Adivasi refers to a wide variety of communities which earlier had remained relatively free from the controls of the outside states but were eventually subjugated during the colonial period and brought under the control of the state. Today they are classified as ‘Scheduled Tribes’ by the Indian constitution, and more generally they are known as tribal and indigenous people. The tribal have in common is their oral culture expressed in their language and symbols, their myths and rituals, their legends and sagas and they have evolved a complex cultural heritage of their own. The way they recorded their own history and preserved their culture was quite different from that of their colonial discoverers. However the oral sources of tradition in the societies are not strictly religious or even mystic. They have their legends, songs and sagas that are part of collective memory of the tribals.

The legends of origin and narration of encounters give us an understanding of the identity and self perception of these people.¹

Lenore Keeshing Topias (1990) says, "Stories, you see, are not just entertainment. Stories are power. They reflect the deepest, the most intimate perceptions, relationships and attitudes of a people. Stories show how person, a culture, thinks".² They are much more powerful in the context of colonization and subjugation.
All the castes in India have origin stories and all of them have at least a touch of fantasy in order to assert the caste's association or intimacy with gods and goddesses thus proving their eligibility to spiritual domain which has been deprived to them hitherto. Quite often these stories have variations according to the sub castes focussing on the respective castes. For instance, there is a story regarding Jamba Purana which traces the origin of two Dalit castes as untouchables. According to Jamba Purana, Shiva and Parvathi have a divine cow Kamadhenu which can feed any number of people. Parvathi invites only gods, goddesses and sages to taste its milk and milk products. An adolescent looks after Kamadhenu. Once he feels like tasting Kamadhenu's milk. When he expresses his desire to Parvathi, she asks him to go and tell this to Kamadhenu. On hearing this desire, Kamadhenu collapses and dies. All the gods and goddesses eagerly flock for its meat. This boy and Jambavantha start cooking it. When a piece falls down from the vessel, the boy and Jambavantha put it back in the vessel. For this, they are cursed to be born as untouchables on earth. Whether this story has a historical basis or not, it definitely is moulded by the spirit of self-esteem among Dalits. On the other hand, if one believes the story of four varnas taking birth from four body parts of Brahma, which forms the foundation of the caste system in India, this story should also be believed.³

Similarly the tribes in India though relegated not into the outskirts like Dalits but into the forests, have their own legends of origin. While some tribes live near villages and as nomads in the forests, they borrow from Hindu religion to some extent while some of the tribal deities and practices are appropriated by Hinduism. Some of the tribes have a history of being rulers of the respective territories. It is in this context that their origin stories write their histories and rewrite their aspiration to get acceptability and respect in society. One such tribe is Sugalis.⁴
Bhangya (2010) says that the genealogy of the Lambada or Sugalis' spiritual culture and cultural articulations can be better understood through their oral narratives and tradition. The traditions are passed on from generation to generation in the form of *sakies* (stories), *shaval* (proverbs), and *geeths* (songs). Their oral memories and traditions are useful to define their history. Indeed oral history is a tool that not only provides the historian with a means to overcome the deficiency of material but also offers important insights into the lived history. Particularly in countries like India, where a large number of communities were denied both literacy and textual history, oral histories are primary source to explore to construct their social history. The Sugalis, as a subaltern group in Indian history, lack such written records; therefore, oral sources provide an important means to understand and construct their history and thought.\(^5\)

Many historians have tried to note the history of Sugalis by referring to their occupation, lifestyle, language, dress pattern, religion, beliefs, and celebrations. It is very interesting to understand their oral tradition detains all this thoroughly and shares it in the community thus passing on the history from generation to generation. It is noticeable that the Sugalis have not learnt about themselves from history books as they were not literate until a few decades ago. Even without the interference of history, the Sugalis history has stayed intact in the form of oral tradition.\(^6\) When the colonialists first discovered oral cultures, they assumed that if language distinguished beasts, it was writing that distinguished the civilized from the savages. In the ultimate analysis, writing as a representational technology was a decided advantage in such an encounter.

To study the history of any man or a society one needs to understand the geographical environment which governs the course of human events. Every culture develops in some sort of physical setting and every civilization is exploitative of the resources of its environment. Keeping this in view an attempt is made here to study
the geographical background of the Rayalaseema region and the Sugali settlements under study in order to evaluate the relative impact of social conditions on the Sugali tribe. Further, an attempt is also made in this chapter to study the mythological origin and historical background of the Sugalis.

**MYTHOLOGICAL ORIGIN**

A traditional account of the origin of the Sugali is contained in mythological legends and stories which are popular among them. Based on these stories the Sugalis are the descendents of the Rajputs and hence, they call themselves Kashatriyas. This is illustrated by the following story.

Lord Vishnu, the creator of the world, first created two Maharashi, namely, Bhrugu and Raghu. These Maharashis created both Raja Dhaj and Amba Bai and to them was born a son known as Kower Dhaj. In turn Kower Dhaj had Rajpal and to Rajpal was born Reem. Reem had two sons, namely Habal and Kabal. The direct descendents of Habal were Hindus and those of Kabal were Muslims. Habal had a son named Waged. Waged had Jagad, Jagad had Sandal, Sandal had Kasam, Kasam had Karan, and to Karan were born two sons namely Jeeda and Chada. The descendants of the Jeeda are Sugalis. The descendants of Chada are the other Hindu communities.

The Sugalis trace their origin to their ancestors called Mola and Mota, the two brothers, who were among the disciples of Lord Krishna. The Sugalis believe that the two brothers – Mola and Mota were brought into the world through the spiritual power of the Jagadguru. The saint did not provide any means of livelihood for the two brothers. Hence, both of them approached Lord Krishna who then named these two unknown persons as Mola and Mota and asked them to tend his cows to which they readily agreed. From then Mola and
Mota became the close disciples of Lord Krishna. On the completion of his incarnation (close of Dwaparayuga) dispersed all his 16,000 Gopikas among his disciples. Mota was given Rukmini, Mola was given Radha, a Gopika from Yadava community as a wife to farmer on condition that he should not have any sexual relation with her.

Radha and Mola became life partners and became dancers and acrobats. They used to go from one capital to another capital exhibiting their skill before the Rajas and Maharajas. One day they entertained a serious thought about the adoption of children for the future expansion of their community. Accordingly they visited Raja Lohad Pamhar, Swamsha Kall of Dharungadh. Radha and Mola exhibited their dance before the Raja. Raja was highly pleased with their amusing dances and agreed to the desire of Radha and Mole a child of his as a reward. The Raja was happy to give one of his sons as reward. Taking this child with them they approached Raja Kasam of Rathod. Here too by their exquisite dance they could get one of the sons of Raja Kasam. In the same manner they went to Raja Chetur Bhuj alias Phoolia of Mandvi. He too was pleased with their dances and gave away his son as reward.

Taking these three boys, Radha and Mola visited several places exhibiting their dances. These three boys were named as Raja Pamhar, Karam Rathod and Payan Chowhan. They were known as Gwars, and they married three Brahmin girls. The descendants of these three were Gwars or Sugalis. In connection with the marriages of these boys the mythology of Sugali says¹⁰ that there was one Brahmin whose name was Neelakantham. He had three daughters and a son. The names of three daughters were Kakarche, Modarche, Nagarche and the name of the son was Parshram. In those good old days it was the custom among the Brahmins that the marriage of Brahmin girls should take place before the attainment of menarche. As he could not celebrate the marriage ceremony of his daughters in time, the Brahmin was forced to leave his daughters in the jungle. In
the jungle Radha happened to see those three girls who were married to her adopted sons.

**INSTITUTION OF CLANS:** In order to establish clans Mola picked up suitable names to the three adopted sons who were supposed to be the clan heads and from whom the sub-clans originated. The boy whom he got from Ranghad was named as Karam Rathod, the second boy from Saughad was named as Payan Chown and the third whom Pamphad was named as Raja Pamhar all of the eponymous character, being the names of their founders. Then they established the clan heads or main clans and for each clan head they had given paras or gotras (sub-clans).

These were the main clans supposed to have been first established by their legendary ancestor, Mola. Later some other clans too were founded from illegitimate offspring of Sugali women and other caste people. The descendants of Karan Rathod were known as the people of Rathod clans. The ninth descendant of Karan Rathod was Ratna Rathod, who had two sons Bheeka and Khandar. The descendants of Bheeka were (1) Khatro, (2) Khola, (3) Modrecha, (4) Khakrocha, (5) Gokalia, (6) Gidawatya, (7) Shiroya, (8) Poolya, (9) Kalu, (10) Malu, (11) Banawat, (12) Khadura, (13) Harak and (14) Peempa. The descendants of Khandar were (1) Patalsee, (2) Ranse, (3) Khetasee, (4) Kodyasee, (5) Venie, (6) Dhania, (7) Megavat, (8) Dhegavat, (9) Vodasee, (10) Meravata, (11) Karamtot, (12) Marajot and (13) Rajavat. The total descendants of Bheeka and Khandar were 27. These 27 names afterwards became the sub-clans of the Rathod group ‘Satheesh pad’.

The descendants of Paya Chowhan from Mondvi were known as the people of Chowhan clan. The descendants of Paya Chowhan were six in number. (1) Kalavath Chowhan, (2) Bheelavath Chowhan, (3) Hansavath Chowhan, (4) Malavath Chowhan, (5) Jhadanooth Chowhan and (6) Kheluth Chowhan.
One day Paya Chowhan went to a forest along with his six sons for hunting. They hunted a pig and cut it into two parts. The six sons ate the first part together and the other part was left for their father. Chowhan was annoyed at this, for he felt secluded by his sons. Then he married a girl belonging to Bhukya clan, since he was a widower. He had seven sons through his second wife. They were (1) Menavath, (2) Dumavath, (3) Korra, (4) Palithya, (5) Malya, (6) Desavath (7) Sabhavath. With these seven sons by the second wife Paya Chowhan now had 13 sons who started 13 sub-clans called as ‘Therapad Chowhan’.

Pamhar was blessed with 12 sons in whose names the sub-clans were established. They were: (1) Ayat Pamhar, (2) Chayot Pamhar, (3) Leka Pamhar, (4) Banne Pamhar, (5) Tarbani Pamhar, (6) Mogany Pamhar, (7) Vislavath Pamhar, (8) Amgot Pamhar, (9) Noonsavath Pamhar, (10) Jharpala Pamhar, (11) Injrat Pamhar and (12) Vankdoth Pamhar.

**ORIGIN OF OTHER CLANS:** Besides the above said three clans Rathod, Chowhan and Pamhar, there is a fourth group which is also a main group called Vadtya and fifth group is called Tori. The myth regarding the origin of the Vadtya clan is as follows: The Sugali is a gypsy – like wandering and serving nomadic community, trade and transportation being their main occupation. As they happened to incur heavy losses in trade, they became indebted to Dema Guru. Dema Guru sent his disciple name Jaju, Brahmin, for recovery of loan from the Sugali. While making frequent visits to the Sugali for the collection of loan, Jaju happened to fall in love with a beautiful young girl Hanski of Jharpala Pamhar clan. This affair, though kept a secret for long, could not be hidden any more when Hanski became pregnant. In order to hide this sin Jaju and Hanski fled. Hanski gave birth to an illegitimate child whom they wanted to get rid of by burying it alive. They took the child to a banyan tree and dug a pit under it. As they were about to bury the child, they were surprised to see innumerable
ants coming out of the pit. Considering this incident a good omen, a superstitious conception crept into their minds that the child might bear as many children as the innumerable ants, and so they did not bury the child, but named him Bhavvu. As Bhavvu was to be buried under the banyan tree, called ‘vader – jhad’ in the Sugali dialect, so this clan was given the name of Burdtya or Vadtya. The specialty of the descendants of this clan is that they wear sacred thread and abstain from meat eating.\textsuperscript{12}

The descendants of Bhavvu were three in number: (1) Katajee, (2) Patajee, (3) Nataji. The descendants of Kataji were four in number: (1) Darawat, (2) Ghuglot, (3) Lakavat and (4) Noonsawat. The Descendants of Patajee were seven in number: (1) Halavat, (2) Koonsot, (3) Jet, (4) Bharot, (5) Boda, (6) Jatot and (7) Jeavat. The descendants of Nataji were three in number: (1) Darmavath, (2) Padyee and (3) Molot. Thus all the descendants of Bhavvu in Sugali dialect are called “Ateen Takat Ghar Vadtyar”.

\section*{HISTORICAL BACKGROUND}

The Sugalis are the most colourful of all the tribal groups of India. Historically, the Sugalis had been carriers of supplies and drivers of pack-bullocks. There are a number historical evidences and landmark which prove that the Sugali tribe is one of the aboriginal and primitive tribes of Indian sub-continent. The ‘Lamani Margas’ dating back to 6th century B.C., proves that this tribe lived even before the period of Buddha\textsuperscript{13}.

The Sugalis are known variously in different parts of the country as Sugali, Banjara, Vanajara, Lamabada, Laman, Labhan etc., differences being phonetic variations of the same nomenclature. All the words except the first two are derived from the Sanskrit word ‘Lavana’ meaning salt, which was one of their principal items of trade.
The word Banjara is said to be derived from the Sanskrit word 'vanachara' or wanderers of jungle and the Sugali is derived from the word 'Sug-Wala' means a 'good cowherd', and who produces good breed bulls. The name of the Sugali, Lamana or Banjara signifies neither an ethnic group nor a caste, since each group finds always the others inferior to them, but signifies only an activity as wandering transporters. The Sugali seems to be the most ancient, since their migrations go as far back as the 6th century B.C., their extensive migrations took them sometimes outside the frontiers of Rajasthan. These migrations if they are judged by the inscriptions found in Khyber and Bolan passes, had taken place between 600 B.C. and 350 B.C.\textsuperscript{14}

Perhaps, the Sugalis stopped their migrations towards West during decline of Buddhism around 12th Century A.D., before Moghul invasion\textsuperscript{15}. This period is noted with a great isolation agglomeration. Thus, the carvaneers found great possibilities of selling goods. They exchanged luxury articles for sometime and that was given up to the benefit of items of food stuffs of duty necessities exchanged between towns and villages in north-west India.

According to Colonel Tod (1914)\textsuperscript{16}, most of the nomadic communities including the Sugali (Banjara) believe that they are descended from Rajput ancestry. He says that these are in all thirty six nomadic and semi-nomadic groups. Incidentally the number 36 coincides with Rajput dynasties which are referred to as 'Royal races, and and mentioned in Hindu scriptures. The nomadic communities which are similar to the Sugali are Kanjar Bhat, the Habura, the Nat, the Sansi, the Beniya, the Moghul, the Bauria, the Dosadhas, and the Gudulia Lohar etc. All these groups state that during the period of All-Ud-din Khilji and the defeat of Maharana Pratap Singh of Chittoor (1568-69) at the hands of Moghul Emperor Akbar they retreated to forests and took an oath to return to their mother country only when
Mewar was freed from the alien domination. Since then these tribal groups had developed a dislike for Muslims.

There is no unanimity among the historians about the exact location or exact place from where this tribe spread to other parts of the country. Mythological and historical accounts suggest that their homeland was somewhere in north-western India, and more likely in the Marwar region of Rajasthan, from where they spread in the historical past, in all directions to Kashmir in the north, Deccan and beyond in the South, and in the East to Eastern Uttar Pradesh. It appears to be a mixed ethnic group and owes its origin and organization to the wars in the Southern India of the Delhi emperors, both Afghan and Moghul. When the Sugalis carried the commissariat of the imperial armies, they helped the imperial armies fighting in an exhausted country far from their supply base, by conducting a fearless and reliable transport service. In view of their occupation the Sugali may be referred to as non-pastoral nomads or service nomads.

Based on the past identity of the Sugalis, and their wandering habits, they were classified as the Gypsies of India. They are supposed to be descendants of the original Aryan Gypsies of North West India, whose descendants are also to be found in various parts of central and southern Europe and the America. The word Gypsy used in this connection is employed in its purely conventional sense of ‘Vagrant’. It is only the recent research that has established the genetic connection between the Sugali and Gypsy and the European Gypsy and the Sugali have been identified as one people before dispersion. The Sugali culture and language indicate that they hail from North India. Their folklore depicts them to be the descendants of Rajput stock. There are many similarities between the Sugalis and Rajputs. Both have veneration and devotion for the Sun God. The Sugalis like Rajputs build their houses with the main doors facing the East. While they dine or assemble in group they always sit in a circle resembling their
ancestors, Rajputs. Rama Sarma (1983) says that the Sugalis synchronize with the Rajputs not only in their legends, even in the clans, gotras and the sub-groups (Padas). This similarity aligns the Sugalis with Kshatriyas who form one of the major castes of Hindu society\textsuperscript{21}. The nomadic Sugali moved not only through the greater Punjab, but also transverse far beyond sindh, upto Beluchisthan\textsuperscript{22}. That is how the traces of Punjabi and Sindhi find in their nomadic language. Then it can be said that Punjab and Rajasthan, should have also been the original home of not only the Sugalis but also of the Gypsies.

The Sugalis of Deccan often mentioned by Mohammedan and British historians have a long history of migrations. What distinguishes the migration of the Sugalis from the migration of other tribal groups is the fact that they never shifter their habitat as aimless wanderers rooted out of their native habitat by the invasions of a superior people or by the exhaustion of natural sources or livelihood in the original homeland.

Their lucrative business transactions as carriers of merchandise on the back of pack-bullocks to the invading Mohammedan and British armies, brought them to the South and helped their scattering throughout the length and breadth of Deccan Plateau. There is no doubt of their having came down to Southern India within the historical times. The turbulent medieval period provided them ample opportunities to utilize their ingrained business talent to profit by working as a sort of unofficial commissariat to the warring armies.

The theory of Sugali migration from Rajputana to Deccan has been shrouded in controversy as there is difference of opinion between various historians. But the Sugalis who are in Deccan claim that they came from North India, particularly from five distinct regions of Rajasthan: 1. Jobhpur, 2. Jaisalmer, 3. Shekhavati near Jaipur, 4. Haranti of Kota Bundi, and 5. Marward near Ajmeer\textsuperscript{23}. 
The earliest recorded evidence regarding this nomadic trading community is available in the personal narration of Mohd. Ferishta Bilgram’s Tarikh-e-Khan Jahan Lodi-e-Niamutullah about 1612 A.D. Ferishta was in the court of Bijapur and the reference is to the events of 1417 and of 1504 relating to the Mohammadan monarchs. It is mentioned in that account that in 1417 a large convoy of Sugali bullocks was seized by the brother of Feroz Shah Bahmani when the former rebelled and made an attempt on the throne of Gulbarga, then the capital of Deccan.

Many authorities on medieval history and ethnographers of Deccan mention that the Sugali migrated to Deccan along with the conquering armies of Mohammedan rulers especially they came to South India along with the great armies of the Moghul Emperors when they invaded the South. The Sugalis with their pack-animals helped the imperial army, fighting in an exhausted country far from their base of supplies, by supplying fearless and reliable transport service. When the Sugali came to the South, they were in five groups, Rathod, Pamhar, Chowhan named after the names of Rajput clan’s said to have been adopted by Mola.

As the Moghul emperors conquered Southern India and strengthened their position up to the end of the 17th C. A.D., some Sugalis remained in different parts of the Deccan and Southern India. Later in the 18th century, some Sugalis took up service under the Maratha rulers of Satara, and subsequently under the Peshwas of Poona and the Nizam of Hyderabad. They also played a significant role as carriers of Luggage and provisions for the British in their Mysore Wars (1792-1799) and the wars with Marathas (1800-1818).

William Irwin (1903) gives a graphic account of the Sugalis as suppliers of rations to the warring Indian armies. He states that it was by this people that the Indian armies in the field were fed but left un-injured by either army. The grain was taken from them but
invariably paid for. They encamped for safety every evening in a regular square formed of the bags of grain, of which they constructed breast work. They and their families were in a centre and the Oxen were kept outside. Guards with matchlocks and spears were placed at the corners and their dogs did duty as advanced posts. Irwin states that he himself had seen them with droves of 50,000 bullocks. They did not go beyond two miles an hour as they allowed them to graze as they proceeded on the march.

Mr. Crook (1895) is of the opinion that the first mention of the Sugalis in Mohammedan history was made in Sikander's attack on Dholpur in the year 1504 A.D.26 Mr. Cumberlege (1882) another British historian states that the Sugali first came to Deccan with Asaf Khan in the campaign which closed with the annexation of Ahamed Nagar and Berar by the emperor Shahjahan about 1630 A.D.27 The Sugali evidently came to the Deccan with Asaf Khan, the Vazir of Shahjahan and in the year 1630 or there about. Bangi and Jhangi Naik had with them one hundred and eighty thousand (1,80,000) bullocks and Bhagawandas, the Vadtya Naik had only fifty two thousand (52,000) bullocks. Both the Sugali Naiks accompanied Asaf Khan during their raid into the Deccan against the Bijapur.

It was the object of Asaf Khan to keep these bullocks well up with his force, and so much were they prized by the Vazir that he was induced to give an order to Bhangi and Jhangi Naik's as they put forward excuses regarding the difficulty of obtaining grass and water for the fettle. The order engraved on copper plate in gold letters28 runs as follows:

"Ranjankapani, Chappar Ka ghas,
Dinka teen Koon Maff,
Aur Jahan Asaf Janka Ghode,
Wahan Bhangi Jhangi Ka bail."
The meaning of the inscription seems to be: 'if you can find no water elsewhere, you may even take from the Ranjans (name pots) of my followers, grass you may take from the roof of their huts and if you commit three murders a day, I will even pardon this provided that where I find my cavalry, there I must find always Bhangi and Jhangi Naik's bullocks.'

The Sugalis took up service not only under the Delhi Emperors, but also under the rulers of Satara and subsequently under the Poona Raj and the subhaship of the Nizam and several of them rose to consideration and power. Indeed it is of interest to learn how these people are found spread over the country. Genl. Briggs' refers the part played by the mercantile Sugali in the Mysore Wars. The Peace Treaty of 1792 signed under the walls of Srirangapatnam, dispersed the allied armies and the Sugalis returned to their respective ranges North of the Krishna river. In the year 1798, a similar confederation took place between. His Highness the Nizam and the British Government in order to reduce the power of the restless and ambitious sovereign of Mysore, and the services of the Sugalis were again called forth. The British resident advanced 1,50,000 to the chief at Hyderabad, and they were mustered below the Ghauts 25,000 bullock loads of grain which had accompanied the Nizam's forces under the command of Colonel Sir John Malcom. The army under the command of Lt. General Hammis now advanced into Mysore; but before it reached Srirangapatnam, it experienced considerable distress for want of grain, when the General Hammis heard that Bhima Naik with a supply of 15,000 bullock loads was at the foot of the Ghauts, but as he deemed it dangerous to permit he advanced alone, Mazor Genl. Floyd, with the whole of the British Cavalry was detached to give protection to this valuable convoy. The army of the enemy under the celebrated Kumrood-Din-Khan hovered daily on the flanks, but did not prevent his giving safe conduct to Bhima Naik up the Ghauts: At this time the army besieging Seringapatnam was great distress and
rice sold at two rupees per each seer; but the exertions of the British troops surmounted all obstacles; and the 4th May 1799 witnessed the downfall of the capital and the death of Tipu Sultan, whose granaries were so largely stored that average rate of the price of rice was thirty seer for a rupee. As the grains with Bhima Naik did not reach the city for some days after the fall of Srirangapatnam, if the British General had adhered to the letter of the compact with the Banjaras they must have been ruined, and it is more than likely that they would never have joined us again; but the liberality which distinguished our Government from all the others in the East compromised the matter, and secured the hearty co-operation and assistance of these useful people in a subsequent war with Marathas. The whole of the grain was purchased at the average rate of five seers for a rupee; the Sugali returned the original sum advanced to them, and had sufficient remaining to pay them for their lab our, expense and risk. The Chief Naiks received honorary dresses and swords, and their leader Bhima Naiks Bhangi was presented with an elephant. But while liberality characterized our actions in this instance, a very short time afterwards, it was necessary to have recourse to some severe measures or another. Seringapatnam had not long fallen, when a partisan named Dhondy, collecting a considerable body of the disbanded troops of the late government, refused to acknowledge the authority of the conquerors; and a large force under the command of Hon'ble Colonel Wellesly (Marquis of Wellington) was sent in pursuit of him, while another detachment under Colonel Dalrymple, with the Nizam's subsidiary force, was sent to co-operate. A small horde of Banjaras in the employ of this British Government were endeavouring to go over to the enemy, when they were intercepted by this latter officer, who by way of example to those accompanying him hanged seven of the Principal Naiks and explained to them that our Vengeance was not less to be dreaded than our liberality was to be desired.
Orem (1909) mentions the Sugalis as having supplied the Comte de Bussy store, cattle and grain, when besieged by the Nizam's army at Hyderabad. Moore (1909) writing about the Banjaras or Sugalis towards the close of 18th century says that they associate chiefly together, seldom or never mixing with other tribes. They seem to have no home, no character, but that of merchants, in most in which capacity they travel great distances to whatever parts are most in want of merchandise, which is the greatest part of corn. In times of war they attend, and are of great assistance to armies, and being neutral, it is a matter of indifference to them who purchase their goods. They marched and formed their own encampments, relying on their own courage for protection; for which purpose the men are all armed with swords and match locks. The women drive the cattle, and are the most robust undergoing a great deal of labour with apparent ease.

With the advent of the British rule the Sugalis gave up much of their traditional occupation of transporting goods due to introduction of mechanized transport, laying of roads and railway lines by the then Government. Hence they resorted to cutting of wood and collecting forest produce. But this avocation could not provide enough livelihood because the forest in the country was cut down to provide wood for industry and railway lines in the country. Being poor, illiterate and lacking technical skills they degenerated and took to crimes like robbery dacoity, cattle lifting and kidnapping of children until the middle of last country. To reform them through persuasion and education was considered impossible by the British administration. Therefore in order to control their criminal activities they were brought under the purview of the criminal tribes act of 1871.

Further, despite the precarious economic position they did not like to adopt to wage labour as it was against their proud spirit and tradition. Therefore the Sugali men did not stop poaching in the forest, though it had been banned. Their women took up collection of
forest produce and later agricultural wage labour on the farms of neighbouring peasants, out of sheer necessity. Thus after 1880s forest act, sale of forest produce and pastoralism became their main occupations. However by 1930, the forest work had leased to provide them enough earnings because of deforestation, strict implementation of forest protection measures and declaration of forests as reserved forests. This situation compelled the Sugali men to turn their attention towards agricultural and other types of labour in order to supplement the earning of their women.

But after 1930s they ultimately settled down first as pastoralists and then as agriculturists, although agriculture had never been their occupation in their history. After independence they were listed in 1949 as one of the denotified communities and since 1977, they have been recognized as a scheduled tribe. The inclusion of a particular group in the list of scheduled tribes or scheduled castes depends upon local socio-economic conditions of a particular community hence the Sugalis are listed as scheduled castes in Karnataka, Haryana, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. They are classified as scheduled tribes in Andhra Pradesh. In Gujarat, Rajasthan and Maharashtra they do not fall under any category.

Sugali is declared as a scheduled tribe in Andhra area according to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes list Modification Order 1956 and as a Denotified Tribe in Telangana area of Andhra Pradesh. They are also found in other states like Bihar, West Bengal, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Mysore and Orissa where they are called as Banjara.

Thurston treats Lambada as synonym of Brinjari or Banjari, Bhoipuri, Sugali or Sukali. According to Grierson (1967), "The Banjaras are the well known tribe of carriers who are found all over western and southern India. One of their principal sub-castes is known under the name of Labhani, and this name is often applied to
the whole tribe. The two names appear each under many variations, such as Banjari, Vanjari, Brinjari, Lambhani, Kabani, Labena, Lambadi, and Lambada”. Hutton and Russel treat Lambada as synonym of Banjara. Enthoven is of the opinion that Lamanis, Vanjaries, Banjaras, Banjaris, Brinjaris, Lamanas, Lambadis, Lambars and Sukalis are one and the same. According to 1911 Census of India, Lamanis or Vanjari, Lambhanas and Sukalirs, Hanjaras, Banjaris, Brinjaris, Lamans, Lambadis, Labhans are one and the same. In Telangana, the neighbouring castes generally call them as Banjara and in Andhra and Rayalaseema regions they are called as “Sugalis”. But there are some authors who differentiate between Banjara and Sugali. For instance, as stated by Thurston, according to Rev.J.Gain that “the Sukalilu do not travel in such large companies as the Banjarilu nor are their women dressed grandly as the Banjari women. There is but little friendship between these two classes, and the Sukali would regard it as anything but an honour to be called a Banjari, and the Banjari is not flattered when called Sukali. It is found that Lambadis of Telangana who are also called Banjaras and Sugalis of Andhra area are one and the same. Their clan division, way of dressing, customs and traditions are identical in every aspect.

In Andhra Pradesh, the Sugalis are spread extensively both in Telangana and Rayalaseema regions. In the plains, the Sugalis live along with other communities like Yerukalas, Dommaras etc. But as an ethnic group they have retained their cultural identity. They used to reside in small huts in the hilly areas separated from the villages or habitations. These houses have thatched roofs. They usually do not like brick or tiled houses. According to a legend, one of their forefathers once built a storeyed house by destroying a thatched roof hut. But after a few days all the residents of the house died. However, their way of life got changed under the influence of modern civilization. They have given up their age-old practices and traditions
and adopted new ideas. Now-a-days they have started living in tiled as well as brick houses. Generally they have their own habitations. In villages, where they live with other communities they occupy more or less exclusive living areas known as thandas. A traditional Sugali settlement called 'Thanda' comprises 30 to 70 barrel-vaulted huts, a buffalo pen and a shed for the goats.

In their nomadic days, when they were leading a pastoral life, they used to maintain the cattle and packed bullocks. When the bullocks become old, then they are exchanged for other commodities. Hence Barter system prevailed in the Sugali community. The Sugalis used to migrate to new areas for their economic pursuits. They moved in waves. They used to transport the goods along the trade-routes which are pre-determined. If one group is moving on a particular route, other groups are forbidden to move enroute. When on the march, the men always have their mouths covered, to avoid the awful dust which the hundreds of cattle kick up. They encamp for safety every evening in a regular square formed of their goods like bags of grain or salt. They and their families will be in the centre, and the oxen are made fast outside. Guards with match locks and spears are placed at the corners, and their dogs do duty as advanced posts. They never moved above two miles an hour, as their cattle are allowed to graze as they proceed on the march. The bullocks of the Sugalis have their horns, foreheads, and necks decorated with richly embroidered cloth, and carry on their horns, plumes of peacock's feathers and tinkling bells. When engaged in the carrying trade, they usually lived in Kuris or hamlets attached to regular villages, as had considerable tracts of waste land belonging to them. When the thanda or caravan started on its long carrying trips, the young men and some of the women went with it, with the working bullocks, while the old men and the remainder of the women and children remained to tend the breeding cattle in the hamlet. In some villages, they generally rented a little land to give themselves a footing, and paid a carrying fee on the
number of cattle present. Their spare time was constantly occupied in the manufacture of hempen twine and sacking, which was much superior to that obtainable in towns.

After the introduction of modern means of transportation, they are forced to take up agriculture. They had settled down in the new ryotwari villages in Madras presidency, as Government tenants. They grew pulses and sesame in preference to other crops, because these can be raised without much labour or skill, and during their former nomadic life they are accustomed to sow it on any poor strip of land which they might rent for a season. Some of them also are accustomed to leave a part of their holding untilled in memory of their former and more prosperous life. In many villages of Andhra Pradesh, they have not built proper houses, but continue to live in mud huts thatched with grass. They consider it unlucky to inhabit a house with a cement or tiled roof, this being no doubt a superstition arising from their camp life. Their houses must also be built so that the main beams do not cross, that is, the main beam of a house must never be in such a position that if projected it would cut another main beam; but the beams may be parallel. The same rule probably governed the arrangement of tents in their camps. Usually they prefer to live at some distance from water, probably that is of a tank or river. They drink no water which is not drawn from springs or wells. The water from rivers and tanks being thus forbidden, they are obliged in case of necessity to dig a little hole by the side of a tank or river and take the water filtering through, which, by this means, is supposed to become spring water.

It is said that this rule may have had its origin in a sanitary precaution. Sugalis on their carrying trips preferred by-paths through jungles to the high roads along cultivated plains, as grass, wood and water were more abundant along such paths; and when they could not avoid the high roads, they commonly encamped as far as they could from villages and towns, and upon the banks of rivers and
streams, with the same object of obtaining a sufficient supply of grass, wood and water. Colonel Sleeman noted that the decaying vegetation in these hill streams renders the water noxious and highly productive of malaria. And it seems possible that the perception of this fact led the Sugalis to dig shallow wells by the sides of the streams for their drinking, so that the supply thus obtained might be in some degree filtered by percolation through the intervening soil and freed from its vegetable germs. This custom have grown into a taboo, its underlying reason being unknown to the bulk of them, and be still practiced, though no longer necessary when they do not travel. The Mughal armed soldiers carried the portable filters, as the sanitary precaution, when on the march. The Sugalis anticipated them, by drinking water from a pit that was dug.

During their nomadic life, their tents were made of stout coarse cloth fastened with ropes. In moving camp, these habitations are carried with their goods and chattels on pack bullocks. S.R. Kanitkar in his work, "History of India," in 1934, has given a detailed description of Laman Margas or trade-routes in India. He says that the India's trade both internal and external, had been in flourishing condition during the period 600 B.C. to 350 A.D.

During their days of transport and trade, the Sugalis were as calculative and worldly-wise as any other community, although they were illiterate. They used to buy and sell quickly if the prices were high and hold up the stock of grain if the prices were low, with a view to maximize gain. Born and bred in camps the Sugalis braved the vigours of the tropical sun and the heavy showers of rain from the time of their birth, thereby acquiring a robust physique, a fierceness of manner and disposition, and a freedom of thought and actions, which combined to render them athletic, hardy and brave. In spite of rational calculation and employment with different armies thereby earning huge sums of money poverty seems to have been their persistent lot, even in their heyday. This paradox can be explained in
terms of their wandering habits, their clannish code which necessitated maintenance of even those who did not work, their spend-thrift habits and habitual drunkenness, with the result that, often, a Sugali was hardly able to purchase cattle to replace those lost in the course of his campaigns.

They generally carried out their contacts with the British with great probity, which is supposed to have been motivated by pecuniary gain or fear of the British rather than by innate principles of honour. Since the days of the Muslim invasions of the south, they had practiced robbery along with their traditional occupation. Major Gunthrope (1882) said in that some of the Sugalis, in their palmy-days, undertook dacoities on the most extensive scale. Gangs of 50 to 150 well armed men would go long distances from their thandas to rob houses in villages, treasure parties or wealthy travelers on the high ways; they also indulged in cattle lifting. He also noted the Sugali virtues as well; the number of those who adopted a honest mode of livelihood was increasing, and the predatory practice of some of them was due to the deprivation of their former occupation by the cessation of the continuous wars in India under native rule, and by the extension of roads and railways rendering their mode of transport obsolete. Though they were illiterate people, their virtues preponder over their vices. They were truthful and brave and once gained over, were faithful and devoted followers. Despite Colonel Mackenzie's apprehension that a time must come when all their peculiar, distinctive marks and traditions would be lost, even after a hundred years we find that they have been able to retain their peculiarities; this capacity can be attributed to the persistence of their cultural organization in spite of their poverty.

As stated earlier, the notice of Sugalis as criminals is abstracted from Major Gunthorpe's account. During the colonial rule, the police obtained intimate knowledge concerned the habits of this race, and the detection and punishment of many criminals through approvers,
have aided in stopping the heavy class of dacoities and their operations have been reduced. They were scarcely armed, but each man has a good stout stick (gedi), the bark of which is peeled off so as to make it look whitish and fresh. The attack is generally commenced by stone-throwing and then a rush was made, the sticks being freely used and the victims almost invariably struck about the head or face. They never uttered a word, but grunt. Their loin cloths were braced up, nothing was worn on the upper part of the body, and their faces are generally muffled. In house dacoities men were posted at different corners of streets, each with a supply of well-chosen round stones to keep off any people coming attack. They were very expert cattle lifters, sometimes taking as many as a hundred head or even more at a time. This kind of robbery was usually practiced in hilly or forest country where the cattle were sent to graze secreting themselves they watch for the herdsman to have his usual mid day doze and for the cattle to stray to a little distance. They are driven off to a great distance and secreted in ravines and woods. If questioned they used to answer that the animals belonged to land owners and had been given the change to graze, and as this was done every day the questioner thought nothing more of it. After some days, the cattle was quietly sold to an individual or taken to markets at a distance.

The Sugalis had a customary practice of human sacrifice. It is said that, before setting out on a journey, they used to procure a little child and bury it in the ground up to the shoulders, and then drive their loaded bullocks over the unfortunate victim. In proportion to the bullocks thoroughly trampling the child to death, their belief in a successful journey increased. They were also accused of the still more atrocious crime of offering up human sacrifices. When they wish to perform this horrible act, it is said, they secretly carry off the first person they meet. Having conducted the victim to some lonely spot, they dig a hole in which they bury him up to the neck. While he is still
alive th3ey make a sort of lump of dough made of flour, which they place on his head, this they fill with oil, and light four wicks in it.

Having done this, the men and women join hands and forming a circle, dance round their victim, singing and making a great noise until he expires. The Sugali caravan used to kidnap a non-Sugali child and the tip of his tongue was cut off to give him a defect in speech. On the next day, they used to bury the child in a pit and cover the body with the soil up to the neck. The caravan used to move over the child. The reason behind this custom was that if they perform this custom, then there would not be any hurdle on their way. There was another custom performed by Sugalis to please their Gods. The kidnapped boy was taken by four men and three women, to a place where they performed puja. They fed the boy with milk, rice, and sugar, and then make him stand up. A woman draws her sword with both hands and standing on the child's right side, cut off his head in one blow. The blood is collected and sprinkled on the idol.

The Sugali community is not closed to outsiders, but the general rule is to admit only women who have been married to Sugali men. Women of the lowest and impure castes are excluded. They used to induct the tribal people like Gonds, into their community. But this does not happen now, because the caste has lost its occupation of carrying goods, and there is therefore no inducement to enter it.

In the olden days they were much addicted to kidnapping children – these were whipped up or enticed away whenever an opportunity presented itself during their expeditious. The children were first put into the gonis or grain bags of the bullocks and so carried for a few days, being made over at each halt to the care of a woman, who would pop the child back into its bag if any stranger passed by the encampment. The tongues of boys were sometimes slit or branded with hot gold, this last being the ceremony of initiation into the caste.
Girls were also kidnapped and they were disfigured for fear of recognition, and for this purpose the juice of the marking-nut tree would be smeared on one side of the face, which burned into the skin and entirely altered the appearance. Such children were known as Jangad. Girls were used as concubines and servants of the married wife, and boys would also be employed as servants. The Jangad boys were married to Jangad girls, both remaining in their condition of servitude. But sometimes the more enterprising of them would abscond and settle down in a village. As stated earlier, for seven generations the children of Jangads or slaves continued in that condition, after which they are recognized as proper Sugalis. The Jangad could not draw in smoke through the stem of the hukka when it was passed round in the assembly, but must take-off the stem and inhale from the bowl. The Jangad also could not eat off the bell-metal plates of his master, because these were liable to pollution, but must use brass plates. Sometimes the Sugalis used to sell off the girls whom they had kidnapped.

The social position of the Sugalis may be determined by the fact that they eat from the hands of all Hindu castes except the dhobi, idiga, and the lowest unclean classes, while only the Mala, Madiga and other impure castes eat from their hands. In the internal structure of the Sugali society, the Dhalia, and Dhadi are considered as untouchables and higher caste Sugalis do not intermarry or eat together. Even the touch of the Dhalia is regarded as impure by other classes.

Actually the Banjaras are divided into four sub-tribes. - (1) Mathura, (2) Labhani, (3) Charan, (4) Dhadia. The Mathura Banjaras claim to be of the highest rank and purest blood, coming probably as their name indicates, from Mathura in upper India and tracing their origin from the mythical founder Mota, Sri Krishna's herdsman. The Sugalis who are considered as a sub-tribe of Charans, also consider the Dhadias and Dhalias as untouchables in their caste society. As
stated earlier, the Dhadis profess themselves to be bards and genealogists of the Charans, from whom they are probably an offshoot. They are a hybrid tribe, half Mohammadan and half Hindu, they observe circumcision like Mohammadans, but worship the Hindu deities, especially the Goddess Saraswathi. They subsist by begging alms from the Charans and singing songs in praise of their Charan ancestors and the Emperors of Delhi. It is believed that they embraced the faith of Islam during the time of the Emperor Humayun.

The Rathods and Chouhans are considered as the higher castes in the Sugali society.

Earlier the Sugalis had their clan names suffixed to their personal names. They came down to South India as goods transporters to the Moghul armies in 15th Century A.D. The utility of their services during wars is clear from the prevailing convention that they should not be robbed by the non-Sugalis.

PROFILE OF THE STUDY AREA

Andhra Pradesh is one of the 28 states of the Republic of India. In extent it is the biggest state in South India and occupies the eastern side of the peninsular and South-eastern part of India. This composite state which came into existence in 1956, is the fifth largest in area and fourth most populous in India. Prior to that date several districts and taluks of Andhra Pradesh had been parts of the then Bombay, Mysore, Madras and Hyderabad states. This state has a geographical area of 2,76,754 sq. Km (according to 1981). This state is situated between the latitudes of N 12° 14' x 19° 54' N and longitudes 76° 50' E and 84° 54' E, and is bounded by the Bay of Bengal to the east, Karnataka to the West, Maharashtra to the north west, Orissa to the north and Tamilnadu to the South. The State displays a considerable amount of diversity in its physiographic, socio-economic and historical conditions which led to the formation of
DISTRIBUTION OF THE SUGALI POPULATION IN ANDHRA PRADESH
STUDY AREA
RAYALASEEMA REGION

Location of Study Area in Andhra Pradesh
three distinct regions namely, Coastal, Andhra, Telangana and Rayalaseema.

The total tribal population of Andhra Pradesh according to 2001 census is 50.24 lakhs constituting about 6.59% of the total population of the State. The scheduled areas extend over 31,485.34 sq. kms which is about 11% of total area of the State with 5938 villages distributed in Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Khammam, Warangal, Adilabad and Mahaboobnagar Districts. There are no scheduled areas in the other Districts. There are 35 ST communities living in the State. Of the 50.24 lakhs tribal population, 30.47 lakhs are found in the above mentioned 9 districts. The remaining tribal population of 19.77 lakhs is distributed in the other districts.

Sugalis are given different status in various states and their social status varies from state to state. In 1977, the Sugalis are notified as a Scheduled Tribe, and this notification invested them with all the privileges hitherto enjoyed only by the truly aboriginal tribes of Andhra Pradesh. The Sugalis in Andhra Pradesh are widely dispersed in the districts such as Guntur, Krishna, Anantapur, Chittoor, Kadapa, Kurnool, and in Coastal Andhra. In Telangana area, Sugalis are mostly concentrated in Mahabubnagar, Nalgonda, Warangal and Adilabad districts. Sugalis in Andhra Pradesh are recognized as Scheduled Tribes but in Telangana they are considered as de-notified tribes. Majority of the Sugalis are concentrated in Rayalaseema and Telangana regions.

RAYALASEEMA

Rayalaseema is one of the driest region of the country ranking next to Rajasthan. It is a rain shadow region. Out of the seven drought prone districts of Andhra Pradesh, four of them are located in
Rayalaseema accounting to two-thirds of the drought-prone area of Andhra Pradesh. The term Rayalaseema is said to have been derived after the Rayas of Vijayanagar who ruled over this region for a period of about three centuries ever since its foundation in 1336 AD. This name is found for the first time in a Telugu poem of the work known as Abhisikta Raghavamu. It was written in praise of Ananta Raju of the Matli dynasty, who ruled over this region during the 16th -17th century. However, the term ‘Rayalaseema’ gained currency since 1928. The annual session of the Andhra Mahasabha was in Nandyala during 17-18 November 1928. As part of the session on 18th November 1928, the first conference of the Ceded Districts was presided over by Kadapa Kotireddy. In this meeting Chilukuri Narayana Rao coined the term Rayalaseema and accordingly a resolution was proposed by Pappuri Ramacharyulu. Thus the name suggested by Chilukuri Narayana Rao was approved by the general body. From them onwards leaders in the thick of Indian freedom movement, resorted to the nationalist term Rayalaseema instead of Ceded Districts. Gadicherla Harisarvovthama Rao popularized the term Rayalaseema.

**LOCATION:** Rayalaseema includes the present districts of Anantapur, Kadapa, Chittoor and Kurnool. It is located within 12°37'-16°18' Northern Latitude and 76°47'-79°55' Eastern Longitude. The region spreads over 67,400 sq.k.m in the south western part of Andhra Pradesh. In 2001 it recorded a population at 13,517,644. It is bordered by the state of Karnataka on the south-west and west; Mahaboobnagar on the north, Prakasam and Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh on the east; and Tamilnadu on the south.

**PHYSICAL FEATURES:** Rayalaseema in physical terms, consists of hill ranges of the eastern Ghats, the Seshachalam ranges, the Nallamalas, the Erramalas and the Sandur hills. There are other groups of hills which are either extensions of these ranges or isolated formations. The
Gandikota hills and Lankamalas in Kadapa district, and the Muchokota hills in Anantapur district, are all of this category.

Rayalaseema is essentially a plateau traversed by hill ranges and drained by some medium and small rivers and their tributaries which are highly seasonal in character except the major rivers of Tungabhadra and Krishna rivers which flow along or near its northern border. These rivers contain water only for a short period and remain dry for most part of the year. The relief features of Rayalaseema influence the distribution pattern of its rainfall.

The Tungabhadra and the Penna are major rivers in the region. The Tungabhadra which rises in the Western ghats, flows along the western and north-western borders of Bellary district and along the northern border of Kurnool district. The Penna takes its flows through Bellary, Anantapur, Chittoor, Kurnool and Kadapa Districts before entering Nellore district. Several tributaries join this river at various points in Kadapa district.

According to the edict of Asoka found at Erragudi in Anantapur district, Rayalaseema region was part of the Mauryan Empire. After the disintegration of the Mauryan Empire, this area came under the Satavahanas who ruled over Deccan region from 2nd Century B.C to 2nd Century A.D. Thereafter, this area was ruled by different dynasties like Ikshavakus, the Pallavas, the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas from 300 A.D. to 973 A.D. Later Rayalaseema region came under the Cholas followed by the Kakatiyas of Warangal who exercised their power over this region during 1158-1323 A.D. The rule of Kakatiyas over this region was very significant, because of their efforts to clear a number of forests, establish more human settlements and improve the economic conditions of the people.

Thereafter the region witnessed Muslim invasions and finally came under the direct control of the Rayas of Vijayanagar Empire. Even after the decisive Battle of Tallikota in 1565 A.D. the Rayas of
Vijayanagara continued to rule over the greater part of this region with Penukonda in the Anantapur district as the next capital. Later on, Chandragiri in the Chittoor district and Vellore in Vellore district of Tamil Nadu became the capitals of Vijayanagara rulers. During the rule of the Rayas of Vijayanagara, this region became prosperous and was described as rathnalaseema i.e., the land of diamonds. The foreign travelers like Abdur Razak, Nicolo Conte, Fernao Nuniz and Domingo Paes visited Vijayanagara and gave a vivid account of the prosperity enjoyed in the region⁴².

During the second half of the 17th century and after the decline of the Vijayanagara rule, the entire Andhra with the exception of Kurnool, was brought under the control of Golkonda sultans. Subsequently the region became a part of the Moghul Empire under Aurangzeb. After the disintegration of the Moghul Empire, the region became a prey for many local chieftains, both Hindu and Muslim, who divided the region among themselves. These chieftains were known as Rajahs and Nawabs. By 1740, they had become the part of the Hyderabad State ruled by Nizam-ul-mulk. However the local chiefs of this region tried to assert their independence from time to time⁴³.

Till 1790 the region became a bone of contention between the rulers of Mysore (Hyder Ali & Tipusultan) on the one hand and the British, the Nizam and the Maharathas on the other. Tipu sultan of Mysore brought this region under this control by 1790. A large part of this region came under the control of Nizam after the conclusion of the third Anglo-Mysore War in 1792, with the treaty of Srirangapatnam. With defeat and death of Tipu Sultan in 1799 in the fourth Anglo-Mysore War, the entire region i.e. the present districts of Kadapa, Kurnool, Anantapur, Bellary and a part of the Chittoor came under the control of Nizam of Hyderabad. The Nizam as per the provisions of the treaty concluded with the English East India Company (EEIC) October 1800, ceded this area to the British⁴⁴.
After acquiring this region, then known as the Ceded Districts, the EEIC government appointed Captain Thomas Munro as the Principal Collector. Munro, based on tradition, re-structured the Ryotwari system in the region. This region was divided in 1808 into two districts as the District of Bellary and the District of Kadapa. In 1858 Kurnool district was formed by amalgamating the four taluks of the erstwhile territory of the Nawab of Kurnool (Nandyal, Ramallakota, Nandikotkur and Sirvel), with the Pattikondah of Bellary district and Koilakuntla, Cumbum and Markapur of Kadapa district. In 1882 Bellary was bifurcated into two by forming the district of Anantapur. 45

To identify the tradition and transition of the Sugali tribe, a careful study has been carried out in Anantapur, Chittoor, Kadapa, and Kurnool districts of Rayalaseema region between May 2009 and December 2010.

PROFILE OF THE SETTLEMENTS

ANANTAPUR DISTRICT

The district derives its name from Anantapur, its headquarters town. Anantapur district neither a geographical, historical nor an ethnical entity but is the creation for administrative convenience. In 1882 it was separated from Bellary district (now in Karnataka state). Anantapur district was further expanded in the year 1910, by the addition of Kadiri taluk from Kadapa district. The reorganization of states in 1956 gave this district, yet another taluk, namely, the Telugu-speaking Rayadurg from Bellary district.

Study area Anantapur lies in the western most part of the State between 13° – 41’ and 15° – 14’ N and 76° – 47’ and 78° and 26’ E. It is the largest district of Andhra Pradesh spanning an area of 19,130 km. It is bounded on the north by Kurnool District, on the east by Kadapa District, on the southeast by Chittoor District, and on the southwest
Settlements

1. Gonipenta Thanda
2. Adavibapanapalli Thanda
Settlements

*1. Diguvallapalli Thanda
*2. Sugalimitta Thanda
and west by Karnataka state. It is part of Rayalaseema region on the state. Telugu is the widely spoken language in this region. The district has a population of 3,640,478 according to the 2001 census out of this Schedule tribe population is 1,25,139. In this district, there are nearly 342 Sugali thandas with a total population of 87,727. Sugali population is mainly concentrated in Kadiri, Mudigubba, Gorantla, Kalyanadurg, Guntakal, and Penukonda areas.

Anantapur district consists of 63 Mandals out of which, Gonipenta thanda, located in remote Penukonda Mandal, and Adavibapanapalli thanda, situated in semi-urban area of Mudigubba Mandal, were selected for an indepth study. The settlements selected for the present study are the representative settlements of all the Sugali settlements in Anantapur district.

**GONIPENTA THANDA:** Gonipenta thanda comes under the jurisdiction of Penukonda Mandal of Anantapur district. The people of this thanda are depending on private autos to reach the Penukonda. The settlement has only one Primary School and for further studies children have to go to Penukonda. The total population of the thanda is 485 out of which 247 are male and 238 are female. In this settlement, about eighty seven persons had elementary education, twenty persons completed secondary education, twelve persons are studying intermediate education, fifteen persons completed under graduation, five persons are pursuing Post graduation, and five persons are studying Bachelor of Education. There are 130 households consisting of five clans which have different number of households, Pithavath – 40, Mood - 3, Dungavath – 2, Rajavath – 4, and Vislavath - 81. The sources of livelihood to the people of this thanda are depending on pastoralism as the primary occupation because of the prevailing ecological conditions such as hilly nature of the surrounding area and there are also depending on agriculture. The irrigation of the area mainly based on bore-wells, tank and rainfall and ground nut, paddy, red gram, and ragi are the main crops.
cultivated by the people of Gonipenta thanda. The people of this settlement approach Penukonda for health and other things.

**ADAVIBAPANAPALLI THANDA:** Advaiabapanapalli thanda belongs to Mudigubba Revenue Mandal of Anantapur district. Private autos are the main means of transportation to reach Mudigubba Mandal headquarters. The settlement comes under the jurisdiction of Mudigubba Police station. Both primary and upper primary schools are there in the settlement and for High School studies the children go to Mudigubba which is 3 kms away from the settlement. The total population of the thanda is about 2816 out of which 1420 are male and 1396 are female. Of the literate population, 972 persons completed elementary education, twenty two are studying secondary education, twenty one persons are receiving under graduate, seven persons have post graduation, one person is pursuing M.B.B.S. course, and five students are doing Bachelor of Education. There are 617 Sugali households consisting of eight clans and each clan has different number of households, Bukya – 302, Islavath – 110, Jarapala – 75, Mood – 22, Vadithya – 35, Bannoth – 15, Sabavath – 25, and Megavath – 33. The people of this settlement are depending on several economic activities such as agriculture, agricultural labour, and non-agricultural labour. They depend mostly on rainfall and bore-wells for farming and the main crops are ground nut, jowar, red gram, horse gram, and castor. There are 45 persons working in government service sector. For health facility the people of the settlement approach the primary health centers, and private health centers located in Mudigubba Mandal.

**CHITTOOR DISTRICT**

Chittoor districts forms part of the country originally known as Dravida. The earliest important settlers in Dravida appear to have been the Kurumbas, a fierce race so called on account of their cruelty.
The district is bounded by Anantapur District to the northwest, Kadapa District to the north, Nellore District to the northeast, Krishnagiri District, Vellore District and Tiruvallur District of Tamil Nadu state to the south, and Kolar District of Karnataka state to the west. Chittoor district lies extreme south of the Andhra Pradesh state approximately between 12°37' - 14°8' north latitudes and 78°3' - 79°55' east longitudes. 30% of the total land area is covered by forests in the district. The Eastern Ghats, which are predominant in the western region, gradually bend towards the sacred Sheshachalam hills of Tirupati, passing through the erstwhile Chandragiri taluk and entering the Nellore district. Mango and tamarind groves surround the city of Chittoor, and cattle are raised in the district. The district has an area of 15,359 km and it includes 66 Mandals. According to the 2001 census, district has a population of 3,745,875 out of this tribal population is 1,27,208. There are nearly 63 Sugali thandas with a total population of 22,274. In this district, the Sugalis are manly concentrated in K.V. Palli, Madanapalli, Peddamandyam, Punganuru, Ramakuppam, Pileru, Mulakalacheruvu, and Rompicherla Mandals.

Out of 66 Mandals of Chittoor district, Diguvallapalli thanda, located in rural area of K.V. Palli Mandal, and in semi-urban area, Sugalimitta thanda of Punganur Mandal, were chosen as sample settlements for the present study. The settlements selected for an indepth study are the representative settlements of all the Sugali settlements in Chittoor district.

**DIGUVALLAPALLI THANDA:** Diguvallapalli thanda comes under the jurisdiction of K.V. Palli Mandall of Chittoor district and it is 15 km away from Mandal headquarters and 22 kms away from Pileru town. There is no Primary School in Diguvallapalli thanda where children have to walk two km for primary education and for High School studies the children approach K.V. Palli and Pileru town. Private autos are used to reach to K.V. Palli Mandal headquarters and Pileru. The thanda has a total population of 187 out of which 96 are male and 91
are female. Of the literate population, about 46 persons completed primary education, nine persons are studying secondary education, three students are studying under graduation, and one person is pursuing Bachelor of Education. There are 40 households consisting of three clans which have different number of households, Bukya – 20, Bannoth – 19, and Moode – 1. The people of the this thanda for their livelihood are practicing pastoralism as their primary occupation due to availability of enough grazing land and water in surrounding areas covered by the forest. They also practice agriculture and yield mainly ground nut, red gram, paddy, and horse gram. Sources of water for irrigating lands are mainly tank and rainfall. The people of this thanda also engage in liquor making and collection of firewood which they sell in nearby town. The people of this settlement approach K.V. Palli Mandal headquarters and Pileru for health facility.

**SUGALIMITTA THANDA:** Sugalimitta thanda is situated on the Puganur-Madanapalli highway. It comes under Punganur Revenue Mandal of Chittoor district, and it is 8 kms away from Punganur. The population of this thanda is around 1025. Out of this, 518 are male and 507 are female. Nearly, 289 persons had elementary education, seventeen persons completed secondary education, thirty persons have under graduation, and six persons have Post graduation. The settlement consists of 271 households with three clans which have different number of households, Bukya - 197, Moode - 56, Banavath - 18. The main occupation of people in this settlement is agriculture and they also work as a agricultural labourers. Rainfall, tank and bore-wells are the main water sources for irrigation and their main crops are ground nut, redgram, horse gram, and ragi.

**KADAPA DISTRICT**

Cuddapah or more precisely ‘Kadapa’ towards the close of 10th century A.D. was the principal station of a territorial division. It is a
STUDY SETTLEMENTS
KADAPA DISTRICT

Settlements
*1. Bakkannagaripalli Thanda
*2. Vanarasapalli Thanda
popular belief that “Kadapa” meaning in Telugu “Threshold” was a convenient camping place for the pilgrims visiting the Tirumala Temple in Tirupathi. It is considered one of the backward and perhaps also one of the most remotely situated districts of the state. Tipu Sultan, Haidar Ali, Sivaji, Sri Krishnadevaraya, Pratap Rudra are some of the names associated with the history of this tract.

Kadapa is located at 14°28'N 78°49'E / 14.47°N 78.82°E / 14.47; 78.82. The District of Kadapa has an area of 8723 sq. km. It is in shape an irregular parallelogram, divided into two nearly equal parts by the range of the Eastern Ghats, which intersects it throughout its entire length. The chief river is the Penna, which enters the district from Bellary on the west, and flows eastwards into Nellore. Kadapa district is the repository of mineral wealth. The important minerals that are available in the district are barytes, asbestos and lime stone. The primary languages spoken in the city are Telugu and Urdu. As of 2001 India census, Kadapa has a population of 3,25,725 out of this Schedule tribe population is 60,226. The total population of the Sugalis inhabiting in this district is 18,257. They mainly inhabit in T. Sundupalli, Sambepalli, Galiveedu, Rayachoty, Mylavaram, Muddanuru, and Yerraguntla Mandal.

In Kadapa district, there are 51 Mandalas out of which, Bakkannagaripalli thanda, under rural area of Vempalli Mandal, and under semi-urban area, Vanarasapalli thanda of T. Sundupalli Mandal, were selected for an in-depth study. The selected settlements are the representative settlements of all the Sugali settlements in Kadapa district.

**BAKKANNAGARIPALLI THANDA:** Bakkannagaripalli thanda is situated in Vempalli Revenue Mandal of Kadapa district. The people of this thanda travel by government buses and also by private autos to reach Vempalli Mandal headquarters. The total population of the thanda is 796. Out of this, 403 are male, 393 are female. In this settlement,
about 74 persons completed primary education, twenty persons are studying secondary education, eleven persons are studying intermediate education, four students are pursuing under graduation, one person joined in Post graduation, and three persons did Bachelor of Education. There are 203 households consisting of six clans which have different number of households, Bukya – 75, Jarpla – 62, Nunsavath – 10, Lavadya – 26, Jenda – 16, Moode – 14. The people of the settlement for their livelihood depend on pastoralism as primary occupation and also they practice agriculture, agriculture labour and non-agriculture labour. The mode of irrigation for water is through bore-wells and rainfall and their main crops are ground nut, paddy, ragi, red gram, and horse gram. For health, the people of Bakkannagaripalli thanda have to approach Vempalli Mandal headquarter and Kadapa district headquarter.

VANARASAPALLI THANDA: Vanarasapalli thanda belongs to T.Sundupalli Revenue Mandal of Kadapa district and it is 8 Kms away from T.Sundupalli Mandal headquarters. Government buses and private autos are available to reach T. Sundupall Mandal headquarters. The total population of this settlement is 442 out of which 228 are male and 214 are female. In this settlement, nearly 137 persons have elementary education, eighteen persons are pursuing secondary education, eleven students are studying intermediate education, nine persons completed under graduation, and three persons joined in Post graduation. The thanda has 102 households consisting of two clans which have different number of households, Bukya – 78, Moode – 24. The people of this settlement are depending on agriculture, agriculture labour and non-agriculture labour. Significantly, the migration is found in Vanarasapalli thanda from where about twenty families have emigrated to Kuwait for their livelihood. Irrigation depends mainly on rainfed and bore-wells and ground nut, paddy, red gram, and horse gram etc., are the main crops yielded by the people of Vanarasapalli thanda.
KURNOOL DISTRICT

The district derived its name from its chief town Kurnool, which was the capital of the former Nawabs and at present, the head quarters of the district. The name Kurnool, is said to have been derived from “Kondenavolu”. The district is one of the four districts ceded by the Nizam to British in the year A.D. 1800. With the formation of Andhra Pradesh state in 1953, the western boundary of this district was extended by the districts underwent various changes from time to time.

Kurnool district lies between 14° 15' and 15° 11'N latitude and 76°53' and 78° 25' E longitude and it lies at an altitude of 1000ft above sea level. Kurnool district is bounded by Rivers Tungabhadra and Krishna on the north, Kadapa and Anantapur districts on south, Karnataka state on the west and by Prakasam district of AP on the east. Nallamalas and Erramalas are the two important mountain ranges in the district running in parallel from North to South. The Erramalas divide the district into two well defined tracts from East to West. Kurnool is the only city in India that is located in between two rivers: Tungabhadra and Hundri. The total population of the district is 35,29,494 according to the 2001 census out this tribal population is 66,183. There are 62 Sugali thandas with a total population of 30,235. Their main concentrated areas are Owk, Nandyala, Banaganapalli, Pamulapadu, Gadivemula, Pathikonda, Aluru and Tuggali.

Kurnool district consists of 54 Mandals out of which, Lakshmaiahkunta thanda, a pastoral and semi-agrarian settlement located in Gadivemula Mandal, and Cheruvu thanda, located in semi-urban area of Tuggali Mandal, were chosen as sample settlements for indepth study. The settlements selected for the present study are the representative settlements of all the Sugali settlements in Kurnool district.
LAKSHMAIAHKUNTA THANDA: Lakshmaiahkunta thanda is situated in Gadivemula Revenue Mandal of Kurnool district. There is only Primary School in the settlement and for High School education children approach Gadivemula or Nandikotkur. Government bus and private autos are available to travel from thanda. The thanda consists of a total population of 1190 out of which 609 are male, and 581 are female. In this settlement, around 189 persons completed primary education, seventeen students are getting secondary education, ten persons are studying intermediate education, seven persons joined under graduation, one person has Post graduation, and two persons completed Bachelor of Education. The thanda has 352 households consisting of 14 clans which have different number of households, Karamthot – 14, Katravath – 75, Nenavath – 27, Janavath – 63, Bhilavath – 61, Nulkavath – 8, Desavath – 8, Malavath – 9, Malya – 6, Ramavath – 1, Pithavath – 10, Moodrecha – 12, Vislavath – 50, Nunsavath – 8. The people of this settlement for their livelihood are still practicing pastoralism as their primary occupation due to availability of sufficient grazing land and water. There are five cattle herds and each herd consists of about 250 cattle. These herds are engaged on migration around Nallamala forest for three months a year in summer season. The people in this settlement also practice agriculture, agriculture labour, and non-agriculture labour. The cultivation is depending mainly on bore-wells and rainfall. Significantly, there are nearly forty persons who are working in several government sectors i.e. fourteen persons as teachers, seven persons in banking services, twelve persons in railways, two persons in forest department, and four persons in police department. The people of this thanda need to approach Gadivemula and Nandikotkur for health services.

CHERUVU THANDA: Cheruvu thanda is located on the Gooty – Adhoni highway and it comes under Tuggali Revenue Mandal of Kurnool district. Government buses and private autos are the main means of
transportation to reach Tugaali Mandal headquarters and Gooty. Only Primary School is available and for further studies the children of the settlement go to Gooty and Tuggali. The thanda has a total population of 421 out of which 216 are male and 205 are female. Of the literate population among the people of this thanda, seventy seven persons completed primary education, twenty persons are studying secondary education, six persons are receiving intermediate education, fifteen persons are pursuing under graduation, and eight persons joined in Post graduation. There are 101 households consisting of five clans which have different number of households, Vadithya – 10, Ramavath – 62, Palithya – 4, Banavath – 24, Moode – 1. The main source of livelihood for the people of Cheruvu thanda is agriculture as their primary occupation and their main crops are ground nut, jowar, red gram, horse gram, and castor. For three months a year in summer season, about twelve families also migrate to Rajampet of Kadapa district to engage as casual labour in building construction.

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