter path lead to Farahbad.

Farahbad, at the time of survey consisted of 12 huts widely spread over an area of 4 acres in three groups. The three groups consisted of the following number of huts.

First group – 2

Second group – 4

Third group – 6

The first group was headed by Eravala Lingayya, the second group by Thokala Godaiah and the third group was headed by Thokala Linganna. There were five exogenous groups viz Eravala, Tokala, Chigurla, Nimmala.

The village owned nine honey deposit sites. All the sites belonged to Eravala and Thokala families. These honey sites were owned by Thokala, Lingaiah and five belong to Eravala Lingaiah. Eravala Lingaiah was the chief head for all the groups in the village. The collection of honey and its distribution is very peculiar in this village. Though the honey-sites were owned by two people they never claimed sole authority over them. And strangely these two people were leaders though Eravala Lingayya was supposed to be Raju or King. Though the village had three separate groups. There were only geographically separated. Many of the activities were undertaken communally. Honey collection was one operation which would involve almost all families.

The names of the head of families is given below with respect to each group.

First Group: Total 2 huts:

	(Peddamanishi + Raju)	No. of family members			
		Adults		Children	
		M	F	M	F
1. Eravala Katte Lingaiah	40 years old	0	1	2	1
2. Eravala, Chinna Moogi	30 years old	1	1	3	2

Second Group : Total 4 Huts

1. Thokala Adaiah	35 years	0	1	1	2
2. Thokala Gangaiah	20 years	1	1	1	0
3. Thokala Adaiah	25 years	0	1	0	0
4. Nimmala Eadanna	20 years	0	2	0	1

Third Group: Total Six huts

1. Kudumula Pedda Venkatanna		0	1	2	1
2. Kudumula Chinna Venkatanna Kudumula Baianna		0	2	1	1
3. Chigurla Lingaiah Chigurla Lakshmaiah		0	2	2	3
4. Thokala Guruvaiah		0	2	1	1
5. Thokala Linganna (Peddamanishi)		0	2	3	3
6. Thokala Chinna Eadaiah Kudumula Ankaiah		0	2	1	2

(In the above table the head's number is not represented in the column of No. of family members)

There were 15 married couples and 2 widowers and 3 widows. There were 17 boys below the age group 15 years and 18 girls below the age group of 11 or 12 years, who have not yet attained puberty. There were three huts each inhabited by two couples. The rest of the huts had wife and husband and their children.

One widower was staying with his son and another widower was staying with his daughter. Two widows were staying with their daughters. One widow was staying with her son.

The first group contained 3 adult males and two adult females and eight children. The second group contained five adult males 5 adult females and five children and the third group contained nine adult males eleven adult females and twenty children.

Each group is more or less closely knitted kin group. Maximum cooperation was observed among the members of each group than between groups. For all day-to-day activities individual family was reported to be responsible. The people depend more on forest products for their sustenance.

This gudem also had its own territory which the people exploit. Unlike other gudems, Farahbad Chenchus did not divide their territory into sub-parts over which each group exercises its control. The whole territory belonged to all Chenchu families and everybody was having equal right over it. But the territory belonged to Praval Linganna, who was more a guardian than owner of the territory.

Generally wife and husband would go to forest to collect some food materials and the type of food they collect would follow the seasons. Each individual family was responsible for its own survival. It had to collect its own food stuffs daily. In any case if one family failed to collect food materials, it would depend upon its neighbour. Sometimes few males or females, would go in groups and collect food materials. At times few families would not be fortunate to collect food materials. If their neighbours were also not having anything to offer they might result to other families from other groups.

Last year 1981 honey collection was started during the month of May and extended upto middle of June. The people could collect honey from all the spots. All the heads from all families had participated in this expedition. Honey collection operation was similar like the one described earlier. Some strict religious observations were followed like not using safety matches while making fire. They made fire by the friction method by rotating a shaft of hardwood in a cup-shaped depression in a piece of soft wood held on the ground. While they took the *sacred food* a cloth was tied covering nose and mouth so that no pollutants like saliva or air from their nose wouldn't touch the flame or food. To blow air in order to rise flames during cooking they would use a winnowing fan instead of blowing air through mouth.

Raising of investment was again an interesting issue. Investment would be required either to buy a goat or fowl and some groceries.

Few persons would try to catch hold a hare or fowl wild cock. Sometimes, they would kill a wild pig or wild goat and its blood was offered to the diety Mallamma. Only one such offer would be given to collect honey from all the nine sites. Few members in the village would be deputed by the head man of the village for this purpose. Sometimes headman himself would participate in hunting. Generally those people who were considered to be experts in such pursuits like detection of hare and shooting, would involve in this affair. Along with them a person who could perform propitiation of deity would also accompany. If they succeeded in killing a pig or wild cock the priest would perform the religious rites then and there itself by chanting few *mantras*.

Maximum cooperation would be required from all the families in providing food for the honey collecting team. It would require effective organization understanding and proper functioning. Generally few people in the honey collecting team itself would go in search of food materials. During, honey collection season a variety of food stuff would be available including, tubers, flowers, fruits, seeds etc. This condition would reduce the risk involved in the organization of honey collecting team.

The following details gives an account of the organizational pattern of honey collection which was undertaken by the people of Farahbad during May 1980.

There were 9 deposits of which two deposits were found on trees. Firstly the honey from the trees were collected by Thokala Chinna Radail and Kudumula Chinna Venkataiah assisted by Thokala Lingaiah (one of the leea man), Thokala Gangaiah, Thokala Odaiah, Kudumula Baianna. These six members took two days to collect honey from the two trees (one on Tamarind and the other on Jana (Arum Sylvatica) tree. As these trees were not very high, there was not much difficulty in collecting honey.

Before collection of honey from these trees, there was a discussion in which all the heads of twelve families participated. They tried to select persons who would collect honey and started fixing up each person to each honey deposit. The following table gives the names of persons with respective honey deposits from which they had to collect honey.

Name of the Honey – deposit	Name of the Collector
1. Edu Kurava	Thokala Gangaiah Eravala Katu Lingaiah (Head of the gudem)
2. Madapa Kurava	Chigurla Lakshmaiah
3. Gadela Serri	Chigurla Lakshmaiah
4. Jalapula Serri	Thokala Godaiah
5. Tamarind tree	Thokala Chinna Eadaiah
6. Jana tree (Arun Sylvatica)	Kudumula Chinna Venkataiah
7. Papam Vagu	Kudumula Baianna
8. Neella Kalava	Thokala Lingaiah (2 nd head)
9. Pala Kurava Bokka	Thokala Lingaiah (2 nd head)

Chigurla Lakshmaiah and Thokala Lingaiah (second head of the gudem) would collect honey each from two different deposits. Thokala Chinna Eadaiah and Kudumula Chinna Venkataiah were learners and that was the reason why they were asked to collect honey from trees which was easier than collecting from other deposits. The meeting was convened by Thokala Linganna —the second head of the village in the absence of Eravala Katu Linganna. The latter, who was the chief head, had gone along with wife to a nearby Chenchu gudem called Appapur penta. He wanted to bring some Arekalu (Paspalum trumentaceum) from Thokala Chinna Mallaiah, head of that gudem and a cousin brother to

him. He brought 10 seers of the grain promising he would give him nearly 10 seers of honey provided they could collect sufficient quantity. The people of Appapurpenta do not have any honey deposit sites. Eravala Katte Lingadu wanted the son of Thokala Chinna Mallaiah to accompany him so that he could bring back honey. Appapur penta is some 7 k.m. far away from Farahbad. One contractor would be visiting this place to purchase MFP. Sometimes, Thokala Chinna Mallaiah would sell honey to this contractor or else all the persons (related people) in his gudem would be eat it away. These people had relationship with Farahbad since a very long time ago. When contacted, Thokala Chinna Mallaiah said "that there would no difference if the honey is sold or eaten away by all his village members. He preferred to distribute honey to all people in his gudem due to the fact that they were not having honey – deposits like other gudem. Now and then any one of his village people might detect a small honey comb in their territory but the honey would be very little and would be eaten away by the collector and his family. They could collect other MFP and sold to merchants and would get grains. But this was not the case with Farahbad for the reason that those people depend largely on the forest produce for their subsistence as their territory contain number of fruit-bearing trees, tubers etc. than non-edible minor forest produce and whereas it was otherwise with their village territory. He also said that the Chenchus of Farahabad would't like to go to plain areas or keep contact with plainsmen. He was not very sure why they were still favouring isolation".

Eravala Katta Lingaiah and his wife along with the son of Thokala Chinna Mallaiah returned to Farahbad next day morning Eravala Katta Lingaiah was informed by Thokala Lingaiah that he had entrusted people to collect honey from different sources and said that the (Eravala Katte Lingaiah) had to collect honey from Edukurava along with Thokal Gangaiah. It was only a sort of formality to assign individuals to serve each. All people know who would collect honey from which deposit. Each person would have known the technicalities involved while descending the cliffe or ravine and collection of honey. It was by regular involvement and learning from their fathers or kith and kin that an individual would learn the art of honey collection.

Next day the party of six people started going to the forest early in the morning. They were given two seer of Arekalu by Eravala Katta Lingayya. The following activities were undertaken by the six people.

Thokala Lingaiah and Thokala Oodaiah engaged in the collection of green leaves and dried twigs and tied into 4 bundles of smoke torch. Meanwhile Thokala Chinna Eadaiah and Kudumula Chinna Venkataiah engaged themselves in cutting a strong lengthy bamboo poll. It was Kudumula Chinna Venkataiah who Climbed the bamboo bush and cut the pole which was dragged by T.Chinna Eadaiah and he himself carried it. Thokala Gangaiah went in search of tamarind leaves for food, and Kudumula Bayanna went to fetch water.

Firstly they had extracted honey from the Jana tree.

Thokala chinna Eadaiah and Thokala Linganna tied one strong peg of wood to one end of the bamboo pole making it a hook. Thokala Chinna Eadaiah climbed the tree and he was handed over one smoke torch. Later Kudumula Chinna Venkataiah also climbed the tree. Then they were handed over the bamboo pole by Thokala Lingayya. It was taken by Thokala Chinna Eadaiah and safely hooked it to a branch near the honey comb without disturbing it. Later on he climbed up through the bamboo pole whereas Kudumula Chinna Venkataiah was controlling the bamboo pole not allowing it to tilt. When Thokala Chinna Eadaiah reached the honey comb along with the smoke torch, he started driving away the bees with the smoke. Meanwhile Thokala Lingaiah asked Thokala Oodaiah to climbup the tree and passed on the knife and honey-collecting basket to him, who in turn handed it to Kudumula Chinna Venkataih. When Thokala Chinna Eadaiah had driven away all the bees he made sign to pass the knife and honey basket. It was handed over to him by Kudumula Chinna Venkataiah. A long rope was being attached to the basket, within half an hour he cut all the honey combs (there were 6 in number) and loaded the basket and passed it on to Kudumula Chinna Venkatanna who in turn passed on to Thokala Lingaiah. All the three people descended, the bamboo pole was unhooked by Kudumula Chinna Venkatanna and thrown aside by breaking the peg. Later on the honey was squeezed by Thokala Oodaiah, Kudumula Bavanna and Thokala Gangaiah. Some honey was eaten by all people. Later Kudumula Bavanna and Thokala Oodaiah cooked food and made some chutney with tamarind, some wax and the grubs were roasted and eaten by all the members. They bought honey and wax to the gudem. It roughly weighed about 6 ½ seers of honey and 3 k.g. of wax.

Next day it was taken by Eravala Katta Linganna and the son of Thokala Chinna Mallayya of Appapur penta to Appapur penta and gone it T.Chinna Mallaya. Again Eravala Katta Linganna bought 10 more k.g. of Arekalu chilli and salt from him.

That day night Ekatte Linganna had divided the entire members into two groups. The first group was headed by E.Katte Linganna and second group was by Thokala Lingayya. They would collect honey from their respective deposits which wee owned by these two people. The following were the members in each group.

First Group		Name of the deposits to be collected
1. Eravala Katte Lingaiah	Chief Honey Collectors	Edu Kurava, Madapu Kuruva Gadela Serri Papamvagu
2. Thokala Gangaiah		
3. Chigurla Lakshmaiah		
4. Kudumula Baianna		
5. Eravala Chinna Roogi (Bro.of No.1)		
6. Thokala Veeradu (Father of No.2)		

7. Thokala Oodaiah	
8. Nimmala Eadanna	
9. Eravala Maisamgadu (Son of No.5)	
10.Thokala Chinna Gangaiah (son of No.2)	
SECOND GROUP	
1. Thokala Lingaiah	Chief Collectors
2. Thokala Godaiah	
3. Thokala Chinna Eadaiah	
4. Kudumala Chinna Venkataiah	
5. Kudumala Pedda Venkatanna	
6. Chingunla Lingaiah (Brother of No.3 in 1 st group)	
7. Thokala Gurevaiah	
8. Kudumula Ankaiah	
9. Thokala Baigadu (son of No.1)	
10. Chigurla Kuntli Veeradu (son of No.6)	

These people would collect honey from Jalapula serri, Neelakaluva and Pala Kurava Bokka.

In that meeting Eravala Chinni Moogi's father was also present. He didn't go because he was suffering from a wound on his leg. Eravala katte Lingaiah had given six seer of Arekalu to Thokala Lingaiah and party and rest of the grain was kept for his team members.

Next day morning both the groups started to go their respective places. The first group had chosen Edukurava for its first operation. Two people are required to collect honey and this site is very difficult one than the others. While going to the site itself six people started collecting fibre from the *Madapu* (*Bauhunia Vauhili*). All the four Chief operators were involved in this collection. Besides them Thokala Godaiah and Nimmala Eadanna were also involved. All the four chief operators were involved in collection of fibre whereas the rest of the two were involved in separating the cortex or bark from the endodermis layer which would be used as fibre. This was being done by pounding the cutdown sheaths from the trees. Later on the fibre was soaked in water for about one hour. After one hour the fibre was plaited into strong rope by all the four chief honey collectors.

Meanwhile Eravala Chinni Moogi, Tokala Veeradu, Eravala Maisamgadu and Thokala Chinna Gangaiah engaged in cutting three bamboo poles. The latter two young people climbed the bamboo bush and cut the poles. The poles were dragged by the farmer two people. Later on Eravala Maisam gadu Thokala Chinna Gangaiah, Thokala Oodaiah and Nimmala Eadanna engaged in collection of green leaves and dried splinter which were made into bundles by Thokala Veeradu who was a old man assisted by Thokala Chinna Gangaiah who was his grandson. Meanwhile the four chief collectors engaged themselves in driving two strong pegs into the ground to which the one end of the rope was fastened securely. To the other end a bamboo pole was tied.

Meanwhile Thokala Oodaiah and Nimmala Radanna were engaged in plaiting slender rope which would be used in passing on the required material to the collectors and also for tying of other items.

After finishing preparing of smoke torches (25nos.), Thokala Veeradu started fixing up the honey basket to a lengthy bamboo handle with the help of Thokala Oodaiah.

This Eravala Katte guravaiah Thokala Gangaiah and Chigurla Lakshmaiah pulled the rope tied to the peg to check it whether it was safely or not.

Eravala Katte Lingaiah and Thokala Gangaiah both descended in separate fibre rope and fastened themselves to the bamboo pole tied to the rope. Immediately the smoke torches were handed over to them from above by Thokala Veeradu. Thokala Chinna Gangaiah had lit few smoke torches on the top generating smoke. Kudumula Baianna and Chigurla Lakshmaiah were holding the two ropes through which the collectors descended. Meanwhile Thokala Oodaiah got two honey baskets with handle, another two honey baskets and two more wooden alongated blades used for cutting each tied to separate ropes.

Thokala Veeradu had handed over 15 smoke torches to both the operators and it took nearly half an hour to drive off all the bees from the bee-hives. Thokala Veeradu passed on the wooden blades and spatula like honey basket with handle. Both the operators cut the hives into the basket. Then the hives were transferred into another honey basket soon after which it was lifted up by T.Veeradu. Honey collecting operation took nearly 45 minutes and it was done morning and evening.

Honey hives were squeezed by Eravala Chinni Moogi, Thokala Oodaiah, Nimmala Eadanna. Eravala Raiasamgudu and T.Chinna Gangaiah were involved in cooking food and also roasting some wax along with grubs. Within one day honey from Edukurava was collected. They collected honey from Madapukurava and Gadela Serri which took two days. Chigurla Lakshmaiah alone had collected honey from this two deposits. Later Kudumula Baianna had collected honey from Papamvagu serri.

The other party headed by Thokala Lingaiah had also collected honey from their respective honey sites more or less in the similar fashion as described above.

Total yield from Honey-deposit sites (1980)

Name of the site	Quantity collected		Exchange value			
	Honey (in Padi)	Wax (in Paddy)	Honey		Wax	
			Cash	Kind	Cash	Kind
1. Podu Kurava	60	12	600			
2. Medapu Kurava	30	12	300			

3. Jalapula Serri	25	5	250			
4. Gadela Serri	43	8	430			
5. Tamarind trees	6.5	2	65			
6. Jana Tree(Arun Sylvatica)						
7. Papam vagu	10	3	100			
8. Neella Kurava	5	2	50			
9. Pala Korava Bokka	38	7	380			
Total yield	217.5	45	2175		532	

One Padi was equal to 1 ½ k.g. * Value refers to the year 1980
45 padi was equal to 5.32.....(.....Rs.100/-)

From all the nine deposits 326 k.g. of honey and 5.3 maunds of wax were collected. Of this nearly 50 k.g. of honey was given to Thokala Chinna Mallaiah of Appapurpenta from 10 no. they had borrowed grains. In fact, exavala Katte Linganna had borrowed only 20 seers of grain which would have costed only about Rs.25 to 30, whereas 50 k.g. of honey cost about Rs.300/- (Rs.6/ kg.) This honey was carried by Eravala Katte Linganna, Thokala Lingaiah and Kudumula Baianna to Appapurpenta, Eravala Lingadu could give them 5 k.g. of Arekalu and some salt and Chilli. The total cost of commodities given by Thokala Chinna Mallaiah was around Rs.50.60. Excluding this cost from the quantity of honey, remaining quantity was deemed by both the parties as gift.

It was considered as a gift there were no strict terms and condition of repayment. Besides that amount of honey was given to Thokala Chinna Mallaiah with an intention he would distribute it to all other members of his village.

And some more honey was given to the people of Pullaipalli another nearby village with whom the Farahbad people were having affinal relationship. There were affinal relatives in Appapur penta also. Some 10 k.g. of honey was given to the three families in habiting Pullaipalli Eravalla Katte Lingadu had earlier sent a word with his people to one Kudumula Pothuraju to visit his village along with a pot to collect honey.

Thokala China Mallaiah of Appapur penta told to Eravala Katte Linganna to sell honey to the local merchants. He said he would arrange for exchange of honey with grains and other commodity. Eravala Katte Lingadu accepted and said that he would bring three pots full of honey.

In their village, all the heads of twelve families were called and honey was distributed in the following fashion.

Firstly they had separated 3 pots full of honey which weighed nearly 150 k.g. Then there were three more pots left. It was very difficult for them to get it distributed due to lack of utensils in order to make shares.

Then they started calculating how many shares should be made out of the three pots.

S.No	Name	Parti- cipation share	For providing extra labour from family	Collectors share	Leadership share	Total
1.	Eravala Katte Lingaiah	1	-	1	1	3
2.	Eravala Chinna Moogi	1	1			2
3.	Thokala Oodaiah	1	-	1	-	2
4.	Thokala Gangaiah	1	2	1	-	4
5.	Thokala Oodaiah	1	0	-	-	1
6.	Nimmala Eadanna	1	-	-	-	1
7.	Kudumula Pedda Venkatanna	1	-	-	-	1
8.	Kudumula Chinna Venkatanna & Kudumula Baianna	1+1	-	1+1	-	4
9.	Chigurla Lingaiah Chigurla Lakshmaiah	1+1	1	1	-	4
10.	Thokala Guravaiah	1	-	-	-	1
11.	T.Linganna	1	1	1	1	4
12.	Thokala Chinna Eadaiah Kudi Ankaiah	1+1	-	1	-	3
	Total:	15	5	8	2	30

Each share was equal to 5 k.g. of honey. Four families got one share each, two families got two shares each, two families got three shares each and four families got four shares.

Eravala Katte Lingadu started distributing honey according to the number of shares.

Firstly the honey in three pots was emptied into a big pot used for fermentation of mahuwa flowers. While dozing so he tried to fix up the quantity of each share with one bowl. In this attempt he didn't succeed. Again he used another bowl and then he determined the quantity. Accordingly 30 shares of honey were made.

All the 30 shares were collected in pots belonging to various families. Those people who didn't have any utensil to collect, had used others utensils and some people made leaf bowls to collect their share.

The remaining three pots of honey contained 106 k.g. of honey which was exchanged for jowar, chilli, salt. It was sold at the rate of Rs.6 per k.g. honey. The following quantities of groceries were exchanged.

Name of the commodity	Quantity	Price Rs.
Jowar	60 k.g. (Rs.2/- per k.g.)	120.00
Arekalu	60 k.g. (Rs.1 ½ k.g.)	90.00
Rice	30 k.g. (Rs.2 ½ k.g.)	75.00
Chilli	15 k.g. (Rs.12/- k.g.)	180.00
Salt	30 k.g. (Rs.1/- k.g.)	30.00
Tobacco		20.00
Red gram	30 k.g. (Rs.3 ½ k.g.)	105.00
Jaggery		16.00
	Total:	636.00

The above commodities were shared equally among all the 15 heads of the families. Each head got 4 k.g. of jowar, 4 k.g. of arekalu, 2 k.g. of rice, 1 k.g. of chilli, 2 k.g. of salt, 2 k.g. of red gram and some tobacco. Jaggery was used in preparing liquor which all people including women and children took.

POOLING AND DISTRIBUTION

(Illustration)

Hunting :

Place : Byrulutigudem, Atmakur Tq. Kumool Dist.

Chenchus are not experts hunters and their marksmanship is poor. The hunting technology is very simple. They use bow and arrow to kill birds, rabbits, pigs and deer. They do not know how to use complicated technology of arranging traps nets etc. as observed among other tribes of Africa and North and south America, Hunting of big animals is not preferred by these people due to their feeble technology and lack of skill. They do not want to use nets for the fear that some big animals may be caught in it. But occasionally they may use small traps to kill rabbits or rats. The normal method of hunting is by means of ambush. The other method of hunting is to go in troops and chasing the animal. And the dog is an important companion to the Chenchu while they hunt.

Implements used in Hunting:

1. Stones
2. Wood pieces in the form of clubs
3. Bow and arrow
4. Catter pillar
5. Axe and digging stick

Techniques:

- a. Ambush
- b. Trap
- c. Surrounding the animal by all sides.

Ambush is a common technique used in hunting. The Chenchu way lay at certain spots like salt-lick or water-holes, and wait for the animal by releasing the arrow.

Three types of traps are used. The first one is arranged too, flexible but considerably strong branch of a tree by bending it the ground which is knoched with one end of the rope. The other end of the rope is arranged into a trap. Some food stuff is kept in the trap and when the animal like hare try to eat it, the system gets disturbed and the rope get tightened around the neck and the tree branch goes back to its original position killing the animal.

Another method of trap is to arrange a considerably bigger more or less flat stone on the ground with one of its side is being supported by bamboo splinters so that one end of the stone is lifted up. To the supporter another splinter is fixed up in such a fashion that even the slightest disturbance would cause the supporter to slip allowing the stone to fall. To this second splinter some food material is attached. It is used mainly to kill rats.

The third trap is to arrange thorny and prickly bushes in two lines, in a cone fashion. The narrowing end lead into a deep pit. The hares and rabbits are driven from the wider end so that they come and fall in the pit.

The third technique is rather systematic way of approaching the animal from all the sides. This technique is used to hunt big game like deer, porcupine, wild boar. Wild goat, etc. The technique is more savage in its outlook where people use all kinds of tactics in attempt to kill the animal. Generally eight to ten people were involved in this operation.

The food-guest is a total family effort with a division of labour between the men who hunt and the women and children who bring in more easily collected edibles. Usually it is also an effort involving more than one family because it is more efficient for several men to hunt together than for one man to hunt alone.

Hunting by stalking is the common method adopted by the Chenchu. Success in stalking depends not only on skills in handling weapon but also on an intimate knowledge of animal habits which are species-specific. All animals of a species given variations in sex and age and whether or not they are in rut, may usually be counted on to behave in the same general way. During British regime the police used Chenchus for tracking criminals. This knowledge he acquired probably, from his art of stalking after animals. An expert Chenchu can predict more or less correctly, the age, sex, weight of animals by seeing its strides or fecal matter or by smelling urine. They know the tracks of animal and by following it he try to find some other evidence like fecal matter or urine. He can tell how fresh the tracks are. Once he finds a reasonably fresh set of tracks, he meekly follows it until he reaches the animal within sight. The principle involved is that unless it knows it is seen, he alerts himself not to commit even a single mistake and try to approach the animal from down wind, by creeping from bush to bush or rock to rock. At times he standstills without even working eyes for several minutes, till the animal sleepily comes to him mistaking that it is an interesting object to look at. Another person may also approach it in another direction. When they reach the animal at a shooting distance, the person releases the arrow so that the animal reacts as if it were being attacked from in-front of it and then run towards the other hunter who will cast an arrow at its lethal part. In such a circumstance if there were several other people who are hiding at convenient places may also attack with clubs or arrows or stones and one or two people may pounce upon it. The

dog chase the animal and do not allow it to escape. Sometimes drums are beaten in order to make the animals berserk so that the people hiding in convenient positions can shoot the animals. Sometimes the people use lures during stalking. Chenchus can make a deer call during mating season and deceive the animal, attracting it to their lurking spots. Despite of all the above skills, if the animal is not wounded in a vulnerable part and if the positions of lurking spots of other people awaiting the animal to come to them are not, proper the animal escapes. In such cases the animal is to be traced by following its foot prints and it takes them at least a day to trace it. If the wound is only superficial, then the Chenchu cannot trace the animal at all.

All the above skills are very important but shooting the animal in its most vulnerable part is considered to be most crucial and skillful and that is why some extra credit is bestowed on marksmanship and marksman.

Hunting is restricted to only one's territory and trespassing into others' territory is deemed scornfully. Generally the Chenchu confine their hunting arena to their own territory.

But during stalking animal enters others' territory also. In such cases the hunter can follow it and hunt. And he can give some amount of meat to the eldest person of the group to which the territory belongs. Or he can give to any other person in that group worth whom the hunter has relationship either through blood, affinity, skill and activity. Sometimes during big game hunting one or two person from adjacent territories are invited to join one's group.

Skills: From the above description it appears that hunting doesn't require much skill. But in fact it is only a superficial overview. In general, there are two methods of hunting: one by using most effective techniques and tools like arranging traps, or using gum, the other one is by using mental faculty and shrewdness in the absence of complex technology. An expert Chenchu hunter is very much shrewd in locating the animal, capable of beguiling it by stalking silently. He is also an expert animal psychologist and ethnologist and know the animal bionomics. He can identify the animal either from its foot prints or fecal matter.

He knows the animal food habits, mating seasons aggression periods.

This knowledge not only facilitates him in the successful hunt but also prevents him meeting dangerous animals like tiger, panther and bear. In contingent situations like a snake-bite, he knows what medicine is to be taken. All the more he knows the vulnerable parts of the animal body shooting at which he can paralyse the animal. There were only few people in each village with all the above qualities. However many people can hunt with some limited knowledge and this is the major factor which forces people with

different skills to come together to make out hunting party. Individual skill differs from one animal to another sometime an individual may be an expert marksman but poor in animal psychologist, ethology and bionomics. In this case, a person(s) with that knowledge will be the markman's companion. Another skill is the art of butchery. All the hunters are not expert butchers.

Membership: Adult males generally set up a hunting party. Female never participate in hunting. Sometime adolescent boys aged between 15-18 years may either independently form a group or they may join the hunting party consisting of adult males. Boys below the age group of 15 years may also join the adults but they are not capable of carrying an independent hunt. However an adolescent above 15 years age is good huntsman as an adult. Each adolescent boy never ventures over hunting independently, he always seek the cooperation of atleast one or two young person of his age. Whereas an adult can carry out independent hunt without the assistance of any companion. It is due to the lack of matured knowledge, of animal psychology, ethology and bionomics that the young people do not venture an independent hunt though they might have acquired a perfect skill of using a bow and arrow.

Generally a hunting party consists of not more than 4 or 5 people. At times the number may increase upto ten people. The following criterion determine the number of persons in the hunting party.

The animal which is to be hunted. For example to hunt a hare or squirrel or a rabbit, iguana, peacock, jungle fowl, field rat, mangoose, rabbit squirrel, wild cat, wild fowl, wild duck, partridge and quail it requires generally not more than two persons. And to hunt deer, spotted deer, sambhar, porcupine, wild pig, jackal, fox, wild sheep or barking deer and langoor and bear a minimum of four to six people are required. Generally a hunting party will be smaller consisting of not more than five persons when big game is being hunted. The Chenchus prefer to have the small groups so that the animal will not sense their presence.

The membership into a hunting group is purely voluntary and persons participants purely for their personnel benefit. But at the same time there is no open membership unless an individual is closely related either through blood or by affinity or friendship with sufficient skill (the least skill required is to walk fast without producing sounds), he will not be admitted into the hunting party.

The nuclear family is the basic economic unit among the Chenchu. The head of the family with the assistance of his son, if present will go for hunting small game. To hunt big game the head requires the help of other members. These members are generally from his neighborhood i.e., from this secondary group to which he belongs. In case effective assistants or skilled persons are not available in his group, then he will try to choose such persons from other secondary groups to which his secondary group is closely related and exploit a fixed territory, only during abnormal conditions he seeks

cooperation from members who exploit another territory i.e., from other territory group. But this seldom happens due to the fact that skilled persons are always available and also that hunting requires only a limited number of persons.

Generally few members belonging to a single clan together make up the hunting party. But at times people from other clans may also join for the reason that these people belong to the same territorial group and also either they are consanguinal or affiminal relatives to the other persons with whom they join. People who belong to other gudems or guests to one's village are not eligible to participate in hunting.

All the members in the hunting party are not necessarily experts in hunting. Some persons may accompany just to carry the hunted animal to the village. And all members are not necessarily equally competent as any other member. In fact, only one or two persons may be expert marksman are may be an expert in animal ethology and Bionomics and another may be an expert in animal psychology, one may be an expert in animal psychology, one may be an expert in manufacturing string and sharp arrow-points and are may be an expert butcher and one may be a dog-keeper who can tame the dog so that it does not products sounds or bark as soon as it smells the presence of an animal. Some persons can run fast and cover the animal after it is being wounded, some persons may be experts in skillfully using a stick to beat the animal. The hunting party decide all these skills and entrust with a person a task in which is an expert. It is the specialiazation in view of tasks in a single work that is being observed here. But the members may be even experts in some other activities like, honey, collection, basketry, fishing, or an expert bamboo cutter.

All the members in hunting party join mainly due to selfish interest of getting a share in the game.

Control:

The chief of the village is expected to regulate the activities of his village people. In case of group hunting, he should be informed about it. Among the group of people who are planning to go for hunting, one elder person who may intact either participate or stay back in the village, takes the initiative and informs the chief of the gudem about the team. Informing is usually casual but such an act helps the hunting party in case some dispute arise between other group who may raise the issue of trespass.

Before they set-art for hunting they converse and finally decide whether or not they will go out the next day. Their decision will depend partly on their predictions of the weather and availability of fodder and water etc. Which are important ecological factors for animal behaviour.

And each animal behaves in a typical fashion, for example the iaguana belonging to class of lizards, generally come out of the burrows just after every rain. Deer go in large herds during morning hours when green tender grass is springing up. To kill wild board dry period is preferred. When the forest is covered with thick green grass which grow to the high of nearly 4 to 5 feet covering the animal, hunting by a single person is generally avoided. But a troop of people can venture over hunting not frequently, during such periods. Sometimes few people might have observed some animals regularly visiting particular spots either browse or for rest and this information will be passed on to the elders of their group so that they can held a meeting and sponsor experts to hunt those animals. These elders may give them few suggestions also worth regard to certain issues concerning the vulnerable part of the animal body and case to be taken if the animal is having its infants. They may also advise them about the organisational pattern in approaching the animals. Sometimes they may arrange them to procure arrows from somebody or else they themselves may manufacture or direct somebody who is expert in that art to prepare arrows. In each group there may be two to three such elderly people, and only one of them may report their plan to the chief leader of the gudem. If an expert marksman is available among the group members then he will lead the other people who accompanies him. He sharpens his arrows and other people may also make ready of their implements of bows and arrow, are, digging stick.

Early in the morning the party goes to the forest. The party may consists of an expert who is generally an elderly person who may be an expert marksman or may not be. The leadership is vested on a person who is well versed with animal psychology, ethology and Bionomics and not an expert marksman who have no knowledge in the above mentioned tenets. But an expert person having such knowledge will be generally an expert marksman. Such an experts divide the group and entrust each with particular task. And once they find the animal they start working accordingly.

Distribution of the hunted game also follows a set procedure. The following people are entitled for a share. And the number of person who would get a share increase with the animal; if the animal is considerably big, the number of people who share it also increases, real distribution follows the principle of group structure-starting from the secondary group to other secondary groups which fall into one territory group and may extend to other secondary groups belonging to a separate territory group. This pattern of distribution is again depends upon the priority basis, families will get a share with whom the hunting party have a higher interaction and when the animal is big enough families with high interaction to medium and low interaction with the hunting party will get the share.

Dispensation of meat is done by two ways:

Share and distribution:

"Share" is confined to those people who have either participated in the activity or are were in indirect touch with the activity such as giving suggestions or leader of the gudem. Here the right of claim over a portion of the animal killed i.e. gauranteed to those people who have participated in the activity either directly or indirectly.

"Distribution" is confined to those people who are not directly or indirectly connected with the activity but are in relationship with the hunting party either by blood, affinity, neighbourhood or members in the territory group of the hunting party or members of other territory groups in case the animal was killed in their territory or those people with whom the hunting party would collaborate in certain other activities like fishing, honey collection, bamboo cutting, gum collection, etc. Here the right of claim over the flesh of animal is not gauranteed such a kind of distribution cannot be called as gift for the reason that meat is given to these people without cooking and also the giver expects some other kind of retribution from the receivers. Meat is not offered in the gesture of good-will or to get good name. Instead of the giver tries to strengthen his own chances of getting the same kind of help when the receiver hunts an animal and thereby strengthening his economic relationship with the receiver.

Besides these people, share is given to the dog() and the arrow point (s) which killed the animal. The chiefs marksman who kills the animal is given an extra share. If the hunter is alone he will take a major portion of the animal and the rest is distributed. In this case also the meat is distributed to the people of his own group and in few cases to other parsons belonging to other groups. Sharing and distribution differs in different villages. In much exposed villages the hunter tries to sell the meat and whereas in more isolated villages such monetary transactions are absent.

Hunting is not an assured occupation for the Chenchu which definitely get them food. Every hunter will not be successful each time. (In fact it is reported by the people that they returned several time with empty hands after expending long time trekking over forest to trace animals. They lamented over the outsider's intrusion into the forest who hunt with gun thereby for endangering wildlife. They opined that due to massive deforestation activities the animal got disturbed.) But for most of the people animal food is delicious and hence distribution of animal flesh is considered not only an act of good gesture but which should be repaid in the same right spirit.

The following details present a series of hunting operation carried out by Arthi Gurvadu aged 28 years living in Bairulutigudem. (He is an expert marksman and shrewd in detecting the animals. He has a remarkable ability to smell the animal from at a distance)

He was living with his wife two children, mother and a cousin (Arthi Mooganna) and his wife. His house was situated near the houses of Dasari Venkatanna, the Chief leader of the village, Arthi Guravadu was closely associated with five persons who have their huts nearer to his. The people are:

Name	Age	Total No. of persons having				With whom of Guravadu is more associated in the family.
		Adult		Children		
		M	F	M	F	
1. Dasari Venkatanna	45	2	3	1	-	D.Guravadu son of No: 1 (Age = 25)
2. Dasari Chinnanna	43	2	2	-	1	D.Golusaiah, son of No: 2 (23 years)
3. Chigurla Thandrooti	30	2	1	1	-	Chigurla Nagaluti
4. Gulla Narasaiah	28	1	-	-	1	Gulla Narasaiah
5. Gulla Neenamma	40	1	2	-	2	Gulla Neenamma

There are two more persons Dasari Pedda Guravadu and Chigurla Rangadu whose houses are a bit away with whom Arthi Guravadu associates. Generally he would go to forest along with his wife Veeramma. Otherwise he would go with his cousin Arthi Moogamma who is aged about 26 years.

In certain other situations he would go with Dasari Guravadu sum of No.1, Dasari Golusaiah of No.2. The other three people with whom he has relationship are also frequently interact with him in such matters like, collection of gum, grazing, hunting, house repair, distillation of liquor, etc. from each of these people form into a cooperative unit and each one is expert in particular skill or activity. The following table gives an idea of tasks or skills in which they are specialized.

Name of the person	Special still in Hunting	Other specialized skills/or activities	Activities in which he is poor
1	2	3	4
1. Arthi Guravaiah	a. Expert marksman and expert in animal psychology, Ethology and Bionomics b. Imitate sounds of animals. c. Expert stalker of animals d. Remarkable ability to detect animals	a. Repairing implements. b. Collection of <i>MFP</i> . c. Collection of gum d. Drum-maker with animal skin. e. Cultivation 1. Fencing 2. Watching crop 3. Harvest f. Rope making	cannot climb trees and hen don't undertake such activities like bamboo cutting honey collection. Tilling, don't know the art of butchery.
2. Dasari Venkatanna	a. Butcher b. Expert in animal bionomics	a. Grazing cattle of collection of fodder to cattle. b. Watching crops	a. Ex-marker b. Tilling.

		c. Fencing of agricultural lands. d. Expert in giving advises with regard to disputes, arranging groups to carry out activities.	
3. Dasari Chinnanna	a. Expert in making shares of animal flesh. b. Expert in making bow and arrows.	a. Fishing and making fishing implements. b. Distillation of arrack. c. Collection of <i>MFP</i> . d. Weeding e. Watching crops. f. Rope-making	Poor marksman tilling Broadcasting of seeds
4. Dasari Guravaiah (son of No.1)	a. Chase the animal after it is wounded. b. Sharpens the arrow points. c. Can arrange conical shaped bushy fences and drive animals into it.	a. Tilling b. Fencing c. Weeding d. Harvesting e. Bamboo cutting f. Repairing implements.	No knowledge about broad casting of seeds. Poor marksman and no knowledge about animals cannot collect honey, but can climb tree and assist the chief-collector.
5. Dasari Golusu (Son of No.2)	a. Chase the animal b. Can tame the dog c. Can butcher d. Expert in hunting iaguana (lizard) e. Can arrange traps to catch hares. f. Expert in using the wooden club, stones in killing the animal. g. Can decoy the animal by use of lures or imitating the sounds of deer and wild boar.	a. Expert bamboo cutter. b. Expert in collection of fibre and making ropes. c. Can collect honey from trees. d. Manufacturing arrow points and repair of implements. e. Fencing f. Collection of <i>MFP</i> . g. Gum Collection.	Not an expert in using bow & arrow cannot collect honey from cliffes.
6. Arthi Mooganna (cousin of A.Guravadu)	a. Expert in studying the foot-prints. Crime and droppings of animals, knows their habitations.	a. Expert honey collector both from trees and cliffes. b. Expert bamboo cutter.	Don't know how to peel out skin of hunted animals Don't know illings seeding.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> b. Can use lures c. Can predict d. Weather conditions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> c. Collects fibre and plait rope. d. Collect the bark of a tree for fermentation. e. Fencing f. Weeding. g. Harvesting. h. Gum Collection. 	
7. Chigurla Thandrooti	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Can chase the wounded animal b. Can shoot the c. Expert butcher 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Can assist in honey collection. b. Bamboo cutter. c. Can make smoke torches. d. Basket-maker. 	Don't know the art of cultivation except watching. He does not has much knowledge about animal behaviour and their habitation.
8. Gulla Narasaiah	Expert Butcher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Expert Bamboo cutter. b. Expert in milking cows, buffallows. c. Cooks food 	He cannot use bow & arrow as he is lame.
9. Gulla Veeramma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Can chase the animal b. Expert in studying foot prints of animals. c. Can tame and control the dog during hunting. d. Can give proper suggestions. e. Knows some herbal medicines. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Gum collection b. Assists in honey collection. c. Can plait rope 	No marksmanship He cannot cut bamboo or fibre.

The other two people Dasari Peddaguravadu and Chigurla Rangadu have also some knowledge of hunting specially in chasing the animal after it is wounded and can use lures to decoy the animals.

There are few other people who fall in other secondary groups but belong to the territory group of Arthi Guravadu with whom the latter interacts. These people are: Achamma who is a step father to Arthi Guravadu, Chigurla Nagi Reddy who is brother of Chigurla Rangadu, Chigurla Venkatanna who is brother-in-law of Arthur Guravadu, Chigurla Manthadu who is Arthi Guravadu's sister husband. All these people form into an unified group when they go on *Kanduva* or Polam (camp) in the forest where they stay for and two to three months.

During the month of January 1982, Arthi Guravadu had hunted one monkey (Langoor called in their Vernacular as *Kondamuchhu*). Five persons went out for hunt: 1) Arthi Guravadu, 2). Dasari Golusaiah 3). Chigurla Thandrooti 4). Arthi Mooganna 5). Chigurla Rangadu. They went to hunt this monkey during January as these monkeys come down in groups from top of hills into forest to eat various

fruits and small insects. An adult monkey grows to the weight of about 3 to 4 feet and sturdy. It becomes very ferocious when agitated and as they move in groups it is very difficult to hunt. If a monkey is killed without driving away the other monkey, they flock around the dead body and few will also attack the hunters.

Before the day of Arthi Guravadu told to Dasari Venkatanna (leader of the village and also the group leader of A.Guravadu's group) his intention to go over to hunt the langoor. He wanted to hunt it because his wife wanted to eat the monkey's flesh as she was carrying. The flesh of langoor is believed to be good for expectant mothers from their health point of view. Venkatanna told to A.Guravadu that he could go to *Pachekaluva* the name of their territory and asked to which part he exactly wanted to go in that place. A. Guravadu said that he was planning to go nearer to a big mango tree. Then D.Venkatanna suggested another place called *Nalla Gutta* of small hillock some 1 ½ k.m. Dasari Venkatanna called D.Golusu and said whether it would be possible for him to accompany Arthi Guravadu. D.Golusu said that as he was not having any work, so wouldn't mind going. After that Arthi Guravadu went to the house of Chigurla Rangadu and asked him whether it would be possible for him to accompany him who accepted. Then he went to the house of Chigurla Rangadu and asked him whether it would be possible for him to accompany him who accepted. Then he went to the house of Chigurla Thandrooti and requested him to accompany him. Chigurla Thandrooti knows how to butcher the animal. Arthi Mooganna had to butcher the animal. Arthi Mooganna had to follow the group as it was obligation on his part. Dasari Venkatanna enquired about his son, D.Guravadu who said he wouldn't go as his leg was paining. Next day early morning Gulla Narasaiah and Dasari Golusu sharpened the arrow heads. Arthi Guravadu checked his bow and arrow. He asked Arthi Mooganna to sharpen the axe who sharpened it along with his own axe. Dasari Golusu went to Chigurla Nagi Reddy the brother of Chigurla Rangadu and brought his dong. Meanwhile Arthi Guravadu ate his morning meal along with Chigurla Rangadu. Others had their morning meal in their own houses. They all after their meal, they all came out of their houses and kept on loitering around their houses and then sat under a tree. They were doing it just a waiting for a good omen. Around 8.00 a.m. they started going to the forest. They spoke different issues while they walked till they covered almost 2 k.m. Then all people stopped speaking and started becoming alert. Arthi Guravadu was leading the group and he was walking in front of others. Arthi Mooganna was following all others. They were walking very fast but without producing any sounds. Arthi Guravadu was very fast in looking at all nook and corners while walking. Before reaching the tamarind tree some furlong away from it, all people stopped. Arthi Guravadu said he and his cousin would go and see whether langoor were there or not. He said if he found that, then he would imitate sound of a bird, so that the rest can reach him silently. Then he fixed the bamboo staring to the shaft of bow and started going. A. Mooganna followed him silently. They were hiding behind the bushes or while they kept on reaching the tamarind tree. They found nearly ten langoors sitting on a mango trees. There were two big langoors. Both of these people took a great care in hiding themselves from being recognized their presence by the

langoors. Then they resorted to thick bush and made certain noise of a bird and then all others came but each resorted to a hiding place. Arthi Guravadu waited for about half an hour and then he saw that one big langoor descending the tree. He alerted others and carefully moved forward. Other people also started moving in a semi circular fashion. Chigurla Thandrooti went to the other side along with Arthi Mooganna, Chigurla Thandrooti was also ready with bow and arrow. When the animal reached ground it started loitering for few minutes and then sat in small rock. Immediately Arthi Guravadu released an arrow just below its chest and the animal was thrown on the ground and started shrieking. Meanwhile Arthi Mooganna and Chigurla Rangadu started beating the drums which they carried along with them. Dasari Golusu who was pacifying the dog, immediately provoked it which started barking and attacked the wounded animal. Due to the sounds all other animals got started and ran away. The wounded animal started moving and reached where Chigurla Thandrooti was hiding. He didn't release an arrow because dog had already approached it and it died. The drummers were still beating the drums simultaneously producing fierce shrieks. And all other animals were driven away.

To long wooden shaft the animal was suspended and carried away by Dasari Golusu and Chigurla Rangadu to another place where it was butchered by Chigurla Thandrooti assisted by Dasari Golusu. They offered few pieces to the Goddess of forest. Then they heated few pieces of liver, and few pieces of flesh and ate. The animal was cut into bigger pieces wrapped it with the leaves of teak and then returned to their village.

In their village they distributed the meat to the following persons.

S.No	Name	No.of shares	Remarks
1.	Arthi Guravadu	2	One share to him and one for his kill
2.	Arthi Mooganna	1	For participation
3.	Chigurla Thandrooti	1	For participation
4.	Chigurla Rangadu	1	For participation
5.	Dasari Golusu	1	For participation
6.	Dasari Venkatanna	1	For leadership in the village
7.	Chigurla Nagi Reddy (dog)	1	For dog
8.	Gulla Narsaiah	1	For Helping in Sharpening arrows
9.	Gulla Veeranna	1	As he was a member in the group
10.	Achanna	1	As he had sent meat of deer few weeks ago

Big share was given to all the participants due to their participation. The Chief leader of the village D.Venkatanna was also given a big share as he was closely associated with Arthi Guravadu. Big share is the one which consists of three to four pieces of flesh compared to small share. Each big share weighed roughly $\frac{3}{4}$ k.g. and small share $\frac{1}{2}$ k.g.

After few weeks Arthi Guravaiah killed one wild boar when he went to forest along with wife to collect gum. Both people carried it to their village. It was butchered by Chigurla Thandrooti and Gulla Narasaiah. It was distributed to the following people.

1. Dasari Venkatanna	Belong to the group of A.Gurvadu
2. Dasari Chinnanna	
3. Chigurla Thandrooti	
4. Chigurla Golusaiah	People from other secondary group of the territory group of Arthi Guravadu
5. Chigurla Venkatanna	
6. Chigurla Manthadu	
7. Arthi Achanna	

Gulla Veeranna who as a group member of Arthi Guravadu had gone to away forest along with his wives to collect gum and that is why he didn't get the share. Arthi Guravadu got one share, his cousin got and Gulla Narasaiah got one share. All these shares had been cooked by the wife of Arthi Guravadu and eaten by all the members belonging to each person. Two k.g. of pork was sold to a Sugali person by Dasari Venkatanna for Rs.4/- which was later given to Arthi Guravadu. The total weight of the pork was about 12 k.g. and each person got one share weighing roughly 1 k.g. After butchering the boar one leg, head, heart, a part of liver was given to Arthi Guravadu. In this share roughly 2 k.g. of pork was sold out. Arthi Mooganna and Gulla Narasaiah got one share each which mixed with the remaining pork from the share of A.Gurvadu and looked for all the people. When questioned why he had given a major portion of pork to others and why he didn't sell it, Arthi Guravadu replied that by giving pork to others specially like Dasari Venkatanna who was rich, he could get some help from them; he could borrow rice or jowar or chilli or salt whenever he lacked these groceries. Selling of pork was also not possible nobody would buy it in his village as they had no money. It is risky to sell to outsiders as there would be every chance that forest department. People might catch hold of them. Besides their own people wouldn't like anybody to sell meat without distributing atleast a portion of the animal killed. Arthi Guravadu had given pork to Chigurla Golusu, Chigurla Manthadu and Chigurla Venkatanna due to the following reasons.

A Guravadu had earlier borrowed 1 k.g. of jowar from Chigurla Golusaiah which costed Rs.2/- Chigurla Manthadu received the pork on the condition that he should give A.Gurvadu one k.g. of Jowar. Chigurla Venkatanna received one share as a compensation for the liquor given to Gulla Narasaiah.

Arthi Guravadu had earlier borrowed Rs.2/- from Gulla Narasaiah which he had cleared by repaying the debt of G.Narasaiah to Chigurla Venkatanna.

Example : No.1*Food gathering:*

Place: Byrlutigudem

Perhaps, it is no other activity than food gathering towards which the Chenchu rely upon in gaining their subsistence. Even today the Chenchu recollect those bygone days when their ancestors roamed forests picking up wild fruits, digging up tubers and yams, collecting honey. It is reported by the Chenchu, that their ancestors used to inhabit particular spots where they erected small beehive shaped huts thatched with leaves or grass. When the resources available in these spots were depleted, they used to shift to other places. They always chose areas which were atleast one furlong away from water resources like stream etc. It might be to keep away themselves from the thirsty animal which visits these water resources. Sometimes a section of the group used to move away from its original group when the resources available in one area were not sufficient for all the people and selected another spot. Each group consisted of 5 (five to ten families). The territorial organization might have developed due to increase in population, which would have caused excess exploitation of the resources thereby causing some imbalance in the proportion of quantity of food collected by all the members of the group. During those times the family members used to collect all sorts of wild edibles in the forest.

Cooperative efforts existed during those days also. But to a greater extent individual family was responsible to gain its bread. The wife and husband used to go to forest to collect edibles, they used to bring home, after they ate sufficiently to be given to either to their children or to the older people who remained in the village looking after the infants. Now-a-days also the same practice is still being observed. But it has almost become the task of women to collect edibles from the forests.

Chenchu women would go out for collection of edibles in groups, partly for companionship and partly because older women could show the younger ones where to look for food, specially the married girls who hail from different villages required to get acquainted with the surrounding areas from other women who had been living larger in that particular village. These women would eat some of the collected food and carry most or it home and share it, either raw or cooked, with others.

The forest is full of different edible-gums, flowers, fruits and green leaves-which occur through-out the year dispersed over different seasons. The time of greatest abundance comes in April and May when several roots, fruits, flowers and honey are found.

As a rule vegetable foods and slow-game (like rats, insects, prying grubs out of rotten logs), collected mostly by women belong to those women's family and sometimes, it is shared with other

families only if they are having nothing to eat. But such distribution is markedly different from the distribution of game. Collecting vegetable edible doesn't involve a cooperative activity whereas success is frequently the result of cooperative action by a group of persons in hunting. Besides hunting animals is not as easy as collection of vegetable edibles. As forest edible produce is also available in abundance, many families can collect substantial quantity of it.

Cooperation in case of food-gathering is also very much limited mainly due to less risk involved in carrying out the operation, though it is not totally absent. Sometimes an old women may direct on gang women the areas where edibles are available. Sometimes a women can climb up a tree and shake the fruits fall down, under such circumstances the fruits may be shared. And such cooperation is seen among very closely related families.

The Chenchu knows the season during which specific food stuffs but also firewood which they carry on their heads. Sometimes they may even take goats with them to graze. These multiple activities of women may be sometimes distributed among themselves so that each activity is undertaken by one women like digging yams, or grazing, or collection of firewood. The yams dug out are shared among the participants. But under all normal conditions there is little cooperation existing during the collection of yams fruits leaves etc. Despite this food is always given to those who didn't have.

This is observed in Bairlutigudem and Farahabad. In Mannanoor vegetable foods are not abundant and the Chenchu have to walk a great length of about 10 to 15 k.m. both ways. Most commonly the Chenchu women sell to the caste people whatever they collect in the forest. They may sell it either for cash or kind.

Hunting Example No.2

Place : Mannanoor

Hunting is not an important activity in this village partly due to the presence of Forest Department and partly due to the involvement of Chenchus in agriculture. However the Chenchus may go to the forest and hunt animals like rabbits or deers. Those people who hunt have guns with them which they keep secretly without license.

Hunting, in this village, is not done in groups as being observed in Bairluti. Maximum two people would go to forest for hunting. Hunting is carried out only during nights. There are two methods of hunting: a) either by searching for animal in the forest or b) erecting a small atic like structure as a nearby tree around a waterhole or salt-lick awaiting for the animal to visit that place.

Generally the hunters use powerful torch-lights to make the animal temporarily blind. In that condition the hunter shoots the animal. The hunters generally do not allow the news of their hunting an animal to reach other Chenchu families or other caste people. Distribution of meat, as such, restricted to very few families. Generally between those who habitually hunt or keep guns. And most of the meat is being sold to either close confides or to people of other villages. Sometime animals are being hunted upon the request of some caste people who also extends some money as advance. Here the cost of meat is considerably higher compared to villages like Bairulutigudem. Each k.g. of meat cost around Rs.5 to Rs.8.

Hunting Example No.3:

Place: Farahbad:

Eravala Katte Lingaiah was an expert hunter. He had a good knowledge about animal behaviour. On 10.9.81 Eravala Katte Lingaiah and Eravala Moogi Kudumula Ankaiah went to forest and E.K.L. had killed one deer. It was K.Ankaiah who detected the deer. They had taken Tokala Linganna's, second leader of the village, dog along with them. E.K.L. had killed it with his arrow and the dog chased it and made the deer to collapse which died after sometime. E.Chinna Moogi and K.Ankaiah carried it to the gudem.

In the gudem Eravala Chinna Moogi's father butchered the deer with the assistance of E.Ankaiah and Thokala Dodaiah. Meanwhile Thokala Pedda Odeaiah and Thokala Gangaiah had joined. All these five people shared the work of butchering. They cut the body into big pieces of and the father of Eravala Chinna started distributing it. Head of the animal one big part of liver, one kidney and flesh of thigh and bones from chest were given to E.K.L. as he was the shooter.

The rest of the meat was equally divided among all the 15 persons in the village. E.K.L. got around 6 k.g. of meat.

Skin was given to Thokala Guravaiah who would prepare a drum. Skin sometimes might be used as a mat.

POOLING AND DISTRIBUTION OF HONEY

HONEY COLLECTION

Example No:2

Pecheruvu (or) Peddacheruvu is a large multi-tribal village, inhabited by Chenchu, Sugali and Boya tribes. It is located in Atmakur taluk of Kurnool district. The village is situated on a plateau with an average elevation of 2000 ft. consisting of a maze of rolling hills and flat valleys with a panoramic tank in the middle. The name Peddacheruvu derives from the tank. There are two ways to reach Peccheruvu. One starts from Rollapenta some 9 k.m. away from Rollapenta and a kaccha narrow grand road through thick forest lead to that place. Another way is from Thummalabayalu which is situated by the side of road that connects Doranala of Prakasam district and Srisailam – the famous Saivite pilgrim centre in Kurnool district. From Thummalabayalu a narrow kaccha grand road leads to Peccheruvu and the distance is some 10 k.m. No conveyance facility is there either from Rollapenta or Thummalabayalu and one has to either walk or catch hold a lorry that brings wood, bamboo etc.,

The village is one of the biggest villages having a population of 519 with more than 100 Chenchu families. The village has nearby 14 honey deposit sites. Most of them belong to Pulicherla exogamous group. There were seven elders who had their own group. Uttaluri Pachhagaddi Linganna, a sturdy, well-built middle-aged person was the leader to the entire village.

He was looked by many persons scornfully, for he had killed a person called Pulicherla Guravaiah, son of late Pulicherla Ellaiah – a famous man known for his knowledge in herbal medicine to cure various sexual diseases and bite of snakes and scorpion and other ailments. Pulicherla Ellaiah was the head of the gudem when he was alive. After his death Uttaluri Pachhagaddi Linganna was elected as the head of the Gudem as he showed much interest in becoming the leader. The names of various group leaders and number of families associated with these groups in two tier classification are given below:

	No. of families in the secondary group of the leader	No. of families in the tertiary group	Other secondary Group.	
1. Uttaluri Pachhagaddi Linganna	10	19	4	5
2. Dasari Baianna	5	9	4	-
3. Arthi Daggu Nagadu	7	20	4	-
4. Dasari Venkateswarlu	8	16	3	5
5. Dasari Guravaiah	4	17	7	6
6. Arthi Kari Kondadu	7	15	2	5
7. Pulicherla Veeranna	4	9	3	2

A majority of members in the secondary group belong to the exogamous group of its leader and whereas the members from tertiary group may belong to more than one exogamous group. The entire bulk of tertiary group is closely knitted through kinship ties. The secondary groups other than the one from which the leaders come, had their own leaders. But these people strictly leaders. These people may be either aged people or skilled people.

Honey collection from a site called Kudapa Serri is described in the following account. The ownership of this site is very peculiar and this pattern is nowhere observed.

Kudapa Serri is being owned by few people of an exogamous group called Dasari. But the owners do not belong to only Peccheruvu village. The owners are also

Honey collection from a site called Kudapa Serri is described in the following account. The ownership of this site is very peculiar and this pattern is nowhere observed.

Kudapa Serri is being owned by few people of an exogamous group called Dasari. But the owners do not belong to only Peccheruvu village. The owners are also from two more villages viz., Thummalabayalu and Peddamanthanala. The ancestors who discovered this site belonged to Nizam's domain. It is believed that one Dasari Narasaiah followed few bees from the forests of Nizam Domain (now Mahabubnagar District) and found Kudapa Serri near Peccheruvu. He sought the help of Dasari people staying in Peccheruvu. Later one of his sons got married to a woman from Peccheruvu. As it was very difficult to arrive every year from their native place to Peccheruvu, his son stayed at a place called Peddachama a dreadfully interior place to which virtually no communication facility existed. This person kept on contacts with those people from Peddachcheruvu who helped his father in the collection of honey. His progeny settled in Thummalabayalu and Peddamanthanala. Peddachama village was completely deserted. Two or three generations ago some conflict has arisen between the people from Peddachcheruvu who used to keep them. All the present owners were not sure what was pattern of sharing the honey after it is collected between the owners and those who assisted them. It was said that they used to share equally i.e., one part to the owners and other part to the helpers. As it so happened that the helpers started demanding a major share and subsequently ownership not only due to the majority of persons involved in honey collection but also as they happened belonging to the same exogamous group as that of owners viz Dasari. These helpers wanted the owners to understand that Dasari Naraiah had entered into a deal with their ancestors where it was decided that all the people would have equal shares and thereby confirming their ownership with the honey and site. The owners misinterpreted to the helpers' advantage and Dasari Naraiah never gave them ownership but he engaged them as his assistants as he was not having any relatives. And he used to give them half the share just because he was alone and

came from a distant place. Then a meeting was convened and it was decided that each group would exploit the site every alternative year. When one group exploited honey from the main site the other group would concentrate on those honey combs deposited on trees nearby the main site. This decision was taken for the following reasons:

The original owners did not have sufficient number of people in the gudem so that honey could be more or less equally distributed.

The site was located in territory to the Dasari exogamous group. In fact the tribal leaders favoured equal shares among the two groups of people i.e., equal parts to all people whoever participate plus an extra share of the same quantity of honey to the owners. This decision was not agreed upon by the owners for the reason that they are few in number and hence they get very little compared to the total honey extracted.

The alternative method of exploitation appeared to them more beneficial for both the groups and hence they had agreed to follow that decision.

When the survey was conducted the Kudapa Serri was owned by the following people:

Dasari Veeradu and Dasari Edigadu (Peccheruvu)
 Dasari Pothaiah and D.Thataiah (Thummalabayalu)
 Dasari Abbaai (Peddamanthanala)

All these three persons are the heirs of the original discoverer of the honey site, Dasari Naraiah. His genealogy is given in figure.

Dasari Naraiah and his two sons D.Mooganna and Dasari Pothaiah, D.Veeranna, D.Moogadu, Dasari Chinna Moogadu, D.Chinna Veeradu, Dasari Baianna and Dasari Thathaiah's are the heirs of Dasari Nallavadu with whom Dasari Mariah had associated in extracting honey. All these people are staying at Peccheruvu only. This group is headed by Dasari Bayanna. The farmer group is headed by Dasari Veeradu who is staying at Peccheruvu.

Last year Dasari Bayanna group had extracted honey from the main site and Dasari Veeradu's group had extracted honey from the trees. This year Dasari Veeradu would collect honey from the main site. When Dasari Naraiah contacted Dasari Nallavadu of Peccheruvu for help the latter resorted help from his brother-in-law who belong to Bhumani exogamous group. At that time it was decided that Kudapa Serri should be collected by only the progeny of Bhumani person only and not the owners or

other people. Bhumani Reddy Pothanna was collecting for them till recently. He died few months ago. His brother's son Bhumani Pedda Veeradu also used to help him and he would be employed by the owners for the forthcoming operations.

The following account gives last year's extraction of honey from Kudapa Serri.

Names of the participants:

From the Side of owners:

1. Dasari Chinna Dargadu (Son of D.Baianna)
2. Dasari Chinna Veeranna
3. Dasari Nallaiah
4. Dasari Pothaiah (son of No.3)
5. Dasari Moogilidu
6. Chigurla Errodu
7. Pulicherla Thikkapalu
8. Arthi Thikka Kondodu
9. Arthi Ankanna

From the side of collectors:

1. Bhumani Reddy Pothanna (Chief Collector)
2. Bhumani Peddaveradu (Chief Collector)
3. Bhumani Chinna Musili
4. Damasai Peddanna
5. Kudumula Bodigadu
6. Bhumani Mooganna

Honey from the trees had been collected by the other group of owners. From their side nobody participated. It was also a decision taken by the elders several years back. This decision was taken in order to curtail all the possible chances of disputes between the two groups. Whatever that had been collected was distributed among all the five members. Dasari Baianna had taken initiative by inviting Bhumani Reddy Pothanna to collect honey.

The following tasks were undertaken:

1. Cutting of green twigs with leaves.
2. Collecting dried splinters
3. Preparing smoke-torches
4. Peeling out fibre
5. Plaiting of rope

6. Cutting of bamboo pole with spike
7. Carrying the bamboo pole to the site
8. Fixing up the bamboo handle to the honey-basket
9. Fixing up stump to the ground
10. Tying fibre rope to the bamboo pole and stump
11. Safe-guarding the set-up of stump-rope-bamboo pole.
12. Passing on the required material to the honey collectors like, smoke-torches, honey basket and wooden knife and lifting of honey combs.
13. Squeezing honey and filtering the bees
14. Melting the wax
15. Carrying honey and wax
16. Cooking food to all the participants
17. Attending to the chief honey collectors.

Bhumani Reddy Pothanna and Bhumani Peddaveeradu were the chief collectors. Kudumula Bodigadu and Damasari Peddanna were holding the rope and safe-guarding it. Bhumani Chinni Musali and Bhumani Mooganna were passing all the required material to the collectors.

The whole operation took 4 days. The first day all the people were engaged in worshipping the deity and preparing all the material required. Honey was extracted on the second and third day. Fourth day morning also there was collection. It was evening on the fourth day when all works like squeezing honey, heating and transfer it into clean and dried pots and also melting wax etc., were completed. That night they stayed there itself and next day they returned to their village. The owners had borrowed Rs. 150/- from a Chenchu. No interest is paid. He did not ask for interest for the reason that there would be sometime he himself had to borrow some money or something else.

The goat was purchased by all the owners contributing equal amount of money. The goat costed Rs.200/-

Nallaiah	Rs.40.00	1 share
Veeranna	Rs.14.00	
Moogivadu	Rs.13.00	1 share
Chinni Moogavadu	Rs.13.50	
Chinna Veeradu	Rs.80.00	2 shares
Baianna	Rs.20.00	1 share
Thataiah	Rs.20.00	

They had collected some 47 seers of honey and 7 seers were distributed among all the participants and to others in the villages Peccheruvu and Peddamanthanala. The rest of the honey was sold at the rate of Rs.20/- per seer and get Rs.800. They have deleted 350/- from this and the rest of Rs.450/- was shared among the participants and non-participants owners.

Bhumani Reddy Pothanna distributed the money in the following fashion. Firstly they counted how many shares were to be given to his team members:

Name	No. of shares	Remarks
1. Bhumani Reddy Pothanna	2	One share for having collected honey and one share for having participated.
2. Bhumani Pedda Veeradu	2	-do-
3. Bhumani Chinna Musali	1	For participation
4. Damasari Peddanna	1	-do-
5. Kudumula Bodivadu	1	-do-
6. Bhumani Mooganna	1	-do-
7. Kudumula Venkatanna	1	Leader of the village Peddamanthanala. He was given a share as a gesture of respect and his services to the village in settling the disputes.

Total nine shares and Rs.250/- was divided by nine and each share was calculated to Rs.27.75 and twenty paise was left over with which a camphor was purchased and it was lit at Manthalamma the deity of the village. Kudumula Venkatanna, the leader had given his share to the team asking them to spend on liquor. And he wanted them to purchase for him tobacco, beetle and areca nut for Rs.3/-

The owners had paid Rs.150/- to the Chenchu from whom they had borrowed. Then they gave back money to all the owners who have contributed for purchasing the goat. The residual amount of Rs.250/- was shared in the following fashion:

Firstly they had divided Rs.250/- in to equal amount of money by calculating the number of shares all the participants and non-participants owners would get. The number shares each would get was computed in the following way.

Name	No. of shares	Remarks
1. Dasari Nallaiah	2	One share as he was owner and another for his

		participation.
2. D.Pothaiah (Son of No.1)	1	For his participation. He was not eligible for ownership – share.
3. D.Channa Dargaiah	2	One share for his participation and one share to his father who is an owner though he did not participate. His father had two shares his share with D.Thataiah, his brother.
4. D.Chinna Veeranna	2	One share for him and another for his late father's brother. Both are ownership shares and as D.ChennaVeeranna did not participate, he was not given any share for participation.
5. Dasari Moogilodu	2	One for his participation and other for his ownership. He has to divide one share into 3 equal parts and share with his two brothers who did not participate. He had to give back the contribution they made while purchasing the goods.
6. Chigurla Erravadu	1	For participation
7. Pulicherla Thikkapalu	1	-do-
8. Arthi Thikka Kondadu	1	-do-
9. Arthi Ankanna	1	-do-
10. Uttaluri Pachhagaddi Linganna	1	Leader of the village who did not participate owner from other group who was given a share in a good gesture. He would distribute it among all other owners. But as 3 people are away from Pecheruvu he would give them whenever they visit the village.

So, totally 15 shares were to be divided from the sum of Rs250/-, and each share value was calculated in Rs.16.60 and one rupee was left over with / which they purchased camphor and incense sticks for worshipping the deity in their village. Here while doing the calculation they have forgotten the role played by one owner called Dasari Saianna who initiated by calling Bhumani Reddy Pothanna to collect honey. He was very angry with the group and with his own son who was present there. He scolded his son for his carelessness. But Uttaluri Pachhagaddi Linganna took him and purchased two glasses of liquor and some eatables sold by a Boya person. Dasari Baianna was also angry for the reason that he was not invited before shares were calculated, and with Dasari Nallaiah (owner) for having taken the lead in distribution of honey. But his son Uttaluri Pacchhagaddi Linganna pacified him saying that next time this would not happen.

POOLING AND DISTRIBUTION HONEY COLLECTION

Example No:1

In the following account a complete picture of honey collection is presented and how the honey is being distributed.

Nagalutigudem is located in a plain area surrounded north eastern side by a range of mountains. It is in the administrative jurisdiction of Atmakur taluka in Kurnool district. The *gudem* is some 1 ½ kms. away from Bairulutigudem which is situated 18 miles away from Atmakur.

Honey collecting operation in a particular location called Seethamma Serri during the year 1980 is presented. This deposit belong to the exogenous group viz., Gulla which is the predominant group in the gudem. The other predominant group is Jelle, and these two exogamous group are consanguineously related and hence marriage is prohibited between these two groups. The whole gudem has two big and one small cluster of families. The cluster towards north east is headed by Talari Naganna. The prefix is inherited from his grand father. Talari is the name of designation of the village revenue staff who carries on the message and carries out the orders. Talari Naganna's grandfather worked as Talari and it is being inherited. His original exogamous group is Uttaluri. He is a powerful orator and can speak fluently and eloquent, with clean habits. He does not smoke, he does not booze and he is honest loyal and above all cordial. He is married to a woman who hailed from a Gulla family.

Three years ago Gulla Pedda was murdered just after honey collection operation. He was the headman and Peddamanishi. Talari Naganna has married the daughter of the cousin of Gulla Pedda Eadigadu.

The kith and kin of the deceased has unanimously proposed Talari Naganna to head their group of families.

The other cluster of families are found at the entrance of the gudem when coming from Bairuluti. This group is headed by the Pulicherla Markondaiah. He married Gulla Veeramma. Pulicherla Markondaiah born at a place called Marrisipalem some 55 miles away from Nagaluti. After marriage he settled in Nagaluti. He migrated from his native village due to several reasons. Firstly the family into which he married did not have a male heir. Secondly in his native village there were several factions and he lacked the support of any group people. He could not only avail any help from other fellows members as he did not find a secondary group which can recruit him but also due to the fact that his ancestors were migrants and so he did not have any share in the traditional territory of the gudem. Thirdly the

family into which he was married possessed some assets like a piece of land and honey comb. And all the more one of his cousin sister is also living in the village. Nagaluti has provided him a group of three to four families into which Pulicherla Markondaiah is admitted. The families are taking his services in tilling their own land. Due to his shrewd ability in communicating with outsiders like government officials and also due to his capabilities in the promising occupation like agriculture and also his ability of judgement coupled with the ability of this group with the groups headed by Talari Naganna, Pulicherla Markondadu was chosen as the group's leader.

The third small cluster of families are located in between the first two groups but towards east to these two groups.

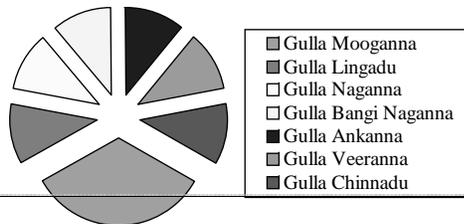
The first cluster headed by Thalari Nagadu consisted of 21 families and that of Pulicherla Markondadu 13 families and the third cluster consists of 8 families.

Bethamma Serri is situated 10 kms away from Nagalutigudem. It is said to be a location big beehives are deposited. At least 10 tins of honey will be collected from these deposits. The deposit is situated on a step mountain cutting which is called Nagalutikonda. It is very difficult to reach they honey comb as the honey comb is not only far below the top of the mountain but also it is deposited in a cave like structure.

To reach the honey comb and honey collector has to descend into the valley and finds a convenient place to rest his feet on narrow ridge and then start collecting honey. And a number of honey combs are deposited two people will operate simultaneously on different ropes.

The honey deposit is owned by 7 members belonging to Gulla exogamous group:

1. Gulla Mooganna	3 shares
2. Gulla Lingadu	1 share
3. Gulla Naganna	
4. Gulla Bangi Naganna	1 share
5. Gulla Ankanna	1 share
6. Gulla Veeranna	1 share
7. Gulla Chinnadu	1 share



Gulla Eadanna was the known ancestor owning the deposit. The present owners neither know who were the other owners nor the original owner. It is shown in the figure how the honey comb is being inherited by the posterity of Gulla Eadanna. The arrow mark represent the passing on the right of ownership to the respective heir. Seven members have 8 shares in the honey deposit. Gulla Mooganna alone has three shares and the rest of the persons have single share each. A share is that amount of quantity of honey when the collected honey is divided into equal amounts basing on the number of shares.

In the present case Gulla Mooganna aged about 26 years is having three shares. He acquired two shares after the death of his father's two brothers who did not have any heir. And Gulla Mooganna has inherited his father's share and also the two shares of the deceased brothers of his father. But Gulla Mooganna himself is having one younger who is borne to his mother but by another man. His mother married another person after the death of her husband. Hence Gulla Mooganna's brother Gulla Chinna Mooganna is not allowed to have any ownership over the honey deposit., through his brother was born by a person whose exogamous group is also Gulla. But he did not have any ownership over this particular beehive. Hence his son did not get the share. Gulla Bangi Naganna is the eldest person among all the owners. He belongs to the 1st ascending generation i.e., the generation of the fathers of the owners. He has two married children who are staying with him. Hence Gulla Bangi Nagadu gets only one share. In the case of Gulla Lingadu and Gulla Naganna who are the sons of Gulla Linganna, who is no more, one share is given to be shared by the brothers.

They were given the share of his father though they have established separate families. It is based on the logic that his father's share is to be shared equally among his heirs. The rest of the three persons get one share each. The disparity in sharing is inevitable as it depends upon the no. of heirs each deceased owner has and how many no. of owners each heir has. This is much more complicated if we look into the sharing pattern over generations. It was like this, one share was shared by the three people and one share was shared by two people and another share was shared by three people. No. of shares to each owner is decided by looking into the number of shares their father's had.

The known ancestor of the present owners of the Sethamma Serri is believed to be the person from whom the honey comb is inherited. Firstly it was inherited by three sons of Gulla Eadanna, the first owner. And the yield of honey comb is divided into three equal parts and shared. After few years each person had children, the first son G.Ankadu had three children and G.Chinna Ankadu has two children and G.Edigadu had three children. The honey deposit being shared into equal three shares and this continued till G.Ankadu died. After his death his share was inherited by this three sons and they used to

divide it equally among themselves. At that time the honey collected is divided equally among themselves. At that time the honey collected is divided into three parts one part of it was given to the three sons of late G.Ankadu and the rest two parts were shared by G.Chinna Ankadu and G.Edigadu. There was some trouble after the death of G.Edigadu. When the honey collected was divided into three parts, the sons of the G.Ankadu and G.Edigadu (both dead) objected telling that they were not getting good share whereas G.Chinna Ankadu was getting larger share. Chinnadu Ankadu being a wise man explained them how the process of inheritance worked. He told them that a honey comb is jointly owned by the brothers and if anybody dies his share would be passed on to this children. If all the brothers die, then the children of deceased people get ownership and at that juncture the honey can be shared equally among themselves. But this will not be possible just because one of their father's brother is still alive. And even if they consist still he proposed to have three shares to his family – one for himself and two for his two children. And that was no much better than the original method of sharing. After his death all the inheritors shared the honey collected equally. They found it very difficult to share the honey comb basing on their father's share in it as such a kind of sharing was problematic for them. They believed that all people have to work and contribute their might to extract honey. It did not matter much how much one has in fact contributed. For example plaiting a rope is as difficult as making bundles of smoke-torches. They considered that it was the skill and dexterity coupled with perfect knowledge and above all commitment with pure heart for the successful operation that matters much than simply involving in some kind of difficult work. As such the person who makes smoke-torches may be careful and he may tie the bundle loosely or may select such green stuff and dry splinters so that it will not emit sufficient smoke which is deleterious to the chief collector. However, they have always recognised that the role of the chief honey collector was more dangerous and unimaginably risky. Besides there were many owners (8 in number) and each would get a very little investment. (Investment is required for purchasing material for worship and for also groceries sufficient for all the people during their stay at site). Gulla Pothaiah was the collector of honey. He was generally treated well and given arrack and an extra share. Peddinganna had two children and one of them died at the age of 12 years. G.Veeradu had two children and both died at younger age. G.Pothaiah also had three children but they also died at younger age.

At present there are 8 persons who have share in it. Have the pattern of inheritance resembles that of their grandfather's then their father's. Bangi Naganna no longer participates in honey collection as he has grown old. But he always officiates and accompanies the honey collecting team.

Now the following account presents the factual details step by step of the honey collection operation undertaken by the owners of *Sethamma Serri* during 1980. In the month of May, three days before full moonday the operation took place. Twenty days before the operation Gulla Bangi Naganna spoke to all his sons and his other sons about honey collection. He wanted Gulla Ankanna son of his younger brother to go to the honey serri and found out certain details regarding how many combs are

there and whether it would be accessible to collect honey or not. Sometimes honey deposit is seen in most inaccessible place that it is impossible to collect. It would also give them an idea of how many persons are required. Gulla Ankanna was going to a place near or to the Sethamma Serri, to collect gum. So the work was entrusted with him. He obliged and in the evening around 8'o clock he went to the house of Bangi Naganna and informed that there were nearly 20 combs and some 5 or 6 combs were also found on the nearby trees. Then Bangi Naganna wanted Gulla Ankanna to inform the news to Gulla Mooganna and Gulla Lingadu who are staying nearby to the house of Gulla Ankanna. And he himself (Gulla Bangi Naganna) would inform to G.Naganna, G.Veeranna and G.Chinnanna. He would also speak to Uttaluri Thalari Naganna and Pulicherla Markondadu – the leaders of two groups in the village. Meanwhile another person viz., Pulicherla Markondadu came and Gulla Bangi Naganna told him about the proposal of honey collection. He wanted him to join the collecting team. Then they discussed about the initial investment for the ritual ceremony and as well as to purchase groceries sufficient for the team for at least one week. They adjourned the meeting to the next second day night. On that day all owners and the two leaders and few other persons gathered. The first topic was to detect two persons who would collect honey. As there were many combs two persons were necessary. Gulla Ankanna was an expert in honey collection and he was the person who went to the honey deposit site to find out the number of combs present etc., (It is not necessary that only the chief collector has to go to the site and find out the details. Anybody who has sufficient knowledge and experience can do that. Gulla Ankanna going to the site was simply incidental) Another person was required to collect honey.

There were nobody among the owners other than Gulla Ankanna and also from the group members of Pulicherla Markondadu. But one person by name Uttaluri Rajulugadu from the group of Uttaluri Thalari Nagadu could collect the group. He is the son of elder brother of Uttaluri Thalari Nagadu. Uttaluri Rajulugadu is the brother-in-law of a person called Jelli Gundugadu who own one honey deposits site called Paki Serri. Gulla Bangi Naganna proposed his name and requested Uttaluri Thalari Naganna to permit Uttaluri Rajulugadu collect honey. He said he would be treated well and he would neither be disappointed nor he would not be given anything less. Uttaluri Thavi Naganna replied that he would speak to Jelli Gangadu and most probably he will bring him. He said that he will not be participating in the expedition and he will send few more people from his side.

Then they discussed about the investment. Investment has to be borne by the owners. Gulla Bangi Naganna referred to few people in Atmakur from whom they can borrow groceries etc., They have to procure either a fowl or goat for sacrifice to the deity of forest (Mallamma) at the site. Gulla Mooganna who is one among the owners had one goat. He agreed to sell it. Gulla Bangi Naganna told that the cost of the goat be paid after they collect honey. They did not fix up the date of operation as they wanted to observe the weather conditions. Later all the people dispersed. After two days Bangi Naganna told to one of his sons to take Pulicherla Markondadu and go to Atmakur and contact one person called

Gulla Katte Guravadu

Gulla Eadanna Accompanied the above two carrying axe and the cut two strong and lengthy bamboo poles and Uttaluri Rajulugadu and Gulla Katte Guravadu dragged the poles from the bamboo bush and they trimmed the spikes to a length about 3 inches. Both the poles were carried by Gulla Ankanna.

Uttaluri Thalari Mooganna Engaged in making fire. It is done by the method of friction. He also assisted Gulla Eadanna in making smoke – torches.

Gulla Mooganna	Gathered dried splinters and green leaves.
Gulla Lingadu	
Gulla Ankanna	Made bundles out of the collected material
Jelli Gundugadu	
Uttaluri Rajulugadu	Went in search of strong bamboo poles
Gulla Katte Guravadu	
Gulla Eadanna	Accompanied the above two carrying axe and the cut two strong and lengthy bamboo poles and Uttaluri Rajulugadu and Gulla Katte Guravadu dragged the poles from the bamboo bush and they trimmed the spikes to a length about 3 inches. Both the poles were carried by Gulla Ankanna.
Uttaluri Thalari Mooganna	Engaged in making fire. It is done by the method of friction. He also assisted Gulla Eadanna in making smoke – torches.

When all the preliminary arrangements were made they decided themselves into two groups.

Uttaluri Rajulugadu	Gulla Mooganna
Uttaluri Thalari Mooganna	Gulla Lingadu
Gulla Eadanna	Gulla Katta Guravadu
Jelli Gundugadu	Gulla Ankanna.

The first group belonged to Uttaluri Thalari Naganna, Gulla Eadanna who belonged to the group of Pulicherla Markondadu the group of Uttaluri Thalari Nagadu as they required his assistance and only three in number. The second group represented Pulicherla Markondadu. Though Gulla Ankanna could collect honey he did not collect honey it as he wanted. Gulla Katta Guravadu collect honey and get some share. Gulla Katte Guravadu was a step-brother of Gulla Ankanna.

Uttaluri Rajulugadu and Gulla Katte Guravadu climbed the tree and approached the honey comb. Gulla Eadanna and Gulla Lingadu climbed up and stayed at the top of the trunk and within reach of the

chief collectors. The other four people stood on the ground passing on the smoke-torch. honey basket, and knife. They were also giving their instructions. The entire operation took about three hours. They had collected from 5 trees. Gulla Katte Guravadu collected 3 trees and Uttaluri Rajulugadu from two. The honey was squeezed out of the comb by Gulla Mooganna and Jelli Gundugadu. Later on some was eaten by all the people. Gulla Mooganna carried the honey pot and Jelli Gundugadu carried the basket in which was placed. The entire honey and wax was kept in the house of Pulicherla Markondadu some was given to children and all other members who would be participating in the honey collection came and ate little honey-was. Next day Pulicherla Markondadu, Gullakatte Guravadu and Gulla Ankadu went to Bairuluti carrying the honey pot and sold to Girijan Cooperative Society. They were given Rs. 180/- for that they have purchased the following items.

Item	Quantity	Unit Price	Amount
Rice	25 kg	2.00	50.00
Maize	5 kg	2.00	10.00
Chilli	1 kg	5.00	5.00
Salt	1 kg	1.00	1.00
Onion	1 kg	2.00	2.00
Groundnut Oil			5.00
Red gram	3 kg	5.00	15.00
Cloth	4 meter	5.00	20.00
Beedi	1 Bundle	10.00	10.00
Sindhoor			3.00
Turmeric			3.00
Areka nut			2.00
Beetal leaves			3.00
Coconuts	5 Nos.		7.50
Incense sticks	1 packet		2.00
Raw incense			2.00
Vegetables (Tomato + Green chillies + Potato)			5.00
Total Expenditure (One hundred and thirty five rupees and fifty paise only)			135.50
Balance			44.50

All these groceries and other items were carried to the house of Pulicherla Markondadu and kept in his house. Only two days were left for collection of honey. One day before collect honey all the owners

of the honey comb worshipped their family deity Veeranna also Darga (tomb of a Muslim Saint). They have offered coconut and prayed for successful operation. Gulla Bangi Nagadu conducted the entire priest to activities. Then Uttaluri Baianna who cooked the food to be offered to the deity. Later on it was eaten by all the owners and other participants who included all the members of the team and few other including the leaders of the group.

That evening all the people started going to the forest along with a goat and also arrack. Arrack was purchased with the remaining money of Rs.44.50. They bought 5 bottles of 65 ml each. They had to pay to the liquor seller 5.50. There were totally 20 members. They reached the site before it was dark and settled at a place which was away by 50 meters from a water hole. Next day morning Gulla Bangi Nagadu propitiated the deity Mallamma by scarifying the goat and offered the deity cooked rice and meat of goat. Some raw meat was thrown on all directions. Then they ate the food. After taking some rest all the people started working.

The following account gives the various activities undertaken by the people.

Gulla Mooganna	Collected splinters, leaves
Gulla Lingadu	
Gulla Naganna	
Gulla Radanna	
Gulla Naganna	
Gulla Veeranna	Cut bamboo poles, assisted in bamboo cutting and Carried the bamboo poles.
Gulla Chinnanna	
Pulicherla Veeranna	
Jelli Gundugadu	Engaged in Collecting fibre
Jelli Pothaiah	
Gulla Chinna Mooganna	
Chigurla Venkatigadu	
Gulla Katta Guravadu	Tied the collected fiber to the camping spot.
Nimmala Naganna	
Gulla Nadipi Veeranna	
Gulla Bangi Naganna	Plaited fibre into rope.
Gulla Ankanna	
Uttaluri Rajulugadu	
Uttaluri Thalari Mooganna	
Pulicherla Markondadu	Engaged him in some petty works like fixing the honey-basket to a wooden handle, sharpening the wooden blade used for cutting the comb. He also engaged in plaiting ropes used for passing the required materials to the chief honey collector.

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After all the preliminary arrangements are made, Gulla Ankanna descended through the bamboo pole tied to the fibre rope and reached the honey comb. Uttaluri Rajulugadu also descended. At the top stayed Pulicharla Morkondadu, Gulla Bangi Nagadu, Uttaluri Thalari Mooganna, Chigurla Venkatigadu, helping passing down the required material to the collector. These people also had smoke torches in order to drive away the bees. The rest of the people stayed at a distance from the site of operation. The operation lasted for about 1 hour and they could collect only six honey comb. The operation was again repeated in the evening around 5:30 O'clock Like that it has taken four days to complete the all the honey combs. Honey collection was done only during early morning and late evenings.

Gulla Mooganna	Squeezed honey from the comb and carried the Tins and pots.
Gulla Lingadu	
Gulla Naganna	
Gulla Madanna	
Gulla Naganna	
Gulla Veeranna	
Gulla Chinnanna	
Jelli Gundugadu	Heated honey over fire in order to preserve it over
Jelli Pothaiah	
Gulla Chinna Mooganna	

Gulla Chinnanna and Gulla Chinna Mooganna indulged in melting the wax.

Jelli Gundugadu and Jelli Pothaiah went down the valley to collect those honey combs which fall down during operation.

Later on Chigurla Venkatigadu and Pulicherla Veeranna engaged in cooking food for the people.

Totally they extracted 5 tins containing about 55 seers. 5 seers were eaten by all the team members. They ate it along with some bamboo maize which they found while cutting the bamboo poles.

Firstly the owners took off 10 K.G. of honey and gave it Uttaluri Rajulugadu. This 10 K.G. was distributed among five persons.

Uttaluri Rajulugadu
Uttaluri Thalari Mooganna
Gulla Eadanna
Jelli Gundugadu

Uttaluri Thalari Naganna

Firstly Uttaluri Mooganna has distributed some quantity of honey to all adults and children. All these people are from his own group of families. After this, 8 K.G. were left which was sold out in Atmakur. They got Rs.144/-. It is shared in the following pattern among the 5 people. Uttaluri Rajulugadu got two shares and the rest of the people got one share. So they divided the amount with total number of shares – six. Uttaluri Rajulugadu got Rs.48/- (two shares for him due to his participation and for having collected honey) and the rest of the people got Rs.24/- each. Again Uttaluri Rajulugadu had bought two glasses of liquor to Uttaluri Thalari Mooganna for his pivotal role in supervising honey collection. Uttaluri Thalari Naganna who was the leader of the group had received one share though he did not participate in honey collection, but he was the person who introduced Uttaluri Rajulugadu in the team of honey collectors. His involvement though not direct, was acknowledged by the people.

The owners had 40 seers and some honey combs. These honey combs had been distributed to all the friends and relatives. The 40 K.G. wax marketed to a contractor at Atmakur at the rate of Rs.15/- per K.G. and got Rs.600/-. It was distributed in the following manner. Before distribution they had separated the cost of goat which was sold by Gulla Mooganna for Rs.150/-. But the cost of the goat had to be born all the owners who are seven in number and hence each had to contribute Rs.21.40/-. This amount was deleted and Rs.128.60/- was given to Gulla Mooganna. All the twenty participants were collected to assemble at the house of Gulla Bengi Naganna. Twenty equal parts to all people who have participated in the honey collection operation.

Nine equal parts to all the seven owners' one among them got to have three shares. Two equal parts to the leaders of the _____ one part to the person who cooked at the time of worship of deity in the village.

Two extra equal parts to the chief-collector. One extra part to Gulla Katta Guravadu who has collected honey from the trees. So totally 35 equal parts were to be made out of the Rs.472.00. Each share comes around Rs.13.48.

	Work Share	Ownership Share	Leader Share	Chief Collection Share	Share to Assistant
Gulla Mooganna	13.40	40.20			
Gulla Lingadu	13.40	13.40			
G.Banginagadu	13.40	13.40			
G.Eadanna	13.40	-			
G.Naganna	13.40	-			
G.Ankanna	13.40	-		13.40	
U.Thalari Moganna	13.40				

U.Tharlari Naganna	-	-	13.40		
Pulicherla Mankanadu	13.40	-	13.40		
Uttaluri Rajulugadu	13.40	-	-	13.40	
Pulicharla Veeranna	13.40	-	-	-	-
Jelli Gundugadu	13.40				
Jelli Pothaiah	13.40				
Gulla Chinna Mooganna	13.40				
Chigurla Venkatigadu	13.40				
Gulla Kattagurvadu	13.40		13.40		
Nimmala Naganna	13.40				
Gulk Nadipi Veeradu	13.40				
Uttaluri Bianna	13.40				13.40

Three Mooganna who had a major share invited the two collectors and bought them two glasses of liquor each. Later he has sent two glasses of liquor to his father's brother, Gilla Bengi Naganna. It costed him Rs.12/-.

All the persons who participated got food all the days they worked and again they had received some more money.

As honey collection is a most tedious and time consuming expedition, it requires the involvement of several people besides owners. Then the honey collectors must be assured of his safety by all means. Any sabotage might have secretly planned out. In order to avoid risk, all the people in the village in one way or other, are involved in it, in the sense who ever interested in participation is cordially invited and he gets his share through he might have not worked at all. This involvement foresees a sort of solidarity. The village and group leaders are invariably involved in this issue and they are kept in touch with all the developments. At times they have to extend some help by contributing to the initial investment requirement as these people are generally rich.

The initiation and supervision of various events in honey collection will be generally rested on an elderly person among the owners who is supposed to have sufficient experiences, knowledge of a variety of issues connected with honey collection and skill. In the absence of such a person a close neighbour who is also a relative will shoulder this responsibility. If such a person is not available, the owners may seek the help of the village leader. Such a person's duty is to see that everything is being handled completely avoiding all kinds of disputes or atleast minimizing it by suggesting various possible alternatives or solutions. In certain other occasions he must be in a position to sacrifice his own benefits for the loss of the other who demand for some more share in the proceed.

And all the more such persons should take a special interest in seeing that all people are evenly satisfied in the above operation, Uttaluri Rajulugadu procured all the honey from trees and also he was given a share for involving in the team and one more share as he was the chief honey collector. Strictly

speaking he might not be given the two latter extra shares for the reason that it was the custom to offer honey combs found on trees near the main site to the chief honey collector if he was not a member of the group of owners. However he was offered two extra shares for the reason that his help will be required in future time and also he has his own group of people to whom he has to distribute whatever he gets as the share of the collector. After all, what the chief collector gets as his share from the part given to him by the owners will be slightly greater than what other people of this group get. Hence he is to be rewarded for all the expertise and skill he so efficiently executed during the operation. The initiator always keeps in touch with the leaders of the village and decisions are made in consultation with them.

Honey collection can be viewed as an activity which acts as a means of flourishing community solidarity. But at the sometime it is also an activity which leads to serious disputes resulting in murders.

As already said that the Chenchu have a sort of group structure which form something like concentric circles; members of each circle, not necessarily be all members, trying to enter the next circle of people in order to tackle particular task or to attain some help. It so happens that each tiny group is being represented by one person from it to participate in honey collection. But generally the owners try to involve as many people as possible from their own group in the above case the honey collection is represented by a majority of persons from the group of owners. Only 6 people represented the group of the other chief honey collectors whose service is required by the owners. But all the people from the side of the owners are not closely associated with the owners. In fact the owners themselves formed into two tiny groups for all practical purposes. The first group consisted of:

1. Gulla Mooganna
 2. Gulla Lingadu
 3. Gulla Naganna
 4. Gulla Chinnanna
 5. Gulla Chinni Mooganna
- Owners

The Second group consisted:

1. Gulla Bangi Naganna and his two sons
2. Gulla Anganna
3. Gulla Veeranna
4. Pulichula Veeranna

Pulicherla Markondadu and Gulla Kati Guravadu.

The other two people above said belongs to another group consisted of five other families which did not participate in honey collection operation. Two more families who formed as a group did not participate in the honey collection operation.

In the same fashion the members from the side of Uttaluri Rajulugadu the Chief honey collector belonged to two groups. The first group was represented by

Uttaluri Rajulugadu
Uttaluri Thalari Mooganna
Uttaluri Thalari Naganna

But they had seven more families who did not participate. The second group consisted of Jelli Gundugadu and Jelli Pothaiah and five more families which did not participate. Chigurla Venkatigadu belong to another group of families. There was another group of families which are five in number. Nobody participated from this group as many of them had gone to another spot to cut bamboo for Kurnool paper mill.

Gulla Nadipi Veeradu and Nimmala Naganna belong to the third group in the village, the group size being eight (families)

The above groups are purely temporary and membership changes according to the task or activity. These groups do not have any names as such. The smallest unit in the village is a family which generally consists of husband, wife and two or three unmarried children (nuclear family). Extended joint families are not common. But sometimes one hut might be shared by two couples or one couple and another person who might be a relative or a distant relation of two couples stay in one hut they would have separate hearth. And such an arrangement/would generally be for a brief period after which one would erect a separate hut. Disputes regarding ownership and distribution of honey emerge due to misunderstandings or when the owners decline to distribute the proceeds more or less equally or try to retain a major proportion of honey. Disputes are also common among the owners themselves, each person trying to get more shares.

MANNANOR EXAMPLE – 4

HONEY COLLECTION

CASE: 4

Mannanor is a multi-caste village. Most of the caste people have migrated from plains and settled at this place. Mannanor is situated somewhere in between Srisailem – the shaivite pilgrim centre and Hyderabad – the state capital. The village consists of a population of nearly 3,500 souls of which

nearly 10% consists of Chenchu population, Mannanoor is situated some 18 k.m. away from Achampet – the taluk head quarters to which bus facility is available.

Most of the Chenchus depend on agriculture labour. They also cultivate their own lands. Extensive forested lands have been cleared off in order to make them cultivable.

Mannanoor is like an oasis for travellers, administrators and politicians where they recuperate their energy for further journeys. Besides, as the forest is in proximity to the village timber merchants and pretty contractors trading *MFP* visit this village frequently. As a result the village has come under the influence of many elements.

Chenchus have erected their huts somewhat away from the habitation are of caste-people. Unlike in many Chenchu villages, the houses have been constructed in linear rows.

Altogether there were about 8 honey deposit sites:

Name of the site	Name of the exogamous group owning the site	No. of owners
1. Maheswaram Sari	Marripalli	3
2. Erra Sari	Kanemoni	4
3. Mallai Sari	Dasari	5
4. Mortlai Sari	Kanemoni	4
5. Manga Dona Sari	Marripalli	6
6. Gadeswaram Sari	Kanemoni	6
7. Bonala Loddi Sari	Kanemoni	4

Exclusive authority to collect honey from these sites had been vested on the concerned families only. Though there were twelve more exogamous groups, other than the three mentioned in the above table, no one had a joint share or claim over the site. Similarly, other families belonging to the same exogamous groups also did not have any claim over the sites.

Unlike in other Chenchu villages like Nagaluti, Pecheruvu or Farahbad, the owners of honey sites in Mannanoor would not offer an equal share to all the members who participate. Instead they employ people as labourers on daily wages. Chief honey collector gets Rs.20/- extra, even if he was one among the owners. And generally for honey collection labourers were employed from other places like Masaram, Venkteswarlubhavi. Many people in Mannanoor were not accustomed to collect honey nor know the art of assistance during collection. Besides the natives would like to go and work for ryots in their fields which not only would fetch them remunerative price and reduce the risk of walking several miles.

Territorial organization was in vogue and the following sub-territories belonged to two exogamous groups in the villages.

Thallachelka Ragadi : Kanemoni

Gundle Kadke Daruvu Vusikadegu : Marripalem

The ownership of these territorial units was strictly observed and other exogamous people were not allowed to collect anything. To collect *mfp* from these locations, one required to take prior permission and latter should give the owner half of what they had collected. But during recent times the forest department had nationalized the *MFP* as a result of which intrusion of plains people has increased.

Gadeswaram Sari was owned by six persons belonging to Kanemoni

Exogamous Group:

S.No.		Age	Social Status
1.	Kanemoni Lingaiah	60	Member in the tribal Panchayat
2.	Kanemoni Muthyalu	33	-
3.	Kanemoni Mesaiah	34	Kularaju (king)
4.	Kanemoni Sathnaiah	25	Panchayat President
5.	K.Chinna Lingaiah	25	-
6.	K.Masaiah	30	-

Among the owners Kanemoni Lingaiah (No.1) and Kanemoni Chinna Lingaiah (No.5) were the chief collectors.

They had collected honey from the above spot during May 1981. They employed six people from a place called Masaram – another Chenchu village.

Kanemoni Lingayya (No.1) Kanemoni Muthyalu (No.2) and K.Chinna Lingaiah alone had joined with the six labourers. The rest of the owners did not participate. All the owners had contributed to raise the initial investment. Each owner had given two seers (3 K.G.) of rice, one see (1.5 kg) of jowar and Rs.5.00 with the money they had purchased 3 seers of red gram for Rs.9/- chilli salt and oil for Rs.15 and with rest of the money they purchased incense sticks, coconut, turmeric and sindhur. In addition a goat which costed Rs.75 was bought from one of the villagers, on the promise that money would be paid soon after collection of honey.

Each labourer was paid Rs.3 to collect honey. It took 5 days. They had 6 ½ tin of honey and the ½ tin was eaten by the members.

Each tin was sold at the rate of Rs.120/- and a total of Rs.600 was earned. An amount of Rs.75 was given to the labourers.

K.Chinnalingaiah from the side of the owners and Katraju Pothuraju from the side of the labourers were the chief collectors. Each collector was given Rs.10/- extra.

The three people from the side of owners were also given Rs.3 per day. These people were given, then, in total Rs.45/-
Rs.75 was paid back to the person from whom goat was bought.

A sum of Rs.385/- was left over which was shared equally among all the six members. And an amount of Rs.64. 15 was given to each member.

SOCIO-ECOLOGY OF A TRIBE: THE CHENCHU (A FOOD -GATHERING TRIBE IN ANDHRA PRADESH)

The Chenchu are spread over in small habitation dispersed over the western and southern stretches of the Nallamalai ranges mostly in isolated groups. The existence of the Srisaillam shrine of all-India fame in the heart of Nallamalai where the river Krishna passes through the hill ranges create 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 Nallamalai hill ranges form a part of Eastern Ghats in Andhra Pradesh. The Chenchu gudems (tribal habitations) most of which are not accessible are spread over in these forest cover hills on both sides of the river Krishna. The northern side falling in the Telangana area in Mahabubnagar and Nalgonda districts and the southern side in the Rayalaseema and Andhra area, mostly in Kurnool and Guntur districts.

The Nallamalai's have a continuous range of unbroken, rugged and fairly steep hills with an average elevation of 2,000 mts., running in a north south directions. The whole of the Chenchu habitation is criss-crossed by a number of perennial streams and rivers.

The rocks belong to Kurnool and Cuddapah formation consisting of shales, limestone and quartzite. Three types of soil are found: Black cotton, alluvial soil (brown-loamy), and the red-brown soil.

The climate is generally dry and innervating but the plateaus are pleasant owing to their higher elevation and dense vegetation. March to May is hottest (100°-130°) and since June the temperature falls down and cold whether sets in towards the end of November when the minimum temperature falls down to 45°F at nights.

The period between June to September is the heaviest rainy season in the year.

Number of abandoned cultivation sites in the forest, predominance of the fortifications, distinct avenues of giant trees of tamarind, mango and banyan trees, old pagodas and shrines, are seen and many of them diverted and in disuse, while some are still monuments of ancient culture and civilisation and visited to by thousands of devotees during the days of annual worship.

People:

It is believed that the Chenchus inhabited this area much earlier than the Dravidians themselves. They were referred to as the Adi Chenchus meaning that they existed from times immemorial. The total population of the Chenchu was about 25,000 as per 1971 census, and a bulk of this population is inhabiting the forest areas of Kurnool. Ongole (Now Prakasam), Guntur and Mahabubnagar districts.

The Chenchus are of medium stature, the height varying from 5' to 5'.^{10'} among males and from 4'.^{6'} to 6' among females. They are dark in complexion with broad nostrils and high cheek bones. Their eyes are black. 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.

Food Habits:

A rapid change in the food habits is undergoing among these people due to a) culture contact, b) non-availability of forest eatables due to extensive deforestation, c) transition to monetary economy, d) occupation mobility resulting owing to increased agricultural practice and availability of employment in the form of wage labour.

Traditionally the Chenchus used to depend entirely upon the forest produce. Twenty three varieties of tubers twenty two varieties of green leaves, thirty three varieties of fruits and a variety of game are recorded as food items eaten by the Chenchu. Even today at least 40-50% of their food consists of forest produce. But now-a-days, the staple food of the Chenchus is jowar and rice. It is being supplemented with either chilli or some forest produce.

The morning meal generally consists of *sankati* (gruel) prepared with jowar and *karam* (chilli) a rice gruel with salt. The evening meal consists of *roti* (bread) prepared out of jowar flour taken with a little salt, chillies, tamarind and onion. All these items of food stuffs are to be purchased from the local vendors. But in interior gudems, the Chenchu depend largely on forest produce. I have observed in gudems like, Bairulutigudem, Nagaluti gudem. Peddacheruvu in Kurnool district, Chintala, Marripalem, Thummalabayalu and Peddamanthanala in Prakasam district and Mannanoor in Mahabubnagar, which are located nearer to market centres, people storing small quantities of either rice or jowar. The people from these villages purchase food grains either daily from the vendor or weekly by going to the nearby marketing centres.

But the quantity stored was very small ranging from 1 kg to 5 kg of rice and jowar.

But in isolated gudems, the people are not storing any of these food grains. When I visited such villages like Abbarajukunta, Pechheruvu and Peddamantanalapenta in Kurnool districts, Chinnamanthala, Nekkanti and Doranala in Prakasam district and Rampura, Appapurpenta, Fharabad of Mahabubnagar, the people are keeping large bins of mahuwa flower and small quantities of Madapu seeds ranging from 2 kg to 5 kg. I present below actual information collected with regard to the type of food eaten during my stay by a family in each village I visited.

Gulla Veeranna is also a brother (cousin) to Arthi Gurvadu.

Gulla Narasaiah continued saying that once they used to eat bamboo and bamboo maize. It is looked just like rice and during those days they ate it with honey. He wondered and accused the Government also plains people for having cut large plots of bamboo. Arthi mother of Arthi Guravadu intervened and said "those forests, those food stuffs have gone and those people have also gone". She - that people of the present day generation cannot eat the quantity of their ancestors used to eat and the variety of foods they ate, were very strong healthy and used to roam extensively in the forest. They used to climb the hills and hillocks very easily whereas the present people cannot walk a stretch of 5 miles without any stops.

Gudem:

Date 9th April.

Name of the informant: Arthi Gurvadu. He lives with his wife, mother, children and his parallel cousin Arthi Moogadu and his wife. He is about 25 years and his height is mean to the hut of Dasari Venkatanna as the Peddamanishi (elder) of the gudem. In relation Arthi Guravadu is younger brother of Dasari Venkatanna. I went to the house of Arthi Gurvadu around 10.00A.M. He had just washed the hands and feet and was to take his morning meal. He invited me to join him. I said I enjoy if he allows me to stay there but not pressuring me to eat. But he did not listen. He said that I should take very little as his wife has made a special item which I cannot get at any place, even if I pay Rs. One hundred. Then I asked him what that special item is, He said it is meat. He did not reveal the name of animal. When I enquired he said at a low voice that the meat is of deer's. I accepted his offer and he asked his wife to give me water in a clean bowl of bronze. She went outside brought the bronze bowl, washed cleanly, from D.Venkanna's house and gave it to her husband who passed it to me. While I went out of hut to wash my hands, Guravadu wife took one aluminium plate came out along with another bowl of water, cleaned it carefully and came in side. She took out one pot from the *atic* and she served the meat of deer. The meat is cut into considerably bigger pieces (what we would call at our place as chops). She just dipped the serving spoon into the meat container and took out at least five pieces at which I said I cannot eat all that. She looked at her husband and he said "Give it, no problem" and turned to me and said you are young and hence you should eat". But I expressed my inability. His wife has given me all the pieces and added three more pieces and then some juice. She said to me in some what shyful and commanding fashion "eat how much you want to eat and leave the rest, we will eat the remaining. By that time Gulla Narasaiah who was eating rice and meat has finished his part and begun to speak to me "Sir, we are Chenchus: we eat what all the Mallalamma gives 'Guvva' (sparrow) or a leaf or a 'Gadda'(tuber) or a fruit. We eat, you know, tamarind well in the ash of tamarind twigs. We eat a sort of mud of ant hill. We eat 'Madapu' seeds. We eat *udumu*(iguana) which is very delicious and for pregnant women it is advisable. Of all the animals the meat of a monkey, we call it '*Kondamuchhu*'(baboon) is most delicious and we are very fond of it. But to kill it we require good expert and courageous people at least five people. The

animal becomes very ferocious the moment it sense our intention. Meanwhile Arthi Guravadu's wife asked me whether I would like to eat rice. I asked for a roti. She looked at her husband who asked his sister to go to his brother's house and get one. She said Gulla _____ wife has prepared it and went to his house.

Meanwhile the roti has come and started eating. Meanwhile behind the hut, there were dogs and they were barking. Arthi Gurvadu and Arthi Mooganna and Gulla Narasaiah went out, driven away the dogs. I asked Arthi Bayamma why the dogs were barking. She said that here son has fixed up the deer's skin with twigs on the ground to dry it up. It contained some meat and that's why they were fighting. For another question, she answered that the skin will be used for making '*thappeta*' (a sort of musical instrument, drum). I asked her are you not going to sell it? She replied that people come there to purchase and each may cost about Rs.15 to Rs.20/-. She said they sell even the horns of deer. While I was eating I have seen blood coming out and fall down drop by drop. A cat was licking the blood. The bag was made of cotton and it is dirty. It was loathsome to me.

I asked Arthi Baiamma what contains in it. She said that it is meat of the deer. They kept it for a Sugali person. He is the person who has spotted the deer. (Details of this will be furnished latter). I said it is better they kept it in some pot so that nobody will know it. The forest officials do not allow the people to hunt. She said nobody in their *Gudem* will leak out this information to forest people and it doesn't matter if they store it outside. Then I asked her how long you keep the meat. She said they will keep it up to this evening and if that Sugali person doesn't turn up they will eat away or sell it if they find person who can purchase it. I have finished the roti but still some more pieces of meat were there. I told to A.Baiamma that I cannot take any more. Her da-in-law came and taken out the plate and the emptied the contents into the original pot containing meat. I asked what are you doing? Are you not doing a sort of unworthy thing. She said there is no (_____) for them.

I asked her how she prepared it. Meat was washed first and cleaned eliminating hair and boiled. After nearly one hour turmeric powder, chilli powder, salt were added. After half an hour it was well cooked. She said if they can procure some oil they will season it. She said that the people eat meat just by heating it on the fire. I told my own experience of eating that kind of heated meat when I happened to present among a hunting party headed by Dasari Chinnamma of the same village. Arthi Baiamma asked me how it was tasted? I said it was not so bad it contained the smell of _____. Then she said that the Chenchus like that smell and that's why they do not boil too much.

The meat was really hard and it requires lot of time to masticate it. I said is it not going to take much time to eat? She said "yes but do you think one should eat fast? No. you should eat and one should feel free while he is sitting to eat". But she admitted that for people like me it is difficult to eat their

food and she felt my jaws may develop pain if I keep on eating like their own people". She said again that the meat of a sort of squirrel, they call it '*Bettu udutha*' (bigger in size than the ordinary squirrel), is very tough and she asked me whether I would like to eat that. I said yes. Then she told her son to get one when he goes to forest.

Then I asked her what they have prepared for today. She said rice and meat of deer. Then I asked her will it be used and sufficient for the night meal. She said that they will make roti with maize for that night. For another query. She said they will prepare karam (chilli chutney), it is prepared by boiling green chilli and onion and then making a paste by adding salt. It can be used for two days. I asked where from they bought maize, chilli and onion. She said her son bought them from Atmakur: He bought 5 kg of maize, chilli for Rs.21 (weighs roughly about 150 grams), onion for Rs.21 (weighs about 3 / 4 kgs.) Maize cost Rs. 2/- per kg. He sold gum to the local merchant and earned Rs. 27.50 (He sold 2½ kg. Rs.11 per kg.) I asked her how it was exactly 2½ kg. She said it is lightly lesser than 2½ kg. but the merchant made it for 2½ kg. And he will be given that quantity later when they again take gum to him. The rest of the money has been spent on picture, beedi, tobacco and Rs.5/- was given to the local vendor from whom they borrowed maize. They could save only Rs.5/- I asked her that do they eat the gum. She said a sort of gum from *Konda gogu* is soaked in water for one complete night and then it is boiled for about one hour after which it becomes just like rice. It is being eaten either by mixing with chilli or honey if they have. After boiling it will not be a sticky. But they eat it very rarely. It is being eaten when they go on *Kanduva* or *Polam* (camp) to the forest. I asked her how much time was spent on collection of 2½ kg. It has taken their 2 days and it is being collected by her sons. Arthi Gurvadu and Arthi Moogadu. The farmer is her son and latter is born to another woman, who is presently married to her husband. Her husband Arthi Achanna left her as she has become old and A Mooganna's mother appeared to him sweet though she is also equally old like her. Coming back to gum collection, she said that her sons went day before yesterday around 11.00 A.M. to a place called *Pachakalu* which is nearly 6 - 8 k.m. away from the village. There have their _____. (Three or four years before gum collection were virtually absent. Since four years gum collection has attained good commercial value due to export. The Chenchus were permitted by the Government of Andhra Pradesh to collect and right to collect gum was purely vested over Chenchus only and outsiders were not allowed. The Chenchus in each *gudem* (village) have distributed the gum trees Karia (Thabese tree) in their own territories among themselves. The distribution was done on the basis of groups. Traditionally each Chenchu village has got a territory or its own around the village. People belonging to other villages should not exploit those zones belonging to some other villages. People belonging to other villages should not exploit those zones belonging to some other villages. Even within the village the common territory is again sub-divided into sections, each belonging to one group. Generally this group is a kin group. And, again each family within group may have a particular resource like a big tree or cliff when honey is being deposited regularly or nuxvomica trees, soapnut trees, myrobalam trees, tamarind trees, mango trees and also few worshipping spots. But this is

not always observed in all villages. That means the sub-divided part of the territory is not again divided between families. It is the case with many villages and all the people belonging to the group have equal stakes in that portion of forest allotted to that group. Considering its economic value the gum trees have been distributed among themselves. But the distribution of trees is not always equal. Before the distribution of these trees among the villages, the gudem *Peddamanushulu* (elders) convened a meeting.

The person presents were:

1. Dasari Venkatanna (Chief) 46 years
2. Mandla Linganna (Kollagadu = Messenger) 57 years
3. Uttaluri Reddy Eadanna (Kollagadu = Messenger) 54 years
4. Gulla Veeranna (Peddamanishi) 40 years
5. Dasari Chinnanna (Peddamanishi) 50 years
6. Dasari Balanna (Peddamanishi) 50 years
7. Gulla Thataiah (Peddamanishi) 55 years
8. Arthi Ankanna (Peddamanishi) 45 years.

Dasari Venkatanna has initiated the meeting by saying that he was summoned by the Divisional Forest Officer yesterday and told him that the Chenchus were given permission to collect gum from Thabase and Thirumanu trees. Then Dasari Venkatanna asked him from which spots they are permitted to collect gum. He said within the jurisdiction of Bairuluti range Dasari Venkatanna told him that they have their limits and areas in the forest which were customarily being exploited by different groups in the villages. He has given few names of the parts like Muskum bavi, Thalamadgu, Jom Pradesam, Garigala, Pothuraju penta. Thirumala devunikonda and Pachekalua. D.F.O. said that you do whatever you want but didn't go out of the range. He told him not to allow the outsiders as the gum collection is meant for Girijans or Chenchus only. At this juncture Gulla Thataiah intervened and told him it is possible for them to control the plains people from collecting the gum. Arthi Ankanna who is elected as the Panchayat President of Pinnapunam during last year's Panchayat election said that it is not possible and even it is no good asking them to keep away from entering the forest. He said that whatever you want but didn't go out of the range. He told him not to allow the outsiders as the gum collection is meant for Girijans or Chenchus only. They have recognized that the government is helping them. Dasari Bayanna said that help is not being properly handed over to them and it is being eaten away in middle itself, all persons agreed upon this issue.

Mandla Lingadu said why thinking about all that and let the issue be completed as it is getting late. Then Dasari Venkatanna told to all people that they can go to their own areas and to tap the trees. He wanted that people should see that the trees distributed more or less equally among all the families. As they do not know exactly how many trees are there, they cannot fix up the number. And also as all

people will not be collecting gum. He said that it is the responsibility of elders present here to see that their men utilize the property and no disputes arise. He warned them mildly not to steal away gum from others trees. Dasari Sami Veeradu who is also an elder joined them along with Thataiah. The farmer sat with Gulla Veeranna and the latter sat besides Dasari Chinnanna, D. Venkatanna asked them when they went. They said they went to fetch the bamboo poles for weaving bamboo wall. Both these people spoke to the persons with whom they sat and learnt the proceedings. Then Gulla Thataiah said that the difference in owning the number of trees is bound to emerge due to the different capacity of the individuals in harnessing the gum collection. Hence the capable person can have more number of trees than the less capable person. Gulla Veeranna said that it is true and who-ever can exploit more trees he should not be disturbed. Dasari Venkatana intervened saying that though doesn't oppose this, he feels that at least few trees must be spared for all others. All people have agreed that they will take care of such issues and in case anybody fails to have sufficient trees he will be allowed to collect gum from other's trees, of course with the owner's permission. After this all people departed. That is how the people could share all the trees. The following is the information regarding no. of trees owned by each group in each part in, the traditional territory of Bairluti gudem.

Garigala:

Garigala is the name of a hillock area is roughly about 25 sq. km. This place is traditionally exploited by the chigurla family. Chigurla Golusaiah is the heir of this area. His ancestors have exploited this area. Dasari Sami Veeradu is his brother-in-law. Chigurla Golusaiah has married the younger sister of Dasari Sami Veeradu. Sami Veeradu is elder than Chigurla Golusaiah and the farmer is regarded as the 'elder' to all his group members. The Garigala area is at present exploited by seven families. But Dasari Sami Veeradu has three grown up sons who are married and each son is having his own trees. The following table gives an idea of the no. of trees owned by each member.

Name of the Person	No. of Trees owned	Approximate yield per week
1. Dasari Sami Veeradu	40	5 k.g.
2. Chigurla Golusugadu	100	20 k.g.
3. Golla Veeranna	50	7 k.g.
4. Chigurla Nagaluti	30	5 k.g.
5. Arthi Mooganna	40	6 k.g.
6. Bhumani Veeranna	25	5 k.g.
7. Dasari Golusaiah	15	3 k.g.
8. Pedda Veeranna (Dasari)	50	10 k.g.
9. Dasari Chinna Veeranna	30	12 k.g.
10. Dasari Veeranna	40	7 k.g.

The last three persons are the sons of Dasari Sami Veeradu (No.1). Bhumani Veeranna is an orphan aged about 15 years, and stays with Dasari Sami Veeradu. Each person collects gum from his own trees. There are 6 huts temporarily created by these people. Dasari Golusaiah is having nearly 100 trees at Pachekalva. Dasari Golusaiah is the first person who went to Pachakalva and started gum collection and he also extended his area of operation upto Garigala. At that time no body was interested in gum collection. D.Golusaiah found gum collection more and hence he restored to this occupation. Seeing him making money and after the *Kulapanchayat*(Tribal Panchayat) all other people started collecting gum. Chigurla Golusugadu has given 5 trees to Bhumani Veeranna and Sami Veeradu gave him another 6 trees. Dasari Peddaveeranna does not ___the Chigurla family. Chigurla Golusaiah is the heir of the area. His ancestors have exploited this area. Dasari Sami Veeradu is his brother-in-law. Chigurla Golusaiah has married the younger.

What all the collects. He maintains a separate family without pooling his income with his father D.Samiveeradu whereas the other two sons Dasari Chinna Veeranna and Dasari Veeranna pool what all they collect with his father and have a common hearth. The entire group of people lead more or less a cooperative life. Any one of the members happen to kill an animal it is being shared by all the people.

The next group of people headed by Pedda Naganna and Gulla Golusaiah is exploiting Thala Madugu area. It is big and Garigala towards south-east side of Bairuluty. Totally 13 families are coming at this place. There are 9 huts. Naganna is having 70 trees and Gulla Golusu is having 100 trees. There the people are having between 60-70 trees.

The other group of people headed by Dasari Venkatanna (Chief of the village) are exploiting Pachakalva area. This is situated towards east. Dasari Venkatanna never goes to collect gum. He is not interested in gum collection. He is the rich man in the village and he has 60 goats and 20 cows and 6 pairs of oxen. He cultivates his land and he has still last year's harvest. So he has given all his trees for Arthi Gurvadu, Dasari Chinna Golusaiah, Chigurla Nagaluti and Arthi Mooganna. These people generally work for Dasari Venkatanna when he requires them for cultivating his land. The Pachakalva area is being exploited by six families and it traditionally belong to Dasari Venkatanna but Arthi Guravadu is now harnessing gum from maximum of trees. Others have trees ranging from 100 to 25.

Jom Pradesam is owned by Mandla people. The authority is vested on Mandla Karanam Lingadu. Under his authority 5 families are exploiting. Mandla Linganna also doesn't collect gum but his brother's son Mandla Guravadu collects it. Of and on the son of Mandla Linganna also goes along with Mandla Guravadu to collect Pothurajupenta area being exploited by Gulla Lingadu about 30 years. Besides him Jello Linganna, Arthi Gajilu and Palacherla Bayanna are exploiting the gum. Arthi Ankanna

the present panchayat president is the leader. He is not having any authority over the area. This area belongs to Gulla Lingadu. But Arthi Ankanna is brother to Gulla Lingadu. And A.Ankanna is a rich man and hence he acts as a God-father for Gulla Lingadu.

This is the pattern of distribution of the trees.

Arthi Baiamma (cont. from page 17) continued telling that they have to exercise hardship to earn their bread. If they do not go out to forest or fail to engage themselves in some kind of wage-labour, they have to starve. When I asked her is it possible to starve for the complete day she admitted that it is possible but the chances of starvation are much less as their fellow Chenchus do not see their neighbours starving. They give food to those people who do not have. She said they are living in a forest and such help is very much essential as there are ample chances for any one of the persons to experience starvation. Specially during rainy season they have very hard time. They will not get any work and forest produce will be scarce. During that period all people will suffer. At that time they depend heavily on various green leaves pluck them and eat.

The following is the record of food eaten in A.Guravadu's house for one week.

Date	Morning Meal	Night Meal	Approximate Weight (Raw)	No. of persons adults + children	Sharing with anybody other than family members	Remarks
9 th April	Rice Meat of Deer Butter Milk	Roti Meat of Deer Chilli Chutney Butter Milk	2 kg 1 ½ kg 1 2 10-15 Chillis 5 onions	5+3	Meat was given to head and Gulla Narasaiah who has supplied buttermilk to the heads family. He has one buffalo.	Head was eaten few fruits of Nagajemudu when he went to forest along with A.Mooganna to collect honey. The letter collected 5 cashew nut fruits and gave to the farmer.
10 th April	Roti Tamarind Leaves + Chillis + onion	Roti + Red Chilli + Tamarind + salt	1 kg 1 kg	4+3		Arthi Guravadu was not present. He went to Pachakalva to collect gum. A. Mooganna also accompanied him but they detected honey comb in a tree

						and they collected it. A. Mooganna carried it back. Sold at Almakur and for Rs.20/- per two kg. The kept back some honey to be eaten by all the members. They have eaten the comb also.
11 th April	Mahuwa + flowers boiled + chilli chutney	Rice + Gruel	3 kg. 1 kg.	3+3	Chilli chutney was taken from heads sister's family	Both A.Guravadu and A.Mooganna went out to collect gum. They are expected tomorrow.
12 th April	Rice Tamarind + leaves + Mango + Redgram +	Rice + Gruel Roti	2 kg. 1 kg	5+3	Roti was brought from D.Venkatanna's family	Guravadu and Mooganna have returned collection 2 kg

13 th April	Onion + Red Chilli Meat of Hare + Roti	Rice + Gruel	2 kg.	3/4 kg.	5+3	Meat was given to D.Chinnanna and they got in turn ½ k.g. maize flour. Meat was given to head's sister and Gulla Narasaiah	of gum. All the family members ate Morli Pandlu (Buchannia latifolia) collected by Guravadu and Moogadu while returning after gum collection. They have killed two hares.
14 th April	Ponnaganti Kura + Duggaku Rice	Rice + Gruel	1½ kg. 1½ kg.	1 kg.	5+3		
15 th April	A big squirrel (betu udutha) + Roti	Squirrel + Roti	2 kg. 1 kg.	½ kg.	5+3	Meat was given to Gulla Veeranna, D.Chinnanna & D.Venkatanna Gulla Narasaiah. Gulla Narasaiah has given Rs.4/- with which A.Guravadu purchase maize.	Squirrel was killed by A.Guravadu.

Maize, rice, chilli and salt are being purchased either from the local vendors or from Atmakur town. The local vendors come from Atmakur in cycles daily and they sell maize, rice, red gram, red chilli, salt, beedi, tobacco, and other eatables. The vendors sell these items to twenty five paise profit and they appear to be generous in giving credit to the Chenchus. Chenchus are not scornful for the profit the vendors make out. They feel that these vendors come all the way from Atmakur traveling 18 kms. Daily and hence they deserve that profit margin. Arthi Baiamma said that these vendors are also poor and hence they take all that hardship. She was pointing me and said "are you not taking all these pains in visiting them" and questioned me "don't I think that I deserve some profit may be a good job". At this junction D.Chinnanna told to their people present there that I may be getting a salary of Rs.400/-, and so that I can eat daily good food. I asked them what they do if they don't have anything to eat. Arthi Baiamma told that they approach one of their Chenchu and take from them either rice or maize to be returned after one or two days. I asked from whom they borrow for which she has given a list of names:

1. Dasari Venkatanna (He is the son of her elder sister).
2. Dasari Chinnanna (Brother of No.1)
3. Gulla Veeranna (Brother)
4. Nagi Reddy ()
5. Dasari Guravadu (Parallel cousin)

It can be repaid either by the same food stuff or some other food stuff like meat, or liquor or by asking the vendor to give or by cash. Generally while giving they will give her an idea about by what date or time the borrowed item is repaid. Depending upon this, they repay him or they can as well test the lender the probable date of repay. If by a chance he fails to repay she will borrow the rice or maize from other personnel and give to that person. It is a matter of urgency and need that determines the period of repayment of borrowed items. Generally they pay back the borrowed items within two or three days or at maximum a week days. They approach only their relatives or the people with whom they have major interaction. They are the people who have grouped to gather in under taking many economic activities. Such a group consists of not more than 4 or 5 families or even two families. But this group doesn't consist of the ___ or the larger group. (During the olden days the Chenchu used to live in semi-permanent *gudems* (hamlets) which were located interior of the forest where there was abundant availability of fruit bearing trees and variety of tubers and water. Each *Gudem* consisted of conical bee-hive huts dispersed, wither and thither in a considerably a large area. A group of such *gudems* used to exploit systematically a particular fixed territory. The people of this territory were collectively termed as a *gumpu*. The area of this territory is about 20 to 30 sq. miles, the boundaries of which were marked by certain hillocks hills or stream or river or its tributaries. Each *gumpu* had a specific name which followed a specific characteristics trait such as *papagani* (name of hillock) *gumpu*. *Thalamadugu vagu* (name of a small canal) *gumpu*. Each *gumpu* was independent and no centralised political body was present for all the *gumpus*.

Each *gumpu* maintained the identity of its territory and if the territory becomes completely exhausted or afflicted by drought the *gumpu* was expected to explore a new territory hither to not own by any other. A *gumpu* consisted of 70-100 families, generally belonging to three or four exogamous group. (___). All these families were related and marriage was not permitted between members of the same *gumpu*. The families were dispersed in and around the territory in small groups of about 3 to 4 families. These groups had also certain location where they temporarily established *gudem*. Each such *gudem* was headed by an elder who controlled law and order among the members. These groups of families

depend upon each other either in matter of borrowing sharing and other collective operations. However, collective operation does not consist of all activities. Collective operations may be such activities like hunting. Honey collection from trees and ant-hill, collection of *MFP*, firewood-collection, bamboo _____. Even this section of the *gumpu* may also be sub-divided into still smaller unites where cooperation is frequent. Such groups do not carry any name. *Gumpu* is now fast disappearing. Due to dispersion and wider economic opportunities and erosion of the concept of territoriality due to the intervention and ownership of Govt., over all the forest lands, the solidarity among the members of the *gumpu* is already eroded. For the new generation *Gumpu*'s an alien term (To substantiate two above arguments, the following data is presented.).

In Barulutigudem there are 75 huts and 81 families, at the time of interview. Among these families 28 families were camping at different palaces. During olden days (roughly around 1930 and 1940). Bairulutigudem is totally not inhabited. The whole inhabiting area was covered with bushes and trees. The Chenchus were living much dispersed in an around the Bairuluti forest range. Most of the Chenchus were living at a place called Musukumbhavi a water hole some 5 k.m. away from the present Bairulutigudem. It is not known who were the people staying at Musukumbavi. The British Govt. had brought all these people and made to settle in one particular centre and that was Bairuluti. Prior to that the Chenchus used to move in small groups of about 5 families in one particular area. There were about 6 such groups. Each group was headed by a person. The Topi Peddanna Uttaluri Pedda Rajulu, Dasari Mudukulodu, Chigurla Eadanna Garaboina Buggadu. Gulladinna Nagadu. Topi Eadanna was the Raja and Kudumula Nagadu was the pradhani and Uttaluri Rajulugadu was the *Kollagadu* (messenger) and Gulla Chinna Nagadu was the priest. The role of priest was not very much marked. He did not attend to perform all the ritual ceremonies. But he was a *Gadde Chappuvadu* (sorcerer). All these people were elders to their respective groups. Besides them there were few more people who were also elders under each person. There were about 5-10 families and all these families put together formed a *gumpu*. But at present all the above elders were dead. Later the position of Raju was taken up by Arthi Guravadu who was brother-in-law or Topi Eadanna the diseased Raju. Here the political office is not inherited. It is more or less being achieved. It is not very clear whether the leadership among the Chenchu was achieved. It is not very clear whether the leadership among the Chenchu was achieved or ascribed (inherited) before outsiders came in contact with them. It is the British Govt. which introduced a new political system. It had appointed Headman and Deputy Headman, (Reddy, Karanam). The headman used to exercise much powers and he was held responsible for any wrong committed by the Chenchus. Due to this, probably, the role of traditional leaders was not conspicuous and hence started disappearing. During the British the Headman used to take attendance of all the inhabitants who were made to settle in particular places like Bairuluti and Nagaluti. The absentees were brought before the forest officials who used to punish them either by beating or by fine. The deputy headman used to bring all the children from the village or nearby village to the school and escort them back. These steps were taken due to Chenchu retaliation of the British intervention and curtailment of the Chenchus freedom in exploiting the forest produce. After independence the positions of Headman and Deputy Headman were retained but restricted to the school functioning. Their control over other inhabitants was completely taken off due to Panchayat Raj system and they their role was limited in getting the boys and girls to school and fetching of wood, water necessary for Hostel. Again the Chenchus had elected some powerful and capable person among themselves who acted as *peddamanishi*. This position was evidently brought from the caste-villages where peddamanishi would control the local political issues.

Now Dasari Venkatanna and Gulla Thataiah were elected as Peddamanushulu by all the villagers somewhere around 1960. They were elected by the mutual consensus of all the people. The election of two leaders is again a complicated issue. It is said that they will represent two groups but overall political decisions are _____ on Dasari Venkatanna.

At present the traditional Kula Panchayat members are as follows:

Dasari Venkatanna	-	Chief Peddamanishi
Gulla Thataiah	-	Peddmanishi
Mandla Lingadu-		Kolla gadu (Messenger)
Uttaluri Eadanna	-	Kolla gadu (Messenger)
Dasari Samii Keenadu	-	Elder
Dasari Baianna	-	Elder
Arthi Ankanna	-	Elder (Panchayat President)
Gulla Veeranna -		Elder
Chigurla	-	Elder

Dasari Venkatanna attends to all the disputes in the village and while doing so he holds discussion with Gulla Thataiah and Mandla Lingadu both are elders to him. Here each person has his own group of members. Again each group is sub-divided into still smaller units. The formation and existence of the small group is not based on clear-cut terms in criteria. But formation of such a group is necessary in the light of meeting with and management of certain contingent situation like lack of food in the house, difficulty in carrying out particular activities like honey collection, hunting, house construction, grazing etc. Generally such groups are formed basing on either kinship or friendship or skill. The latter criterion is very important and probably this aspect plays a great role in the formation of group. This issue will be discussed later. The following account gives details about the group and its members. The membership in secondary group and the _____ group is not always constant. In Bairuluti gudem there are 81 families of which are nuclear and each family having separate hut and the other 10 families are living in 4 huts; families in two huts and 6 families in the other two huts.

The secondary groups were headed by the following persons.

Secondary Group No: 1 - Dasari Venkatanna: Under him there are 7 families.

Secondary Group No: 2 - Chigurla Venkatanna: 5 families.

The above two groups together form tertiary group.

Secondary Group No: 3 - Mandla Lingadu: 4 families.

Secondary Group No: 4 - Uttaluri Eadanna: 7 families.

The secondary groups No: 3 and 4 form into the tertiary group.

The rest of 12 families out of 81 which did not fall in secondary group are as such lead more or less independent life. But they can identify with any group temporarily but the day-to-day interaction is not intensive as in case of the families belonging to secondary and tertiary groups. Each territory group exploits one particular area known by a particular name. The following account gives the details about the areas owned by each territory group in Bairuluti Gudem.

Territory Group No: 1 headed by Dasari Venkatanna Pachakalva.

Territory Group No: 2 headed by Mandla Lingadu.

Pedda Manishi and Chinna Manishi or Jom Pradesam.

Territory Group No: 4 headed by Gulla Golusaiah Uttaluri Pedda Naganna and Dasari Baianna Thalamadugu.

Territory Group No: 5 headed by Gulla Thataiah : Galeru

Territory Group No: 6 headed by Gulla Lingadu : Pothuraju Penta.

Secondary Group No: 5 Dasari Sami Veeradu : 12 familie

Secondary Group No: 6 Gulla Veeranna: 3 families.

These two form into one territory group.

Secondary Group No: 7 Gulla Golusaiah : 3 families.

Secondary Group No: 8 Uttaluri Thorumalwah : 4 families.

Secondary Group No: 9 Uttaluri Pedda Naganna : 4 families.

Secondary Group No: 10 Dasari Baianna 3 families.

The secondary group No.7,8,9 and 10 form into one territory group.

Secondary Group No: 11 Gulla Thataiah: 6 families

Secondary Group No: 12 Uttaluri Dadaiah: 3 families

The secondary group No: 11 and 12 form into one territory group

Secondary group NO: 13 Arthi Ankanna: 3 families

Secondary Group No: 14 Gulla Lingadu: 4 families

The above two secondary groups form into one territory group.

The leaders of secondary group generally do not antagonize each other. Any leader belonging to any secondary group can represent their territory group but in al normal cases leadership is vested on elderly person.

The families belonging to each secondary group interact with each other and cooperation is maximum in many facets of their day-to-day life.

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