INTRODUCTION
Anthropology has built a tradition of studying either small, remote, non-literate communities or tribes or of trying to reconstruct non-literate cultures by probing the memories of elderly survivors of once-viable societies in the Americas, the Pacific, Africa and the fringes of Asia. As the world changed, and the non-literate communities have become an ever-diminishing portion of the world population, anthropology has started studying the rural communities without diluting its interest on tribal studies. In this context, anthropology began to put its workshop in order and the materials of its study melted away with hopeless rapidity. Carefully utilizing its tools of research, anthropology has started studying European peasants, Irish countrymen, Latin American campesinos, Asian peasant folks, African villagers and the inhabitants of New England towns.

To anthropology, it has become clearer that research in rural communities or peasant societies has something more than a response to the dilemma of the disappearing non-literate societies, for it also represented a distinct maturation of the discipline. With the passage of time, the peasant societies have abandoned their traditional cultures for modern technology and life-ways and many peasants have moved to urban localities. The study of these changes and the resulting new life ways has brought into being the field of urban anthropology.
In a large part, urban anthropology has studied what happened to strongly traditional cultures as they have become urbanized. That means, a most of the studies were concerned with the adaptation of rural migrants to urban places 2-3. Urban anthropology has continued to develop from this base, and now, it is trying to study the whole towns and cities, their problems and issues 4-5.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM:

The histories of anthropological studies in India and in the rest of the world show patterns of semblance and difference. As in the other countries in India also anthropology is traditionally associated with the intensive study of small-scale primitive and peasant communities. Both in India and in the rest of the world, the first unmistakable beginnings of urban anthropology can be discerned in 1940s 6. However, unlike anthropologists in the European countries and United States of America those in India have devoted less energy to the study of urban places. Although millions of Indians live in cities and although several cities have well over a million residents each the emphasis of social scientists in India is still on villages rather than on towns and cities 7.

According to the 1981 Census, 76.67 per cent of India's population lives in 5,57,137 villages. On the other hand, according to the 1981 Census, India has 3,947 towns and cities:
23.33 per cent of India's population, that is about 160 million, lives in urban areas. These figures are based on the criteria adopted in the 1961 Census, and later followed in 1971 and 1981 Censuses, for the classification of "urban areas". Besides municipal corporations, municipal areas, and areas under town committees, notified area committees, or contonment boards, to qualify for being deemed as an urban area, a human settlement had to have a population of 5,000 people more. Of this population at least 76 per cent had to be engaged in non-agricultural occupations; have a population density of not less than 1,000 people per square mile; and some pronounced urban characteristics and amenities namely newly set up industries, sizable housing colonies, several places of entertainment, and features like electricity, running water, and public transport.

The 1961, 1971 and 1981 Censuses indicate the slow growth of urbanism in India. Urban settlements with a population of 1,00,000 or more are referred to as "cities", others are classified as "towns". In 1901 there were, 1,914 towns; out of these urban status was retained only to 1,430 in 1961. In 1951, the number of towns was 3,060; this fell to 2,700 in 1961. In 1981 there was a total of 3,949 towns and cities; among the cities, there is a special class of cities namely the megacities with a million-plus population. All the twelve megacities had absorbed 25 per cent of India's urban population. In 1901, the
percentage of urban population in the total was 10.8; in 1981 rose to 23.3. Between 1901 and 1941, the urban population increased from 25.85 to 44.15 million, and between 1941 and 1981 it increased to 157.68 million. Thus, between 1901 and 1981 the increase in the proportion of urban population to the total national population has been only about by average 1.5 per cent per decade. Even this slow rate of growth, in absolute terms, has created major problems in the larger cities. These statistics illuminate an important facet of change namely urbanization in Indian society.  

Anthropologists have made intermittent efforts to study the towns and cities. Even by 1990, village studies continue to be the primordial attention of anthropological researches. Almost 160 million people live in towns and cities. Twelve megacities contain 25 per cent of the country’s urban population. Anthropologists have not yet made any concerted efforts to study the urban cultures.  

More specifically, urban centres in India have received comparatively very little attention of anthropologists. It is only between late 1940s and 1950s a beginning in urban anthropology was made in India. The considerable energies that anthropologists devoted to Indian research at that time were channelled into village and institutional studies. Out of these efforts there developed such concepts as the "great" and
"little" traditions of Hindu culture but the former was not so systematically associated with certain urban sub-cultures as it would have been 13-14. Following these studies some anthropologists examined different types of cities and their cultural role in India and in other countries 15-16. The first anthropological investigation of a city is the study of Kanpur 17. Later, the cities like Lucknow 18, Chittaranjan 19, Ranchi 20, Calcutta 21-22, and Tirupati 23 are studied in detail in terms of their diverse aspects. Some studies dealt with rural-urban continuum 24-25, rural urban similarities and differences 26-31, emergences of semi-urban pockets in rural areas 32, and rural-urban migration and the resultant cultural assimilation or non-assimilation 33-34. A good number of studies examined the organizational characteristics such as concentration of communities 35, categories of social groups 36, social organization of rickshaw-pullers 37-38, deference and friendship patterns 38, family 39-43, and social dynamics 44, some studies dealt with caste and occupation 45-46, entrepreneurship and merchant castes 47, family, caste and commerce, and occupation common to peri-urban villages and urban centres 48. Few studies investigated into the various aspects of slums 49-50, neighbourhoods 51-52 and networks 53-55 and quasi-groups 56 in urban context. A few studies depicted politics in towns 57-59, cities 60 and citywards 61. Some studies described the integration of cities with the rest of society in terms of
interaction between "little" and "great" traditions 62-65, and in terms of networks and centres 66-67. Researches ranging from "etic" to "partially emic" and "wholly emic" analyses in urban context have appeared recently 68. Problems of urbanization in India are dealt with by two or three researches 69-70. There are thus hardly hundred anthropological studies that deal with different aspects of urban life in India.

John Gulick's comments on the state of urban anthropological researches in India are very noteworthy. He says "One important area in which urban anthropology did not develop so rapidly in the late 1940s and 1950s was India 71. Even in 1960s also there were not many urban anthropological studies in India. In this connection, Bottomore 72 and Mukherjee 73 commented on the lack of good materials on Indian cities. On the other hand, writing on the position of urban anthropological studies in India. John Gulick in 1973 states; "However, urban research in India... and there has been much of it... has been done mostly by Indian nationals trained in Western sociological survey techniques. Their publications consist predominantly of statistical tables with relatively little discussion. Unfortunately, however, facts do not always speak for themselves 75.

John Gulick's statement requires some elaboration. It is true that there has been much urban research in India since 1960s. This research is mostly the contribution of sociologists,
geographers, economists, urban planners, demographers and other social scientists. What anthropologists have contributed to urban studies is little in contrast with what has been contributed by other social scientists. It is also true that the urban studies of different social scientists in India are more descriptive than analytical and interpretative. Urban researches of anthropologists in India are no exception to this general observation of Gulick. Thus the urban anthropological studies in India are limited in number. At the same time a majority of these studies made by Indians are less analytical, less interpretative than those of made by anthropologists in other countries.

Urban anthropological studies in India may be classified into two broad categories: comparative urban ethnography and urban ethnography. Those related to comparative ethnography are in larger number than those related to ethnography. Those coming under comparative ethnography deal with city types, folk-urban continuum, folk-urban differences, sacred complex and integration of city with the wider society. The studies coming under the rubric of urban ethnography are concerned with city plans, ecological patterning, caste and occupation, social organization, family and kinship, localised and dispersed groups, migrant adaptation, slums, networks, politics and social dynamics.
First, most of these ethnographic and comparative ethnographic studies are related to big cities like Lucknow, Kanpur, Calcutta, Ranchi and Chittaranjan and in a few cases to small cities and big towns. Second, holistic descriptions of cities and towns are yet to be attempted by urban anthropologists. Third, no study has tried to classify exclusively the cities in India. Fourth, there is hardly any research on the most common problems of migrant adaptation, folk-urban continuum, and rural-urban differences. Fifth, studies dealing with ecological patterning, family and kinship, urban education, personality and economic activities are very scanty. Sixth, a beginning in the ethnography of caste, class, slum, suburb, voluntary associations, small groups, networks and events in the cities and towns of India is yet to be made. Seventh, scientific studies dealing with the urban problems of planning, housing, poverty, crime, and health and nutrition besides the urban issues of women's movements of minorities and of religious groups are yet to be started. Eighth, techniques and methods of urban research in general and urban field work in particular are yet to be spelt out or yet to be accomplished.

In the light of the above, it may be said that although some anthropological studies in the past fifty years are directly concerned with the urban centres, urban cultures and urban conditions in India, they have not yet made concerted efforts to contribute much to urban anthropology per se in India. They do
not elucidate the specific phenomena of urbanism and urbanization to the extent that they could help an understanding of their general patterns all over India, especially research on urban ecology is not on the priority list of anthropologists in India. Therefore, there is need for more and more urban anthropological research, particularly on urban ecology in India.

The present study tries to give a comparative picture of the urban anthropological researches made abroad and in India, and in the light of this it tries to analyze and interpret the primary and secondary data pertaining to the ecology of a growing urban centre, namely, Cuddapah located in the south-eastern part of the State of Andhra Pradesh, India.

Located in a basin completely shut in by hills on three sides, Cuddapah is an urban centre sharing many features of some Indian cities but differing widely from the cities of America. It was a small village in the second century A.D. but it became a small town when the local chief, a tributary to the Vijayanagar kings, built a fort there and ruled the land around Cuddapah. Towards the close of the sixteenth century A.D., Cuddapah passed into the hands of the Muslim chief Neenam Khan. The latter improved the fort and built the city. The city was first called Neenamabad but subsequently it took the ancient village name of Cuddapah. In 1589 A.D. it was taken over by the Golconda Muslim rulers and put in charge of a noble. By the beginning of the
eighteenth century, one of the descendants of the noble of Cuddapah conquered the lands around Cuddapah and carved his kingdom for which Cuddapah had became the capital city. The noble declared himself the Nawab of Cuddapah.

The Nawab of Cuddapah had to part with his kingdom to the British in the year 1800 A.D. In 1817 it was made the headquarters of the newly formed Cuddapah District. In 1821 a military cantonment was formed. Parts of the Nawab's palace were utilized as a treasury and jail. The railway was opened in 1868. In the same year the cantonment was abolished. Cuddapah was declared a municipality in 1868. The four mosques built between the fifteenth and the sixteenth century by the Muslim rulers continued to be popular. The large temple of Venkateswara, built hundreds of years ago was one of the hallmarks of Cuddapah. Hindus from the country north of Cuddapah made a point of visiting the Cuddapah temple of Venkateswara before proceeding to the temple of Venkateswara at Tirupati. The Hindus inhabiting Cuddapah were priests, agriculturists, artisans, craftsmen, leather-workers and farm labourers. Trade consisted chiefly in the export of indigo and cotton. The principal industry was weaving of coarse cloth.

When India became Independent in 1947 winds of change have started blowing across the land. Cuddapah had grown in size. Its present population is 1,21,422 (in 1991 Census). It has several
small scale industries and one medium scale industry. Transport networks, new residential areas and a number of government offices and public as well as private institutions have made the city a place of great importance. This in a nutshell is the story of Cuddapah.

The ecological structure of Cuddapah is a product of people, culture and environment across several centuries. In this context the possible questions to be answered are: what are the different phases of the ecology of Cuddapah? What are the spatial patterns of people and institutions in each phase? How the changes occurred in these patterns when the city ecology was moving from one phase to the other? What exactly were the cultural, political, economic, religious, psychological or geographical elements that influenced or had been influenced by these ecological developments? How the present ecology came to be what it is? In what respects does the present ecological structure of Cuddapah differ from that of the cities in the West? To what extent does Cuddapah bear patterns of semblance and difference with respect to the ecological structure of some of the Indian cities? The present study answers these and other relevant questions.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The overall objective of the present study is to describe, analyse and interpret the empirical, historical and Census data
pertaining to the ecological structure of Cuddapah. The specific objectives of the inquiry are:

(i) To understand the spatial patterns of people and institutions;

(ii) To know the inter-relations of social, economic, political and religious structures;

(iii) To know the links between the urban centre and its hinterland as well as the wider society; and

(iv) To discern the processes of urbanization in space and time and interpret them in the light of the cross-cultural data obtained from a review of studies.

**METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY**

**Selection of the place of study:**

Cuddapah is selected for the present study because of several reasons. First, it is a growing urban centre comparable to the other urban centres in the Rayalaseema region, which extends across the four districts of Anantapur, Chittoor, Cuddapah and Kurnool and it comprises the Southern part of Andhra Pradesh. Secondly, like other urban centres in the region, it too has a feudal past before it became a municipal town in the
last quarter of the nineteenth century. Thirdly, the ethnic composition and the forces of urbanization operating in it are almost similar to those in the Rayalaseema region. Fourthly, the secondary data relevant to Cuddapah are better than that of the concerned with other urban places in the Rayalaseema region of the Southern Andhra Pradesh.

Method of Collection of data

An investigation of this kind has to rely mainly upon data drawn upon such diverse sources as historical materials, revenue records, district gazetteers, administrative manuals, census reports, and the archives preserved in State Libraries. For its historical data and interpretations, the present enquiry depended upon district gazetteers, administrative manuals, census reports and revenue records of Cuddapah district and the archives of the State of Andhra Pradesh as well as the State of Tamil nadu. The insights provided by these historical data have illuminated the physical, social, political, economic and religious realities of Cuddapah and the ecological conditions right from the second century A.D. till 1989.

For its census data, the present inquiry relied upon the Census right from 1881 upto 1991. Unfortunately neither the first Census in 1881 nor the other Census after 1881 including the latest Census of 1991 did not provide much data useful to find out the ward-wise distribution of education, occupation,
income, caste, religion, language, and other variables. Admittedly in the absence of any other data the census data have become the only source of few demographic facts and figures and a few minutiae of local customs and socio-economic forms.

For the present study historical and census data comprise only a small part of the information needed; greater part of the information exists in the form of empirical data. The empirical data relevant to the present research are collected by means of field-work between March 1989 and May 1991. Many field methods have been combined to get as extensive information as possible of the urban ecology of Cuddapah. The methods employed are: observation both participant and non-participant as conditions permitted; interviews both individual and group, structured and unstructured; and filling in a schedule to elicit necessary information on the historical roots, ideological foundations, socio-economic contours and politico-religious activities of Cuddapah. Mapping of Cuddapah on the basis of previous maps helped to identify the spatial patterning across space and time. Recording of case histories relating to marriage, family, voluntary associations, political leaders and religious ceremonies was useful in knowing several aspects of urban ecology in detail. The use of combined methods has thus helped the investigator in getting a deeper understanding of the ecology of Cuddapah.
The field-work was started with the mapping of the various wards in a rough manner with the help of municipal staff. By the time, the mapping work was over, some contact with the inhabitants of almost all wards could be established. Many of the people were curious as to the purpose of the work, and eager to talk to and establish friendship with the investigator. Establishing a rapport with the urban inhabitants was not, however, without its amusing interludes. In the beginning many people suspected the investigator to be a man from the government for imposing taxation, to have exact measurements and dimensions of different houses to assess the realities about accommodation and submit estimates of house tax to be levied. The municipal staff helped the investigator to convince the people of the purpose of his study. Later on, in the slum areas some people considered the investigator to be a ranked government officer and assured him to give him a reasonable bribe if he could influence the municipal authorities concerns to give them a lift in their present job in the municipality. In course of time, however, the investigator was accepted by the people as a friend and well-wisher. The investigator attended a few functions at their houses and shared their joy with gaiety and enthusiasm on such occasions.

After doing this kind of field-work for about three months, the investigator worked with the schedule having a number of
questions on various aspects of their social, economic, political and religious life, and also on the various problems of the people such as housing, recreation and others. Some of the important people leaders were personally interviewed. In some cases of general interest, especially at the time of municipal council meetings, religious gatherings, cultural performances group interviews were also conducted. Some difficulties were faced while interviewing the individuals. People were so much pre-occupied with their work that neither in the morning nor in the afternoon, they were available at random. So, the interviews were conducted wherever individuals were available: in homes, in offices or in fields. Often a person had to be visited more than once to complete one interview because most of them were unable to spare enough time in one sitting. In the conduct of group interviews also some difficulties were faced. Sometimes the expected people did not turn up for the meetings. Sometimes interviews -with the same group of people could be conducted because the group never assembled again.

Apart from the schedules, much information has been elicited through informal conversations. On some days no schedules were taken to the field work areas within Cuddapah. To understand the outlook and behaviour of the people, it was felt that at times it would be good just to sit around and talk with the people in an informal atmosphere. A major part of the information on marriage, community feelings, factions, dowry
system, family feuds, leadership and religious practices is based on such discussions. The schedule was a necessity as it provided a frame of reference to proceed on. The informal discussions prevented being over bound by the frame of reference. The necessary information that used to come out from the informal discussions was noted immediately after leaving their company, in the temporary residence of the investigator. The municipal office staff and a number of prominent public figures located in different wards provided a great deal of background information of the people of Cuddapah.

Information regarding land utilization, occupation and occupational mobility had to be verified from the office records in the municipality, in the Collectorate and in the Mandal Revenue Office. Information regarding the activities of the caste associations, migrants associations and labour unions was verified from the office-bearers of these associations residing in different parts of Cuddapah.

All these methods were supplemented by observational techniques. Many of the rituals and festivals held during the period of investigation have been observed. The observations were mostly non-participant although a certain amount of participation was warranted in some of the festivals.
Regarding total time requirement, in the beginning it was planned to do field work for a continuous period of one and half years. But, in practice the period had to be extended for a few more months as some data on certain rituals and ceremonies could not be collected during the planned period. The field-work was continued from September 1990 to May 1991; thus it took almost two years and two months from March 1989 to May 1991.

Analysis of Data

The urban scene in the Rayalaseema region of the state of Andhra Pradesh, since independence, has changed in a manner which the future historian will consider revolutionary. This thesis makes an attempt to get an idea of some of these changes that have occurred in the life of urban communities in Rayalaseema region under the impact of industrialization, urbanization and modernization. In order to bring the theme to a focus, the field of investigation is limited to one urban community, namely Cuddapah which can be described as the heart of the Rayalaseema region in the State of Andhra Pradesh.

Subject, however, to the obvious limitations, the general pattern of the dynamics of urban ecology investigated in Cuddapah, a "representative microcosm" in Lloyd Warner's words, is valid for the urban life in the region of Rayalaseema in the state of Andhra Pradesh.
The present enquiry is thus methodologically a study of a single urban community in a particular region. Since history, economics, politics and religion besides a number of social factors have played their significant roles in the spatial patterning, population aggregations and segregations, social organization and dynamics, control of resources and expression of community feeling, almost equal space has been devoted to the various aspects of the ecology of Cuddapah.

The study adopts a historical, ecological, structural-functional holistic approach to describe, analyse and interpret the data relating to urban ecology of Cuddapah. The need to analyse the ecology of Cuddapah in time and space has compelled the investigator to adopt a historical approach. The emphasis of the study is upon the relationships between Cuddapah and its environment. Here the basic concept is that of ecology. In the biological sciences, ecology is defined as the study of the web of relationships that unite into community or ecosystem, particular environments and the plant and animal species that occupy them. In this approach, the characteristics of any particular plant or animal species are understood as the result of complex interaction with the environment and among the different species. Urban ecology is then the study of the complex system of relationships that is formed when a town or city like Cuddapah is established in a particular environment. To understand an ecosystem or for that matter the ecology of
Cuddapah one must dissect it carefully, remembering the relationships among its parts and, in the end, reassembling it, so it becomes a totality again. However, because an ecosystem is an organic rather than a mechanical system, its parts are fluid and flexible, overlapping each other, merging into each other, and connecting with each other in extraordinary and complicated ways. Here comes in the structural-functional approach. The very ecological approach includes in itself the structural-functional approach. Therefore the ecological approach not only takes into consideration the historical factors and forces that make an ecosystem it also takes into its orbit the structural-functional relationships of the different parts of ecosystem. In a word the approach adopted by this study considers how the ecosystem of Cuddapah came to be what it is. It is a combination of several approaches. It can be called a multi-factorial approach to the study of urban ecology.

How, then, does the investigation begin to describe, analyse and interpret the web of relationships constituting the ecology of Cuddapah? For the purpose of analysis, the urban community of Cuddapah is conceived as a product of the interaction of several cultural traditions, different sets of people, and an environment. In historical or developmental terms, Cuddapah has come into being when a set of people established themselves in a particular place and began to carry
out activities which they have learnt as part of the cultural tradition of some other settlement. The tradition contains certain basic ideas about the nature of Cuddapah and the purposes of human endeavour, as well as a set of technologies, or ways of coping with the environment. As people began to apply these technologies, they established relationships between themselves and the environment. Some of the technologies learned elsewhere proved ineffective and new ones had to be borrowed or invented. The application of these technologies produced changes in the environment of Cuddapah, and these changes also affected the developing relationships between Cuddapah and its environment, became sufficiently stable to endure, and Cuddapah took its place as permanent part of urban ecosystem.

In line with this reasoning, the analysis first presents the ecological patterning of Cuddapah in relation to its historical roots. Second, it deals more specifically with the ways in which the inhabitants of Cuddapah were successful in using the technologies and establishing productive relationships with the surrounding lands. Third, it deals with the problem of producing, training and maintaining the human membership required for the perpetuation of Cuddapah. Fourth, it examines the exchange of personnel and a wide variety of goods and services within Cuddapah and from outside Cuddapah. Fifth, the analysis also considers the relationships between Cuddapah and its governmental and religious institutions that directly affect it.
Finally, the analysis deals with the new kinds of ecological relationships that have taken form as Cuddapah became a participant in the modern World. Although the urban community of Cuddapah has used its traditional as well as modern technologies and established different kinds of ecological relationships with the different parts of its environment, the establishment of relationships with any one aspect of the environment has implications for the kind of relationships that were established with any other. The analysis thus focuses its attention on depiction of an overall pattern of Cuddapah and its environment conceived as a single complex system of ecology.

The historical, census and empirical data are analysed on the basis of the above mentioned multi-factorial approach and line of reasoning. The information was supported by several statistical tables.

**Limitations of the Study**

Generally as much can be expressed about the study by way of limitations as can be said in acclaim. The investigator took all pains to overcome the limitations that could have been there otherwise for the present study. It is to be admitted that the present enquiry has been carried out under the circumstances given below.
(i) Secondary data relevant to the study are very much limited. Available records have provided piecemeal information from the second century onwards. Full demographic information prior to 1800 year is neither available in the literature nor available in the Census reports.

(ii) The Census data pertaining to the study are neither serial nor uniform in many a context. The non-availability of Census data on births and deaths during the years 1941–1961, age structure from 1891 to 1951, marital status between 1891 and 1951 besides 1971 and 1981 compelled the investigator to make estimates by using certain latest demographic techniques.

(iii) The study is limited to Cuddapah proper itself. Some of the results of the study may not be applicable to urban places of similar size, density and complexity in other parts of India or in the rest of the world.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The data are organized and presented in eleven chapters. Chapter 1 states the problem, methodology, limitations and organization of the study. Chapters 2 review the literature relevant to the study and give a cross-cultural perspective of urban anthropological researches all over the world besides indicating the paucity of urban anthropological investigations in
India. Chapter-3 describes and analyses the spatial patterning of people and institutions in Cuddapah. Chapter-4 depicts the ecological growth of population in Cuddapah. Chapters- 5,6,7 and 8 give the social, economic, political and religious structure of Cuddapah. Chapter-9 is a summary of the results pertaining to the present inquiry.
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