



Census of India, 1931

VOLUME XX

CENTRAL INDIA AGENCY

PART I.—REPORT

By

C. S. VENKATACHAR,
OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE,
SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS.

Government of India Publications are obtainable from the Government of India Central Publication Branch, 3, Government Place, West, Calcutta, and from the following Agents :—

EUROPE.

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA, India House, Aldwych, LONDON, W. C. 2.

And at all Booksellers.

INDIA AND CEYLON :

Provincial Book Depôts.

MADRAS :—Superintendent, Government Press, Mount Road, Madras.
BOMBAY :—Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery, Queen's Road, Bombay.
SIND :—Library attached to the Office of the Commissioner in Sind, Karachi.
BENGAL :—Bengal Secretariat Book Depôt, Writers' Buildings, Room No. 1, Ground Floor, Calcutta.
UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH :—Superintendent of Government Press, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Allahabad.
PUNJAB :—Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, Lahore.
BURMA :—Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, Rangoon.
CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR :—Superintendent, Government Printing, Central Provinces, Nagpur.
ASSAM :—Superintendent, Assam Secretariat Press, Shillong.
BIHAR AND ORISSA :—Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa, P. O. Gulzarbagh, Patna.
NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE :—Manager, Government Printing and Stationery, Peshawar.

Thacker, Spink & Co., Ltd., Calcutta and Simla.
 W. Newman & Co., Ltd., Calcutta.
 S. K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta.
 The Indian School Supply Depôt, 300, Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta.
 Butterworth & Co. (India), Ltd., Calcutta.
 M. C. Sarcar & Sons, 16, College Square, Calcutta.
 Standard Literature Company, Limited, Calcutta.
 Association Press, Calcutta.
 Chuckerterty, Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., 13, College Square, Calcutta.
 The Book Company, Calcutta.
 James Murray & Co., 12, Government Place, Calcutta.
 (For Meteorological Publications only.)
 Ray Chaudhury & Co., 68-5, Ashutosh Mukherji Road, Calcutta.
 Scientific Publishing Co., 9, Taitola Lane, Calcutta.
 Chatterjee & Co., 3-1, Bacharam Chatterjee Lane, Calcutta.
 Standard Law Book Society, 5, Hastings Street, Calcutta.
 The Hindu Library, 3, Nandlal Mullick Lane, Calcutta.
 Kamala Book Depôt, Ltd., 15, College Square, Calcutta.
 The Pioneer Book Supply Co., 20, Shib Narain Das Lane, Calcutta.
 P. C. Sarkar & Co., 2, Shama Charan De Street, Calcutta.
 *Bengal Flying Club, Dum Dum Cantt.
 Kali Charan & Co., Municipal Market, Calcutta.
 N. M. Roy Chowdhury & Co., 11, College Sqr., Calcutta.
 Grantha Mandir, Cuttack.
 B. C. Basak, Esq., Proprietor, Albert Library, Dacca.
 Higginbothams, Madras.
 Rookhouse and Sons, Madras.
 G. A. Nateson & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.
 P. Varadachary & Co., Madras.
 City Book Co., Madras.
 Law Publishing Co., Mylapore, Madras.
 The Booklover's Resort, Taikad, Trivandrum, South India.
 E. M. Gopalakrishna Kono, Pudumandapam, Madura.
 Central Book Depôt, Madura.
 Vijapur & Co., Vizagapatam.
 Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay.
 D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co., Bombay.
 Ram Chandra Govind & Sons, Kalvadevi Road, Bombay.
 N. M. Tripathi & Co., Booksellers, Princess Street, Kalvadevi Road, Bombay.
 New and Secondhand Bookshop, Kalvadevi Road, Bombay.
 J. M. Pandia & Co., Bombay.
 A. H. Wheeler & Co., Allahabad, Calcutta and Bombay.
 Bombay Book Depôt, Gurgaon, Bombay.
 Bennett, Coleman & Co., Ltd., The Times of India Press, Bombay.
 The Popular Book Depôt, Bombay.
 Lawrence and Mayo, Ltd., Bombay.
 The Manager, Oriental Book Supplying Agency, 15, Shukrawar, Poona City.
 Rama Krishna Bros., Opposite Bishrambag, Poona City.
 S. P. Bookstall, 21, Budhwar, Poona.
 The International Book Service, Poona 4.
 Mangaldas & Sons, Booksellers and Publishers, Bhags Talao, Surat.
 The Standard Book and Stationery Co., 32-33, Arbab Road, Peshawar.

The Students Own Book Depôt, Dharwar.
 Shri Shankar Karnataka Pustaka Bhandara, Malamuddi, Dharwar.
 The English Book Depot, Ferozepur.
 Frontier Book & Stationery Co., Rawalpindi.
 *Hoesenbhoj Karimji and Sons, Karachi.
 The English Bookstall, Karachi.
 Rose & Co., Karachi.
 Keale & Co., Karachi.
 Ram Chandra & Sons, Ambala, Kasauli.
 The Standard Bookstall, Quetta and Lahore.
 U. P. Malhotra & Co., Quetta.
 J. Ray & Sons, 43, K. & L., Edwardes Road, Rawalpindi, Murree and Lahore.
 The Standard Book Depôt, Lahore, Nainital, Mussoorie, Dalhousie, Ambala Cantonment and Delhi.
 The North India Christian Tract and Book Society, 18, Clive Road, Allahabad.
 Ram Narain Lal, Katra, Allahabad.
 "The Leader," Allahabad.
 The Indian Army Book Depôt, Dayalbagh, Agra.
 The English Book Depôt, Taj Road, Agra.
 Gaya Prasad & Sons, Agra.
 Narain & Co., Meston Road, Cawnpore.
 The Indian Army Book Depôt, Jullundur City, Daryaganj, Delhi.
 Manager, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow.
 The Upper India Publishing House, Ltd., Literature Palace, Ammuddaula Park, Lucknow.
 Rai Sahib M. Gulab Singh & Sons, Mufid-i-Am Press, Lahore and Allahabad.
 Rama Krishna & Sons, Booksellers, Anarkali, Lahore.
 Students Popular Depôt, Anarkali, Lahore.
 The Proprietor, Punjab Sanskrit Book Depôt, Saidmitha Street, Lahore.
 The Insurance Publicity Co., Ltd., Lahore.
 The Punjab Religious Book Society, Lahore.
 The Commercial Book Co., Lahore.
 The University Book Agency, Kaohari Road, Lahore.
 Manager of the Imperial Book Depôt, 63, Chandni Chowk Street, Delhi.
 J. M. Jaina & Bros., Delhi.
 Fono Book Agency, New Delhi and Simla.
 Oxford Book and Stationery Company, Delhi, Lahore, Simla, Meerut and Calcutta.
 Mohanlal Dossabhai Shah, Rajkot.
 Supdt., American Baptist Mission Press, Rangoon.
 Burma Book Club, Ltd., Rangoon.
 S. C. Talukdar, Proprietor, Students & Co., Cooch Behar.
 The Manager, The Indian Book Shop, Benares City.
 Nandkishore & Bros, Chowk, Benares City.
 The Srivilliputtur Co-operative Trading Union, Ltd., Srivilliputtur (S. I. R.).
 Raghunath Prasad & Sons, Patna City.
 The Students' Emporium, Patna.
 K. L. Mathur & Bros., Guzri, Patna City.
 Kamala Book Stores, Bankipore, Patna.
 G. Banerjee and Bros., Ranchi.
 M. C. Kothari, Raipura Road, Baroda.
 B. Parikh & Co., Baroda.
 The Hyderabad Book Depôt, Chaderghat, Hyderabad (Deccan).
 S. Krishnaswamy & Co., Teppakulam P. O., Trichinopoly Fort.
 Standard Book and Map Agency, Book Sellers and Publishers, Ballygunge.
 Karnataka Publishing House, Bangalore City.
 Bhoema Sons, Fort, Bangalore City.
 Superintendent, Bangalore Press, Lake View, Mysore Road, Bangalore City.

AGENT IN PALESTINE :—Steimatzy, Jerusalem.

*Agents for publications on aviation only.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
CHAPTER I.—Distribution and Movement of the Population.	
Central India—Two main divisions: Central India West and East—Physical features—The role of the Vindhya—Cultural complexity—Linguistic diversities—Malwa more exposed to cultural impacts—Three broad areas: Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand and Malwa—External changes—Internal changes—Administrative divisions—Their arrangement in the Report and the Tables—Their characteristics—Administrative divisions and demography—Natural divisions—Village institution and land tenure—Communications—Industrial and economic—Scope of the Report—Definition of population—Area, population and density—Variation in population in previous Censuses—Variation in population since 1921—Economic condition of the decade—Variation by principal States—Houses and families	1
SUBSIDIARY TABLES	31
CHAPTER II.—Population of Cities, Towns and Villages.	
Definition of town—Selection of Towns—New Towns—Of Towns in general—The urban population—Distribution of the population between urban and rural areas—Progressive and decaying towns—Sex and Religion in towns—Village—Distribution of rural population—The City of Indore	38
SUBSIDIARY TABLES	50
APPENDIX.—The Indore Residency Area	53
CHAPTER III.—Birth-place and Migration.	
Introductory—Types of Migration—Main figures—Extra-provincial migration—Religion of the migrants—Balance of movements—Inter-provincial Immigration	55
SUBSIDIARY TABLES	64
CHAPTER IV.—Age.	
The basis of the figures—Inaccuracies of the Age returns—Distribution of the population by sex and age periods—Mean age—Age distribution by Religion and Caste—Natural fecundity by Religion and Caste—Longevity	68
SUBSIDIARY TABLES	76
CHAPTER V.—Sex.	
Introductory—Sex proportion in actual population—Variation in sex-ratio—Accuracy of Sex returns—Sex proportion in natural population—Sex proportion by Religion—Sex proportion by age—Sex proportion by Caste—Reasons for the proportions	84
SUBSIDIARY TABLES	91
APPENDIX.—Size and Sex constitution of families	94
CHAPTER VI.—Civil Condition.	
The basis of the figures—Introductory—Main statistics—Civil condition in different religions—Early marriage—Early marriage and caste—General remarks—The widowed	98
SUBSIDIARY TABLES	106
APPENDIX.—A note on the custom known as <i>Ghar-jamai</i>	113
CHAPTER VII.—Infirmities.	
Introductory—Variation—Comparison with contiguous provinces—Multiple infirmities—Insanity by Sex and Age—Deaf-mutism—Main figures—By Sex and Age—Blindness—Main figures—By Sex and Age—Leprosy—Main figures—By Sex and Age	114
SUBSIDIARY TABLES	122

	PAGE.
CHAPTER VIII.—Occupation.	
The basis of the figures—Changes in the occupation returns—Earners and working dependents—Classification scheme—Form of presentation of statistics—Difficulties in classification—Accuracy of the record—General distribution—Working and non-working population—Production of raw materials—Preparation and supply of material substances—Public administration and liberal Arts—Miscellaneous—Occupations of the females—Subsidiary occupations of earners	124
SUBSIDIARY TABLES	141
CHAPTER IX.—Literacy.	
The basis of the figures—Accuracy of the figures—Outlook and attitude towards education—Extent of literacy—Variation of literacy according to locality—Literacy by Religion and Age—Literacy by Caste—Female literacy—Urban and rural literacy—Literacy in English—Progress of literacy by religion and age—Remarks on educational tendencies	151
SUBSIDIARY TABLES	164
CHAPTER X.—Language.	
The basis of the figures—New features of the language returns—Accuracy of the returns—Main features of the returns—General language distribution—Geographical distribution—Linguistic border zones—Bilingualism: General results—Area of Bilingualism—Other features of Bilingualism—Displacement of minor languages	170
SUBSIDIARY TABLES	178
APPENDIX A.—Languages represented on the Linguistic map of Central India Agency	184
APPENDIX B.—Specimens of Bargundi dialect with their Tamil equivalents	186
APPENDIX C.—Rajasthani-Bhili Linguistic Border Zone	189
CHAPTER XI.—Religion.	
The basis of the figures—The meaning of figures—Religion as a basis of statistical classification—General distribution—Variation—Local distribution—Hindu—Tribal—Tribal returns influenced by three factors—Composition of the tribal group—M u s l i m—Christian—Europeans—Anglo-Indians—Jain—Arya—Others—General remarks: Present and future tendencies	190
SUBSIDIARY TABLES	207
APPENDIX A.—Statistics relating to the Social map of Central India Agency	210
CHAPTER XII.—Race, Tribe and Caste.	
The basis of the figures—Scope of the caste returns and their tabulation—Caste classification—Accuracy of the returns—Caste returns: Their utility—Main figures—Depressed castes—Forest and Hill tribes—Modern tendencies	211
SUBSIDIARY TABLES	221
APPENDIX.—Caste glossary	227
Appendices.	
APPENDIX I.—An ethnographic account of the Bhils of Central India	238
APPENDIX II.—Migration of Castes and Tribes into Central India and their distribution	267
APPENDIX III.—The depressed classes	280

LIST OF MAPS AND DIAGRAMS.

	PAGE.
Linguistic map of Central India Agency	Frontispiece.
Social map of Central India Agency	"
CHAPTER I.	
Map of Central India showing main lines of railway and road communications	13
Diagram showing the relation of area and population	18
Diagram showing the actual population of the principal States of the Agency in 1931	18
<i>facing</i>	
Diagram showing the actual population of the principal States of the Agency in 1931 arranged in order of magnitude	18
<i>facing</i>	
Map of Central India showing density of the population by States, 1931	19
Diagram showing the growth of the population of the Central India Agency	22
Proportionate changes in the population of some of the principal States in Central India Agency 1881-1931 as shown by the curves of the logs of the population	22
<i>facing</i>	
Map of Central India showing variation in population between 1921 and 1931	} <i>facing</i> 23
Map of Central India showing variation in density of the population between 1921 and 1931	
Diagram showing the increase or decrease in the population of principal States of the Agency during the inter-censal period 1921-1931	23
CHAPTER II.	
Diagrams showing the percentage distribution of the urban population among towns of various sizes and variation per cent. in urban and rural population	41
Proportional changes in the population of the cities in Central India 1881-1931 as shown by the curves of the logs of the population	44
<i>facing</i>	
Map of Indore City showing density per acre by wards	46
CHAPTER III.	
Diagram showing the percentage of immigrants in each natural division	57
Map of India showing the main migration currents to and from Central India	58
Map of Central India showing the population of immigrants by States	62
CHAPTER IV.	
Age distribution of every 1,000 of each sex in Central India	71
<i>facing</i>	
Cumulative curves of Age distribution	71
<i>facing</i>	
Diagram showing the distribution by quinquennial age-periods of 10,000 of each sex in Central India	71
CHAPTER V.	
The proportion of sexes in the actual population in 1931	84
Diagram showing the number of females per 1,000 males by main age-periods and by the natural divisions in Central India, 1931	86
<i>facing</i>	
CHAPTER VI.	
Diagram showing the proportion per mille who are unmarried, married and widowed	99
Distribution of 1,000 of each sex in each main religion by Civil condition	101
<i>facing</i>	
Distribution of 1,000 of each sex in each main religion by four age-periods	101
<i>facing</i>	
The number of females per 1,000 aged 0-10 who are married	102

	PAGE.
CHAPTER VII.	
Map of Central India Agency showing the distribution of Insane	116
Diagram showing the number per 100,000 of each sex in each decennial age-period—Insane and deaf-mute <i>facing</i>	117
Map of Central India Agency showing the distribution of Deaf-mute	118
Map of Central India Agency showing the distribution of Blind	119
Diagram showing the number per 100,000 of each sex in each decennial age-period—Blind and leper <i>facing</i>	120
Map of Central India Agency showing the distribution of Leper	121
CHAPTER VIII.	
Diagram showing the distribution of the working population, 1931, by Occupation <i>facing</i>	129
Diagram showing the proportion of the agricultural, industrial, commercial and professional population in Central India <i>facing</i>	130
Map showing the proportion of female to male workers by States	139
CHAPTER IX.	
Diagram showing the number of persons per mille in each natural division who are literate	154
Map showing the number of literates in every 1,000 of the male population of each principal State	156
Diagram showing the number of literates per mille in each main religion	157
Diagram showing literacy among males in selected Castes (2 plates) <i>facing</i>	158
Map showing the literate in English per 10,000 males by States	161
CHAPTER X.	
Linguistic distribution (coloured) <i>facing</i>	173
CHAPTER XI.	
Relative increase or decrease of the different main religions as shown by the curves of the logs of the population <i>facing</i>	193
Map showing the distribution of Hindus by States	194
Diagram showing the religious composition per 1,000 of the population in Central India, 1911-1931	195
Map showing the distribution of Tribals by States	197
Map showing the distribution of Muslims by States	201
CHAPTER XII.	
Diagram showing the proportionate distribution of the main castes and classes in Central India <i>facing</i>	213
Map showing the proportion of the Depressed classes to the total population of each principal State	215
Map showing the proportion of the Primitive tribes to the total population of each principal State	216
APPENDIX II.	
Suggested early racial drifts and migrations	271
Map showing the migration of some of the principal castes into Central India	278

INTRODUCTION.

Introductory.—The taking of the sixth decennial Census on the 26th February 1931 with which this Report deals, completes half a century of Census administration in Central India. A partial Census of certain portions of Malwa was taken by Sir John Malcolm in 1820 but a regular Census covering the whole Agency dates from 1881. The first Census was far from a success and the enterprise was fraught with insurmountable difficulties owing to the inefficient state of many administrations, ignorance, want of communications and general apathy. At the best the Census of 1881 was only a rough estimate and its value could be gauged from the remark of Sir Lepel Griffin who wrote that the Census returns of Central India were for comparative purposes not worth the paper on which they were written.

2. Since then great changes have taken place and the intervening decades have witnessed the opening of the country by means of improved communications, a steady rise in the standard of administration in many States, the emergence from isolation of certain tracts, a greater appreciation of the utility and value of Census and above all a growing sense of co-operation without which an undertaking like the Census is next to impossible. Concurrently with these general advancements, there has been a steady improvement in organisation and accuracy in enumeration from decade to decade and since 1901, the Census administration of the Agency has been put on the same level with the other parts of the Indian Empire. We are therefore entitled to claim for Central India the same accuracy or trustworthiness of returns as is justifiably claimed for the Indian Census as a whole.

3. *Three-fold problems of the Agency Census.*—There are however still some problems in the Census administration which demand care and attention. One of them is the treatment of non-synchronous tracts, *i.e.*, those tracts where owing to their inaccessibility or to the wild nature of the country, resort should be had to a day Census while the ordinary Census is carried out in the night. Out of a total area of 51,597 square miles, 7,535 square miles were treated as non-synchronous area. These places are inhabited by the primitive tribes like the Bhils, Gonds, and Baigas who have not yet left their jungle homes and settled in the plains. In the early days they were apprehensive of Census enumeration. Now they are used to it and give no trouble to the enumerator. The difficulty however lies in getting sufficient enumerators to visit their areas. Special arrangements had to be made in Ali-Rajpur, Barwani, Jhabua and in portions of Dhar, Rewa and Indore States. In Rewa to the south of the Kaimur, there is a large belt of forest area thickly wooded and extremely deficient in communication. Here the Baiga, the Gond and other cognate tribes live in small forest clearings leading a most primitive life. The movement of the Census officials in these regions is impeded by the presence of the wild animals though the Baiga dreads not a tiger. A second difficulty is the lack of sufficient literate enumerators in the rural areas more especially in the eastern portion of the Agency where general literacy is lower than in Malwa. A third difficulty peculiar to Central India is geographical. The excision of Gwalior and its feudatories from the Agency and the vesting of the Census administration of the guaranteed and unguaranteed holdings in the suzerain Darbar, have to some extent simplified but not completely eliminated the geographical confusion. The boundaries of many States cross and re-cross in endless ways and States like Dewas (S. B. and J. B.), Ratlam and Sailana, Rajgarh and Narsingharh are interlaced in such a way that they are comprehensible only by studying a map. Only Bhopal and Rewa have compact areas. Indore and Dhar have several detached blocks of territories and the former has outlying areas in the United Provinces and in the Mewar Residency. In the East, between the Dhasan and the Ken rivers the Bundela States are all intermixed and their fragmented parts—the Jagirs—are dotted very near to the Jumna. Further east the Chaube Jagirs are similarly scattered. From the point of Census organisation and control these have presented and still continue to present administrative difficulties demanding great care and supervision.

4. *Census Act.*—The Census is taken on the basis of an Act of the Indian legislature which, however, is not applicable to the Indian States. Its applica-

tion was limited to the administered areas and the railway lands in Central India. The States of Bhopal and Indore passed a Census Act on the lines of the British Indian Census Act and in all other States the Darbar's general proclamation served the same purpose.

5. *Co-operation of the public.*—The Census is pre-eminently a work of the people themselves and its success is entirely dependent on the measure of co-operation tendered. It is pleasing to record that there was no attempt anywhere to offer obstruction to the work. The attitude of the public was one of helpful co-operation and in many places it was characterised by considerable enthusiasm, thus greatly facilitating a successful and statistically accurate enumeration.

6. *The arrangements for the taking of the Census.*—The arrangements for taking the Census and for abstracting and tabulating the results are too technical and elaborate to be discussed here. They have been fully dealt with in the Administrative Report. Only few salient points need be mentioned here. Each administrative unit—State, Jagir or Cantonment—was placed under an official exercising general supervision, control and responsibility. A complete list of villages together with the number of inhabited and uninhabited houses (house being defined for Census purposes) in every village and town was prepared for each unit. Then on the basis of this record were formed Census blocks which are the smallest and as far as possible most compact units consisting as a rule of 40-50 houses which the person in charge—the enumerator can easily enumerate. A number of such blocks were grouped into a circle and placed under a Supervisor and the Circles in turn were comprised within a Charge which corresponded to a recognised Revenue unit such as a *Tahsil* or a *Pargana* and which was usually under the Revenue official in charge of the Revenue division. In Central India there were 322 Charge Superintendents, 4,700 Supervisors and 52,051 Enumerators. After carefully demarcating these Census divisions, and determining the agencies, the houses were numbered and the House-lists were written up. The training of the Census staff was undertaken with the issue of the preliminary schedules and this was followed by the final distribution of the requisite forms, and the general schedules on which the population was enumerated.

7. *Preliminary and the final enumerations.*—Early in January 1931, the enumerator went round his block and made a preliminary record of the inmates who ordinarily live in each house. The Census itself was the process of checking and correcting the record of the preliminary enumeration by striking out the entries relating to persons who had died or gone away and entering the necessary particulars for new-born children and newcomers, so that it should correspond with the state of facts actually existing on the night of 26th February 1931.

8. *Special arrangements.*—Special arrangements were made to enumerate people at the fair of Khajuraho, for the enumeration of the strictly military area in the Cantonments in Central India and also of Jails, Hospitals and travellers on road and for the enumeration at Station platforms and of certain trains passing through the territorial jurisdiction of the Central India Agency on the night of the Census. The military and the railway authorities rendered all possible help that was demanded of them.

9. *Provisional Totals.*—Immediately after the enumerator had completed his round in his block on the night of the Census he added up the total population of the block as ascertained by him and passed it on to his Supervisor who in turn passed on his Circle totals to the Charge Superintendent and the final totals for the State were arrived at from the Charge Superintendents' figures. In every State careful preparation had been made to bring in the returns from the different parts of the State as expeditiously as possible to the head-quarters and for this runners, *Sowars*, Motor Cars and Telegraph offices were utilised according to local needs and conditions. The first total to reach Indore was from Jaora at 5-15 A.M. on the 27th February and the last to reach was from Ajaigarh at 8-46 P.M. on 2nd March. On 3rd March, the provisional totals for the Agency were wired to the Census Commissioner for India. The Provisional figures communicated to the Census Commissioner were 6,632,909 and the final figures arrived at in the Indore Abstraction Office after checking and recounting were 6,632,790. The difference comes to only 119 or .0017 per cent. This reflects great credit on the State officials.

10. *Abstraction and Compilation of the results.*—The post-enumeration work was done at the Central office at Indore. It falls under three heads, *viz.*, (1) Slip-

copying, (2) *Sorting* and (3) *Compilation and Tabulation*. Immediately after the Census the enumeration books of each State were collected and transferred to Indore and on the 6th March 1931, the Abstraction Office was opened and with the arrival of the books, the work of Slip-copying was in full swing by the beginning of April. By the beginning of June all the sections had entered upon sorting and early in August compilation work was making satisfactory progress. By the middle of December 1931, every State had completed the work. The first set of the Agency tables were sent to the press on the 18th November 1931 and the last by the end of February 1932. Though the materials for the writing of the Report were being collected for some time, the actual drafting work was commenced in May 1932. The first Chapter of the Report was sent to the press on June 15, 1932 and by the end of September the press was in possession of the entire Report.

11. *The Report*.—In ushering this Report, I think few words are called for with regard to its character and scope. This is the first time in the history of the Census administration in Central India that a detailed Report has been presented, adequately meeting the needs and requirements of all the principal States and at the same time presenting as complete a picture as possible of such a complex and heterogeneous area as the Central India Agency. In doing so, I have made a complete departure from the previous practices and have run counter to the strongly expressed wishes of my experienced predecessor which he set out with considerable force in the Introduction to the 1921 Report. With all due deference to the late Colonel Luard whose knowledge and experience of Central India was very great, I have been unable to hold the view that an Agency Report is inutile. It is not necessary to argue and state the case for the necessity of a Report and I hope that this question which has been raised since 1911 will be closed for good. Only two points need be mentioned in this connection. The disadvantages of scattering the statistics of a large number of States—many of them are very small—in 35 separate pamphlets, are too obvious to be reiterated. It is next to impossible for any body—the administrator or the research worker—to obtain the requisite information easily and readily. Secondly the statistics for the States are bound to assume importance in the coming years and they should be made available in exactly the same way as for the other units of the Indian Empire. These are sufficient to justify the detailed presentation of the statistics by the principal States in the Tables volume and their analysis in the Report volume.

12. From this digression it is time I turn to the Report. One feature of the Report is the carefully executed diagrams on which depends the utility of a statistical report. Another is the detailed analysis of the figures by States and not by political charges as in the previous decades. A third is the number of appendices which it is hoped will be found useful to those who are interested in Indian ethnology. In drafting the Report I have derived inspiration from a variety of sources. It would be a most cruel punishment ever given to me if, as a compiler of the Census Report, I am asked to be original. My borrowings have been heavy—indeed too heavy. They have been necessary to cover the dry bones of the statistics and more than that to hide the poverty of my own thoughts. In the body of the Report I have tried to acknowledge my indebtedness but they are by no means complete. For statistical analysis I have relied on the previous India Reports and the various provincial reports. No one can write about Central India without mentioning Sir John Malcolm's classic book '*A Memoir of Central India*' and no apology is therefore needed in making constant references to it in the Report. I have also had recourse to that wonderful and monumental production of human knowledge—the *XIVth Edition of Encyclopædia Britannica*. Besides the books recommended by the Census Commissioner for India, I have derived considerable help from the *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces* and also from Peake and Fleure's *Corridors of Time* in six volumes which were kindly brought to my notice by Dr. Hutton.

13. *Cost*.—The accounts have not yet been finally adjusted as the printing of the Report is still in progress. Approximate figures can, however, be given. The total expenditure up to date is Rs. 1,15,551 to which may be added Rs. 32,000 on account of the cost of printing the Report and leave salaries. A sum of

Rs. 18,200 has been credited to Government on account of recoveries and receipts. Thus the total cost to Government comes to Rs. 1,29,355 which gives 3·7 pies per head of population.

14. *Acknowledgments.*—It would be next to impossible to specify by name all those who have contributed to the success of the operations. All the State Census Officers have worked extraordinarily well and have shown commendable zeal, enthusiasm and devotion to duty which I cannot praise too highly. There could not have been a more conscientious body of workers. A list of these gentlemen is given below :—

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Mr. M. A. Rashid, B.A., Bar.-at-Law, Indore. | 22. Mr. S. P. Desai, B.A., LL.B., Jhabua. |
| 2. Munshi Muhammad Mumtaz Ali Khan, Bhopal. | 23. Munshi Bala Prasad, Nagod. |
| 3. Pandit Nand Kishore Dube, M.A., Rewa. | 24. Babu Manohar Lal, Maihar. |
| 4. Bakshi Jagatram Anand, B.A., L.T., Orchha. | 25. Pandit Ganpat Rao Vyas, Barwani. |
| 5. Mr. Mir Bahadur Ali, Datia. | 26. Pandit Vishnu Pant, Ali-Rajpur, Ratanmal, Kathiwara, Mathwar. |
| 6. Mr. Rangnath Mahadeo Puranik, M.A., LL.B., Dhar. | 27. Mr. Ram Dayal, Khilchipur. |
| 7. Mr. V. G. Naik, Dewas Senior. | 28. Munshi Balmakund, Kurwai. |
| 8. Mr. V. R. Deo, Dewas Junior. | 29. Mr. J. D. Govila, Jobat. |
| 9. Pandit Makund Rao Lakkad, Samthar. | 30. Mr. S. Ali Bahadur, Manpur (British) Jamnia, Nimkhora, Rajgarh. |
| 10. Munshi Gulam Ali, Jaora. | 31. Munshi Ras Bihari Lal, Bundelkhand Agency Jagirs, Nowgong. |
| 11. Khan Bahadur D. F. Vakil, B.A., Ratlam. | 32. Babu Brij Kumar Sahai, Baghelkhand Agency, Minor States and Jagirs, Satna. |
| 12. Babu Raj Bahadur, Panna. | 33. Pandit Kanahaiyalal, Bhopal Minor States. |
| 13. Sayyad Gulam Abbas, Charkhari. | 34. Diwan Pratap Singh Pamar, Sarila. |
| 14. Munshi Durga Prasad, Ajaigarh. | 35. Munshi Sayyad Abdul Rahman, Panth-Piploda. |
| 15. Mr. Debi Prasad, Bijawar. | 36. Mr. P. R. Sharma, Khaniadhana. |
| 16. Mr. S. M. Rahat Hussain, Baoni. | 37. Babu Rang Nath, B.A., Piploda. |
| 17. Pandit Gopal Sitaram Bhagwat, B.A., Chhatarpur. | 38. Executive Officers, Mhow, Nimach, Nowgong Cantonment. |
| 18. Lala Harbaksh Raiji, Sitamau. | 39. President, Residency Bazar Committee, Indore. |
| 19. Mr. Hari Singh Kothari, Sailana. | 40. Head Clerks, Agency Office, Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand and Bhopal. |
| 20. Babu Har Prasad, Rajgarh. | |
| 21. Pandit H. M. Vachhrajani, B.A., S.T.C., Narsinghgarh. | |

Besides these Census Officers, I must refer to the excellent work done by Mr. Surendranath Dube, M.A., Assistant Census Officer, Indore, who showed great energy and zeal in the enumeration work of Indore State and was later responsible for completing the abstraction work of that State. Mr. V. P. Pabalkar, Assistant Census Officer of Dhar with his special knowledge of the Dhar State feudatories rendered very good services throughout the operations.

15. My thanks are due to several gentlemen who assisted me in the different special enquiries. Mr. R. M. Puranik, M.A., LL.B., evinced a keen enthusiasm in the collection of ethnographic accounts of several castes and I hope the Dhar Darbar will some day find it convenient to publish them. Diwan Bahadur Janki Prasad, Secretary to the Rewa Darbar and now Adviser to His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa, very kindly placed at my disposal some interesting notes on Rewa castes and tribes which were useful in identifying many of the primitive tribes in south Rewa. I am also indebted to Khan Bahadur D. F. Vakil, Census Officer, Ratlam, for his specimens of the Bargundi dialect and for his other contributions. Mr. Puranik of Dhar; Munshi Mumtaz Ali Khan of Bhopal and the Chief Medical Officer in Central India were good enough to collect some useful data for the fertility and mortality rates. My warm thanks are also due to Diwan Bahadur K. G. Nadkar, Dewan of Dhar; Diwan Bahadur Janki Prasad of Rewa; and Rao Bahadur H. N. Gosalia, Dewan of Barwani for the facilities they gave in the carrying out of the anthropometric measurements which Dr. B. S. Guha of the Zoological Survey of India undertook at my request.

16. I would also tender my best thanks to all Ruling Princes and Chiefs and Political Officers in Central India and to the heads of State administrations for their ready and unfailing help which was never withheld from me.

17. Coming nearer home to my head-quarter Office, I have much pleasure in recording my obligation to my office staff. They have all worked with a single-minded devotion and have shown much sense of duty. Mr. Jhamman Lal Sharma with an exceptionally good record in the previous Census, joined my office as Head Clerk and after enumeration he was made the Deputy Superintendent and placed in charge of the Abstraction Office. Throughout the operations, he has worked extremely well and shown initiative, industry, intelligence and ability far above the average. A quiet worker with considerable tact he got on excellently with the heterogeneous State staff in the Central Office which in fact ran so smoothly that I had rarely any complaint. I am also indebted to him for assisting me in drafting two Chapters of the Report. Mr. M. D. Kale who also joined the staff with his previous experience again did excellent work in my office and later on he was deputed as the Senior Government Inspector. His work in the Abstraction Office has earned my warm commendation and on him fell the brunt of the Agency compilation work. The final emergence of the Tables volume from the press is due to his hard work, patience and unremitting industry. Mr. Banshi Dhar Agarwala, my steno-typist has fully justified his appointment and has proved himself to be a rapid and neat worker.

18. My thanks are also due to the Superintendent, Government Printing, India, for the excellent proofs sent to me and to the Director of Map Publication, Calcutta, for kindly undertaking to execute the work connected with the Maps and Diagrams. In this connection I should like to thank Diwan Bahadur B. C. Dube, I.S.E., Superintending Engineer, Central India Public Works Department, for placing the services of his draftsmen at my disposal and for his keen and lively interest in the work. The excellent nature of all the diagrams and maps in this Report is entirely due to the good work done by Mr. Chatterjee the head draftsman and his able assistants.

19. I cannot bring this brief review of the Census operations to a close without expressing my deep sense of obligation to my Chief Dr. J. H. Hutton, for his valuable advice, and the sympathetic treatment he has always extended to me in so many matters that I had to refer to him. I am particularly grateful to him for his kindly guidance in my impudent excursions into the fields of anthropology.

C. S. VENKATACHAR.

INDORE RESIDENCY ;

September 15, 1932.

NOTE.—Although this report is issued under the authority of Government, the author is wholly responsible for the views and opinions expressed therein.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.—An ethnographic account of the Bhils of Central India.

„ II.—Migration of Castes and Tribes into Central India and their distribution.

„ III.—The depressed classes.

APPENDIX I.

An ethnographic account of the Bhils of Central India.

SECTION A.

THE BHIL TRIBE.

[NOTE.—The only detailed account of the Central Indian Bhils is that contained in a monograph entitled *the Jungle Tribes of Malwa* which formed the second volume of a series of an uncompleted ethnographical survey of the Central India Agency by the late Colonel C. E. Luard, C.I.E., who for three successive decades from 1901 was in charge of the Agency Census. The materials for this monograph were collected by him in connection with the 1901 Census and published a few years later. So far as I know only two copies of this monograph are extant. As there was a danger of the valuable information contained therein being lost, I have reproduced them in the following pages, rearranging the matter and considerably abridging certain unnecessary details, supplemented here and there by fresh materials collected in the course of the present Census. The specimen of Bhil songs has however been reprinted *in extenso* without any change. I am also indebted to Mr. R. M. Puranik, M.A., LL.B., Census Officer of Dhar State and to the Roman Catholic Mission at Jhabua for placing useful notes at my disposal. It should be pointed out that no attempt has been made in the notes to distinguish the matter extracted from Colonel Luard's monograph from the supplementary notes.]

1. **Strength and distribution.**—According to the Census returns there are 363,124 Bhils in Central India. Of these 144,836 returned themselves as Hindus and the remaining 218,288 retained their allegiance to their tribal religion. The true strength of the Central Indian Bhils has hitherto not been estimated. Certain tribes allied to the Bhils are paraded under different labels in the Caste table as separate castes or tribes. The strength of the Bhil group of tribes is considerable if we amalgamate, as we should, the figures for a number of the allied tribes. As far as it could be ascertained the following statement gives the composition and strength of the Bhil group:—

Bhil group.	HINDU.			TRIBAL.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Bhil	144,836	73,039	70,897	218,288	100,606	108,622
2. Bhilala	187,145	94,026	92,219	6,030	3,303	3,267
3. Barola	38,517	19,647	18,870	108	59	49
4. Mankar	20,430	10,058	10,372	49	26	23
5. Nihal	11,529	5,765	5,763	702	350	352
6. Patlia	8,268	4,280	3,988	11,140	5,812	5,328
7. Rathia	37,260	19,028	18,232	..	..	..

The Hinduised section forms 6·8 per cent. of the total population and the Tribal section 3·6 per cent. Thus the Bhil group constitutes one-tenth of the total population of Central India. The tribes enumerated above are exclusively found in western Central India. Only few stray Bhils have been enumerated in the eastern parts of the Agency. In the West their real home is the Vindhya and the Satpuras. The bulk of them have been returned from the States of Ratlam, Sailana, Jhabua, Dhar, Ali-Rajpur, Barwani and Indore.

2. **Name.**—It is commonly held that the word Bhil is derived from a Dravidian word for a bow (Tamil and Kanarese *bil*) which is the characteristic weapon of the tribe. The ancient Tamil poets termed certain savages of the pre-Dravidian blood as *Villavar* (bowmen) who 'may possibly be identical with the modern Bhils.'¹ If that be so, the name may have been given to the Bhils by the Dravidians. In common with the various Munda tribes, such as the Kols, Santals, etc., the tribal name, is not used by the members of the Bhil tribe among themselves. They employ the usual titles of relationship or position such as *Bap* (father), *Tarvi* (headman), *Nahal* or *Naik* (an honorific term). When addressing entire strangers the polite prefix *da* is added, as *Da Rupa*, *Da Walji*, etc. When the Bhils came in contact with the Aryans, they again figure in the Sanskrit literature. Thus the word *Nisada* which occurs in the early Vedic literature is sometimes held to mean a Bhilla or Bhil, though others hold that 'the word seems to denote not so much a particular tribe but to the general term for the non-Aryan tribes who were not under Aryan control.'² In the later system, the *Nisada* is the off-spring of a Brahman

¹ *Cambridge History of India*, Volume I, page 505.

² *Vedic Index*, Volume II, *Nisada*.

and of a Sudra woman.¹ According to Mr. Enthoven the earliest mention of the word Bhil occurs in *Katha-Sarit Sagara* or *Gunadhya*² wherein mention is also made of a Bhil chief opposing the progress of another king through the Vindhya. These references show that the Bhils are one of the earliest races in India and they have been brought into contact with all the great racial migrations into India.

3. Origin.—In the present state of our anthropological knowledge we cannot say whether the Bhils are autochthonous or not. At best we can only surmise and hazard some views leaving it to further scientific research to prove or disprove them. There is no doubt they represent a race which inhabited India earlier than the Aryans and the Dravidians. Very possibly they are a proto-Mediterranean race who spread far and wide when a climatic crisis occurred in the grass steppes of Sahara and it is this race which is responsible for the industry associated with the Final Caprian culture in the Vindhya. The Bhils are one section of the great Munda race which occupied the pre-Dravidian India and had for its home the central regions across the peninsular India with possible extensions into the Gangetic plain. The home of the Bhils has been the western Vindhya and it is perhaps in contact with the Dravidians on the other side in Gujarat they acquired their present appellation. If we accept the view which is gaining ground in recent years, that the Dravidians, a branch of the Mediterranean race, entered India through north-west then it is reasonable to suppose that Gujarat was on the way of the immigrant Dravidians in their march towards the Deccan and the south. Gujarat was a Dravidian tract before it was Aryanised. It is again significant to note that the home of the Nisadas as shown in the map in the Vedic Index exactly fits in with the historically known habitat of the Bhil tribe. There the Nisadas are shown as dwelling south-east of the Aravalli hills between the Banas and the Mahi rivers and up to the Chambal. The position shown is no doubt approximate but its significance cannot be underrated. The Bhils lay on the path of the conquering and the migrating Aryans towards Gujarat and Malwa. The impact of the Aryans must have caused the displacement of the Bhils along the Vindhya and into the Satpuras but any such movement was restricted because they were flanked by the presence of other tribes of the Vindhya and the Satpuras. In those hills the Bhils have maintained considerable independence glimpses of which we get when we read of a Bhil Chief in the Sanskrit book already quoted and also of the forest king who assisted the Emperor Harsha in the search of his sister in the Vindhyan forests of Malwa. The Bhils, however, never appeared to have become effectively masters of the plain because Malwa was colonised in very early times and in spite of political convulsions, civilization never fell as to facilitate the extension of tribal rule. Malcolm records that according to the Bhil tradition, their home is in the country to the north-west of Malwa from where they were ousted when the Rajputs began to conquer their country. This again meant a further displacement of the Bhils along the Vindhya. The tradition of the Bhils in Malwa points to immigration from a western home but the story of their change of habitat does not appear to have clearly survived. The Jhabua Bhils still retain some dim and incoherent outlines of their migration. Their story is that the first Bhils were the *Damor*. Another section of the Bhils were the *Warkrya* who were living with the *Damor*. One *Warkrya* committed violence on the daughter of a *Damor* as a result of which war sprung between the two people. The *Damors* fared badly in the struggle and they had to migrate. They stopped at a place called Dholka in Kusalgarh State (Rajputana Agency). This is supposed by the Bhils to be their original home and other tribes are said to have sprung from the *Damors*. The Bhils have their own traditions of their origin. One relates that a *dhobi* who used to wash his clothes in a river was one day warned by a fish of the approach of a great deluge. The fish informed him that as he had always fed those of his species he had come to give him this warning and to urge him to prepare a large box which would enable him to escape. The *dhobi* prepared the box and got into it with his sister and a cock. After the deluge Rama sent out his messenger to inquire into the state of affairs. The messenger heard the crowing of the cock and so discovered the box. Rama then had the box brought before him and asked the man who he was and how he had escaped. The *dhobi* told his tale. Rama then made him face in turn north, east and west, and swear that the woman with him was his sister. The *dhobi* remained firm in asserting she was his sister. Rama then turned him towards the south, upon which the *dhobi* contradicted his statement and said she was his wife. Rama then asked who told him how to escape and on hearing at once had the fish's tongue cut out, and since then that kind of fish has been tongueless. Rama then told the *dhobi* to set about repopulating the world, and he therefore married his sister by whom he had seven sons and seven daughters. Rama presented the first born son with a horse but the recipient of this gift, being unable to ride, left the horse on the plain and went into the forest to cut wood, he and his descendants becoming foresters and starting the Bhil tribe.

Another tale relates how on the creation of the Bhil, five men went to see *Mahadev*. *Parvati* seeing them approaching, said to her spouse, "Here come five of my brothers to ask *dahej* (bride-price) of you consequent on my marriage with you." *Mahadev* gave them a feast and then explained that except for his bull *Nandi* and his *Kamandalu* he had nothing to give. They therefore went home. In order to give them something, however, *Mahadev* placed a silver stool

¹ *Vedic Index*, Volume II, Nisada, foot-note.

² *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Volume I, Article Bhil.

in their way, but they were incapable of seeing this. *Parvati* noticing how they had missed the gift, sent for them and told them what had happened, pointing out that as they were not able to see the stool, there was little hope of their prospering, but she would do what she could, and so informed them that they must be very careful of the *Nandi* whose hump was full of wealth untold. On reaching home one of the five suggested slaying the *Nandi* and obtaining the wealth, the others demurred, but he prevailed. No wealth was found in the hump and the five were dismayed. *Parvati* now appeared and told them that they should have yoked the bull to the plough and thus gained wealth from mother-earth, but that as they were so foolish as to slay the sacred animal she would never look on their faces again, and left in high displeasure. For thus killing the sacred animal the Bhil has ever lived a miserable existence and been of no caste.

The Puranic origin of the Bhils traces descent from the thigh of *Vena*, son of *Anga*, a descendant of *Manu Swayambhuva*. *Vena* was childless and the Sages therefore rubbed his thigh and produced "a man like a charred log, with flat face, and extremely short." He was told to sit down (*Nishada*). He did so and was known as *Nishada*, "from whom sprang the *Nishadas* dwelling on the Vindhyan mountains, distinguished by their wicked deeds."¹

The Rajputs have had a very long connection with the Bhils. Forced by circumstances to make an alliance with the denizens of the Vindhyan hills, the Rajputs did not hesitate to take women from the tribal ranks and this was responsible for the disintegration of the Bhil tribes into various Hinduised sections, such as Bhilalas, Patlias, etc. The infusion of Rajput blood has led in some instances to a distinction among the Bhils. For in some places the Bhils are split up into *Ujale* or pure and *Mele* or impure with a third or lower status the *Madalye* who are musicians and singers by profession. The *Ujale* and *Mele* Bhils are separate endogamous groups with septs which are exogamous.

4. Caste and Tribal sub-divisions.—The Bhils consequently are a very mixed lot at the present day. Besides the Bhil proper, the other tribes are Bhilala, Barela, Mankar, Nihal, Patlia and Rathia. The description given in the following paragraphs, relates to the Bhils as a whole. The other tribes are described briefly at the end of these notes. The divisions or the septs are very variously given and no two lists agree. They are summarised in a tabular form in a separate section. The usual reverence appears to be paid to any object which is regarded as a sept totem, it being never destroyed or injured. Nor is its effigy ever tattooed on the body.

5. Marriage: General.—The Bhil tribe being an endogamous group no Bhil can marry without it. The septs again are all exogamous and no member of a sept can marry another from the same sept. This prohibition is extended for 3 generations to any sept into which a man has already married. A man cannot also marry into the sept from which his mother came for 3 generations as the members of this sept are held to be the brothers and sisters of such man. The same rule is extended to the septs of grandmothers, maternal and paternal. A man can marry two sisters but the exchange of daughters between fathers is not usual. Certain occupations are now looked upon with askance, due to Hindu influence and certain families are inclined to reject marriage with a family which has taken up the following professions:—manufacturing of winnowing fans, and sieves, of a butcher, of a tanner, of a professional mendicant, of a *Rawal*, or dancer and singer. Sometimes though it is not a formal restriction, the village Bhil does not like to take a wife from among the Bhils living near the *bazar* or in the town. The rural Bhil has a low opinion of the town dweller and he does not think much of the morals of the *bazar* Bhil girl.

Marriage is adult and infant marriage is non-existent unless Hindu ideas have overpowered the tribal practice. The earliest age for marriage of girls is 12 years, while most are married between 15-40. Puberty has no place in determining the age at which the girl is to be married. In accordance with the Hindu ideas, the parents settle the marriage, and courtship, though apparently by no means uncommon, is not in general vogue.

Where pre-nuptial sexual intercourse takes place with the affianced husband, no penalty is incurred, except that the regular marriage ceremony is omitted, the girl being simply made over to the man. If the sexual license is indulged by the girl with another than her fiance, she is, if the fiance still desires it, made over to him but the support of the child born of the irregular intercourse is borne by the real father.

6. Marriage ceremonies.—Four persons from the boy's side go to the girl's house to settle the betrothal. If the girl's guardians are willing a sum of Rs. 7 is paid to the *panches* who purchase *gud* and wine and entertain the caste people. The betrothal then becomes irrevocable. When means permit some persons from the boy's side go to the bride in the company of some guests and entertain the members of the caste with wine and *gud* worth Rs. 9. The party is then entertained by the girl's father and thus end the rites of *Badi Sagai*.

When marriage preparations begin a party consisting of 5 to 25 guests starts for the bride's house. After mutual entertainments the boy's father pays Rs. 41 for the dowry and the celebration of marriage is settled. The party then returns home.

¹ See *Mahabharata*, *Vishnu Puran*, *Hari-Vansa*, etc.

The boy and girl in their respective houses are anointed with oil and turmeric. This marks the commencement of marriage ceremony which is known as "*Bana Baithana*." This ceremony is performed at the bride's house on the day next to that on which it is performed at the boy's. They are daily taken in procession at their own residences when their relatives give money varying from an anna to a rupee. As soon as these *Banas* have finished the marriage-shed is erected. Four poles are located in the ground and the shed is covered with *jamun* leaves. It is decorated on its sides by the hangings of mango leaves. One post is fixed in the *mandap* which crosses the roof and goes high above the house with leaves of *jamun* tied to its top. Four unmarried boys and girls first dine under the *mandap* and then the whole caste is entertained with "*Makka Thuli*." The relatives then give clothes to the members of the family which is called "*Peravtin*." The bridegroom is attired in marital costume of red and white. Round his waist a scarf is tied. He takes dagger and sword in his hand. Well clad and ornamented, he puts on his head the marriage crown of imitation pearls and stands under the *mandap* where his mother moves rice-pounding pestle, arrow, and grain thrasher, etc., round his face and throws 4 cakes in four quarters, this ceremony being called *Padachhana* ceremony. Placing a coconut at the feet of *Mata*, the wedding party starts at night for the bride's village and stops at that place where fire is kindled for them by the bride's people before the dawn.

The bridegroom then touches the ornamental hanging on the door with the sword he carries and is seated under the booth. A pair of cloth and shoes, and a bodice are presented to the girl early in the morning. The bride is bathed and dressed in those clothes. The same "*Padachhana*" ceremony is repeated here by his mother-in-law. A long piece of cloth is put round his neck and his mother-in-law draws him on to the picture of their family deity, by holding the ends of that cloth.

No sooner the bridegroom reaches that place than the bride extinguishes the lamp burning there. The boy again lights it and worships the *Mata*. The ends of the upper garments of the couple are knotted and the bride's brother joins their hands. Subsequently he separates the hold and is given some *gud* for his service. A caste dinner is given after which the whole party goes to a stream or river to clean their hands and mouth, the females dining at home. The auspicious "*Kankan*," and copper ring are tied round the wrist of the bridegroom there. After the party returns from the stream the cloth of the couple is knotted and the couple seated on a piece of cloth. The hand of the one is locked in that of the other and this is called "*lagan*." A Brahman or any caste member in his absence, assists in the performance of "*hom*," in which oblations of *ghree*, oilseeds, etc., are offered. With their hands joined the couple give 7 turns round the nuptial fire. Then follows *Kanyadan*. Some clothes, silver ornaments and cash varying from one to five rupees are given. The hold of the hands is separated.

A few days after that the members of the bride's family come to the boy's house to fetch the bride. When they come they ask the boy's parents whether they are asleep or awake. When the boy's father hears this he brings a cock or a goat, which is killed by the bride's party. The guests are then entertained and the bride taken to her parent's house. The same custom is observed when the boy's party goes to fetch the bride. These rites are called "*Ana*" rites. Generally one rupee is paid to the Government as a marriage fee.

7. Other forms of union.—The description given above applies to the orthodox form followed by well-to-do and the completely Hinduised section of the Bhils. The Bhil knows to his cost that the adoption of Hindu customs is extremely expensive. The whole series of the marriage customs amount to a total of at least Rs. 350 which is a minimum. Many boys cannot afford such a sum of money. So sometimes after formal betrothal they take away their betrothed by surprise, by force or by mutual secret consent. They thus save a great deal of money and incur few expenses. Sometimes the girl of her own accord goes to the house of a young man and declares her intention to remain there. The union is regularised by the recognition accorded by the *Panchayat*. When a man has not enough money to perform a solemn marriage he searches for a girl whose price is cheaper. A girl who has had a child or a rejected girl, would be his likely bride. She is given a '*Lugra*' and '*Ghagra*' and some money. The girl becomes his wife without any further ceremony.

8. *Ghar Jamai*.—The payment of bride price by means of personal service is often met with. Where the girl's father is well-to-do the young man undertakes to serve a term for his future father-in-law. This is commonest where the girl has no brothers to assist the father in his work. The usual term of years is seven. It is reported that in recent times it has become the practice of making him serve for 9 years. Though not seldom, the *Ghar-jamai* often escapes with his wife after 2-3 years. Ordinarily the two live as husband and wife but cannot leave the bride's home until the period of service is complete. If the two live amicably but after 2 years have no issue, the father-in-law has them anointed as if for a regular wedding and they are made to do 7 '*Pheras*' as in ordinary marriages. The father-in-law provides the young couple with means to start their own home.

9. Marriage by capture.—Marriage by capture or *ghiskarlejana*, is still common. The usual time for abducting a girl is on the *Bhagoria* festival, the day before the *Holi* is burned. The young man assisted by his friends enters the village and makes off with the girl. Occasionally the union is regularised by going through a short ceremony which is also performed in the case of a girl who falls in love and goes off with the man of her choice.

10. **Re-marriage of widows.**—The re-marriage of widows is permitted. There is, however, no obligation for her to marry any particular person such as her husband's younger brother (*dewar*). When the consent of the lady is known the suitor goes to her village with some clothes as presents and attended by four or five friends. He pays seven pice to the widow's brother's wife (*bhahi*) or to her paternal aunt (*phuwa*), provided they have husbands living. A general drink is then indulged in, in which the *Tarvi* of the widow's village takes part, and the ceremony is complete. This re-marriage is always done by night. The widow never enters her new home by day, as this will, it is believed, produce famine. Any person who accompanies the man marrying a widow is bound to carry out this duty seven times.

The widow, and children by the re-marriage, have no interest in the property of the first husband after re-marriage.

In a case where she marries her deceased husband's younger brother, should there be already a son by the first husband, children by the second have no rights in the property of the first husband. If, on the other hand, there was no child by the first husband, children of the second inherit the property of the first husband.

11. **Divorce.**—Among the Bhils divorce is frequent. The man who keeps a woman who has left her husband has to pay her former husband whatever expenses the latter has incurred in marrying her. Any reason is sufficient for a divorce. To effect a divorce the injured man calls together his village *panchayat* and in their presence tears off a piece from the end of his turban which he hands to his wife, stating that finding that her conduct was bad he is divorcing her and that from this day forth she will stand to him in the relationship of a sister. The divorcee takes the piece of cloth and hangs it carefully on a rafter of her father's house, for a whole month.¹ This shows that her former husband has no further rights over her and she can re-marry.

The Bhils are very suspicious of their women folk, and not without reason as the majority of the criminal cases which are brought by Bhils concern their women. This is a reason why they do not build their houses close together.

12. **Funereral ceremonies.**—The Bhils cremate their dead. They bury young babies whose teeth have not yet appeared, lepers and persons dying of small pox and of suicide. All these are buried in sleeping position. An ascetic is buried in the sitting position. On the occurrence of death notice is given by firing off guns before the deceased's house, while the village *dhobi* sounds his drum. The corpse is bathed in cold water and dressed and in the case of unmarried adults some turmeric is thrown on the dress. It is placed on a bier with the face upwards and covered with a cloth. Two cocoanuts are hung at the head of the bier. The eldest son or a near relative, if there is no son, takes an ignited cake of cowdung in his hand and the corpse is carried to the cremation ground, the man with the fire leading the way. Sometimes music played softly, accompanies the bier. The corpse is always carried so as to lie north and south, the feet pointing to the south. In the meanwhile, in the deceased's house a small lamp is placed upon the spot where the person died, sprinkled with maize and covered with a bamboo basket.

On coming to a *ber* tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*) the corpse is set down, while all the persons present proceed to take up stones with which a heap is made. A piece of cloth is then torn off the dead man's garment and thrown over the tree. The corpse is then picked up, those formerly at the head going to the feet. Tradition has it that the rest under the *ber* is made for this reason. Once the son of an aged dame died. The old woman carried his corpse as far as a *ber* tree but could not go on further. She then decided to appeal to the gods by fasting, for the restoration of her son's life, and sat for three days fasting beneath the tree. This was not the fruit season, but seeing her piety the gods gave the tree fruit, and also caused hunger to attack her. She could bear her pain no longer and rose to seize the fruit. Suddenly the tree grew and raised the fruit beyond her reach. At length she propped the corpse against the tree and standing upon it reached the fruit. She had broken her vow and the village people took and cremated the corpse. To avert any such evil each corpse is now halted under a *ber* tree, and a piece of the garment is offered to the gods. The earthen vessel consisting water to wash the corpse is taken and broken under this tree on the heap of stones.

Burning *ghats* are situated anywhere near a stream or tank. The body is placed on the pyre with its head to the north and burnt together with man's bow, club, etc., and in the case of a woman some favourite ornament. The unconsumed bones are carefully collected from the pyre and separated from the ashes. The bones are placed in an earthen vessel and buried near the house. There they remain till the 12th day ceremony is performed. If there is no chance of carrying out the ceremony they are thrown into the nearest river, usually the Narbada. The deceased is provided with food and drink on the 3rd day, the provisions being placed under the *ber* tree where the corpse rested. The stones heaped up there are scattered.

13. **Belief in a future life.**—The Bhils have some definite ideas about the future of the departed soul. The flour round the lamp is examined and by the shape of the marks, it is determined what animal the spirit of the dead will next inhabit. If it is like a human foot-

¹ Sometimes for half a month only.

print a man is his next abode; if like a hoof, a horned animal; if like a bird's foot, a bird; if like a scorpion or snake, one of these animals. It is also believed that *Yama* comes from the south and carries the soul of the dead man to the north. On the way the soul passes over a thorn-strewn plain. Hence shoes are given as gift on the day of the funeral feast or else his spirit suffers greatly. He then passes between two heated pillars; the spirit then encounters a *bhatyari* (keeper of cook shop) who offers him hot cooked food. He then reaches a river. A cow is given as a gift. It is supposed this animal providentially appears and by treading on its tail, the departed gets across, otherwise he suffers agonies and is half drowned. On reaching the end of the journey *Yama* determines which of the three hells (lit. *kunds* or tanks) he is to enter, one being full of nectar, the others of varying degrees of foulness (worms, blood, etc.) until he is born again. Those who die a violent death become inimical spirits (*bhut*), so do *Badwas* or medicine men; others become *Khatris*, who however cannot harm human beings but only animals, and others *Deos* who are beneficent spirits. A sinner is also believed to be transformed into an insect.

14. *Memorial stones to the dead.*—When a man is killed in a fight or by a wild animal away from his home, a stone monument is erected at the spot where he died. A man on horse back is generally carved on the stone. Such monuments are common in the Bhil tracts to the north of the Vindhya. Among the Satpura Bhils—the Tadvis mainly—memorial stones to a person of importance are quite common. The commemorative monument is usually of stone but wooden ones are also found. If stone is unavailable for any reason wooden monuments are erected. These Satpura monuments are somewhat elaborate. First of all there is an upright stone monument of about 3½ feet high on which the figure of the person in whose memory it is erected is carved i.e., a man or a woman. In front of it are two wooden posts, 4½ feet high with a bar placed across them on the top. Suspended from this bar is a small wooden swing. This is followed by two small wooden posts, not more than 2 feet in height and finally there is a small stone slab of about 1 foot high and 9 inches in breadth. The most distinctive feature of these monuments is the wooden swing. This is meant for the soul of the departed. It comes and perches on the swing and enjoys itself. On the smaller wooden posts, a cross bar is placed on which food and offerings are left for the spirit of the departed. In times of distress and trouble the spirit is invoked and it is believed that a childless woman will be blessed with progeny by offering prayers at the monument.

15. *Religion.*—It is difficult to describe precisely the religion of the Bhil. He has been in contact with Hinduism for a long time and in spite of his preference to Hindu gods and godlings, his outlook is essentially animistic. The Bhils call themselves Hindus, invariably asserting that they are the followers of *Mahadev* and they have appropriated all the well-known gods of the Hindu pantheon. *Baba deo* is a generic term for the village tutelary deity. In *Shrawan* he is specially worshipped. All the village collects at the forest where he is making his abode and offer liquor, grain and fowl. Many other forest, woodland and mountain deities are worshipped. Local gods vary with almost each village.

Brahmans are not as a rule employed for religious or ceremonial purposes. The *Badwa* or the medicine man is an important person in their tribal life. He evokes spirits and tells them the results. On such occasions the *Badwa* or witch is supposed to be possessed and goes through a performance consisting of various contortions of the body and rapid movements of the head, the eyes roll in their sockets while the nostrils are distended and in the excitement the few rags worn are often thrown off. The possessed being then half inconveniently blabbers out what the spirit has told him, and soon after calms down and for a time becomes as helpless as a child, doubtless owing to the exertion he has undergone.

In casting out disease or an epidemic from a village, after a sacrifice to the principal deity, the *Badwa* will visit all the sacred spots within the precincts of the village, chanting in a droning tone some invocation followed by drummers; at each spot he will offer a little red ochre and a piece of cocconut, while at the principal entrance into the village limits, he will show by various antics and rapid gestures of hand and body with his back turned to the village, that the spirit to which the disease was due has been cast out into the adjoining territory. Another form of casting out an epidemic, is to sling some baskets, that have contained corn, and earthen pots that have been used for water, on a bamboo pole which is carried on the shoulders of men who run along the main road shouting at the top of their voices *todka*; *todka*. On hearing the shouts, the next village sends out men to meet the procession at the boundary and these take over the burden and so the process is repeated. Thus the epidemic is carried away often to great distances, until eventually it is thrown into some stream or river which stretches across the path or is deposited in the forest. If no one from the next village is present to meet the procession at the boundary, the bearers are at liberty to deposit their burden in the village precincts. Sometimes a young he-goat is similarly carried on the shoulders of men or tied on to a light bier. The origin of *Bhilat Deo* worshipped by the Rathia Bhils is as follows:—

Bhilat Deo was the son of *Ruparela Gaoli* and his mother's name was *Mheinda Ranj*. He was a great simpleton when young, and in consequence was always being chaffed and made fun of by every one. Accordingly disgusted of life, he left his country and after wandering far and wide arrived in Gaur Bengal where he met a spirit *Karanda Jogaa* by name who taught him magic. He studied the art to perfection and then returned to his native place to pass the

remainder of his days. On one occasion while many people were collected together, he took his harp and began playing when a snake came out of a mole-hill. The snake was so huge that the earth vibrated beneath the lashings of his tail. *Bhilal Deo*, however, caught the snake and took it to *Indar Raja* (Indra) who was greatly pleased to see his marvellous strength and power and ordered the people to reverence him as a *Deo* (god) in future; thus, his worship started. *Indar Raja* gave him *Bheru Deota* for a personal attendant, and also presented him with some cows as a reward of his merit. *Bhilal Deo* selected a spot under a tree on Mangalawri hill near Sendwa in Indore State, to settle. His cows increased daily in number, so much so, that he employed 900 cowherds to look after them, each man taking up his abode with his cows on a separate hill. Thus each of these spots represents the site of *Bhilal Deo*, the gods being kept under a tree or under some rude cover or in a small temple.

The Bhils have great reverence also for hill tops difficult of ascent, as being the abode of spirits which must be propitiated during sickness or calamity or to obtain offspring. In such cases, after the usual offering the forest is often set alight.

16. Charms and witch-craft.—Sometimes a newly-born baby has an elongated skull which may be due to the pressure of a too-narrow opening of the womb. But the superstitious Bhils, seeing that the baby has a queer head believe it is an evil spirit and kill the baby at once, or if the newly-born baby looks queer and is queerly shaped, it is also killed thinking it is an evil spirit. It is reported that such murders are not rare.

The belief in magic and witch-craft is universal. Should any person fall sick without clear cause the *Badwa* is called in to exorcise the evil influences at work and discover the origin of the illness. With care he can usually discover some wretched old beldame who lives in the sick man's village and falling into a trance describes her accurately to the inquirers. The witch would be placed on one end of a yoke with cowdung cakes on the other in a pond. If she sank she was a witch. If she swam she was innocent. Red pepper would be put into her eyes; if no tears came she was a witch. In cases of serious illness it is almost invariably considered to be due to a witch taking possession of the patient's heart. A *Badwa's* charms are the only remedy. The sick man is often subjected to fumigation with the leaves of plants, a charmed thread is tied on his neck while a special dance in which the gods are invoked, is performed round him. He is then often carried from village to village. A few grains of *jowar* mixed with a copper coin are passed round the sick man's body and then sent to a *Badwa*. The *Badwa* then places over them a leaf of the *Butea frondosa* and floats the whole collection on water. He then picks out the grains and slowly drops them one by one into the water saying *bhut, deo, dakini* (witch), successively. When a grain floats he is thus able to determine which of these evil influences is at work, by the name which fell to the grain which floated. If it is determined to have been caused by a witch, he then repeats the process calling out the names of all the witches known to him. Should no grain float, the sickness is put down to natural causes. Another process is to take a handful of grain, chips of wood or leaves and throw them away counting each piece or grain as it falls and repeating this process for every known witch until an odd number falls to one of the names; the name so determined is that of the offender.

The belief in witch-craft is not only common amongst the Bhils but is widespread from the highest to the lowest classes. An excellent account of its prevalence in former times in Central India will be found in *Memoir*.¹ A reported case of witch-craft occurred nearly 45 years ago. In 1888 a Kachhi called *Rata* complained that his mother *Issa* had been, by order of the Rao of Bhatkahi, mounted on a donkey by a scavenger, beaten and turned out of the village as a witch; had then been made to drink water offered by a *mochi*, and beaten. The woman died from this treatment. Her body was burnt and the complainant's house broken into and Rs. 2,000 taken away. Complainant was away at the time, and on his return was told to leave the village.

Inquiry followed, on which the Rao admitted that *Issa* had been thus treated because she was a witch, and had caused the death of the wife and son of a rich Bania. *Issa* was 'named' as a witch and driven out of the village. She, however, came back and was seized. It was alleged that on being seized she was said to have asked for a leopard to ride on but as no leopard was forthcoming they put her on the donkey, blackened her face, made her eat from a scavenger's hand and expelled her from the place. The Rao stated he himself heard her barking like a dog, and saw her making attempts to bite like one, and that after her expulsion she remained outside Bhatkahi for some days barking and flying at passers-by like a dog, till she died.

17. Oaths and trial by Ordeal.—Trial by ordeal is common, though in places it is now dying out. Some of the forms employed were the swallowing of live coals in the hand, piercing the palm of the hand with an arrow, eating poisonous herbs or fruits, etc. The simplest form consists in making the man take a solemn oath and then waiting for seven days. If (within this period) any mischance befalls him, or his family, or possessions, he is considered to have perjured himself, and the case goes against him. One common form of oath in such cases is this. The man is brought before the *Sarkari Gaddi*. This is simply a chair in the nearest Tahsil office. A clean white cloth is thrown over it and it is placed in full view. This represents

the ruler of the State and is in fact the emblem of authority. The man touches the chair with both hands and swears by *Barabij*. The Tarvi, who is administering the oath, turns to the east, and draws a circle on the ground with the point of a sword, commencing on the east and passing round by the north and west. Within this circle two lines are drawn joining north and south and east and west. The sword is then placed in the circle with its point to the east. The Tarvi then turns to the man and says: "If your cause is a good and true cause, raise *Bhainsimats* in your hand (*i.e.*, the sword)." The man does so exclaiming "*Barabij* visit me with evil within seven days (or other period) if I swear untruly." He then lifts the sword, bows and replaces it. The *Barabij* are the twelve *bij* or second day of each month, on which the new moon is usually first visible, and is a day held in reverence. Other oaths are laying the hand on a son's head and swearing; taking up one of the village gods (image) in the hand and swearing; in boundary disputes a goat is beheaded and then skinned and the skin placed on the man's head, who with his face to the east, swears his cause is good, and then drags the skin along the line of the boundary. Certain oaths are inviolable. One is that of the dog. A Bhil swears with his hand on a dog's head calling out that the curse of the dog should fall on him if he swears falsely. It appears that the dog as the companion of the god *Bhairon* is specially looked up to.

18. Omens.—These are very numerous. Some are given in the table below:—

A list of common omens observed at starting from the house.

No.	Omens.	Auspicious.	Inauspicious.	Time.
1	Beda-pant calls	On the left	On the right	Any time.
2	Cry of the Devi-Chiriya	Left	Right	Day.
3	Caw of a crow	"	"	"
4	Cry of the Chiwara	Right	Left	Night
5	A deer crossing the path	Left to right	Right to left	Day.
6	Call of the Sara	Right	Left	"
7	Cry of the Saras	Left	Right	"
8	Cat crossing path	Left to right	Right to left	Any time.
9	Snake crossing path	In either direction . . . . .	....	"
10	Cry of the Kenahasi	Right	Left	Day.
11	Braying of a donkey	Left	Right	Any time.
12	Bellowing of a bull	From either side . . . . .	....	"
13	Lowling of a cow . . . . .	" . . . . .	....	"
14	Hooting of an owl	Left	Right	Night.
15	Howling of a jackal	"	"	"

If a peacock cries before dawn on the third *Vaisakh* his cries are counted as it is believed there will be as many months of rain as there are cries. This is considered a most reliable omen. The appearance of a lark, calling just before rain is due, is a good sign. When sparrows constantly bathe in the dust, rain, even if just commenced, will soon cease. The croaking of frogs is another sure prediction of rain. The calls of certain birds are held to foretell success in the pursuit of game. Again when starting on an errand, if a horse should neigh on the right side, it bodes success; if on the left side, failure. It is usual to seek knowledge of the return of a member of the family. This is done by going to an old woman versed in such lore, who takes a winnowing fan which she balances on the little finger of her two hands, 5 grains of wheat or maize being placed on it. She then addresses the fan asking if the wayfarer will return. If the fan moves in answer all is well.

In former times when the Bhils seized a whole herd they sometimes offered a human sacrifice to the *Mata* of the thieves. They then killed the shepherd near the *Mata* as a sacrifice. The sacrifice was also conducted in another way. The shepherd was taken to the top of a steep hillock. His legs and arms were tied and he was rolled down the hill. These practices have been abandoned now. A common vow taken in honour of the *Mata* is to burn seven hills or to burn seven houses. When the grass in the jungle is dry they set fire in seven different places so as to destroy a great amount of grass in every one of these seven places. These acts are done presumably to obtain help of the *Mata* or to thank her for the success of a plundering expedition.

Appearance and character and social rules and customs.

19. **Physical type.**—There is a classic description of the Bhil attributed to the much maligned Bengali Babu: "The Bhil is a black man but more hairy. When he meets you in his jungle, he shoots you in the back with an arrow and throws your body into the ditch. Thus you may know the Bhil."¹ Malcolm describes the plundering or wild Bhils who reside in the hills, as a "diminutive and wretched looking race whose appearance shows the poverty of their food; but they are nevertheless active and capable of great fatigue."² The typical Bhil has a broad nose, thick lips which are 'opened' and the upper jaw is somewhat strong and prominent. He is dark but owing to much intermixture there are varying shades of darkness among the Bhils of different localities. Their hair is black but not woolly, and straight but not wavy. Many men, especially the young ones, like to keep long hair. The eyes are straight and usually black.

20. **Character.**—The Bhils in villages and in more settled parts have lost much of their suspicion of strangers and live like the lower castes. In the wilder and inaccessible parts they are still very timid. They vacate a village on the least provocation such as sickness or a rumour of probable harsh treatment. Though they have given up their predatory habits, the propensity to take up to plunder is still lurking in them. Some of them are enlisted in the Malwa Bhil Corps where they have proved faithful and loyal. They are capable of great endurance and it is recorded in 1858 some women of the Malwa Bhil Corps walked over fifty miles without once stopping, most of the way lying through heavy jungle. They are truthful unless spoilt by being 'civilized.'

21. **Admission of Outsiders.**—A Chamar or Bhangi is not admitted to the caste. Others if eligible are admitted. Under Hindu influence, a ceremony has been devised for such admissions. The man is called before a *panchayat*. He then prepares a *tirth* as it is called of cowdung and Ganges or other holy water in a dish. This is presented to the *Patel* or *Tarvi* presiding. The *Patel* drinks it, and the same ceremony is then performed with the members of the *panchayat*. Rice boiled in goat's blood is then presented and eaten. A payment of four or five rupees to the *Patel* concludes the ceremony; save for the inevitable carouse which winds up all Bhil ceremonies. Social position is determined by food, admittedly an importation from Hindu ceremonies. Thus the too near approach of a man of the sweeper or Gachha caste to food which is being cooked defiles it. If a man of these castes touches a Bhil's clothes they must be washed.

Balais and Chamars, "whom" it is naively remarked "we must have about us to do the village work," are allowed to take water from the village well, but not Gachhas or sweepers. It is amusing to note the Bhil observe untouchability. The high caste Hindu does not consider a Bhil an untouchable.

22. **Panchayat.**—Before the organisation of a judiciary in the States, the *panchayat* used to decide cases of all nature. The *panches* now try and decide such cases as pertain to the caste. Petty disputes are settled by the *panches*. The tribal constitution however appears to be disintegrating in recent times according to the report of some observers. The charge of the headman, the *Tarvi*, remains hereditary. The *Nat Patels* in former days exercised considerable authority but the tendency now is to reject their authority. Nobody seriously obeys the decision of the *panchayat*.

23. **Tattooing.**—This operation is generally performed at ten to twelve years of age on girls, on the cheeks, forehead, arm below the elbows, chin and wrists, and the calf of the leg and feet. Men are tattooed between 8 and 9, on arms, wrists and chests. Men operators tattoo men and women girls. The object of tattooing is said to be this. After death each individual is asked whether he has been pricked by thorns in the jungle; the presentation of these tattoo marks is considered as affirmative answer, without this they would have to be pricked with thorns in after life.³ Designs are numerous and are made to the fancy of the person operated on. Boys, it should be added, are in the habit of burning marks on each other on the back and wrist in either five or seven distinct places. This is done with a piece of smouldering cloth or the match of a match-lock. The custom is called *dhamla* and appears to have the same object as tattooing. Females are never branded in this way.

24. **Occupation.**—The Bhil always states that agriculture is his original occupation. If so, he can scarcely be credited with much recollection of it, as at this day he does but little cultivation even when every endeavour is used to induce him to settle and he is given land and pecuniary assistance. Tradition has it, however, that the Bhil at his creation was given by *Mahadev* a plough, sickle, harrow and a pair of bullocks and was promised that if he sowed two *Seers* of cereals he should reap two *Manis*. Gradually the States are getting the Bhils to settle and become regular cultivators and many now hold leases from the Darbar like ordinary agriculturists but as a rule on very easy terms. Where regular settlements exist the *Tarvi* or headman generally contracts for the revenue of the village making what he can out of

¹ Sir Michael O'Dwyer, *India as I knew it*.

² *Memoir* ii, 179.

³ C. E. Lucard, *Tattooing in Central India*, Indian Antiquary, 1904.

the inhabitants. Cultivation is often done by outsiders who are paid a share of the produce. Sometimes a man agrees to work for 3 days for another, cultivating his own land on the fourth day. Hindu ideas as to propitious days, etc., have become general, with some modifications, in the observances followed. Thus before sowing a cultivator sets up a stone at the top of his field and anoints it with red lead breaking a cocoonut over it; this stone represents *Ganesh*. The evil eye is averted from crops thus. Two sticks are planted in the ground with a piece of conspicuous coloured cloth tied to them; or heaps of stones are raised and white washed. The onlookers' gaze thus falls first on these objects. After the reaping is completed, the evil spirits are appeased by the offering of a cock and liquor. Before a well is sunk a stone is set up and anointed with red lead and propitiated with offerings, the stone standing in this case for the water deity of the locality.

Except in the case of such few who have taken to cultivation, the Bhils are still a wandering population and as a rule have no fixed village. Without migrating far away, they keep wandering within certain limits in the States of the Vindhya. Many find occupation in reaping the harvests on the uplands of Malwa from March to April. If the Bhils were encouraged to build *pacca* houses they would become less wanderers. Many of them, every third or fourth year desert their village and settle elsewhere. So long as they have the spirit of *wander-lust* they will never become good agriculturists. Some take up the work of village watchman and a great many are addicted to plunder and theft. One observer who has 22 years' experience among the Bhils writes that the majority of them go in for theft. A hundred years of peaceful rule in Central India has not completely reformed them and weaned them away from their former habits. They are no longer turbulent as they were in the days of unsettled rule in Malwa. But still they remain low and degraded. Malcolm wrote "that the common answer of a Bhil when charged with theft, or robbery is 'I am not to blame; I am *Mahadev's* thief'. In other words my destiny as a thief has been fixed by God".¹

25. **Inheritance.**—Tribal custom determines inheritance. Of the property half goes to the youngest son, who is responsible for the payment of all expenses incurred on his father's *nukta* (the feast given after his death usually on the 12th day after). He has also to make provision for his sisters. The other half is divided between the elder sons. If they all live together, a very rare occurrence, they share equally in the property. In the case of the deceased being a *Tarvi* or headman, his position is assumed, not necessarily by the eldest son, but by the most fit, who is chosen by the *Panches*. He then becomes entitled to the usual rights pertaining to the position, as well as its responsibilities, such as entertaining strangers of position, etc. In the case of a *Tarvi* dying childless, his successor is chosen in the family. A widow is mistress of her husband's property for life, provided she conducts herself properly. It is not uncommon, however, to divide the property in order to prevent disagreeable quarrels. A daughter can under no circumstances inherit her father's property. Only those who are *sagotra* (of the dead man's sept) can inherit. If there are no heirs, the *Panches* consider the case, and no relatives being traceable, the property goes to the Darbar.

26. **Festivals, music and amusement.**—The Bhil observes the principal Hindu festivals. A mock marriage of two dolls representing the deities who control the rain is sometimes performed. Just before the *Holi* a great fair called *Bhagoria hat* is held. The men put on their best clothes and carrying bows and arrows dance in a circle; women cannot take part in it. If it can be called so, the drum is their chief musical instrument. On this three predominant notes are used, for Joy, Grief, and Fear. For Joy the drum is beaten at both ends, for Grief only at one, the end being previously muffled by rubbing it over with moistened *Urad* flour. In the case of alarm it is beaten at both ends a continuous loud note being emitted while screams often add to the commotion. This note is at once picked up by the next village and in an incredibly short space of time the whole district is aroused, all gradually collecting at the spot where the first alarm was sounded. Cymbals of brass or pewter and bamboo flutes are also used. Dancing and singing form part of all important ceremonies, such as weddings and other festive occasions. In all mixed dances men and women dance in separate circles. Dancing is always performed in two groups, men in one group and women in the other. The movements are rhythmic and in many cases accompanied by the beat of a stick in time to the somewhat monotonous chant to which the dance is performed. A special performance takes place in *Holi*. A man is blackened with charcoal and dressed in a blanket and is called *Budelya*, another man dressed as a woman being called *Raiyi*. These two dance while all sing obscene songs, much liquor is drunk and practically all present gradually become inebriated.

27. **Language.**—The Bhils speak Bhili and other cognate dialects which are detailed in Imperial Table XV. Whether the Bhils had a language of their own is now difficult to say. The Bhili dialect is mainly derived from Gujarati and is influenced by Malwi, Nimadi and other dialects of Malwa in accordance with the proximity of these to the Bhil tracts. Sir George Grierson is of the opinion that Bhili shows traces of a non-Aryan basis which are too few to be certainly identified. The basis may have been Munda or it may have been Dravidian—

perhaps more probably the former—but has been completely overlaid by an Aryan superstructure.¹ It is now thoroughly an Aryan language. The same authority assumes early Dardic influence in the Bhil languages.

28. *Bhilala*.—The *Bhilalas* are closely related to the *Bhils*, *Patlias* and other tribes which inhabit the *Vindhya*s and *Satpuras*. They have a considerable admixture of *Rajput* blood in them. They claim *Rajput* descent and are considered to be of higher status than their neighbours. The name of the tribe is said to be derived from *Bhilara* (or *Bhilala*), i.e., those accused of being *Bhils* from *ara* a fault. They consider this appellation derogatory. They always style themselves *Thakur*, *Bhumia*, *Rawat*, *Patel*, *Mukhi*, etc.

The traditions of the tribe state that their *Rajput* ancestors lived at *Delhi*, and were *Chauhans*, members of the family of *Prithviraj*, the last Hindu king of *Delhi*. When the *Chauhans* were finally driven out by the *Muhammadans*² 200,000 of them migrated to *Mewar* and settled at *Chittor* in *Udaipur State*. On the capture of *Chittor* by *Ala-ud-din* in 1303 a large number fled to the *Vindhya* hills for refuge. Here they formed marriage connections with *Bhil* women and so lost caste. Their superior status is always admitted and they form the local aristocracy of the *Vindhya*s, the *Raja of Mandhata*, as he is called, being the head of the clan. *Malcolm* says that in his day the *Bhilalas* and *Sondhias* were the only robbers in *Malwa* whom no traveller could trust, as no oath, however sacred, restrained them.³ He concludes with the remark that they combine "with the pride and pretensions of *Rajputs* the cunning and roguery of the *Bhils*," while they are destitute of any of those feelings of chivalry which occasionally redeem the vices of true *Rajputs*. In the beginning of the 19th century some members of the clan rose to importance during the confusion which the *Pindari* depredations caused in *Central India*. *Nadir Singh*, a *Bhilala* of *Jamnia* village near *Mandu*, assisted *Jaswant Rao Holkar* in his campaign to recover the family estates. *Nadir Singh Bhilala's* name soon became a terror in southern *Malwa*. By 1818 he had collected a body of 200 horse and 700 foot, and his power was such that *Hate Singh*, a *Khichi Rajput*, *Thakur* of *Naulana*, actually consented to dine with the *Bhilala* Chieftain, in order to save his estate from ravage. When *Sir John Malcolm* asked *Hate Singh* about this, he replied that his having dined with *Nadir Singh* did not degrade him, but raised the *Bhilala*. There are now ten estates held by *Bhilalas* under the British guarantee and others held without a guarantee, from *Dhar* and other *Darbars*.

The tribe is divided into two main sections but no marriage distinctions are made, the *Badi* and *Choti jats* only differing as regards eating and drinking, the septs in the *Badi jat* never eating fowls or drinking liquor. In marriage relations they are on the same footing as the septs in the *Choti jat*. As regards septs the usual difficulty has been experienced in obtaining a list. No two persons ever give the same name or the same number of septs. Lists are given in another section. From these lists it will be seen that practically no septs are now traceable to totemistic origin, though possibly there were totemistic reasons for many names; others are *Rajput* names; and many local.

The *Bhilalas* form one big endogamous group divided into 42 septs which are exogamous. No two members of the same sept can marry. Sexual license before marriage is not recognised at all. Where connection has been made with a man of superior caste, such as *Rajput*, *Brahman* or *Bania*, the children may be admitted to the *Bhilala* caste but not if the girl has lived with a low caste man. The marriage ceremony is like that of the *Bhils* with greater importation of *Hindu* customs. The practice of *ghar jamai*, abduction and the choice of husband are also in vogue. *Widow re-marriage* is recognised among the *Bhilalas* but the higher classes now prohibit it owing to *Hindu* influence.

They cremate their dead. In matters of religion they consider themselves *Hindus*. And though they undoubtedly have as much claim to be considered so as members of the lower classes of the recognised *Hindu* community, they borrow a certain number of the more animistic practices of their *Bhil* neighbours. They consider the deity *Onkar Mahadev*, on the island of *Onkarnath* in the *Narbada*, as their special tutelary god, while they accept all the other members of the *Hindu* pantheon. They also reverence the tombs of *Musalman* saints. In fact they are in all essentials *Hindus* and they are admitted to be so as shewn by their being allowed to enter temples and generally take part with *Hindus* in all religious ceremonies. *Priests* are not necessarily employed by them, although when possible *Brahmans* are engaged, particularly by the well-to-do such as the *Bhumia* land-holders. An elderly and respected member of the family can always act as *Pujari*.

Once they were as predatory and turbulent as the *Bhils*. They are now peaceful agriculturists and their position more and more approximates to that of the lower *Hindu* castes. The land-owners have considerable pretension to that of the *Rajputs* and are slowly transforming themselves into well-known *Rajput* clans.

29. *Patlias*.—The *Patlias* are principally found in *Jhabua State* and in small numbers in *Ali-Rajpur*, *Dhar* and other minor States of the *Southern States Agency*. They are almost on

¹ *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, 178-179.

² By *Muiz-ud-din* in 1192 A.D.

³ *Memoir* i, 425, ii, 128.

the same footing as the Bhilalas and have an admixture of Rajput blood in them. In appearance there is little to distinguish them from Bhilalas. The name Patlia is derived from *bile* or "polluted" owing to their being outcasted.

The tradition connected with the formation of the caste is this :—

Originally the caste being a section of the Paramara clan dwelt at Abu, but were driven by famine to migrate to Gujarat and settled at Pavagarh in the Panch-mahals. Here one day at the *Navaratri* festival the goddess *Kali* joined the women of the clan in chanting *garbhas* (songs) in praise of *Devi*. The great beauty of the goddess struck a barber who at once rushed off to the chief of Pavagarh, Parthi (Prithvi) Singh, and informed him of his find. The Raja fired by the account hurried to the spot and without beating about the bush at once advanced to the lovely dancer and requested her to become his wife, offering her the rank of *Patl-rani*. The goddess was highly incensed and cursed the Raja and his people, vanishing as the last words of her curse fell on the Raja's ears. From this moment misfortune dogged the steps of the clan, a severe famine eventually forcing them to migrate once more. They retreated to Nalwai village in the Dohad district. Here one of the clan driven by hunger killed a *roz* (*nilgai*, *bos elephas tragocamelus*) which they ate. This act of sacrilege outcasted this section of the clan and they were stigmatised as impure (*bile*) becoming known ultimately as *Palle* or Patlia. They were forced to leave Nalwai and took to the hills. Another tale narrates how, when thus driven into Gujarat, they accepted food of the Tentiya Rajput clan, of spurious origin, and hence lost caste. Apart from the legend, there is no doubt that they came originally from Gujarat as the connection with this district is still kept up, serious caste matters being to this day referred to the *Patel* of Gangedi village in Gujarat.

The Patlias form a single endogamous group or tribe divided into exogamous septs. Nearly 12 sept names have Rajput appellations with local affixes such as *Pipria Parmar* called after *Pipria* village in Baria State, *Tandia Parmar* called after *Tandia* village in Amjhera district of Gwalior and so on. This supports their Paramara descent.

Their marriage customs are like those of the Bhilalas. The practice of *ghar jamai* is prevalent. It is not uncommon for a man to work for his bride acting as the servant of his father-in-law. Seven years is the usual period. No payment is made for the bride in this case. After 7 years the couple are given a separate house and means to cultivate whereas up to then clothing and food only are given. If no child is born after twelve months from their taking up a separate residence the usual marriage ceremony is performed at the expense of the girl's father. If the couple clope before the seven years is complete, the man has to pay a bride price. Abduction and elopement are also common in obtaining a wife. The remarriage of widows is practised. All ancestral property is divided equally between the sons. In the case of a joint family, even where one individual is a larger contributor, the total earnings or belongings are held to belong equally to all. In the case of a hereditary *Patel* or *Tarvi* the son (if any), best qualified, becomes *Patel* and receives the customary dues, and also any *inami* land which belongs to the *Patekship*; these things are not considered common property. A widow with no male heir is sole mistress of the property which passes on her death to the nearest of kin. In cases where she has a son, who is living apart from disagreement, the widow is held to be a son for the purposes of inheritance and gets an equal share with her son or sons. Daughters have no rights of inheritance. Where there is no next-of-kin the property passes either to the *Durbar* or the *Panches* of the village.

Oaths, omens and charms followed and practised are similar to those of the Bhils. These are carried out by the *Badwas* who become "possessed" under favourable conditions and foretell the future; the exorcising of deities of disease is one of their special functions. In the case of cholera the *rogta* procession or procession of health is practised. The *Badwas* are called in and all collect at a central spot in the village. After a time they become "possessed" and heave and sway about and commence to chant songs in praise of the goddess continuing to sing throughout the night. Early in the morning they take some parched gram and some balls of dried gram flour and a thread of many colours, a *tiki* (the piece of tinsel worn on the forehead by women) and some boiled wheat and the head of the freshly killed cock. These are placed in an earthen jar broken into two halves. Some liquor is poured over these objects and they are placed in a small wooden toy cart. This is dragged to the border of the village, the *Badwas* following dancing and twisting and heaving under the influence of the goddess. At the border the cart is taken by men from the next village and similarly passed on to the next. When dysentery becomes epidemic, another process is followed called *tatka*. Every case has an inverted earthen jar full of burning cowdung cakes placed on a brass dish put below the patient's bed. In the case of an ailing child the mother makes a leaf dish and in it puts a few hairs from her own head, some salt and chillis, and a small lamp of flour. Cowdung cakes sometimes take the place of the leaf dish. This dish is then carried up to the sick child and passed down seven times over it from the head to the feet; it is then taken at once out of the house and put down in a spot where three thoroughfares meet. Another cure consists in placing the hair, salt and chillis with some wheat in the fold of her head-dress passing this over the child. Another method is to make two dolls of coloured cloth, swing these above the child and then cast them into a running stream. When a child suffers from the evil eye, an

earthen pot is made red hot and put into a dish half full of water, mouth downwards, the bubbling and steaming which ensues carries off the evil effects.

In all important ceremonies Brahmans are employed. The Patlias worship the Hindu deities but in particular *Kalika Devi*. The reason for this is that at Abu they were special worshippers at her shrine and they believe that it was through her the Ponwar (*i.e.*, Paramara) Marathas got Dhar. The minor deities are identical with those of the Bhils but they have two warrior gods, *Nahar Singh* and *Makua Paramara* who are much revered. They were certainly former leaders of the tribe. The dead are cremated and the usual ceremonies are observed.

The Patlias are prone to wander and cultivate only to a small extent. Like the Bhils, dancing, singing, and a good deal of liquor-drinking are their chief recreations. They appear to join in Bhil games to a certain extent. The recitation of the past glories of the tribe is done by their special Bhat who comes over from Gujarat yearly. He will not feed with them or take food prepared by them.

30. *Rathia*.—The Rathias are a section of the Bhil tribe. They have been exclusively returned from Barwani State, numbering 37,260 (19,028 males and 18,232 females). They appear to have acquired their appellation owing to their long sojourn in the Rath country which now forms a great part of Ali-Rajpur State. The Rathias of Barwani date their advent from more than a century and half when one Bhima Patel and others came from Rath and settled at Pati in Barwani State in the time of Rana Chandra Singh. Then the country was full of forests and suited to Bhil immigration.

Marriage ceremonies are simple. At the time of betrothal the boy's father with some relatives goes to the girl's house and presents a small amount to the girl. Then they eat and drink together. At the time of marriage the bridegroom's father accompanied by his male and female relatives goes to the bride's house and pays Rs. 50—60 to her parents. The bride and bridegroom are made to sit together, while the men and women sing and dance to the strains of Bhil music. No elaborate ceremony is performed. Re-marriage of widows is permitted.

Brahmans are not employed for ceremonial purposes. A casteman of the tribe performs the ceremonies. Their religious beliefs, etc., have been noticed under the Bhils. They are indifferent agriculturists like the Bhils. Some work as labourers. They are usually distinguished by their rude dress. The peculiar usage in respect of dress is the loin cloth which is allowed to hang low down behind almost to the knees and flap in the wind like a tail. They are always armed with bows and arrows.

31. *Mankar*.—The Mankar Bhils have been principally returned from the States of Indore, Dhar and Barwani. A class of Bhils famous as trackers, they now form a separate group. The Mankars are also called *Dhankawas* by other Bhils but are amongst themselves styled *Nahals* or *Naik*. The name Mankar is an occupational term, these men being under the orders of the village headmen; the term *Dhankawas* is from *Dhanukh*, a bow. The term *Nahal* means simply 'one of mean appearance'. The title of *Naik* was conferred on them by the State authorities in early days. They say they are the descendants of Rajputs and Bhil or Bhilala women. They form two endogamous groups with twelve exogamous septs, the *Chokaria* (or superior), Mankars and the *Nahal* Mankars. Some of the septs are totemistic. Thus:—

Mori.—Called after peacock. The sept worship the peacock and never injure it.

Sanyar.—Called after a goddess of this name whose temple is at Bal-Kuwan village, eight miles from Barwani. The goddess rides on a cat and this animal is revered and never injured by them. Any vessel from which a cat has drunk is at once put aside as sacred and never used again.

Soliya or *Khas Soliya*.—Called after a bird of this name. This bird is never injured and is worshipped. Any injury done is believed to be punished by the blinding of the man doing the injury.

Semia.—Called after the *semal* tree (*Bombax malabaricum*) which they reverence and never injure.

32. *Tarvis*.—The Tarvi Bhils of Barwani do not return themselves as Tarvis and hence the Caste table does not contain them. Two septs of these Bhils came into Barwani. One from the Rath and another from Dohad in Bombay Presidency. The *Rathvi* Tarvis speak Rathvi; the others Bhagori, a corrupted form of Gujarati. They are divided into two endogamous divisions, *Tarvis* and *Natra-Tarvis*. Many of the septs are totemistic. Marriage must take place within the division but outside the sept. Marriage with a girl of the maternal uncle, maternal aunt, mother-in-law or sister-in-law is prohibited. Exchange of daughters is practised. Sexual intercourse before marriage is tolerated, is not considered disgraceful and is often encouraged. Marriage ceremonies are simple. As soon as the girl is found the man proceeds to the girl's house and takes a pitcher of liquor with him. Omens are carefully considered and a bad sign on the road is sufficient to break off the wedding. When the betrothal takes place a feast is held of all relatives. The day for the marriage procession is settled and the wedding is celebrated with much singing and consumption of large quantities of liquor. Widows are allowed to remarry and divorce is a simple matter.

They do not employ Brahmans. They do most of the ceremonies themselves. *Baduas* are requisitioned when necessary. Like other Bhils the Tarvis are animistic in their beliefs. *Hanuman* is their tutelary village deity and they observe Hindu festivals. They cremate their dead.

33. *Barela*.—The *Barelas* have been exclusively returned from Indore State. A detailed account of them could not be obtained from the State authorities. It is hoped the gap in the knowledge will be made good before the next Census.

SECTION B—L.

A LIST OF BHIL SEPTS WITH EXPLANATIONS OF THEIR ORIGIN WHERE KNOWN.

No.	Name of Sept.	Story as to Origin.	Reverence paid to special objects.
1	Kanbl . . .	The story goes that in former days one of their ancestors was given the nick name of <i>kanbi</i> by the bride's female relatives (<i>wiwshān</i>) for climbing into a <i>kanbi</i> or <i>kalam</i> tree (<i>slēp-begyne parvifolia</i>) during the marriage ceremony.	They worship the <i>kalam</i> tree and never cut it down.
2	Kātija . . .	Takes its name from the dagger	At the commencement of the <i>bāns</i> ceremony a dagger is worshipped and is held by the bridegroom throughout the marriage.
3	Barberia . . .	Named after the <i>Barbet</i> (<i>Dalbergia lanceolaria</i>) tree.	....
4	Katāra . . .	Also named after the dagger . . . . .	....
5	Tāndl . . .	Called after the <i>dāng</i> or <i>lāki</i> often carried as a weapon of defence.	Bamboos are worshipped in marriage ceremonies and are never cut by them.
6	Kanāsla . . .	No explanation . . . . .	....
7	Kalāra . . .	Called after the <i>pān</i> leaf . . . . .	....
8	Kishori . . .	Named after the <i>Kishori</i> (<i>Butea frondosa</i>). They are an offshoot of the <i>Balwasi</i> Sept.	Worship it at marriages. They never place its leaves on their heads.
9	Kikria . . .	Called after the creeper of this name (?) of which the root is eaten.	....
10	Kirādia . . .	No explanation . . . . .	....
11	Kodla . . .	Originally were of the <i>Bhūria</i> Sept. This offshoot is called after the <i>cowrie</i> shell.	No female of this sept wears <i>cowries</i> .
12	Bhūria . . .	The "Brown" sept said to have obtained the name from an ancestor who went about covered with ashes. The proverb below relating to this clan, taken together with the story of the ashes, seems to point to a <i>sādhū</i> ancestor. The proverb runs:— <i>Bhūria bhatak, tumdi chatak, tumdi meni ānp nikalyo, Bhūria, keve, mhāro bāp nikalyo.</i> Bhūria wanders a gourd (<i>kamandala</i>) split and out came a snake, Bhūria cried, "My father came out thence".	The brown gourd of which the <i>tumdi</i> is made is never eaten by them; nor is any ashy-coloured snake killed by them, both being objects of worship.
13	Chawān . . .	Pseudo Rājput origin from Chauhan . . . . .	....
14	Kohwād . . .	No explanation . . . . .	....
15	Kecbria . . .	This sept does not belong to the Jhabus Bhils, but is met with sometimes.	....
16	Kharādi . . .	....	They never eat the fish called <i>Dhoka</i> .
17	Khādia . . .	Called after the reed <i>khadi</i> . . . . .	....
18	Khapedia . . .	No explanation . . . . .	....
19	Khadedia . . .	A corruption apparently of <i>Gadaria</i> . . . . .	....
20	Chārol . . .	The story asserts descent from a <i>Chāran</i> . . . . .	....

SECTION B—I—*contd.*A LIST OF BHIL SEPTS WITH EXPLANATIONS OF THEIR ORIGIN WHERE KNOWN—*contd.*

No.	Name of Sept.	Story as to Origin.	Reverence paid to special objects.
21	Bilwāl . . .	Called after the <i>Bel</i> (<i>Aegle marmelos</i>) . . .	They worship the <i>Bel</i> tree and use its leaves to predict the future at marriages. Four leaves are placed on little heaps in four separate spots. On them some grains of rice are strewn and they are worshipped. An old man then watches the leaves and by their movements predicts good or ill fortune to the newly married couple.
22	Khokar . . .	Named after a broken earthen vessel. No intelligible reason is given for the name but ' <i>khokar</i> ' is the usual term applied to a broken <i>ghara</i>.	....
23	Khota . . .	Not a local sept though members of it come to Jhābua.	....
24	Ganāwa . . .	Called after the <i>Ganiar</i> tree (<i>cochlospermum gossypium</i>).	The tree is an object of worship at marriages and is never cut.
25	Gamār . . .	A tale is told of an ancestor who was called <i>gan-wār</i> or fool because he lost his oxen and was obliged to drag the <i>paikār</i> over his field himself.	The sept worship a log or trunk of a tree.
26	Garwāl . . .	Named after the lizard so called <i>Garwāl</i> , <i>Ghar-wāl</i> or <i>Gharoli</i> .	An effigy in flour of the lizard is worshipped at marriages and the real animal is never injured.
27	Ganād . . .	Called after a village . . . . .	....
28	Ginwāl . . .	Not local, but members are met with . . .	....
29	Gundia . . .	Called after the <i>Gundi</i> tree (<i>cordia</i>) . . .	....
30	Nināma . . .	Called after a <i>razai</i> or quilt so named, apparently, but explanation is not clear.	....
31	Bhūsa . . .	Not local sept . . . . .	....
32	Gelot . . .	Pseudo-Rājput, Gahlot . . . . .	....
33	Rāwat . . .	The story runs that an ancestor was beaten by his female relations with a churning staff (<i>razai</i>) when he was rescued by his bitch.	A bitch is worshipped at marriages.
34	Silot (or Helot) . . .	Called after <i>Sela</i> (or <i>Helia</i>) thread used in making rope.	....
35	Goyal . . .	Called after the " <i>Goya</i> " a place where the cattle are herded outside a village before going to graze.	....
36	Gohari . . .	Not a local sept but occasionally met with . . .	....
37	Narwāyā . . .	Ditto . . . . .	....
38	Pārgi . . .	The hunting section (<i>pāryi-pārāi</i>). The crab is their special object of worship, an ancestor, the story goes, being miraculously saved by this animal. He was taking home some meat when he was accosted by an official. The Bhil who had stolen the meat was at the time resting by a stream. He said he had only crabs in his wallet. The official insisted on looking and to the Bhil's surprise his wallet was full of crabs. So the legend runs.	This sept worship the land crab (<i>kelāi</i>) at marriages. Some rice unbroken and white grain is put before a crab. If it seizes a whole grain good luck will attend the couple. If it takes a broken grain or has an injured limb bad luck will follow.
39	Nisarta . . .	An offshoot of No. 38	Also worship crabs (or an effigy of a crab made in flour at marriages).
40	Meda . . .	An offshoot of No. 38, called after the <i>meda</i> tree	Also worship the crab. The bride takes a crab home on the completion of the ceremony wrapping it up in her <i>lagra</i> . Crabs are never killed.
41	Chanāo . . .	Not a local sept . . . . .	....
42	Charpota . . .	Called after the <i>Charpoti</i> (?) . . . . .	....

SECTION B—I—*contd.*A LIST OF BHIL SEPTS WITH EXPLANATIONS OF THEIR ORIGIN WHERE KNOWN.—*contd.*

No.	Name of Sept.	Story as to Origin.	Reverence paid to special objects.
43	Amliár . . .	Called after the poppy (<i>amal</i>) . . . . .	....
44	Ráthor . . .	Pseudo-Rájput	Worship the <i>Pipal</i> tree (<i>ficus religiosa</i>).
45	Chomka . . .	An impossibly fearful tale is told of a party of this sept coming from Baria near Dohad to a marriage. At the Khán river they were startled (<i>rámát</i>) by a large flock of <i>leoda</i> birds who rose suddenly on their approach. Their surprise was witnessed by the others and hence they obtained this name.	They worship the <i>Sekoti</i> (an animal?).
46	Parmár . . .	(Pseudo-Rájput I expect.) The legend connects the name with the goad (<i>Parśao</i>).	Worship the <i>Parśao</i> or goad of which a drawing is made on a wall in turmeric at marriages.
47	Pacháya . . .	Said to be connected with <i>Paachiyat</i> . Not properly explained.	....
48	Halla . . .	No explanation . . . . .	....
49	Chaudla . . .	Legend attributes descent from a Rájput of the <i>chauda</i> clan.	....
50	.....	..... never use bangles (<i>chauda</i>)	Lac bangles are worshipped at marriages and no females of this sept ever wear them.
51	Changod . . .	Called after a bull's horn	A bull's horn is worshipped at marriages, the sept never cut the horns of cattle.
52	Chhaiya . . .	Not local . . . . .	....
53	Jharnia . . .	Ditto . . . . .	....
54	Tokria . . .	Claim descent from a Bhilala of Kathiwara estate near Ali-Rajpur who settled at Tokrijan village of Ali-Rajpur.	....
55	Masania . . .	An offshoot of No. 54. The legend runs: they, an ancestor being hard put to it, used fire from a <i>masia</i> to cook with.	Worship bamboos at marriages and never cut them down.
56	Dabi . . .	Not explained said to be connected with <i>dāwa</i> , i.e., the left hand.	....
57	Dodigar . . .	Called after the heads of maize known as <i>Dodo</i> (?).	....
58	Machhār . . .	Called after mosquitos	This sept never injures goats of a white colour.
59	Pāmar ¹ . . .	No explanation . . . . .	....
60	Bāmnla . . .	Corruption of Brāhman, due apparently to a claim of Brāhman descent.	Worship the <i>kari</i> tree (?) at marriages.
61	Dindod . . .	Called after the water-snake known as <i>dindu</i> (?)	Worship and never injure the <i>dinda</i> .
62	Tād . . .	Called after the <i>tādi</i> (palm) tree . . . . .	....
63	Arad . . .	Called after the grass known as <i>arad</i> or <i>kassi</i>	....
64	Tadola . . .	Not local . . . . .	....
65	Daima . . .	Said to be called after the <i>dama</i> , an insect	Never kill the insect known as <i>dama</i> (?).
66	Bāria . . .	No explanation . . . . .	....
67	Deoda . . .	Ditto . . . . .	....

¹ See songs for the migration of this Sept.

SECTION B—I—*contd.*A LIST OF BHIL SEPTS WITH EXPLANATIONS OF THEIR ORIGIN WHERE KNOWN—*contd.*

No.	Name of Sept.	Story as to Origin.	Reverence paid to special objects.
68	Maoda . . .	Offshoot of No. 67. No proper explanation . . .	They worship the earthenware dish called a <i>Toodi</i> , and if one breaks carefully collect the pieces and bury them.
69	Singād . . .	Called after horns	Worship a bull's horn at marriages and never cut the horns of cattle.
70	Paggi . . .	No explanation . . . . .	....
71	Panada . . .	Said to be named after a fire in which part of the sept was once burned (<i>Panaja</i>).	....
72	Palānia . . .	Called after the <i>Palasia</i> or <i>Palhadi</i> tree (<i>Butea frondosa</i>).	Never cut the tree and worship it at marriages.
73	Paredia . . .	} Not local . . . . .	....
74	Barjor . . .		
75	Wagdia . . .		
76	Budad . . .		
77	Bhagara . . .	Called after "pieces of bread" or <i>bhāga</i> (<i>tukra</i>).	On the occasion of the wedding, broken-up bread is distributed to all.
78	Bhateria . . .	} Not local . . . . .	....
79	Bhardia . . .		
80	Bhābar . . .	A legend says the ancestors of the sept once feasted on an ass, but when taxed with it said it was a <i>Roz</i> (<i>nilgai</i>). A proverb runs:— <i>Bhābra bhj khāya gaddha ne mine Rozh.</i> The Bhābars roasted and ate an ass and considered it a <i>nilgai</i>.	....
81	Rāna . . .	} Not local . . . . .	....
82	Bhedi . . .		
83	Makwāna . . .	Called after the spider (<i>makra</i>)	An effigy in flour is made of a spider and worshipped at weddings. Members of this sept are credited with the power of healing the irritation made by certain spiders, by simply touching the spout.
84	Mori . . .	Called after the peacock (<i>mor</i>)	At marriage an effigy of a peacock is worshipped. This bird is never mentioned by the sept.
85	Makhodia . . .	Apparently called after a curet (<i>mukhodia</i>) but origin is not traceable	....
86	Māl . . .	No explanation . . . . .	....
87	Māwi . . .	Ditto . . . . .	....
88	Māliwād . . .	Called after the jungle (<i>māl</i>). No origin given	....
89	Mohania . . .	Not explained but I fancy it is connected with the tree mentioned in column 4.	They worship on the first day of the <i>Bāng</i> ceremony a <i>muni</i> tree. They never cut it.
90	Munia . . .	Called after the <i>munj</i> or <i>moini</i> tree (<i>odina wodier</i>)	Worship the <i>moini</i> tree at marriages and preserve it.
91	Lakhma . . .	Offshoot of 90. No explanation forthcoming. A legend refers to the care (<i>lakhan</i>) used by an ancestor in his work, as the origin.	....
92	Wasunia . . .	No explanation . . . . .	....

SECTION B—1—concl.

A LIST OF BHIL SEPTS WITH EXPLANATIONS OF THEIR ORIGIN WHERE KNOWN—concl.

No.	Name of Sept.	Story as to Origin.	Reverence paid to special objects.
93	Makda . . .	Called, it is said, after curds (<i>mahi</i>) . . .	....
94	Jhodia . . .	No explanation. Is an offshoot of No. 93 . . .	....
95	Mena . . .	Called after <i>mena todra</i> a form of <i>todon</i> (<i>pas-palum stoloniferum</i>) which is said to cause a form of intoxication (<i>mena</i>) when largely eaten.	<i>Kodon</i> is never eaten now by the sept, but balls made of it are worshipped at marriages.
96	Mandor . . .	Not explained . . . . .	....
97	Arjaona . . .	No explanation	Do not kill goat themselves, but will eat its flesh.
98	Oāri . . .	Apparently named after the <i>oāri</i> (<i>oāri</i>) or verandah of a house, but is fanciful and not obvious.	....
99	Batodia . . .	Not a local sept . . . . .	....
100	Rāwai . . .	Not given . . . . .	....
101	Wadhia . . .	Ditto . . . . .	....
102	Suwan . . .	Called after the wild bear	Never kill and eat pig and worship an effigy of this animal in flour at weddings.
103	Wania . . .	Descended from a Banja (<i>Wania</i>) of Rambhāpur who had a Bhil mistress.	....
104	Wākhia . . .	Called after the "flying fox" (<i>Pteropus medius</i>)	This bat is never molested by the sept.
105	Bāhalya . . .	} Not local . . . . .	....
106	Begol . . .		
107	Sastria . . .		
108	Sarīāna . . .	} Not local septs . . . . .	....
109	Solanki . . .		
110	Sapnia . . .		
111	Solia . . .	Also claim Solanki descent as 109 . . . . .	....
112	Māoda . . .	} Not local septs . . . . .	....
113	Uāhāwā . . .		
114	Kāmlia . . .	Not explained clearly but seems connected with blanket-making.	....
115	Kandor . . .	Not explained . . . . .	....
116	Waderi . . .	Said to be from <i>Waderi</i> a brawl, their ancestor being killed in one.	They worship the sword.
117	Navi . . .	Barbers . . . . .	....
118	Kalāwa . . .	No explanation . . . . .	....
119	Hāda . . .	Said to be connected with <i>hādi</i> , a vessel, but looks like Pseudo-Rājput.	Worship a newly made <i>hādi</i> at weddings.
120	Dholi . . .	Originally <i>kaṭras</i> , but became drum players	....
121	Gādrīa . . .	Not explained . . . . .	....
122	Jhāla . . .	Looks like Pseudo-Rājput but is said to be connected with the cultivation of grain in soil made by burning down trees. This cultivation is called <i>wāri</i> .	<i>Wāri</i> grain is never sown by the sept, and they say no member of this sept can eat it without suffering. As proof the case of one Mānji Dāmar of Bihār Village in Jhābua was quoted. He suffered after eating from a swelled body and was only cured after 7 days' worship of his goddess with <i>wāri</i> grain offerings.

SECTION B—II.

THE BHILALA SEPTS.

Badi Jat.

1. Rāwat This sept claims Baghela Rājput origin. They state that their ancestors came to Mowār, whence some of the clan went to assist the Rājā of All-Rājpur. Owing to their mixing with Bhilālas they lost caste.
2. Chokhla Wānkala This branch of the *Wānkalas* claims Rāwat descent.

NOTE.—In this account only these two septs and not as usual four are given in a superior status. They do not drink liquor or eat fowls. As regards other customs they are on the same footing as the remaining septs.

Chhoti Jat.

3. Wānkala An offshoot of the *Chokhla* Sept. A member of that sept broke the rule regarding wine and fowl's flesh and his descendants were degraded.
4. Bhaldia Local: From the Bhaldia hills, a range in All-Rājpur State.
5. Solia Local: From Solia Village in the Kanas *taluk* of Jhābua State.
6. Jamra Local: From Jamra Village in Jobat State.
7. Koochha Called after the *konch* creeper.
8. Nigwal Takes its name from the occupation of its members who extract the "toddy" palm juice called *nigal*.
9. Rāthor Claim Rājput descent.
10. Bandol No explanation.
11. Bastia Local: From Bastipura Village in Bagh *pargana* of Gwalior State.
12. Ajnāria Called after the *Añjan* tree (*Hardwickia binata*) which they reverence and never injure as being the home of their tutelary deity.
13. Masania An ancestor was connected with the upkeep of a crematory (*masan*).
14. Kiradia No explanation. *apparently connected with kirad, meaning a valley.*
15. Galaria No explanation.
16. Arwadia No explanation.
17. Chomalkha No explanation.
18. Chauhān Claim Rājput origin.
19. Tadawala Offshoot of No. 18, not explained.
20. Changod Offshoot of No. 13 called after the founder, Changa by name.
21. Randha Local: From Ranada Village in the Bori estate in Jhābua State.
22. Mujaldia Not explained.
23. Kanasia Local: from Kanas Village in Jhābua.
24. Avasia Local: from Avasgarh, the old capital of Barwāni State.
25. Māli So called from the founder being a *Māli* by caste.
26. Rāmnia A corruption of Brāhman. Claims descent from girl who was a Brahman's mistress.
27. Wanla Descended from a Bania, one Suktal of Ghora Village in Jobat, and a Bhil girl who was his mistress.
28. Wiskia Local: From Wiskiapura in Dhār State.
29. Mori Local: From Moripura in Tānda *pargana* in the Amjhera district of Gwalior.
30. Dāwar Not explained.
31. Dodwa Local: From Dod, a *pargana* of the Chhota Udepur State (Bombay).
32. Chamka Not explained.
33. Bhābar Not explained.
34. Guthria Not explained.
35. Sanpla Not explained.
36. Semlia Called after the *Semal* tree (*Bombax malabarica*), the home of their tutelary goddess. They always worship under this tree, and never injure it.
37. Dharwa Local: Originally from Dhār State.
38. Ohariya Local: From Oharan Village in All-Rājpur State.
39. Jobtia Local: From Jobat State.
40. Devada Rājput [*Deora*] descent is claimed.
41. Nargawah Local: Said to be derived from Narbadā, the sept living on its banks.
42. Bhaonra Not explained.

SECTION C.

SPECIMENS OF BHIL SONGS.

I have selected these songs out of a number collected at various times. They are ordinary examples of the lays chanted to the Bhils in Villages.

In recording them the actual words as used were put down most carefully, the class of letter, cerebral, palatal, etc., actually used by the singer being noted.

The language is more mixed than the spoken dialect of any one district, as was to be expected in song, and also from the fact that the singers have gathered their lays from various sources.

The language, however, shews clearly its adherence to Gujarāṭī rather than Mālwī, and generally to the standard form common in Mahikāntha as given in Mr. Thompson's grammar, and to the dialect of Khāndesh.

Without going into details it may be noted that the genitive ordinarily ends in *na* or *no*, though the Kājasthānī form in *rā*, and even the form *kerā* (common in the *Rāmāyana*) is met with, we have *maro*, my; *te-na*, of him; *soro, sorī*, boy, girl; *gher*, house; *jā-je*, please go; *dhāmiyo*, hastened; *dadyo*, ran; *kuno, kunyo*, who, whose; *hāt* (for *hāth*), hand; *kim*, why; *ne*, and; the infinitive in *-wā*, as *khelewā*, to play.

For *hu* we have *se* derived from *chhe*, which is also used itself.

A common word used for good, excellent, thoroughly, and indeed generally as an adverb implying fitness or completeness, is *rudo*, a word met with in the *khāiwā* form of Gujarāṭī.

Of other changes, *h* stands for *s*, *s* for *ch* or *chh*, *d* for *r*, *k* for *g*, and so on as is usual.

As those reading these songs will be conversant with Hindi, only a few notes are appended here and there.

Of the songs given the first deals with the migration of the *Dāmar* Section of Bhils from Gujarat to the South of Central India, the second with an irruption of *Bāriya* Bhils, the third with one of the tribal demi-gods, and the fourth with the custom of marking the *ṭika* on the forehead of the *Jhābus* chief at his succession.

I should add that the historical nature of these songs has paled before their supposed efficacy as charms, and they are commonly chanted round invalids, especially in cases of epidemic disease. They are sung to the accompaniment of *dhāk* and *kānde* or drum and bamboos.¹ Such singing being called *mandār karwa*.

¹ The *Famdr* is a bamboo which has been split and notched over which another is rapidly rubbed producing a monotonous sound.

No. 1.—The Song of a Kachumar Damar Bhil.

[N.B.—Words in brackets are not in text.]

He ine ine ranje voravalā devu vepdvu	I make (my) obeisance to my gods whom all worship— Hāgre ¹ , etc.
He devuu devunog melāvo—Hāgre ke mālan meravo— Hāgre ke mālan meravo.	I worship all the collective body of the gods—Hāgre, etc.
Ho ine Dhoikānī dharti māg Uharā Buharā Dāmar	In the land of Dholka (lived) these two Dāmar (Bhils), Uharā and Buharā (by name).
He Dāmar mālūna, dhāyā ² no—Hāgre, etc.	These two Dāmars were satiated with riches—Hāgre, etc.
He Dāmar sāndīnī ³ bevalire lupānā naliyā—Hāgre, etc..	The Dāmar's house was of silver (roofed with) tiles of gold—Hāgre.
Ac āyā mangalwāro dādā ⁴ —Hāgre, etc.	One day (it fell upon) a Tuesday—Hāgre.
He Dāmar s'kar kholwā jāyaso dūngarnī dhartimāg— Hāgre, etc.	These Dāmars went hunting on the hills—Hāgre.
He devatā nawalākhe sorī sero ⁵ . Meghūnī soriyāg— Hāgre, etc.	Now (the same day) the lovely daughters of the god megh—Hāgre.
Ac sālī Māpitā dariyāo māu—Hāgre, etc.	Went forth to the Māpitā lake—Hāgre.
Ac tape Jeth to Vesākhwāre balā to tapeno—Hāgre, etc.	The heat of Jeth and of Vaisakh beat fiercely on them— Hāgre.
He tape Jeth to Vesākhre karmo ⁶ lāgitarhe—Hāgre, etc.	And from this heat of Jeth and Vaisakh great thirst assailed them—Hāgre.
He Dāmar, ⁷ hawāho ⁸ Dāmosore, Māpitā dariyāo māg— Hāgre.	These Dāmars, there were one hundred and twenty- five of them, went to Māpitā lake.
He Dāmar sindāto pātliyo ⁹ kholwā to lāgyā—Hāgre, etc.	These Dāmars began to play pranks (with the daughters of Megh).
He phāde ghāghra lugjā ¹⁰ re Meghūnī sorinā—Hāgre, etc.	They tore away the petticoats and Lugdas of the daughters of Megh—Hāgre.
He padyā hānjunā hānjolā re galatī kora porna. ¹¹	(At last) dusk came and the waning light of evening fell.
Hāg bāl rowatīwo rajaltīwo ¹² hāmi wo hānjoo	In the evening (home went) the girls bitterly weeping and ashamed—Hāgre.
He Bāi kāpī tūp karyosowo Māpitā dariyāo māg—Hāgre, etc.	"Oh daughters" (said their mother) "what did ye (so late) at Māpitā tank"—Hāgre.
Rāgde dolā ¹³ nirūg līlāre—Hāgre.	"Why, bad girls, do you bring (pots of) dirty water?"

¹ The meaning of the *ak* "Hāgre, etc." is not clearly known to the singers. It will only be indicated after the first verse.

² Dhaya = dhala.

³ Sāndīnī = Chāndīnī.

⁴ = day.

⁵ = thin.

⁶ Karmo = game, here its affect, i.e., thirst.

⁷ Both forms Dāmar and Dāmor occur.

⁸ Hawāho = Sawa sau used for "many".

⁹ Sindāto pātliyo = a game like prisoners' lease.

¹⁰ Lugjā = Cloth covering head and shoulders.

¹¹ Porna = prahar, pahara, a watch of four hours.

¹² Rajaltī = lajjaltī (H. lajwantī).

¹³ Dolā = dirty or muddy water.

SECTION C—contd.

SPECIMENS OF BHIL SONGS—contd.

No. I.—The Song of a Kachumar Damar Bhil—contd.

Aj, māđi, đolā ne karyāse wo đolā ne nīr ne	"To-day" (they replied) "oh mother, they made (all our) water dirty".
Puse kālurāpa Megh ne—Hāgre, etc.	Then kālurāpa Megh (entering) asked them—Hāgre.
Aj soriye pukāre sađisowo mārā kālurāpa Megh ne	Then the girls went and cried out, "oh dear kālurāpa Megh".
Bāpā ijjat ābrū kīā—Hāgre	"Oh father, they have destroyed our honour and virtue"—Hāgre.
Aj Piyor ¹ sađkīkāne rihere mārā kālurāpa Megh ne	Kālurāpa Megh at this, Ah Friends, got very angry.
Sađyā Meghūnā hānhuṇā ² —Hāgre	(Then) began clouds to gather from all sides—Hāgre.
Aj, Piyor, bola lone māreere mārā wāna se Meghđā	In his rage, Friends, he began to thunder from twelve hundred clouds.
Aj Meghđā alopāwā lōgā Mara jodī na bālamne ³ —Hāgre	Then the clouds began to fly away. Oh my good companions—Hāgre.
Aj Piyor, đhunduṇe ⁴ pađyā sere đhundu rūđā kāl ne	Then, Friends, a fearful, terrible famine came upon them.
Pađyā đhundu rūđā kāl ne—Hāgre	(You) a devastating famine—Hāgre.
Aj Dāmor huṇāni galiye sere, māñi huṇāni haveliye	Then did the golden (roofed) houses of the Dāmars melt away.
Dāmor anu ne dhanu gālya—Hāgre	(Likewise) did their grain and riches vanish—Hāgre.
Aj, Dāmor, đhunduṇe pađyā sere đhundu rūđā kāl ne	(Thus) did a fearful, terrible famine fall on the Dāmars.
Dāmor garī ne gārđ thāya—Hāgre	The Dāmars are (thus) destroyed by evil plight—Hāgre.
Dāmor pūwā ⁵ ne lāgi Mokal Dāmrañī	Then did Mokhal Dāmrañī question the Dāmars.
Pūse Hīdmal Dāmrañe—Hāgre	She asked of Sīdmal Dāmar (her husband)—Hāgre.
Aj Dāmor bhūkūnā bhāgelāre, mārā Hīdmal Dāmor ne	"In those days we are wasted by hunger, oh my Sīdmal."
Kariye Dhālka ⁶ pađaiyo—Hāgre	"Make preparations to leave Dholka"—Hāgre.
Aj, Piyor sāyāhāñī ⁷ mārā Dāmor na hangđā	Friends, the band of Dāmars set forth and started on their way.
Dāmor lelāgrā ⁸ māgre—Hāgre	The Dāmars (took) a wild forest road—Hāgre.
Dāmor gagan uđe khehane ⁹ —Mārā, etc.	The dust (raised by the band) rose up into the sky—Mārā, etc.
Dāmor kāmāthiyā ne tako—Hāgre	The (weary) Dāmars leant upon their bows—Hāgre.
Aj Dāmor bhūkūni bhālati ¹⁰ re mārā Hīdmal Dāmor ne	All the Dāmars were hungry (even) Sīdmal Dāmar was faint.
Dāmor kadeli ¹¹ đungre—Hāgre	The Dāmars (at last reached) the kadeli hill—Hāgre.
Aj, Piyor, āđā ne phūryā sere mārā Nālūnā Narhingđā	Then Friends, Nārsingh, son of Nālu, encountered them.
Māmā anū ne toluđ dhanū—Hāgre	(He said) "oh uncle, I will weigh you out grain and riches"—Hāgre.
Aj, Piyor, tākđiye mānde sere mārā Nātūnā Narhingđā	Then, Friends, Nārsingh, son of Nālu, set up his scales.
Aolya anū ne dhanū—Hāgre	And weighed out (to them) grain and wealth—Hāgre.
Mokhla bhajanīyā bañāwe—Mārā ¹² , etc.	Then Mokhla prepared some food for them—Mārā.
Aj Piyor, jame kāñi jamere mārā Hīdmal Dāmor	All, Friends, then were collected (for dinner) by Sīdmal Dāmar.
Sālya Dāmor nā hangđā—Hāgre	Then (after dinner) the band started off—Hāgre.
Aj Dāmor lūñbyā ¹³ kāñi lūñbyā ne mārā Godariyā serū ¹⁴ māñ	Then at length the Dāmors reached the town of Godhra.
Dāmor Pāñimiya ¹⁵ talāwu māñ—Hāgre.	They came to the Pāñimiya lake—Hāgre.
Awyā ođwāla-godwāla ¹⁶ —Mārā, etc.	They reached (the village) of Odwāla-godwāla Mārā, etc.
Dāmor Chanotīnā ¹⁷ rājū—Hāgre.	(Then) the Dāmors came to the district of Chanoti—Hāgre.
Aj Dāmor lūñbyā kāñi lūñbyā ne mārā Dūdiyā ¹⁸ serū māñ	Thus (at length) the Dāmors reached the city of Dudiya.
Dāmor Welji ¹⁹ kerī bāwe—Hāgre.	The Dāmors (reached) Welji's well—Hāgre.
Aj Dāmor lūñbyu lūñbyu, mārā Hīdmal Dāmor ne	There arrived thus Hīdmal Dāmor (at last).
Dāmor Sābānā ²⁰ Sarowar māñ—Hāgre	So the Dāmors came to the lake of Sabana—Hāgre.
Aj Dāmor Sālo kāñi Sālo re—Mārā, etc.	So the Dāmors went ever on their way—Mārā.
Dāmor Dewad ²¹ nā rājū—Hāgre	The Dāmors came to the district of Dohad—Hāgre.
Aj Dāmor lūñbya kāñi lūñbyu re mārā Hīdmal Dāmor ne	Thus did my Sīdmal arrive there.
Dāmor Tāñđā ²² ne tañđūle—Hāgre	So the Dāmors came to a Banjāra encampment—Hāgre.
Dāmar āyā kāñi āyāre mārā Rañbhāpur ²³ nā rājū	Thus came the Dāmors to the district of Rambhāpur.

¹ Aj Piyor: the word Piyor is addressed to the audience.

² (?) Hānhuṇa=Chahu (nā)=from all sides.

³ Balamne=Lit. oh my equal (jodī) friends.

⁴ Dhunduṇe=terrifying; ruda=good, much, very, great, etc.

⁵ Ne=belongs to Dāmar.

⁶ Dholka, in Gujarat. Pađai=to pack up.

⁷ Lelagra: rough, difficult, jungly.

⁸ Khehane: dust.

⁹ Bhālati: lit. giddy, head-turning round.

¹⁰ In Gujarat.

¹¹ The alternative tek.

¹² Lunbiya: go to reach.

¹³ Seru=Shahar, Godhra lies in the Bombay Presidency [22° 48' N., 73° 51' E.] to the west of Jhābus.

¹⁴ Pāñimiya: 22° 50' N., 74° 0' E.

¹⁵ Odwāla-godwāla: a village (?).

¹⁶ Chanotina: Village (?).

¹⁷ Dudiya: village (?).

¹⁸ Welji: man or place (?).

¹⁹ Sabana: village (?).

²⁰ Dewad: Dohad [22° 50' N., 76° 10' E.].

²¹ Tāñđā: 22° 53' N., 74° 30' E., or else a banjāra camp which is its meaning. Cf. Mañ. tāñđā, a band or company of people.

²² Rañbhāpur: 22° 55' N., 74° 33' E., in Jhābus State.

SECTION C—contd.

SPECIMENS OF BHIL SONGS—contd.

No. 1.—The Song of a Kachumar Damar Bkū—contd.

Dāmor Māchhalyā ¹ kerī nāl māy—Hāgre.	Then the Dāmors came to the pass of Māchhalyā—Hāgre.
Aj Dāmor lūnbyu kāni lūnbyu re mārā Hīdmal Dāmor no Dāmor ghāntā ne ghataliye—Hāgre	So the Dāmors and my Sīdmal at last arrived.
Aj Piyor, lūnbyo kāni lūnbyo re mārā Dāmor nā hāngjā	The Dāmors came at length to the pass—Hāgre.
Walo, Itājgaḍḍā rāj māy—Hāgre	Then, Friends, the Dāmor band arrived here.
Aj, Piyor, āwo kāni āwo re—Mārā, etc.	Friends (they came) to the Kingdom of Rājgarh—Hāgre.
Ure Mayiyārī ne āro—Hāgre	So, Friends, they arrived at length—Hāgre.
Aj Dāmor ayo kāni āyore mārā kulkīyā ² rāj māy	(And) crossed to the (other) bank of the Mahi (river)—Hāgre.
Walo, Hagwāl ³ kera rā māy—Hāgre	Then came the Dāmors to the district of—Kulkiya.
Aj Piyor, lūnbyo lūnbyore mārā Hīlor ⁴ nā rāj māy	(Then) Friends, to the district of Sagwāl—Hāgre.
Aj Dāmor kul rāngī Dīhārā ⁵ mān—Hāgre	So Friends, they reached at last the district of Sīlor.
Āwo kāmāthiyā ne teko mārā Hīdmal Dāmor ne	Next (came) the Dāmors to lovely Dhār—Hāgre.
Dokhe Itājā to Itōja ne—Hāgre	Came my Hīdmal Dāmor (weary) leaning on his bow.
"Aj Dūdā hāmā no tūg rī—jore ⁶ mārā, Dūdātūg vajir ne"	Rājā Bhoja saw him coming—Hāgre.
Āwyā Dāmor nā hāngjā—Hāgre	"Listen" (said Bhoja) "oh Duda, to my words, listen, oh Duda, vajir."
Hāgre Dūdā kājyo kāni kājyore mārā kālūḍā ghoḍo nā	(Behold) a band of Dāmors has come—Hāgre.
Dūdo ghōḷlo bhūje re—Hāgre	So Duda took out the (well-known) black horse.
Aj Dūdo hāt māy Dūdo sero mārā Gāggajāl bhālā no	Duda saddled up his mare—Hāgre.
Dūdo ghōḷlā chālājo—Hāgre	Then did Duda take his spear "Gāggajāl" in hand.
Aj Piyor thūhyā kāni thūhyāre mārā Dāmornā hāngjā	Duda spurred on his mare—Hāgre.
Dūdo pūḥa to pūḥa—Hāgre	So, Friends, Duda stopped and halted the band of Dāmors—Hāgre.
Aj Piyor bolyā kāni bolyāno mārā hawāho Dāmor ne	Duda questioned them—Hāgre.
Āwya menat mājtrīve—Hāgre	Then, Friends, answered the one hundred and twenty— a—Dāmors.
Aj Dāmor āno wo toḷḥa ⁷ no dhanū no	"With sore trouble have we come (seeking) work."
Walo ⁸ khelanji khedā māy—Hāgre	(Duda said) "I will (give) you grain and wealth weighing it out."
Hāgre Dūdo agāḷī hoyo sero—Mārā, etc.	"Do you settle in Khelanji village"—Hāgre.
Batājo hīma to huḍā ⁹ ne—Hāgre	So Duda went on in front (of them).
Aj Dāmor khūḍā bhālo huwo—Mārā.	He pointed out to them the boundaries (of the village) and the limits (of the fields).
Hāgre Dūdo ālo kāni ālo re māro anū no dhanū no	Then were the Dāmors happy and contented—Mārā, etc.
Māngalī anū tolo dhanū—Hāgre	They built huts of bushes—Hāgre.
Aj Dāmor blyā bhālā tāwore mārā Hīdmal Dāmor no	They did Duda give them seed and money.
Parāyā kālurāṇā megh ne—Hāgre	Māngalī (Seth) weighed out this grain and coin—Hāgre.
Aj Dāmor khāya khūḥāḷ karo—Mārā	Then the Dāmors and Sīdmal Dāmor too planted the good seed.
Nīḍe Mokhal Dāmraṅī—Hāgre	And kālurāṇa Megh sent rain—Hāgre.
Aj wātrā pākī bhālā gayā mārā Hīdmal Dāmor nā	And so the Dāmors ate and were content—Mārā.
Wātrā wāḍwā lāgā no—Hāgre	And Mokhal Dāmraṅī weeded (the field)—Hāgre.
Aj Piyor, joḷī nā bolyā sero mārā hawāho Dāmor no	At length excellent wātrā ripened, for Sīdmal Dāmor.
Dāmor dāna bhālā walyā—Hāgre	He began to cut the Wātrā—Hāgre.
Seth bharwā bhālā āyā—Mārā, etc.	Then, Friends, the crowd of Dāmors, spoke among themselves.
Dāmor dhānu ne bharāwe—Hāgre	"(So) a good day has come for the Dāmors"—Hāgre.
Aj Seth bharī ne ghor gyāro—Mārā	The Seth came and removed the food (grain).
Jāya ohho jhāḷḷī kamālī—Hāgre	The Dāmors gave him over the grain—Hāgre.
Aj Dāmor Sōkī karo pūlāre—Mārā	So loading up (the grain) the Seth went home.
Māngalī bāro bāra—Hāgre	He went away to trade in ships—Hāgre.
Aj māri Virmāko bāi sero Virmā bāniyāṅī	Then the Dāmors kept and stored the rest—Mārā.
Rāḍju nā tariyā ¹⁰ to joban jāyaso—Hāgre	For twelve (long years) was Māngalī away—Hāgre.
Virmā kuyhūḥāḥē sabdo sero mārā Hīdmal Dāmor no	So (he left behind his wife) the lady Virmā, Virmā, the bāniyā's wife.
Rāḍ ne māḥā no rayā—Hāgre	The woman's youth was thus passing away like a widow.
Rāḍ ne navamo maino jāyaso—Mārā	Virmā (at length yielding) went and lived with Hīdmal Dāmor (as his wife).
Āwī Hījū tū hajwāḅ—Hāgre	The woman became with child—Hāgre.
Aj Hījū pot ḍālā solo ¹¹ sero—Mārā	So her nine months were fulfilled—Mārā, etc.
Jāmyā rājīyā bālūḍā—Hāgre	Came Hījū, the midwife—Hāgre.
Aj kuywar ḍhola māy ḍhāvāle sero—Mārā, etc.	Then she rubbed and massaged (Virmā's) stomach.
Kuywar māḷūna motiyar—Hāgre	And (two) princely sons were born—Hāgre.
Aj Māngalī gherude ālyaso—Mārā	Then the princes were swung in a crib—Mārā.
Bole nagarī korā logno—Hāgre	(In time) they grew big enough to walk—Hāgre.
Aj Māngalī kuywar do huwāso—Mārā	At last Māngalī came home again—Mārā.
Aj pūso dhanī dhanīyāṅī no—Hāgre	The City and Village folk (at once) cried to him—Hāgre.
	"Oh Māngalī, (know you) that you have two sons."
	Then did the husband question the wife—Hāgre.

¹ Machhalya : a pass in Jhabua State (22° 45' N., 75° 59' E.).

² Kulkiya (?), a village.

³ Hagwāl = Sagwāl (22° 38' N., 75° 1' E.).

⁴ Hīlor = Sīlor (chilor of maps, 22° 3' N., 75° 15' E.).

⁵ Dhar (22° 30' N., 75° 19' E.), Capital of Dhār State.

⁶ Rī-jore = Rahna.

⁷ Wāḥo = Waso, i.e., base.

⁸ i.e., Sīma, Sheda = edge, limit.

⁹ Kamāl = Beipārī.

¹⁰ Tariyā = woman.

¹¹ Solo = chole from cholana, to rule hard.

SECTION C—*contd.*SPECIMENS OF BHIL SONGS—*contd.*No. 1.—*The Song of a Kachumar Damar Bhil—contd.*

Aj Piyor laḍkā kākūnā huwā sere māri laḍuni dhaḍiyāni	"Beloved, dear wife, of whom are these boys?"
Laḍkā motānā hoyāse—Hāḅre	"They are (she said) the sons of a great man"—Hāḅre.
Aj Mangalji doḍyo dhāmyo jāyase—Mārā	Then Mangalji running and speeding went off—Mārā.
Saḍi gyo Dhārni kaḍḍiyān—Hāḅre	He went to the law court in Dhār (City)—Hāḅre.
Aj Piyor, pokāro bapāwe sere Mangalji baḅyo	Then, Friends, Mangalji the bania called aloud for justice.
Paḍyā Mangalji na ijjatjā—Hāḅre	"The honor of Mangalji is gone"—Hāḅre.
Aj dhaḅi bole kāni bolere māro gelo Rājā Bhoja to	Then (hearing him) the master, great king Bhoja, spoke.
Karo nagārno ¹ ḍanko—Hāḅre	"(Duda) sound the kettle-drums"—Hāḅre.
Aj Dūdo saḍyo kāni Saḍyore—Mārā	Then Duda arose and marched forth.
Gheryo Dāmor nā hāḅḅā—Hāḅre	So (Duda) surrounded the Dāmar band—Hāḅre.
Dāmor Hidmal laḍese—Mārā	And Sidmal met him in the field—Mārā.
Dāmor ūdā māri nākhyā—Hāḅre	So half the Dāmors were slain—Hāḅre.
Dāmor mor bāḅḅhiyāne bāḅḅhyā—Mārā	The hands (of the other half) he bound behind their backs.
Bhāḅyā khelanji khedā ne—Hāḅre	And destroyed khelanji Village—Hāḅre.
Aj Dūdo gāyūḅ kāni gūḅre māro Dūdo vaḅir ne	Then did Duda, Duda the wazir, start and go (home).
Gyo Dhār no darwāje—Hāḅre	So came to the gates of Dhār—Hāḅre.
Dāmor māri ne gārḍ karyā re—Mārā	(He cried) "I have slain and uprooted the Dāmors"—Mārā.
Dūdo kāḍiyā bolāwo—Hāḅre	"Call (said Bhoja) masons here"—Hāḅre.
Aj, Piyor, āwā kāni āwā re māraḅ hawāho kāḍiyā	Then there came, came (from all sides) one hundred and twenty-five masons.
Dāmar jiwata rūda saḅyā ² —Hāḅre	The Dāmors were bricked up securely—Hāḅre.
Aj Dāmar saḅī kāni didāre Bawriyā kotūmāḅ	So the Dāmors were (walled up) in the fort of Bawriyā.
Mangalji khushi bhālo huwo—Hāḅre	And Mangalji rejoiced exceedingly—Hāḅre.
Aj Virmā doḅi dhāmi sāiro, māri Virmā bapāyāni	And Virmā, our Virmā, the bania's wife, went away, going and hastening.
Jāyase bhāiyānā gherū māḅ—Hāḅre	Went off to her brother's house—Hāḅre.
Aj Piyor, kaḅumar, ³ khokhlo māraḅ joḍina laḍkāne	Friends, kaḅumar and khokhlo, were the names of the two boys.
Kaḅumar Vidhya bawāwa sāliyo—Hāḅre	So kaḅumar went off to gain learning (or magic)—Hāḅre.
Aj, Piyor, doḍyo dhāmyo jāyase re māre kamrū dharti māḅ	So hastening and hurrying, Friends, he went to the land of kamrū.
Utro kaḅiprā nadi—Hāḅre	He crossed the kaḅiprā river—Hāḅre.
Aj dhaḅi gayo kāni gayo ne māraḅ Ratna nā ghoral māḅ	So the Lord (Kaḅumar) went (and dwelt) at the house of Ratna.
Kaḅumar Vidhyā bhāḅāwā lāgo—Hāḅre	And kaḅumar commenced to learn magic—Hāḅre.
Aj dhaḅi bhāḅi kāni gayo sere bāro kāni vidhyā	Then Lord (kaḅumar) learnt the twelve (kinds of) magic.
Ratnā ghāḅi māḅ kheḅo—Hāḅre	Ratna (by a spell, however) yoked him to an oil mill (as an ox).
Aj dhaḅi gher jāwānā mansūbā karo—Mārā	Then the Lord (kaḅumar) longed to return home.
Ratnā saḅḅi Indrāhaḅ māḅ—Hāḅre	Ratna (one day) went to Indra's heaven—Hāḅre.
Aj kaḅumar nāhawāno lāgo—Mārā	Upon this Kaḅumar fled away—Hāḅre.
Lidi Vidhyāni kothali—Hāḅre	And took with him the bag of magic (books and sim- ples).

[Here the metre undergoes a change.]

Kaḅumar Sāli bhālo nikalyo—Re Dehariyā (Tek)	And kaḅumar went off and got well away—Re Dehariyā (Refrain).
Dewa māro Dhār māḅ āyose—Re Dehariyā	So the god came to Dhār.
Ayo Indrāiyā bāḅḅ māḅ—Re, etc.	Came to the garden of Indra—Re., etc.
Baḅi gyo jayadhāri jogḅo—Re.	Disguised himself as a Jatā-bearing Jogi.
Dewa māro dhūḅiyo dhakāwo—Re.	The god lighted a sacred fire—Re.
Dhaḅi māro ādi rāt no samiyō—Re.	The Lord at the midnight hour—Re.
Solo ang rūḅā mole—Re.	After well rubbing and massaging his body—Re.
Baḅayo Batwo ūḅāro—Re.	Made (from his sweat) a rat, Batwa by name—Re.
Baḅāwi Himālī nāḅḅ—Re.	Made (too) a female snake Himālī Re.
Ūḅāro bhāḅāwi ledosī—Re.	He took the rat and instructed him—Re.
Melyā Bādaliyā mela māḅ—Re.	Sent them to the Bādaliya palace—Re.
Ūḅāro khāt ⁴ rūḅo pāḅo—Re.	The rat bored a deep hole—Re.
Pāsāl Himālī nāḅḅ—Re.	Behind him (followed) Himālī, the snake—Re.
Nāḅḅ palāḅḅ dholama—Re.	The snake wandered round the bed—Re.
Kuḅī ⁵ Himālī Kuḅwari—Re.	(On which) slept the princess Himālī—Re.
Nāḅḅ Soḅḅlo ⁶ saḅwā lāḅī—Re.	The Snake began to climb up by the braid of her hair—Re.
Dasī ḅāsi tūḅ āḅḅliyo—Re.	And (then) bit her on the little finger—Re.
Peḅāḅ ⁷ nākḅūḅ saḅyā bakhū ⁸ —Re.	(The) poison went in at her nail—Re.
Paḅi nagari māḅ būmase—Re.	Lamentation sounded throughout the city—Re.
Awā nagri, kerā log—Re.	Together came all the folk of city and village—Re.
Beḅiyā ⁹ bolāwi lidāse—Re.	They summoned and brought all the doctors—Re.

¹ Nagārno=nakāra.² Saḅyā=H. chunaya, i.e., arranged; built up.³ Kaḅumar, a local god, apparently a deified Bhil of the Kundwala sept.⁴ Khāt=kat.⁵ Kuḅī=Kuti.⁶ Soḅḅlo=Chontl.⁷ Soḅḅlo=Chontl. There is a superstition that no snake can climb up a bedstead, hence but for the braid of hair hanging down the princess would have been safe.⁸ Peḅāḅ=her (nail).⁹ Bakhū=Vish.⁹ Beḅiyā=Vaidya.

SECTION C—contd.

SPECIMENS OF BHIL SONGS—contd.

No. 1.—The Song of a Kachumar Damar Bhil—contd.

Pole golo Rājā Bhoja—Re.	Then Spoke beloved Rājā Bhoja—Re.
Kuṅwārī dharmen ¹ ne parāpāwān—Re.	" I swear to marry (her curer) to the princess."
Paṭṭo nahin ne wālyo ² wālyo—Re.	(They) could not stop the poison by spells—Re.
Indrī Indrīrī bāgū māg—Re.	An old beldame (went) to the Indrīrī garden—Re.
Pōo kachūmar kundwāla—Re.	Asked kachūmar-kundwāla of her—Re.
Indrīrī dānī jādī hōm—Re.	" Old woman, what noise is that ?"
Mārī Himālī kuṅwārī—Re.	" Princess Himālī is dead " (she said)—Re.
Dokri bhāmal ³ māri hāt—Re.	(He said) " Beldame mark well my words"—Re.
Jājo golo Rājā Bhoja—Re.	" Go, pray, to Rājā Bhoja"—Re.
Awājō wānā to wāstō—Re.	(And say) come (before me) unclad."
Awājō anwājō pāpō—Re.	" Come with unshod feet"—Re.
Lāwājō Indrī Wājīrō—Re.	" Bring also Duda Wazir (with you)"—Re.
Lāwājō buḡā tūg pākhi—Re.	" Bring also the golden Pākhi"—Re.
(SPOKEN PROSE).	
Hāmā hukhā piyo tūkhā piyo, hāgiyo, mātīriyo tino māg gumān rakhenī. Terā hāmārā aale māstō jāstō.	I will smoke, etc., before him as if (in my own home) in privacy, so will my charms be efficacious.
Awē golo Rājā Bhoja—Re.	Then came noble Rājā Bhoja—Re.
Awē hūgānī pākhi—Re.	Came also the golden pākhi—Re.
Kachūmar hōdī rōjō bethō—Re.	Kachūmar sprang lightly into it and sat there—Re.
Awē Bādliya melā māg—Re.	(They) came to the Bādliya palace—Re.
Māntrā bhāpawā lāgyō—Re.	He began to recite incantations—Re.
Nāgān kōṭū ne kāngre ⁴ —Re.	The snake was (lying) on the fort's battlements—Re.
Nāgān mānāḡī ledō—Re.	He (thus) summoned the snake—Re.
Nāgān Nōṭāḡī dōdī—Re.	He put the snake's mouth to the wound—Re.
Bakhō Bōhī ⁵ kānī kīā—Re.	(The snake) sucked out the poison—Re.
Himālī bethī rōjī huwī—Re.	Himālī sat up cured—Re.
Khūshī hūyo gēhelo Rājā Bhoja—Re.	Pleased was noble Rājā Bhoja—Re.
Khūshī huwī Bījārā rān—Re.	Overjoyed was Bījārā Rānī—Re.
Kārō līlā pulā bāgō—Re.	Preparations for the marriage were made—Re.
Mānāḡīyā korāro kalāhā—Re.	Sent for new water-pots—Re.
Kachūmar pyanṭōṭ ⁶ bāpāwō—Re.	So kachūmar carried out his wedding.
Dewā māro phorā rōjā phorō—Re.	The god circumambulated (the fire) as was fitting— Re.
Bhājī gā dhanī ne dhanīyāḡī—Re.	So became they man and wife—Re.
Bolo Dūdo to wājīrō ne—Re.	Then spake Dūda wazir—Re.
Hāmālī gēhelo Rājā Bhoja ne—Re.	" Hear, oh Rājā Bhoja, the good"—Re.
Hunpō ⁷ Hunagō bachhero—Re.	" Make over to him the colt Sunaga."
Hāmro ⁸ Lāduna ⁹ bhāharā ¹⁰ —Re.	(Kachūmar said) " Hear, dear father-in-law"—Re.
Lāwō Indrīyā pūlāḡō—Re.	" Bring the Indrīyā saddle"—Re.
Lāwō kōnānī lāḡānō—Re.	" Bring the golden bridle"—Re.
Kachūmar bhōnyārā ¹¹ māg utro—Re.	Down to the stable went kachūmar—Re.
Kāḡyō Honagō bachhero—Re.	Brought out the colt Sunaga—Re.
Ghōḡo bhīḡī bhālo ledō—Re.	Saddled up securely his mount—Re.
Inī ādī rāt ne anmō—Re.	It was then the hour of midnight—Re.
Bhūmī aawār bhālo buwō—Re.	Clear from the ground he sprang into the saddle—Re.
Ghōḡo Bādliya melā māg—Re.	Brought the horse up to the Bādliya palace—Re.
Kuṅwārī ne bolāwī līdō—Re.	Called the princess, and took her (up)—Re.
Lūnbyō ghōḡī tūg darwājō—Re.	So the mare reached the (city) gate—Re.
Poliyā pol ne ugāḡjō ne—Re.	Kachūmar cried " Doorkeeper, open the gate."
Hūg ne gēhelo Rājā Bhoja ne—Re.	" I am the beloved Rājā Bhoja"—Re.
Pole ugāḡī dīdī—Re.	(The gatekeeper) threw open the doors—Re.
Poliyā lāḡbo hāt kārō—Re.	" Hold out your hand, gatekeeper " (he cried)—Re.
Jānē aelāmō ¹² alḡō—Re.	" I will give you a reward"—Re.
Hāth wājī bhālo līto—Re.	Then kachūmar cut his hand clean off—Re.
Ki jō Rājā rōḡā Bhoja ne—Re.	" Go, tell (he cried) that noble Rājā Bhoja—Re.
Wāliyā ¹³ bāpindā bēruō—Re.	" I am revenged on my father's enemy"—Re.
Ghōḡo bāhō—dāda no—Re.	" (I have recovered) my grand father's horse"—Re.
Kuṅwārī bēru māg pyanṭōṭ ¹⁴ so—Re.	" In revenge have I married the princess"—Re.
Ghōḡo uḡāmā māro so—Re.	His horse bounded (into the air)—Re.
Ghōḡo Mātīyārī ne āri so—Re.	At length (he and) his steed reached the Mahī's bank.
Lūnbyō Gājō kuṅwārī ¹⁵ —Re.	Came to (the hill) of Gājō kuṅwārī—Re.
Ayō kankarā Bhārādī—Re.	Came to (the Shrine) of kankarā Bhārādī.
Lūnbyō Pātīlāwādī ¹⁶ nā rājūnā—Re.	Came to the district of Pātīlāwad.—Re.
Lūnbyō khawāsānā ¹⁷ rājū—Re.	Came to the district of khawasānā—Re.

¹ Dharmen—by my religion, i.e., I swear, or else may mean "free of (bride-price)". But the former meaning is best here.

² Wālyō—H. Wārnā, to avert, Ward off.

³ Hāmālī—Sambhāl, i.e., attend to, mark.

⁴ Kāngre—(?) P. kangarāh or H. Kandar.

⁵ Bōhī—(Chusī).

⁶ Kārō, etc., idiomatic expression for a hasty wedding in which coloured bamboos are used for the Mandapa.

⁷ Pyanṭōṭ—Paraniyānē.

⁸ Hunpō—Sonpō.

⁹ Hāmro—hāmro—sambhāl, attend to, mark.

¹⁰ Lāduna—Lād-una. H. lād.

¹¹ Bhāharā—Sūra.

¹² Bhōnyārā līt "ground rooms" the stables were under the dwelling rooms.

¹³ Aelāmō—inām, a corruption.

¹⁴ Wāliya—badī.

¹⁵ Pyanṭōṭ—biyah.

¹⁶ Gājō kuṅwārī is a hill near Umarkot (23° 47' N., 75° 53' E.).

¹⁷ Pātīlāwad in Indore State (23° 1' N., 74° 50' E.)

¹⁸ Khawasānā in Jhabua (23° 7' N., 74° 45' E.).

SECTION C—*contd.*SPECIMENS OF BHIL SONGS—*contd.*No. I.—*The Song of a Kachumar Damar Bhil—concl'd.*

Lunbiyo Sarwato pātan—Re.	Came to the City of Sarwa.
Lunbiyo Lilāgar ¹ dungro—Re.	Came to the hill of Lilagar—Re.
Kasūmar dungro Saḍi gayo—Re.	Climbed on to the top of Kachūmar's hill—Re.
Dungar khohi bhālo lido—Re.	And at once removed (from it) Sandiya and Gandiya,
Māra Saḍiyā Gandiyā, bhūt—Re.	demons—Re.
Bādh bhāri phonykā—Re.	Took them in his arms (and) hurled them forth—Re.
Paḍya ḍungarani bhigtū māṅ—Re.	So they fell from summit to base—Re.
Khājo piḷo moḷā mārjo—Re. Dehariyā	Eat, drink, be merry and rejoice—Re. Dehariyā.

No. II.—*Song of Manota Bhil.*

Manota here sung of is also a Bhil deity. There is good reason to suppose that he was originally a chief of note in Baria, a State lying on the south-west border of Mālwa in the Bombay Presidency.

Mūliyo to māli se—Re. Dehariyā	There was once a gardener Mūli—Re. Dehariyā.
Māri Mūli to Mālan se—Re.	There was (also) his wife Mūli—Re.
Inī Dewad do bapiyo—Re.	They (dwelt) in Dohad of two borders—Re.
Kare bādī to gowādi—Re.	They laid out a fine orchard.
Thāno lila pira ānbā—Re.	They planted various kinds of mango—Re.
Ānbā mālanā motiyār ne—Re.	The young mangoes grew up—Re.
Sope ² marwā to mogrā—Re.	Planted Marwa and Mogra shrubs—Re.
Sope dāḍam ne dākhe—Re.	Planted pomegranates and vines—Re.
Sope khole to khajūr—Re.	Planted plantains and date-palms—Re.
Sope saṅpo ne sameli—Re.	Planted Champa and Chameli—Re.
Mārā hākriyā ³ ānbā—Re.	Put in sweet mangoes—Re.
Dāje ⁴ nareliyā ānbā—Re.	Planted cocconut-like mangoes—Re.
Boṇāwe bāg ne baḡichā—Re.	So was planted the garden and the orchard—Re.
Phūlyā marwa mogra—Re.	Then flowered the Marwa and Mogra—Re.
Phūle dāḍam ne dākha—Re.	Flowered the pomegranates and vines—Re.
Phūle kola to khajūr—Re.	Flowered the plantains and date-palms—Re.
Phūle saṅpo ne saṅpeli—Re.	Flowered the Champa and Chameli—Re.
Āṅbe phūlbhala lāgā—Re.	Fruit in plenty bore the mangoes—Re.
Lāgā bhigḍūriyā ānbā—Re.	Minium coloured mangoes hung on the trees—Re.
Mūliyo khāya ne moḷā koro—Re.	Mūli eat (of the fruit) and rejoiced—Re.
Mūlan khāya ne moḷā kare—Re.	Mūliya eat (also) and was glad—Re.
Māra Majūto Bāriyā—Re.	There lived a Bariya Bhil (called) Majuta—Re.
Ṭonā kalkaltā kuṅwar—Re.	He had a quarrelsome son—Re.
Badō balawati dowa—Re.	He was a powerful lord—Re.
Badō rihūno janjālū—Re.	He was of hot and violent temper—Re.
Māro Maḷotā kuṅwar—Re.	Was this prince, Manota (by name) ?—Re.
Dowa māro Bārāni dharti māṅ—Re.	My lord lived in the land of Bāra—Re.
Dowa māro āwā bhālo lāgo—Re.	My lord set gaily forth (on a journey)—Re.
Awe Bāriyā no hangḍo—Re.	There came a band of Baria (Bhils).
Hāthe maḷotā kuṅwar—Re.	(Came) with prince Manota—Re.
Awe Dewad do baḍiyā—Re.	They came to Dohad of two boundaries—Re.
Awe Maḷotā Kuṅwar—Re.	So lord Manota arrived there—Re.
Awe Mūliyāni bādīyo—Re.	Came to the garden of Mūli—Re.
Nakhe ⁵ bhamerā palitā—Re.	Threw down the upper wheel and lower roller (of the well)—Re.
Sabdyā ṭṅḍe khādo dādya—Re.	Removed and sank them deep in the pit—Re.
Dewa māro manūnā mansūbā—Re.	My Lord then thought the matter out—Re.
Pūse Mūliyā māli ne—Re.	He questioned the gardener Mūli—Re.
Mūliyā wāḍi kunīyo so—Re.	"Mūli, whose garden is this ?"—Re.
Wāḍi bāpre dādā nī—Re.	(He said) "It was my father's and grandfather's"—Re.
Dowa māro bolwā lāgo so—Re.	"Then my Lord began to speak—Re.
Wāḍi tāri kāṅthī āwī—Re.	"How came (said he) this garden to be thine ?"—Re.
Wāḍi māra Bāpdāda nī—Re.	"It was my grandfather's" (said he)—Re.
Dowa māro laḍā kāne leso—Re.	Then my lord began to wrangle—Re.
Jāyāse Dehāi ne kaseḍiyo—Re.	He went off to the Desai's court—Re.
Desai bolwā rūḍo lāgo—Re.	The Desai began to question fully—Re.
Mūliyā kim rūḍo āwyo—Re.	"Mūli, why have you come here ?"—Re.
Māro Manoto Kuṅwar—Re.	(He replied) "My (lord) Manota"—Re.
Leso wāḍi ne gowāḍi—Re.	"Wrests my garden and orchard (from me)"—Re.
Wāḍi bāpne dādānī—Re.	"The garden that was my grandfather's"—Re.
Bolo Manoto kuṅwar—Re.	Then spoke Lord Manota—Re.
Hāmal Dewad nā Dehāi—Re.	"Hear, oh Desai, of Dohad"—Re.
Kāḍe bhamyo palitā—Re.	"He who fishes out the Bhamera and Palita"—Re.
Wāḍi tenī so—Re.	"To him shall be the garden"—Re.
Ayo Dewadā no Dehāiḍo—Re.	Then came the Dohad Desai—Re.
Ayo Mūliyā nī wāḍiye—Re.	Came to the garden of Mūli—Re.
Bolo Dewad no Dehāiḍo—Re.	Then spoke the Desai of Dohad—Re.
Kūḍ Mūliyā tū māli—Re.	"Do thou Mūli gardener spring (into the well)"—Re.
Kāḍo bhamyo ne palitā—Re.	"And got up the Bhamera and Palita"—Re.
Paritānī ne bhālā nikalyā—Re.	(But) he failed to get up the Palitā—Re.

¹ A hill in Khusālgarh State, Rājputāna.

² Sope=Ropna, to plant.

³ Hākriyā=Sakriya, sugary.

⁴ Dāde=(?) gāde.

⁵ Nakhe, to throw down; bury. Bhamera, the upper pulley in the thala of a well, Palita, the lower roller. The ropes for the Charsa pass over these.

SECTION C—contd.

SPECIMENS OF BHIL SONGS—contd.

No. II.—Song of Manota Bhil—contd.

Kālo Manoto Kūwarro—Re.	In sprang Lord Manota—Re.
Kārya bhāmara palitā—Re.	Brought out the Bhamera and Palitā—Re.
Wājī bhūti rūjī b-dī—Re.	He (then) destroyed the garden completely (from MGH) —Re.
Manota khūfī bhālo huyo—Re.	Overjoyed was Manota—Re.
Dohādu nāwā rūjī h-ro—Re.	" Oh Desai, (he cried) indeed you gave justice"—Re.
Manota wālī bhūjī nākhi—Re.	Manota then utterly destroyed the garden—Re.
Āyō nō līlāgar dūngro—Re.	(Then) he went off to Lilāgar hill—Re.
Dawa māro ghōrī ¹ on ghōrī huwō—Re.	Here (he found) Lord (Kachūmar) snoring loudly—Re.
Mayad ² pūyō angōthō—Re.	He twisted the big toe of his foot—Re.
Uthyo Dāmar kachūmar—Re.	Up sprang kachūmar Dāmar—Re.
Bhāpja kom āwū pūjō—Re.	(And cried) "oh son of my sister, why camest thou hither!"—Re.
Huṅ tō bhīfī jowā āyo—Re.	" I have come to get seed from you"—Re.
Būyo kāyō ³ kachūmar—Re.	Then answered kachūmar roughly—Re.
Ālō bhūfīrī tōn nākhi—Re.	I will give you minium coloured cocconut—Re.
Ālō kōlā tō khājūr nō—Re.	I will give you plantains and date-palms—Re.
Ālō marwā nō tō mogrā—Re.	I will give you Marwa and Mogra—Re.
Ālō dālam kera bhūjō—Re.	Seeds of pomegranates will I give—Re.
Ālō anjōfī nā bhūjō—Re.	Seeds of Chameli will I give—Re.
Bhījī Dhār nā rājā nā oho—Re.	These seeds come from the Rājā of Dhār.
Manota bhūjō lino rō āwō—Re.	Manota took the seeds and returned—Re.
Lāgya rōhāno mārgō—Re.	Took the jungle path—Re.
Āyo Dohād dō banyō māṅ—Re.	Came to the boundaries of Dohād—Re.
Manota kyāro rō bhālō bāndhō—Re.	Excellent beds did Manota prepare—Re.
Mūliyo nokar rō wā lōgō—Re.	Appointed mūli his servant—Re.
Nākho bhūfīrī āpī—Re.	He planted minium coloured mangoes—Re.
Khāl khājūr nō lī ⁴ nākhe—Re.	Planted plantains and date-palms—Re.
Marwā mogrā ⁵ wō nākhe—Re.	Planted Marwa and Mogra—Re.
Dādām ⁶ Chameli tō nākhe—Re.	Planted pomegranates and vines—Re.
Nāpō ⁷ Chameli tō nākhe—Re.	Planted Champe and Chameli—Re.
Mūli tyār tō ki dī—Re.	So did he make his garden—Re.
Mūliyo pāt tō anjō—Re.	And Mūliyo watered it with water—Re.
Manota khāi nō khūwā kero—Re.	Manota eat of (its fruit) and was pleased—Re.
Kachūmar kāgūyā nō bhōjō—Re.	And kachūmar sent a letter—Re.
Kāgād Dhārū nō rājā māṅ—Re.	Sent a letter to the Rājā of Dhār—Re.
Dūdo kāgūyā tō wāso—Re.	Duda read the letter—Re.
Nājyo gūlo rājā bhōjā nō—Re.	So Rājā Bhōjā mounted—Re.
Sādō gōheli bhāthanlyō—Re.	Mounted a fine female elephant—Re.
Nājyo Dūdo tō wājī nō—Re.	And Duda Wājī also mounted—Re.
Nājyo Mughallyā Pāthān—Re.	His Mughals and Pāthāns also mounted—Re.
Wāgō nagārā nī ghalyā—Re.	The kettle-drums made a deafening noise—Re.
Nājyo phōjī nā dhankārā—Re.	The tramp of his army reached (sounded) far—Re.
Dābō lī-bhūyō līnbiyō āwō—Re.	The army marched and marched—Re.
Āwā Manoto nī wājīyā—Re.	Came to Manota's garden—Re.
Wājīyā bhōlī ⁸ bhālī nākhi—Re.	Destroyed thoroughly that garden—Re.
Wājī bhūjī nō bhūkū Karyō—Re.	Completely broke up the garden—Re.
Dukhū bhūjī nō bhūkū wālyā ⁹ —Re.	So should your pains be removed—Re.
Manoto Bhawānī nō kanō ¹⁰ —Re.	Manota (went) and lived near (the shrine) of Bhawānī— Re.
Manoto gājīno hāpkwā—Re.	Here he had to drive a cart (for the goddess)—Re.
Mārā arthū ādī gayō—Re.	My wheel stuck (in the mud)—Re.
Dowā gājī nō hāpko—Re.	But the god drove on my cart—Re.
Manoto dūro rujō bōthā—Re.	Manota came and sat on the pole—Re.
Manoto "ki kiyārī" rō karo—Re.	He shouted "ki ki"—Re.
Gājīyo hadlī ¹¹ nō sāli—Re.	And the cart went on at once—Re.
Bhāgyā dūnyā kōrā dukhū—Re.	So may the world's ills fly away—Re.
Dukhū bhūjī nō bhūkū kīdā—Re.	Ills fly away and be destroyed—Re.
Khājō pījō mojō mārgō—Re. Dehariyā.	Eat, drink, rejoice, and be merry—Re. Dehariyā.

No. III.—The Lay of Narsingh Bhil.

Aj ino luo rango rō rabalā devūjī vodvū, Aō doharā	I bow to every deity and worship them in many tem- ples—Re.
deharāno molāwō—Re. Dehariyā.	
Māro Nālu nā Narsingh—Re. Dehariyā	My Narsingh, Son of Nālu—Re. Dehariyā.
Teḍo Hālūpō suriyō—Re.	Asked Salun, to (join in) thieving—Re.
Hālūpō dham kāryō nō āwō—Re.	And Salun came hastening—Re.
Āwyo Narsingh nā darwājē—Re.	Came to the door of Narsingh—Re.
Papī gyā māgrā nō bhāpōj—Re.	Joined them his uncle's and sister's sons—Re.
Sālo sorī nō karwā jāiyō—Re.	So they went forth to commit theft—Re.
Narsingh sakanlyā nō māṅgō—Re.	And Narsingh consulted Omens—Re.
Dābī kāgūlī bōle nō—Re.	On the left hand a crow croaked—Re.
Jamaṅī Rūpārēl bōle sō—Re.	On the right a Ruparel called—Re.
Narsingh sāli nō bhālā nikaliyā—Re.	So Narsingh (thus) assured started—Re.
Hātho Hālūpō suriyō—Re.	With him (went) Salu to steal—Re.

¹ Ghori=Mar: ghorna, to snore.² Mayad=H. Moda.³ Kaydo=Kadwa, bitter, rough, sharp.⁴ Bhōlī bhālī=lit. good and well.⁵ Wālyā=Said to the audience.⁶ Kanō=near.⁷ Haddī=Suddenly, all at once.

SECTION C—*contd.*

SPECIMENS OF BHIL SONGS—*contd.*

No. III.—*The Lcy of Narsingh Bhil—contd.*

Jāyaso Dharṇī ¹ soriyo—Re.	They went Dhār-wards to steal—Re.
Lodā lolagrā margu—Re.	They followed a jungle road—Re.
Awyā Dowād do banīyā—Re.	Came to Dobād (City) of two borders—Re.
Walo Raṅbhāpur ² na rāju—Re.	Came to the district of Raṅbhāpur—Re.
Lūṅbiyo Māchhaliyā ³ kerī gāle—Re.	Reached the pass of Māchhaliyā—Re.
Sālyo Rajgad ⁴ nā rājū—Re.	Came to the district of Kājgarh—Re.
Lodā Mayiāri nā ar—Re.	Came to the Mahi's bank—Re.
Wālyā Sardārpur ⁵ nā rājū—Re.	Came to the district of Sardārpur—Re.
Nārhing dham kārā ne māre—Re.	(So) Narsingh hastened on—Re.
Lodā Morgām ⁶ nā rājū—Re.	Seized the district of Morgām—Re.
Lūṅbiyo Gāhiyo dūngre—Re.	Reached the hills of Gāhia—Re.
Khāṅe Dūḍī kera okhad—Re.	Dug up the (potent) herb Dūḍī—Re.
Saro Dharū kerī doriyāṅ—Re.	(Here) grazed the cattle of Dhār—Re.
Mārā hawā-ho-gowāliyā—Re.	One hundred and twenty-five herdsmen (watched them)—Re.
Nārhing okhadīyā ne ghole—Re.	Then Narsingh mixed the juice of the (Dūḍī) herb (in the tanks)—Re.
Mare Dok ne Pāḍaṅ—Re.	The Dok and Pāḍan (fishes) died—Re.
Dekhe hawā ho-gowāliyā—Re.	This the hundred and twenty-five herdsmen saw—Re.
Gowāliyā māchhli rūḍo pakḍe—Re.	The herdsmen began to catch the large fish—Re.
Nākhe Gulwel nā wolā—Re.	They cast (into the water leaves of) the Gulwel crooper (as an antidote)—Re.
Baṅgiyā Nāgorī bāmaṅ—Re.	(Meanwhile the thieves) disguised themselves as Nagor Brāhmins—Re.
Hālūṅ pūchhāṅā rūḍā pūchho—Re.	Sālu (then) sweetly addressed (the cattle)—Re.
Hāmlo jhoṅ ne kalodā—Re.	"Hear me, buffaloes and heifers"—Re.
Tamāhūṅ ne rūḍī saro ⁷ —Re.	"Would you feed well?"—Re.
Māra doh māṅ jhinjhwa ⁸ ghaṅo—Re.	"In my village are quantities of Jhinjhwa (grass)"—Re.
Tamū jhinjhwa rūḍo Sarjo ne—Re.	"And (then) you would eat sweet Jhinjhwa"—Re.
Amū dūd rūḍā kāhūṅ—Re.	"We would eat (your) sweet milk"—Re.
Hāmlo Nāgorī bāmaṅ—Re.	"Hear, oh Nagor Brāhmins," said the cattle—Re.
Tamū dud khāo ko gosh khābo—Re.	"Is it milk (in truth) or flesh you would eat?"—Re.
Baiyo Nāgorī bāmaṅ—Re.	(They replied) friends, (are we not) Nagor Brāhmins?
Kalodā hāme bāṅḍī lidī—Re.	(When they came up) they seized, bound, and took away the heifers—Re.
Utre Gāhiyo dūngre—Re.	Descended the hills of Gāhia—Re.
Sālyā lolagrā, mārg—Re.	Followed the jungle road—Re.
Lodā Amjharā ¹⁰ na rājū—Re.	Took (the road) to the district of Amjhera—Re.
Awyā Alitū-rājpur ¹¹ —Re.	Came to Ali-Rājpur—Re.
Awyā kalodā tu dūngre—Re.	(There) went to the hill of kalodā—Re.
Bāḍiyo khandāri khoh māṅ—Re.	Tied them up in the khandāri Valley—Re.
Lāwe Nārū kerā wāṅkḍā ¹² —Re.	Brought fibre of Nura to bind them—Re.
Lūṅjo jhoṅṅ ne Kalodā—Re.	Bound the heifers by the feet—Re.
Jhoṅṅ wāṅkḍā ne rūḍā toḍo—Re.	But the cattle easily broke the ropes—Re.
Phādyā Nawa-teri dūngre—Re.	Fled in all directions over the Nawa-teri hill—Re.
Nārhing doḍwā bhulo lāgo—Re.	Narsingh ran fast after them—Re.
Paḍī giye kuḍāṭī nadī māṅ—Re.	Plunged (the cattle) into the Kundati river—Re.
Baṅī gye Dok ne Pāḍaṅ—Re.	All became Dok and Pāḍan fishes—Re.
Ramo kuḍāṭī nadī māṅ—Re.	Sporting in the Kundati river—Re.
Nārhing pālā ne rūḍā bāṅdo—Re.	Narsingh (now) erected a dam—Re.
Pāto phoḍī ne bhālā nākhyā—Re.	(The cattle) completely broke down the dam—Re.
Māryo puṣḍāno uḍāḍo—Re.	(And becoming again cattle) lashed the river with their tails—Re.
Uḍyo dāḍas saḍakā—Re.	Uprose a shower of milk—Re.
Nārhing saṅtā ¹³ sato giyo—Re.	Narsingh was splashed with it—Re.
Tini koḍe rūḍiye baṅī—Re.	And (at once) his body was covered with leprosy—Re.
Nārhing koḍiyālo ne baṅiyo—Re.	So Narsingh became a leper—Re.
Mātā paḍī ne pāye lāgūṅ—Re.	(He prayed) oh dear mother, I fall at thy feet.
Mātā golo ne batāḍo—Re.	"Shew me a way (to become whole)—Re.
Lāwaje Gujrāṭī Bāmuniyā—Re.	(The goddess said) "Join the Gujarāṭī Brāhmins—Re.
Karjō aṅghoṅṅar tirth—Re.	Visit, pray, seventy-two shrines—Re.
Tāri koḍe galijā—Re.	(Then) thy leprosy will vanish—Re.
Hūṅ hoṅ kākāni bhonso—Re.	We are the cattle of kākā—Re.
Nārhing hangḍā baṅiyo—Re.	(So) Narsingh collected a band of his tribe—Re.
Baṅgiyā bāmūṅ nā hangḍā—Re.	Collected [another] band of [Nāgor] Brāhmins—Re.
Nārhing tirth karwā sāliyā—Re.	Narsingh [then] started on his pilgrimage—Re.
Hangḍā lūṅbiyo nā lūṅbiyo āwe—Re.	The bands journeying [also] went [with him]—Re.
Awyā Raṅiyālā rājū māṅ—Re.	They came to the district of Raṅiyā—Re.
Sāmūṅḍā puṣḍā puṣo—Re.	[There] Chāmūṅḍā [the goddess] questioned them—Re.
Bāmūṅḍā kuno seyo hangḍā—Re.	"Oh Brāhmins, whose band is this?"—Re.

¹ Dhār-wards: Dhār is capital now of a small Marāṭhā State, but was in early days the capital of the Parmārā kingdom of Mālwa.

² Raṅbhāpur: now in Jhābua State (22° 55' N., 74° 32' E.).

³ Māchhaliyā: a pass in Jhābua (22° 45' N., 75° 50' E.).

⁴ Rajgad in Gwalior (22° 40' N., 74° 59' E.).

⁵ Sardārpur: in Gwalior (22° 40' N., 75° 1' E.).

⁶ Morgāma in Gwalior (22° 38' N., 75° 10' E.).

⁷ Kalodā=heifer.

⁸ Saro=H. Charua, to graze.

⁹ Or very dense jhinjhwa grass near some hills.

¹⁰ Amjhera: Amjhera in Gwalior (22° 34' N., 75° 10' E.).

¹¹ Ali-Rājpur, capital of State of this name (22° 11' N., 74° 24' E.).

¹² Wāṅkḍā=H. Wāk=Integuments of a filamentous nature.

¹³ Santā=Ohinta.

SECTION C—contd.

SPECIMENS OF BHIL SONGS—contd.

No. III.—The Lay of Narsingh Bhil—contd.

Narsingh nā bharyo—Re.	"The band of Narsingh" (they answered)—Re.
Namunda hījā' ne āyā bacā—Re.	And Chāmunda brought supplies—Re.
Namunda natī' to jārāgo—Re.	Chāmunda [prepared] sixty-three dishes—Re.
Naryā hāri to bharyo—Re.	Made ready [another] thirty-two kinds of food—Re.
Narsing bharyo rōjā jama—Re.	Narsingh eat all the dishes—Re.
Uthāle hargaiāo dhūyo—Re.	A scarlet bedstead was set out—Re.
Kāthare rōhāl gūyālo—Re.	[On it] was laid a silken quilt—Re.
Naryo g hui' ne thālā gūyo—Re.	And on it Narsingh slept well—Re.
Namunda ne kakkūma sahlyā saro—Re.	Chāmunda consorted with him—Re.
Namundā nā jhāniyā shtyomo—Re.	He robbed (Chāmunda of her virginity)—Re.
Tonā aodānā' bhavyā so—Re.	He caused her to become pregnant—Re.
Ayā kalū ne kora dhāmiyā—Re.	He fetched a plantain stalk—Re.
Dhūmiā aodā' mān sūwāyā—Re.	Put the stem by her side—Re.
Naryo g bharyo || ne nātho—Re.	(Then) Narsingh taking his band—Re.
Naryo-jā marārai parāi kapjā—Re.	Swiftly (Chāmunda dressed)—Re.
Lālī kastūri gūyāyo—Re.	Brought out the mare kasturi—Re.
Hādēl bhūmī ne sawāro—Re.	Sprung from the ground into the saddle—Re.
Nāwūjā ādā rōjā pāriyā—Re.	Stoutly placed herself across (their) road—Re.
Giberyo Narsingh ne ha gūjā—Re.	Confronted (lit: surrounded) Narsingh's (whole) band—Re.
Bāi Rāniyāri Nāmūjā—Re.	(Then) spoke Chāmunda of Raniyā—Re.
Hādūwā hūn ne nāmo pabhū—Re.	"Wretch, what name is (the Child) to bear?"—Re.
Naryo Virkhetliyo—Re.	"If a son, (he answered) Virkhetli"—Re.
Naryo Virākhbetli—Re.	"If a girl, Virākhbetli—Re.
Nāmunda jāsā pharī āryo—Re.	(Then) Chāmunda turned back home—Re.
Nāmunda maino ne amāle ne—Re.	And so Chāmunda reckoned up the months—Re.
Maino āthmo nawamo sāle—Re.	And the eighth (and then) the ninth month came—Re.
Nāmunda ne pēt mān dūkho—Re.	Pains came in Chāmunda's womb—Re.
Hōdāwe Hājānā honwāni—Re.	Sajāna, the midwife, was called—Re.
Māngūje kasī' ghanī' nā telū—Re.	She obtained fresh oil from the mill—Re.
Mohīā gūnā thā rī nānt—Re.	Mixed it with cool water—Re.
Hājū belyo maro so—Re.	Sajāna rubbed (her womb)—Re.
Hoye rājāliyā bālujā—Re.	A princely boy was born—Re.
Hājū gūyā khētliyā kuywar—Re.	He was called prince khētli—Re.
Devatā wāhūle badhe so—Re.	The God-like child grew—Re.
Mādī bhogno bhālā ālo ne—Re.	(One day he said) "Mother, make a good offering for me"—Re.
Aiyā kūkjā ne bokjā—Re.	She brought a cock and a goat—Re.
Aiyā koratūy khinjā—Re.	Brought also fresh kichdi—Re.
Aiyā narālā sūrmā—Re.	Brought cocoanuts and surma—Re.
Ayo bāro bhāji no haro—Re.	Brought liquor from twelve stills—Re.
Hētā khājo ne mojāp mārjo—Re.	Prayed "Oh son, rejoice and be happy"—Re.
Kāto duniyā kora dukho—Re.	Destroy the evils of the world—Re.
Dakhū bhāgi bhūkū kar jo—Re Dehariyā	Drive away (these) and pain and hunger—Re. Dehariyā.

No. IV.—The Song of Bhurya Bhil.

The interest in this song lies in the fact of the Bhil placing the *tika* mark on the chief's forehead. This is, of course, a well-known practice in many places in which Rājput clans have ousted the allodial proprietors. The Jhābua State is situated in the south-west of the Central India Agency. The ruling family is Rāthor, an offshoot of the Jodhpur house. The fort of Pāwāngarh is in Gujarāt.

Bhuryo Pāvā-ne parthi ¹⁹ gāvuro suwāgo āj . . .	Bhuryo—I sing now of Bhurya, lord of Pāwāngarh district.
Bhuryo-Pāvāno gadhāhī nikalyoro mane warowar . . .	Bhuryo—(Once) he started out from Pāwāngarh fort in haste.
Bhuryo-Ayo kāne āyore Gamāni pāl ²⁰ . . .	Bhuryo—He came travelling to the pāl of Gama.
Bhuryo-Bārā no pādā ²¹ tapere mukhyo nā āj . . .	Bhuryo—There he became the lord over twelve Bhil Villages.
Bhuryo-Rājā Bhīmānī ²² wahere Jhābūwe ro gāmp . . .	Bhuryo-Bhīmāni was then ruler of Jhābua.
Bhuryo-Majre ²³ kāne todese Bhīmāni āj . . .	Bhuryo—A messenger Bhīmāni sent (to Bhuryo saying) come and pay respects (to me).
Bhuryo-Majre kāne jāwere māre wāro wār . . .	Bhuryo—Went at once to pay his respects.
Bhuryo-Aggli ne bhāji tilūāo mane kāde āj . . .	Bhuryo—"Cutting your finger (said the king) make the tilak (with blood) on me forthwith.
Bhuryo-Ne rājā kāne āli re Rājā no āj . . .	Bhuryo—So the Rājā gave him leave to rule.

¹⁹ Hīdā = H. Shiddha (N. Shiddh), undressed grain with fuel for cooking, i.e., supplies.

²⁰ Sātin = Chhatā; warāno = Cooked Vegetables. c.f. Marāthi Sāran, apices used for stuffing.

²¹ Hui = Soy.

²² Aodānū, Pregnant.

²³ Dhūmiā = Stem, dry stalk.

²⁴ Kasī = fresh.

²⁵ Ghanī = Oil-mill.

²⁶ Haro = liquor.

²⁷ Parthi = lord (H. pāthivi).

²⁸ Pāl: the pāl are certain local areas generally in possession of a section of the tribe.

²⁹ Pādā: Bhil settlements are called "Bhū pādā," i.e., Bhil quarters.

³⁰ Bhīmānī Singh was the father of Kesho Dās who founded the present Jhābua State in 1534. Though never really ruler of Jhābua, he held the Badnāwar district (now in Dhār State) in fief; wahere = Wase-re.

³¹ Majre: Salutation (Pers: mujra).

SECTION C—*concl'd.*SPECIMENS OF BHIL SONGS—*concl'd.**No. IV.—Song of Bhurya Bhū—concl'd.*

Bhuryo-khaxi ¹ ne khodi khūjo re Dewad ne māi . . .	Bhuryo—"Plunder (said the king) to your heart's content, enjoy the wealth of Dohad."
Bhuryo-Kuti ² ne lūṭi khādore Dewada ³ ne māi . . .	Bhuryo—Beat, plundered, and took possession of the wealth of Dohad.
Bhuryo-Luṭi kuti Bhuryo ne pāohhā āj . . .	Bhuryo—having looted and slain them Bhuryo came back.
Bhuryo-Awā kāne ayo ne Gāmāniyā pāi . . .	Bhuryo—So came to the pāi of Gama.
Bhuryo-Lugaḍe ⁴ ne dārī māngāḍe Bhuryo to āj . . .	Bhuryo—Then did Bhuryo order jars full of liquor.

¹ Khani: lit. dig up (S. khan).² Kuti: to pound, drub (S. Kuttan).³ Dohad town in Bombay Presidency.⁴ Lugaḍa: lit the frame of wood for carrying jars, etc., on donkeys. Here used for the jars themselves.

APPENDIX II.

Migration of Castes and Tribes into Central India and their distribution.

I.—INTRODUCTORY.

1. **Area defined.**—The Central India Agency is an arbitrarily constituted administrative unit for the purposes of political control and we cannot restrict the area to the present day political boundaries. The best way to define the area for our purposes is to imagine a triangle with the Nerbada and Son for its hypotenuse and having for one side the valley of the Ganges and for the other river Chambal and the Chittor hills. Let us assume that the region round about Gwalior is the apex of this triangle. Then the area comprised within this triangle will include the Central India Agency as at present constituted, the state of Gwalior, the British Bundelkhand districts in the United Provinces and the valley of the Nerbada lying in the Central Provinces.

2. **Physical features.**—To understand the ebb and flow of migration, into the area so defined, a knowledge of its physical features is absolutely essential. These have already been briefly touched upon in Chapter I of the Report and for the sake of convenience we may recapitulate them here. The most important of them is the range of the hills spreading from the borders of Gujarat to Rajmahal. The Vindhya range together with its offshoots and the Satpuras lie entirely in our region and to their north lies a table-land which gently slopes away to the Gangetic basin. The Vindhyan wall has served as an effective barrier across peninsular India and it has set the limit to every migration from the north to the south. Though in the centre the Vindhyas might have proved a formidable barrier, there are gaps at either end. Thus in western Malwa the Vindhyan gap easily lends a passage to Gujarat and its sea-ports. The eastern portion of the Vindhyas was crossed at Mahisatti (identified with Onkar Mandhatta on the Nerbada) in early Buddhist times when it was a recognised route from the Deccan to the northern parts. It is however doubtful whether any large scale migration took place through this route.

3. **Main currents of migration.**—The main streams of migration to this region have come from the Indo-gangetic plain, from the region beyond the Chambal on the western side and from Gujarat. Evidence also points to the fact that there has been considerable movement in early times through the corridor along the Nerbada valley from the Gujarat littoral. Migration from the area beyond the Chambal, probably dates from the time of the rise of the Rajput clans and there is evidence to believe that Malwa was colonised very much earlier than that part of the country. The connection between Gujarat and Malwa was well-established, as far as we know, in Buddhist times. Ujjain had then become a prominent place and Malwa was on the high-way. In considering the migration from the northern parts we have to bear in mind the following few facts:—

- (1) The contiguity of the Central Indian table-land to the densely-peopled parts of the Gangetic-doab, the centre and seat of ancient culture and civilization.
- (2) The absence of any physical barrier from the northern plains to the table-land till the Vindhyas are reached.
- (3) The fertility of Malwa and hence a coveted possession for strong and powerful Rulers.
- (4) The Central India regions have possessed low density. Being sparsely populated they have always sucked in people but have sent out very few.
- (5) We have also to bear in mind one important fact which is apt to be lost sight of. The waves of migration did not flood all the parts as we may be tempted to suppose. Civilization rose and fell according to the political fortunes and convulsions in the Gangetic plains. When there was anarchy in the northern regions, in parts of Central India the forests advanced and there was an extension of tribal rule.
- (6) In Malwa itself we have again, to recognise two regions as was done from the earliest times, viz., western Malwa (Avanti) and eastern Malwa (Acara). The former may be approximately described as lying between 77° North and 22.5° East. (This may historically be not quite exact). Western Malwa has at all times been far more exposed than eastern Malwa or the eastern parts of Central India. It has received some share in all the racial incursions that have taken place into the northern plains. It has been subjected to the Scythian and the Hun invasions of the early historical times.
- (7) Lastly, practically the whole region lying to the east of western Malwa has been for a long time a partially opened up tract in places and entirely unopened area in

other parts. In one of his works Crooke wrote that the Central Indian jungle with its occasional patches of brushwood or coarse grass is rather a copse than a primeval forest. It is true that it stands no comparison with the forests of the Himalayas and neither has it the abundant and luxuriant foliage of the great forests. But the denuded and poor forests of Central India of to-day must have been different in the days gone by. They have undoubtedly suffered at the hands of the colonizers and its primitive inhabitants and probably also due to climatic changes. We have very little information so far on the last point. A reference in the *Arthashastra* reveals the fact that Avanti was a region of considerable rainfall and the precipitation for this region is given as 23 *dronas*. Only four centuries ago there were thick forests in eastern Malwa and further east it is recorded that the forests in Orchha were so thick that it occupied the Moghal armies several days in cutting a way through them.¹

4. Factors of migration.—We have next to consider what lies behind the movements of people. The causes are various and with the scanty material at our disposal it is often difficult to disentangle the various factors that have governed the movements of men. In the early times climatic changes, desiccation of certain regions setting in motion movements of nomads, pressure of population, disturbed political conditions, conquest and colonisation, have all played their part in varying degrees. In more recent times, famine, religious persecution and colonisation have influenced migration. Generally all movements are primarily due to food. The task of isolating one or more of these factors is by no means easy and before we essay to do so and set up some kind of rough frame work within which we can get some glimpse of the movements of people, we must first deal with the baffling question of those primitive tribes who are inhabiting the hills and forests of these regions.

II.—EARLY RACIAL DRIFTS AND MIGRATION.

5. The present day primitive tribes.—The important primitive tribes of this region are Bhil, Gond, Korku, Kol, Baiga, and Saharia (Sonr). There are various offshoots of some of these tribes and they have already been noticed in the Chapter on Caste. Who are they and whence have they come? All the primitive tribes have the tradition that they have been the inhabitants of these regions from time immemorial and they are unable to point out to any migratory movement. The Gonds say they come from south which so far as our regions are concerned practically means Gondwana and they are an overflow into Central India from that part. The Bhils of the south-western Vindhya have some tradition of movement but that is merely a displacement from one place to another along the Vindhya. The Gonds speak a language which is classified as Dravidian. The Korku and the Kol (with whom we may associate the Baiga and the Bhil) once spoke a language which is classified as Austric. Linguistic considerations may go to suggest more than one racial drift. But it would be dangerous to assert any such movement on linguistic grounds alone.

6. Defective knowledge about them.—Much of their history is still in the realms of uncertainty and will remain so till expert investigators make an intensive and concentrated study. In the Chapter on Caste four broad tribal belts have been described. These have yet to be regionally surveyed and the Bhil area has to be split up and separately studied in the Satpuras, in the Vindhya and further west in Mewar. A systematic exploration of the prehistoric archæology of the Vindhya-Kaimur system has to be undertaken. An extensive field work is necessary in the remoter parts of the Central Indian hills especially in south Rewa to secure ethnographic and anthropometric data. The materials obtained by these different studies are bound to form a valuable clue to many problems in the racial and cultural history of these parts.

7. The pre-Dravidians.—In the meanwhile, we may consider the problem, however unsatisfactory it may be, in the light of the few materials known or available so far. In doing so we shall not speculate whether early man arose in India or not. The early home of the modern types of men has not yet been satisfactorily located but let us assume that it is to be provisionally placed along what is now Sahara, Mesopotamia and Arabia. Man and vegetation flourish easily in temperate or tropical zone and it is believed in the glacial epoch of the Pleistocene period, a belt of Cyclonic storm lay over these zones. Sahara, now a vast desert, was then a grass-land. Peake and Fleure believe that the early type of man spread from these regions. "Among the people who retain the unlengthened head with the ancient prominent jaws and with spirally curved hair, we may mention the Andamanese . . . ; these are all very short, and very dark with broad flat noses."² If we construct the distribution of land and water with the coast line at the present 100 fathom or thereabout, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Palawan would form a hooked peninsula attached to farther India and this will help us to understand their spread to these regions.³ Whether they spread from the supposed 'cradle' of modern man

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Central India, page 51.*

² *Corridors of Time, iv-184.*

³ *Ibid.*

or not, we start with a dim perception that several millenia before recorded history there was a dark negroid race of low culture characterised by a physical type of very short stature, low forehead and flat face and nose. This race we may term pre-Dravidian.

8. All great racial migrations into India are from the West.—If there is one fact which impresses upon us strongly in connection with the migrational history of India, it is this that all the great racial movements into India from the dawn of history up to the modern 18th century have been from the regions to the west and north-west of the Indian peninsula and they have been into India and not out of India. Its physical formation has been such that along the great plains, or in its coastal regions or in its highlands, the floods of invasions have spread themselves out in the vast area enclosed on three sides by the sea and closed on the northern side by the impenetrable mountain barrier. But India has always been a centre of secondary dispersion of culture and civilization towards east and farther east. It is therefore to the west we look for the migration of races into India unless stronger evidence is forthcoming to abandon this view. We have reason to ascribe that several migrations took place into India from the western direction.

9. Migration of the Proto-mediterranean race.—It may be hazarded as a point of view worth consideration that one of these took place due to sudden climatic changes. An important crisis occurred in the early history of man when the northern ice cap over Europe retreated and the climatic belt that lay over Sahara followed it. The grass-land of Sahara began to dry up. This resulted in the migration of the animals to more favoured regions and the hunters who hunted them followed them. These hunters spread towards the Nile and later on appear to have extended up to the Vindhyan hills in India and even to Ceylon.¹ These people largely lived on small game, shot with their bows and arrows and supplemented their diet by digging up edible roots with hoes of flint.² These people we may designate as the proto-mediterraneans. They conquered or blended with (whatever process took place if it did at all) the early pre-Dravidian element in these parts. Nothing very definite, however, is so far known about the presence of a Negrito element in the aboriginal population of India in general and in the primitive tribes of Central India in particular. These proto-mediterraneans constitute the first of the racial strata in the central parts of India and it is these whom we call the Munda tribes. They have at the present day everywhere been submerged by the later invasions and are mere remnants of a vanished people in the hills of Central India, represented by the Baiga, Kol, Saharia, Sonr, Korku and Bhil tribes. The Austric family of languages should be associated with these people and the Munda branch of this family still survives in island patches in the central regions.

10. Their culture.—Their long contact with the culture of the plains has modified their primitive culture to a very great extent and what little is left of it is difficult to reconstruct. They remain in spite of agriculture being compulsorily forced on them, hunters and food-gatherers by instinct. The art of cultivation has never been seriously acquired by them. The Baiga is an inveterate 'dhaya' (shifting) cultivator. So is the Sor in Bundelkhand who is a wretched cultivator. 'He sows his Jowar by jabbing the seeds in with a pointed stick.'³ Before the Korku became a wretched village drudge his life in the mountain haunts was not far different from the early hunters and food-gatherers. He practised shifting cultivation if it suited him. That was a precarious job but he had nothing to despair. Nature was bountiful in the forests. He would live on edible roots, wild yam, bamboo seeds, supplemented by the flesh of wild animals and by fish obtained by poisoning the pools.⁴ The Bhil who has been for long in contact with the Hindus has become so to say civilized but some of the Satpura Bhils are still very backward and live mostly on roots and berries and were formerly practising shifting cultivation. Of their material culture, the details are sadly lacking. The custom of erecting small upright stones as monuments to the dead among the Bhils, and of tattooing, belief in a soul as being born as an insect and certain ideas regarding metempsychosis, go to suggest that their culture was part of a widespread one.⁵

11. Possible distribution.—It would be interesting to attempt some kind of distribution of this submerged people. We have good reason to assume that they were far more widespread than in their present day mountain homes. Linguistic evidence goes to shew that in the Himalayas the Munda survivals are most apparent. Dr. Sten Konow believes that the Kolarians at one time occupied the vast area of northern India; that the existence of Korku tribe in the heart of India seems to point to the conclusion that people of a similar descendency have occupied a large territory in central parts of the country and probably also in the Deccan.⁶ The same authority holds that they influenced the germs of art, religion and philosophy.⁷ Judging by their present day distribution it would appear that from Gujarat across Malwa along the Vindhya were the Bhils. Further north in Malwa were the Saharias or Savars stretching from

¹ *Corridors of Time*, III, 8.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Amush District Gazetteer*.

⁴ Forsyth. *Highlands of Central India*.

⁵ For details see Appendix I.

⁶ *J. A. S. B.* 1923, No. 3, p. 315, quoted in *Pre-Muslman India* by Mr. V. Rangacharya, Huxley Press, Madras, page 67.

⁷ *Ibid.*

the borders of the Jumna-Chambal system across the peninsula to the north-east of the present day Madras Presidency. 'The most southern forms of Munda speech', says Sir George Grierson, 'are those spoken by Savaras and the Gadabas of north-east Madras. The former has been identified with the Suari of Pliny and the Sabaræ of Ptolemy. A wild tribe of the same name is mentioned in Sanskrit literature even so far back as in late Vedic times, as inhabiting the Deccan, so that the name can boast great antiquity.'¹ Thus this branch covered a wide expanse of territory though now separated and confined to the jungles of eastern Malwa or of Bundelkhand. Cunningham says "Indeed there are good reasons to believe that the Savaras were formerly the dominant branch of the great Kolarian family and that their power lasted down to a comparatively late period, when they were pushed aside by other Kolarian tribes in the north and east and by the Gonds in south. In the Saugor district I was informed that the Savaras had formerly fought with the Gonds and that the latter had conquered them by treacherously, making men drunk."² To the east of the Savara belt were the Kol, Baiga and other allied tribes in the Kaimur-Vindhyan hills, with a great extension towards Chota Nagpur and possibly even beyond. We have also some good evidence to believe that some of the offshoots of these tribes were in occupation of the northern Gangetic plain either before or at the time of the Aryan invasion into India. They have now passed into oblivion and possibly merged into the lower castes. The memory and tradition of at least three peoples are preserved. They are the Bhar, Cheru and Seori. The Census caste table does not show them. It is believed that the Hinduised tribal caste of Bharia returned from Rewa and other Baghelkhand States are descended from the ancient Bhars of whom Crooke says "The most probable supposition is that the Bhars were a Dravidian race closely allied to the Kols, Cherus and Seoris who at an early period succumbed to the invading Aryans. This is borne out by their physique and appearance which closely resemble that of the undoubted non-Aryan aborigines of the Vindhyan-Kaimur plateau."³ There is no doubt that the Bhars were once a widespread race. They were in north Rewa before the Rajputs displaced them and once a wide tract in northern India from Gorakhpur to Saugor was under their sway. They were very powerful in Oudh and in portions of the Gangetic doab.⁴ They have again a claim to antiquity as a tribe mentioned by Pliny in his list of the Indian races as the following quotation from McCrindle's *Ancient India* as described by Megasthenes and Arrian would show:—

"There is a very large island in the Ganges which is inhabited by a single tribe called Modogalingæ. Beyond are situated the Modubæ, Molindæ, the Uberæ with a handsome town of the same name", etc. The Modubæ (says an explanatory foot-note) represent beyond doubt the Moutiba, a people mentioned in the *Āitareya Brahmana* along with other non-Aryan tribes which occupied the country north of the Ganges at the time when the Brahmans, established their first settlements in the country. The Uberæ must be referred to the Bhars, a numerous race spread over the central districts of the region spoken of and extending as far as to Assam. The name is pronounced differently in different districts and variously written as Bors or Bhors, Bhowris, Barrilas and Bharhiyas, Bareyas, Baoris, Bharais, etc. The race though formerly powerful is now one of the lowest classes of the population."

The Cherus were also a powerful race and were the masters of the soil in the eastern Gangetic plain. Buchanan noticed a peculiar custom among them of appointing a Raja for every five or six families who is created in the Rajput fashion by the application of a mark or *thika* to the forehead. From all accounts these people appear to have advanced in their material culture more than their brethren who remained or preferred to remain in the inaccessible hills but they could not withstand the onslaught of the invading Aryans or the later invaders speaking Aryan languages. Their languages were strangled, their culture destroyed and in course of time not without struggles and set-backs on either side, they finally succumbed and perished.

12. The Dravidians—a branch of the Mediterranean race.—Subsequent to the migration of the proto-Mediterraneans, at a later period, there was another racial drift. Due to climatic changes or to the pressure of population, possibly from the area which Peake and Fleure call the Fertile Crescent, a branch of the Mediterranean race—the Dravida-speaking people, passed through Baluchistan and the Indus valley, down to Gujarat, the Deccan and the southern regions. Linguistic consideration shows that Sanskrit has been much modified by a good many Dravidian features and it has been well-established now that the Brahmi script itself from which all the Indian scripts have been derived is to be derived from the pictographic signs used by the people of the Indus valley civilization.⁵ If that is so, the Dravida-speaking people must have settled in the Gangetic valley also. It is extremely doubtful if they ever occupied the Central Indian plateau. It is also not possible that the invading Aryans could have driven them south. No such movement was possible through the Vindhyan barriers. The movement of the Dravida-speaking people to the south must have been along the west coast or even by sea. In the south their culture was influenced by the cultural migrations from Egypt and Mesopotamia. It is recognised the Mediterranean race possessed a higher culture and its migra-

¹ *Linguistic Survey of India*, volume I.

² Quoted in *Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces*, Art. Savara.

³ *Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces*, Art. Bharia.

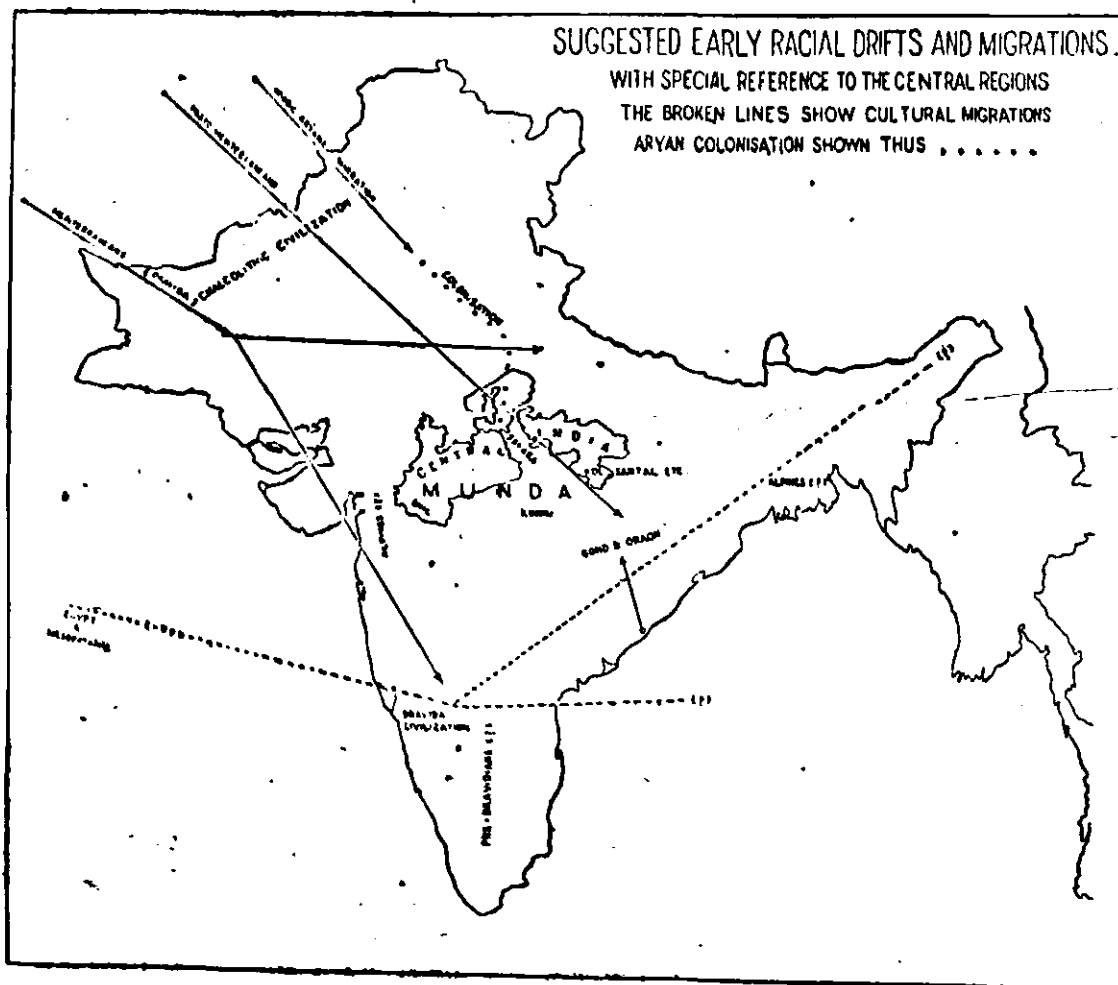
⁴ *Sherring Hindu tribes and castes*. The Bhar tribe.

⁵ This has been pointed out to me in a private communication from the Census Commissioner.

tion led to a more pronounced advance in civilization and the Dravidian civilization of the south is believed to have drifted to farther East. To the north-west, in the Indus valley, a distinct and elaborate culture was also thriving. Whether this culture had a provincial form in the Gangetic valley or in the borderland of our parts or even in the central regions, whether the Dravidian man was responsible for it and whether that culture materially affected the aboriginal population of Central India are all questions for which we have to wait for an answer till further light is thrown by investigations which are yet in progress. If the origin of the god now called Shiva or Mahadeva, could be traced to the Indus valley civilization it is worth noticing that the Bhils, Savaras and the Korkus—all trace their origin to Mahadeva, though it is possible that the tradition may be a laterly acquired Hindu idea.

13. **The problem of the Gonds.**—We may at this stage deal with the problem of the Gonds and other allied tribes who speak a Dravidian language. They have made a wedge in the different parts of our region. The fact that the Gond speaks a Dravidian language no more proves that he must be a Dravidian (so called) by race than the Baiga who speaks a corrupt form of Bagheli is an Indo-Aryan. The Gonds and the Oraons have a tradition that they came from south and their immigration into the Central Provinces is held to have occurred in more recent historical times. The Gonds may be the pre-Dravidians of the south on whom the Dravidians imposed their language and due to some causes in the regions of north-east Madras, there must have been a large scale displacement of the tribes into the interior of the central regions.

14. **Alpine race.**—We have to mention another racial drift though it does not appear to have reached these parts so far as we know. Along the west coast of India, there is a concentration of what is known as the brachycephalic Alpine type. The same type is dominant in Bengal where 'the main concentration is in the southern or deltaic region with gradual decrease towards the north and the east'.¹ The older view which sought to explain this type as due to Scythian influence in the west coast and to Mangolian infiltration in Bengal has been abandoned in favour of the belief that the broad headed element is descended from an Alpine race which intruded into India in the pre-historic times long before the Scythians invaded Gujarat and other parts of India. There is no reason to warrant so far that the broad headed element pushed its way across Central India. The path of the intruder was effectively blocked by the forests and the mountains and by the presence of the various Munda tribes. It is more probable the Alpine element reached Bengal by some other land route.



¹ R. S. Guha. *Some anthropological problems in India.* *Modern Review*, Calcutta, August 1928.

III.—MIGRATION IN HISTORICAL TIMES.

15. In the previous section we have noted the present day distribution of the primitive tribes and suggested some possibilities of their migration. We can carry the migration history into the historical times more satisfactorily if we can fix certain arbitrary periods in the history of Central India. They may be set down as follows :—

1. From the time of the Aryan invasion of India to the rise of Buddhism.
2. Mauryan epoch to the invasion of Huns and other foreign hordes.
3. The rise and fall of Neo-Hinduism.
4. The Rule of Islam up to the downfall of the Moghal power.
5. Recent times.

16. **Period 1.**—The last of the pre-historic migrations was that of the Aryans who according to the commonly accepted views entered India from the north-west, occupied the Punjab first and then in the Gangetic doab evolved the complex Indo-Aryan culture and civilization. It is certain the Rigvedic Aryans did not migrate into Central India. The Central Indian rivers and the Vindhya are not mentioned in the early Vedic literature. The identification of the Bhils with Nishada is not quite certain. In the later Vedic period it appears that a tribe called Chedi had occupied the present day Bundelkhand. Later on we find that the Rajputs who rose in the third period appear under the name of the Chedis and a large tract of the country lying in the Narbada valley was designated as the land of the Chedis. Malwa was certainly colonised by the Aryans from the doab and in the early Buddhistic times the kingdom of Ujjain was one of the 16 Aryan tribes ruling in different parts of northern India. With the rise of Buddhism Ujjain was connected with Magadha by way of Sanchi and Vidisha (modern Bisanagar) in eastern Malwa and Bharut now in Nagod State in the Baghelkhand Agency. The colony of the Aryans was perhaps dotted over all these regions surrounded in the midst of the non-Aryan population. From the list of Megasthenes we read of another tribe or uncertain affiliation, called Charmæ who have been identified as residing in Charmamandala and are believed to be represented by the Chamars of Bundelkhand and the parts adjacent to the basin of the Ganges.¹ By a process of enslavement or by degradation or of mixed marriages or by other causes, the lowest elements in the caste composition of the present day, were formed. At least the process of formation started in this early period and their ranks have been reinforced for ages till the caste system obtained a fixity and rigidity. Of such castes, mention may be made of, Basor, Balai, Chamar, Kotwar, Arakh, Dhanuk, Dahait, etc. They have no tradition of migration. Excepting the Basor and the Chamar, the rest are generally employed as village menials and watchmen from time immemorial. They are the authorities on village boundaries and the *Arthashastra* which in main depicts the pre-Buddhistic India lays down that the interior of the kingdom should be watched by archers, hunters, chandalas and wild tribes.² The penetration of the Aryans to the different parts of Central India seems to have been achieved in the post-Vedic and the early Buddhistic period. Thus the Son (Sanskrit Suvarna or 'gold'; also called Hiranyavata, possibly corrupted to Erranoboas of Arrian), the Ken (Sanskrit Karnavati, the Kainas of Arrian), the Dhasan (Dasharana, possibly the Dasaron of Ptolemy), the Betwa (Sanskrit Vetravati) and the Chambal (Sanskrit Charmanvati) received their names in the Indo-Aryan language and possess the earliest historical mentions.

17. **Period 2.**—Perhaps in the Mauryan epoch arose the complexity if not the rigidity of the caste system and the association of caste with craft thus paving the way for the formation of the various occupational and functional castes. Castes were also forming due to the interaction of the old four divisions. In the dark period between the collapse of the Mauryan power and the rise of the Guptas, very little is known about the movement of people. It is tolerably certain that the eastern parts of Central India passed under tribal rule with the weakening of the authority of the Aryan Rulers. Western Malwa was ruled by the Sakas or the Scythians. Political subjection by the Sakas or the Huns need not necessarily always mean a migration and settlement of them in large numbers in tracts which according to history were ruled by them. It is not quite safe to assume the Scythic or the Hun element necessarily modified the composition of the population by the nature of the political rule. At the same time we have to take note of the fact that the Sakas ruled western Malwa from Ujjain and further north were the tribal republics of the Malavas and the Abhiras. It is supposed that the former have given the name to Malwa though as a distinct people they have disappeared or merged with the general population. The Abhiras from whom the modern Ahirs are said to have descended were a widespread people and they have given the name of Ahirwara to the country between Gwalior and Jhansi. According to the *Khandesh District Gazetteer*³, the Abhiras were on the North-West Frontier before the Christian era. In the third century A.D. they were in lower Sindh and north Gujarat and next they appear to have passed down the Tapti valley into Khandesh. It is very probable these tribes were the advance guard of the vast migratory hordes that poured into India in the first few centuries of the Christian era. After the fall of the Guptas, there

¹ McCrindle's *Ancient India*, 150-151 and foot-note.

² *Arthashastra*, translated by Dr. R. Shama Sastry, Bk. II, Chapter I.

³ Volume XII (1880), 39.

was again an inroad of the barbarians known to history as the white Huna. Malwa was ruled by their chief Mihirakula, a Hun tyrant. The rule of the Huns was terminated by a local rising under a Raja of Central India. After a brief spell of the vigorous rule of Harsha, there followed a very considerable adjustment in the Hindu society and a great stir in the migration history of these parts. Before we consider the nature of this stir, we note two small points which are of some significance. Compare the empire of Asoka, of Samudragupta and of Harsha on a map of India as given in my Vincent Smith's early history of India. The country to the west of Central India (the present day Rajputana) and to the east (the present day eastern Central Provinces districts) are practically *terra incognita* in the time of the Mauryas, the Guptas and even of Harsha. The western boundary of Central India has always been the Chambal as it is even today. Secondly the western regions in Harsha's time began to be peopled and already places like Bhilmal and others attract attention.

18. Period 3¹.—In the time of the Mauryas and the Guptas the seat of civilization was Magadha but with the downfall of their power, it shifted to the Deccan. Kanauj took the place of Pataliputra as the radiating centre of ancient civilization. The eastern parts of Central India which now and then were brought under the sway of a powerful northern Ruler again came under the rule of the primitive tribes. In this period two other movements are seen at work. One is the growth of neo-Hinduism which appealed to the people at large and which in course of its evolution absorbed a good deal of the non-Aryan cult. It became broad-based and not exclusive as the Vedic religion of the Aryans. The second is the process of absorption into the fold of this neo-Hinduism of the foreign elements that were present in India at that time as well as the aboriginal element in the existing population. The classification of society no longer proceeded on racial lines but on occupations. "The higher the caste the more numerous and more honourable the occupations open to it."

There is a difference of opinion as to the rise of the various Rajput clans and a certain amount of fiction still persists that the Rajputs are descended from the ancient Kshatriyas. It requires some stretch of imagination and credulity to believe that the Rajputs of Malwa are descended from the Kshatriya kings of Avanti of the early Buddhistic times, ignoring all the kaleidoscopic changes of more than two millennia. The generally accepted historical view is that some of the renowned clans like the Parihars, Solankis, Chauhans and the Paramaras have a foreign origin. In the early history of India, three definite irruptions of the foreign barbarians have now been recognised. They, in order, are of the Sakas, the Yuechi or the Kushans and the Huns. It is not known definitely how far the first two have contributed to the composition of the Rajput clans but the Huns together with the allied swarms decidedly have. The aristocratic sections amongst the foreigners became the ruling clans while the others in course of time became the cultivating classes like the Jat or the Gujar. The foreigners established their kingdom in the early mediæval times and one of them was at Bhilmal and the ruling dynasty belonged to the Pratihara (Parihar) clan of the Gurjara tribe. The familiar legend of the Agnikula Rajputs, the Pawar (Paramara), Parihar, Chauhan and Solanki is perhaps a convenient allegory to explain their purification and absorption into the Hindu fold. The country to the west and north of Chambal became the home of the early clan settlements. Some of the other clans to the east of Chambal, like the Chandel, Bundela, Gaharwar, etc., are supposed to have sprung from the Hinduised aboriginal elements. The Gaharwars are associated with the Bhars and the Bundelas and the northern Rathors are associated with the Gaharwars.

The rise of these clans is a most important period in our discussion. They were a restless and a vigorous people constantly seeking for new settlements. This movement has gone on for several centuries till the establishment of British power in India. The quest for settlements set in train a widespread migration of clans over a large part of upper India. Kanauj was a great focus from which the migrations spread and from these a dispersal of people took place to reinforce the distant colonies and settlements. It is even believed that the functional and occupational castes migrated from there to different parts of western and eastern India.

The distribution of the important clans by locality is enumerated below:—

The Solankis were the rulers of Gujarat and Kathiawar and their capital was Anhilvad Patan. The Chauhans, a powerful clan occupied the whole country from Mount Abu to Hissar and from the Aravallis to the northern tracts of Bundelkhand. The Kachhwahas held Gwalior and Narwar while the Tomars occupied Hissar and the country round about Delhi.

Excepting the Kachhwahas, the above-mentioned clans were to the west of the Chambal. Of the clans settled in Central India, the most famous of them were the Paramaras of Malwa who appear to have migrated from a vicinity near Mount Abu. Further east in the Nerbada valley were the Kalchuris, who are also known as the Chedi or the Haihaya or Haihivansi Rajputs. It is likely they were descended from one of the early Scythian or foreign tribes. Their first capital was Maheswar on the Nerbada which is now in Indore State. Later on the Kalchuris appear to have extended their power into the heart of what is now the Central Provinces possibly being subjected to the pressure of the growing powers of the Paramaras of Malwa.

¹ This section and a portion of the next one are entirely based on Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* (1914), Chapter XIV and on J. Kennedy's brilliant essay in Chapter VIII of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Volume II.

The Chedi country was divided into two kingdoms, Western Chedi or Dahala with the capital near the modern Jubbulpore and Eastern Chedi or Mahakosala with its capital at Ratanpur. In the recurrence of these classical names of the Epic period we observe how the newly absorbed elements took upon them the old mantles and as the saying goes that history repeats itself, several centuries later when the Great Moghal was dead, we see the same process at work when every power that rose was appropriating to itself the tattered and torn mantle of the Moghals. Such has been the strength and vitality of tradition and the strange influence of fiction on Indian thought in its long evolution.

To the north of Narbada and up to the Jumna, in the Bundelkhand area, were the Chandels. Before the Chandels, the Parihars, allied to the Gurjara-Pratihars of Rajputana were settled and their capital was at Mau-Sahaniya, now a small road-side village between the cantonment of Nowgong and Chhatarpur. The Chandels who are believed to have been Hinduised Bhars overthrew the Parihars and subsequently rose to great fame and have left imperishable monuments in the temples at Khajuraho now in Chhatarpur State. To the north beyond the Ganges; particularly towards the east of Allahabad, the Bhars and other tribes held the country and at Benares were the Gaharwars who are also associated with the Bhars. The clan settlements were wider still but the distribution is restricted to the central regions. There was incessant struggle between these various clans which occupies a great portion of the history of this period. It may be, as Vincent Smith holds, that there was a secular struggle between the foreign Rajputs and the indigenous Rajputs. Whatever it may be, the Paramaras, the Chedis and the Chandels disappeared after the struggle and the Bundelas who are descended from the Gaharwars did not rise into power till the 15th century.

19. Period 4.—The incursion of the northern barbarians—this time professing a militant religion—set in motion further migration in a helter skelter fashion. Delhi and Kanauj fell to the invaders. Islam dealt a final blow to the warring Chauhans and the Chandels and the Rajput clans were 'scattered on the face of northern India'. The Solanki power in Gujarat was shattered and Anhilvad Patan destroyed. These again resulted in a different distribution of the clans.

When Kanauj fell the Gaharwar clan migrated to the deserts of Marwar in Rajputana and in later history came to be known as the Rathors. In the Muhammadan times a branch of these Rathors carved out principalities in western Malwa. The Kachhwahas driven away from north Gwalior later rose into power in Amber and they have left small colonies in Central India. The Tomars built up their power in Gwalior when the Muhammadans were fighting amongst themselves. In Malwa the Paramaras sunk into insignificance when reduced by the Solanki and Chedi confederacy and after a rule by the Tomara and Chauhan clans, Malwa passed into the hands of the Muslims. The Chedis disappear from their habitat towards the end of the twelfth century. They were supplanted by the Baghels. On the question of the migration of Baghels the *Rewa State Gazetteer* which tries to give an account of their history according to the Baghel tradition, is somewhat confusing. The Baghel clan is a branch of the Solankis and it appears that they migrated from Gujarat and founded the State of Rewa. The Solankis were in touch with the Chedis through Malwa. It is more probable they migrated from Gujarat through the Narbada valley and first occupied southern Rewa than they came from northern India and conquered the Rewa territories. According to the Baghel account the Baghel chief Karandev married a daughter of the Haihaya chief of Ratanpur and the fort of Bandogarh was given in dowry to the Baghel chief. The probabilities are the Baghels supplanted the Haihayas, first extended their rule to the wild country below the Kaimur and later on to the plains to the north of the Kaimur range. The Kalchuris are now found in small numbers in few of the Rewa villages and their cranial measurements have been taken by Dr. Guha of the Zoological Survey of India. Small colonies of Chauhans were planted in central and northern Malwa while the eastern parts of Central India received a contingent of Chauhans and other clans from the tracts round about Kanauj.

Driven everywhere from the fertile plains by the victorious onslaught of the forces of Islam, the Rajput clans had perforce to seek shelter in inhospitable and inaccessible places and this led to their closer contact with the primitive tribes in the Vindhya. It is often thought that the Aryans were responsible for the subjugation and degradation of the pre-Aryan indigene. That was perhaps true in the plains but in the less inaccessible parts the latter maintained a good deal of independence and as we have seen previously they again and again extended their rule and power over those portions from which they were dispossessed. Further it is doubtful if the Aryan conqueror ever waged incessant struggle against them. The conqueror was soon absorbed and a mixed culture arose with the Aryan characteristics predominating. We should rather look to the period of Rajput settlement for the disintegration of tribal areas, for the disappearance of certain aboriginal tribes and for the formation of the Hinduised aboriginal castes. This was almost inevitable for the Rajputs could no longer maintain an independent existence in the fertile plains and they had to carve out principalities in the desert, mountain and forest regions. In the Vindhya Rajput colonies were planted after dispossessing the Bhils from their possessions. The Bundelas rose into power by displacing the Khangars and further east the Bhars, Cherus, Khairwars and others were annihilated after an incessant struggle against the Rajputs.

It would appear that the migration of many of the principal castes took place in the Muhammadan period. Malcolm wrote: "These provinces were amongst the most early subjected to Muhammadan power; and it would appear from their present population, that a great proportion of Hindus of all tribes and classes, followed the conquerors from Hindustan. Subsequent invasions from Gujarat poured another tide over their plains and almost all trace of their original inhabitants is lost."¹

20. Period 5.—In recent times the Mahratta invasion of Malwa is the only outstanding event in the migration history of these parts. It is recorded that the Andhras—a southern people penetrated into Malwa after the fall of the Mauryan power. Except for this isolated incursion, no movement has taken place from the south of the Vindhya. The political migration of the Marathas is therefore unique in the traditional history of Central India. They were the last to add one more strand to the diversified composition of the Central Indian population.

IV.—RACE COMPOSITION.

21. Racial types of the population.—A few words may be added, not so much by way of elucidation as of drawing attention to the snarls involved, with regard to the question of the race composition. Into what physical types should the population be distributed—Pre-Dravidian, Munda, Indo-Aryan or Aryo-Dravida? Before we pin our faith to any of these labels, it is best to remember the frequent migrations and the consequent changes in the population that have ceaselessly gone on for ages. While culture, custom and social organisation have been evolving the racial stocks who have been handing them over from generation to generation need not necessarily have remained constant in type. Waves of foreign elements have been absorbed in the earlier days and they have modified the composition of the population. No one would therefore be disposed to disagree with the excellent dictum of Boas "that a people may remain constant in type and language and change in culture; that it may remain constant in type but change in language; or that it may change in type and language and change in type and culture."² The presence of an Aryan strain in the population of Central India may be admitted but it is not predominant as a type. It has been overwhelmed by the non-Aryan elements everywhere but the culture and the languages are thoroughly Aryan in derivation and they have completely submerged and overlaid the pre-Aryan elements. In many cases when we use the label Aryan at the present time, we are really connoting the speakers of the Aryan tongues and the possessors of the Aryan culture rather than the physical type of the Rigvedic Aryans. "The lasting gift bequeathed by the Aryans", says Mr. Gordon Childe, "to the conquered people was neither a higher material culture nor a superior physique but that which we mentioned in the first chapter—a more excellent language and the mentality it generated. The physical qualities of that stock did enable them by the bare fact of superior strength to conquer even more advanced peoples and so to impose their language on areas from which their bodily type has almost completely vanished. This is the truth underlying the panegyrics of the Germanists: the Nordics' superiority in physique fitted them to be the vehicles of a superior language."³ The truth of this sober but accurate estimate is apparent when we consider the origin and spread of the present day population in Central India.

These desultory notes which I have set out are merely a foot-note to the study of vast and interesting problems concerning the people of Central India. Such a study is beyond the scope of a Census Report and it is moreover the work for a trained expert. My object is mainly confined to draw attention to few points. One great need is the study of human geography and the control exercised on man and his movements by such geographical factors as climate, relief of land, and the distribution of flora and fauna. Secondly, wherever necessary we should cease to be bound by the present day arbitrarily constituted political boundaries. Such areas like Central India are mere geographical expressions without any precise meaning and they are heterogeneous. Thirdly, to speak of Rajput or Brahman or any other caste without reference to locality in Central India is misleading and is specially to be borne in mind when securing anthropometric data. Nothing is so fatal to the accuracy of the statistics of the physical types of the living population as an ignorance of the tradition, history and the regional distribution of the types chosen. Lastly, there are innumerable questions which one may be tempted to ask. What for example is the affiliation of the lower castes to the existing hill population. What causes a great variation in the different sections of the population though groups of them possess the same culture-forms such as traditions, customs and beliefs. How far cultural and regional variations stand in the way of the fusion of similarly scattered groups. What are the racial types, as distinct from the ethnic labels in current use, in the population and how far are they as an individual and separate factor responsible in influencing the capacity to develop or to retard the culture and civilization of the different peoples. In relation to all such and other enquiries the Census statistics attain considerable value.

¹ *Memoir*, ii, 3.

² Quoted in the article on Aryans in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th edition.

³ Gordon Childe, *The Aryans* 1920, 211-212.

V.—SOME MIGRATION DATA.

22. Before setting out the data for some castes and correlating them with the Census figures as regards their present day distribution, the more important castes may be arranged as in the table below. The list is incomplete as there are some castes about which our information is indefinite or lacking. The primitive tribes are excluded from the list.

Castes for which some tradition of migration exists.	Castes known to have no tradition for migration.	Mixed Rajput castes.
1	2	3
1. Ahir. 2. Bania. 3. Brahman. 4. Dhangar. 5. Gadaria. 6. Gujar. 7. Jat. 8. Kachhi. 9. Kayastha. 10. Khati. 11. Kunbi. 12. Kurmi. 13. Lodhi. 14. Maratha. 15. Rajput.	1. Balai. 2. Basor. 3. Chamar. 4. Dhanuk. 5. Dhangar. 6. Dahait. 7. Kotwar. 8. Arakh.	1. Bagri. 2. Banjara. 3. Bedia. 4. Dangl. 5. Dhakad. 6. Deswali Mina. 7. Kir. 8. Kirar. 9. Moghia. 10. Charan. 11. Sirvi. 12. Sondhia.

23. Brahman.—It is a very interesting fact that the Brahmans in Central India are all migrants, though they have now become localised in the different parts of the Agency and form separate endogamous groups. The main classes are Malwi, Nemari, Bundelkhandi, Marwari, Dakshani and Mewari. The last three are migrants as their names themselves would suggest. With the exception of the Dakshani Brahmans who came with the Marathas in the 18th century, the Brahmans of Malwa, Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand are early settlers but none can go very far back. There is sufficient reason to hold that Malwa received the Brahman immigrant population earlier than the eastern parts which were under the rule of the primitive tribes for few centuries after the dispersal of the Rajputs from northern India. The immigrants to Malwa have mostly come from Gujarat and Rajputana while the eastern parts have received the Brahman population wholly from the Gangetic doab.

The details for the immigration of the Brahmans to Malwa are set out in the caste chapter of the 1901 Report of this Agency. For the sake of convenience they are summarised here briefly. Malwi Audumbar (Panch Dravid), Chawise (Panch Dravid) of whom ten families are said to have come into Malwa, Jambu (Panch Dravid), Audumbar Potachor (Panch Dravid) and Audumbar Rodwal (Panch Dravid) all these have come from Gujarat. The Malwi Audich (Panch Gaur) came from north of India originally, the parent stock being found near Delhi. Moolraj, Raja of Gujarat, settled some of these Brahmans in his country and the Malwi section is sprung from the Gujarat section which is known as Sahasra as 1,000 families were brought into Gujarat.

The Gujar Gaur Malwi Brahmans (Panch Gaur) originally came from northern India but the Malwi group appears to have come from Gujarat. The Tiwari, Mewari and Mewari Shrigaud (Panch Gaur) have come from Mewar. The Naramdeo Brahmans on the banks of the Narbada appear to be a purely local group.

Of the eastern Brahmans, the Sanadhya (Panch Gaur) came originally from the country round about Muttra. The Bhagors derive their name from the place of residence. The original home of the Jijhotias of Bundelkhand is the country between the Ganges and the Jumna. They were introduced into Central India by Jujhar Singh, Raja of Orchha, who gave them grants of land. The Sarwaris are mainly found in Baghelkhand and have come from Gorakhpur and other eastern districts of the United Provinces.

Migration from Gujarat side and the west of Central India is due to famine or religious persecution. Several castes in Central India give out also that they came to Malwa, which has been a proverbially favoured region due to famine elsewhere.

The following table shows the distribution of the main Brahman sub-classes according to the three territorial divisions:—

Brahman sub-classes.	Total.	Malwa.	Bundelkhand.	Baghelkhand.
1	2	3	4	5
Bhagor	11,167	4,043	7,020	95
Dakshani	18,890	17,000	301	500
Jijhotia	48,879	4,452	43,562	865
Kanaujia	44,565	8,000	32,529	3,046
Sanadhya	33,192	15,688	16,450	1,048
Sarwaria	200,022	1,022	24,107	273,233
Shrigaud	9,834	9,432	270	132

24. **Bania.**—So far known there are very few local groups of the Banias in Malwa. Tradition has it that there were very wealthy mercantile classes in the days of the Paramaras but there is no authentic information. In Malwa, they are all settlers in recent times either from Gujarat or from Rajputana. Ujjain perhaps had the oldest colony; their settlement in Indore is not more than a century or a century and a half old. The larger influx of the Banias from Rajputana dates from the time of the Maratha rule. The former opium trade in Malwa attracted a considerable colony of mercantile classes. The Agarwals are from Delhi and Hissar side. The Oswal, Porwal and Mahari Banias have come from Rajputana. In the east the main divisions are Gahoi, Golapurab, Kasaundhan and Kesarwani. The original head-quarter of Gahoi Banias is said to be Kharagpur in Bundelkhand. Some of these classes are local groups while others like Kesarwani may have come from the tana-Jumna tracts. The distribution of the Bania sub-castes is given below:—

Bania sub-castes.	Total.	Malwa.	Bundelkhand.	Baghelkhand.
1	2	3	4	5
Agarwal	23,684	14,918	4,517	4,249
Gahoi	14,087	1,093	13,052	542
Golapurab	2,835	35	2,800	..
Kasaundhan	6,373	21	315	6,037
Kesarwani	14,246	186	308	13,752
Mahari	9,952	9,908	5	39
Oswal	25,255	23,192	1,378	687
Porwal	23,285	15,548	6,688	1,049
Marwari	4,346	3,840	506	..

25. **Rajput.**—The distribution of the Rajputs closely follows the migrational history which has already been set forth in a previous section. The Bundela Rajputs have no tradition for migration.

26. **Certain main castes.—Ahir.**—As already mentioned the word Ahir is derived from Abhira—a tribe of great antiquity. The Abhiras were once a widespread people in northern

District.	Strength.
1	2
Narwar	20,505
Jagurb	37,373
Bhilwa	10,563
Bhind	15,163
Gird	15,774
Bhajapur	7,051

and Central India and also in the Deccan. They had perhaps also a southern extension for according to the *Cambridge history of Ancient India* 'a race of uncertain affinity was the Ayar, who in many respects resembled the Abhiras of Northern India and seem to have brought into the south the worship of the herdsman god Krishna'. The tract to the east of Malwa and west of the Betwa river including Jhansi, Sironj, etc., is still known as Ahirwara. The Ahir population is found in these parts and has spread further

east but not towards the central Malwa plateau. The line runs from Bhopal to Orchha, Bijawar, Chhatarpur, Panna, Maihar, and Rewa. The marginal table gives figures for the northern Gwalior districts which have returned the bulk of the Ahirs from that State. In Indore 13,845 Ahirs out of the total strength of 23,830 have been returned from the Nimar district to which place the Ahir element has spread from the Khandesh side.

27. **Gujar.**—Historically a well-known people and it is not necessary to mention their origin here. The Gujars have spread into Central India from the west of Chambal. They are found in Malwa and northern Gwalior. In Malwa they are less in evidence in the western and south-western Malwa. In the east they have not spread at all. In the Central Provinces they are found in the Hoshangabad and Nimar districts, and are supposed to have migrated in the 16th century from Gwalior. Their distribution in Gwalior and Indore is given below:—

Gwalior State	119,314	Indore State	47,103
Ujjain	10,686	Rampura Bhanpura	14,021
Mandsaor	12,766	Mahidpur	8,281
Shajapur	27,162	Nimar	17,942
Tanwarghat	27,162	Nemawar	4,847
Narwar	10,835		

Considering the fact that they have not colonised central Malwa but the Narbada valley shows they have migrated in earlier times to the more unopened parts below the Vindhya and have spread on either side of the Narbada.

28. **Gadaria.**—They are spread everywhere though they are concentrated in Bundelkhand. In northern Malwa they say they have come from the East. Nothing is known about their movements.

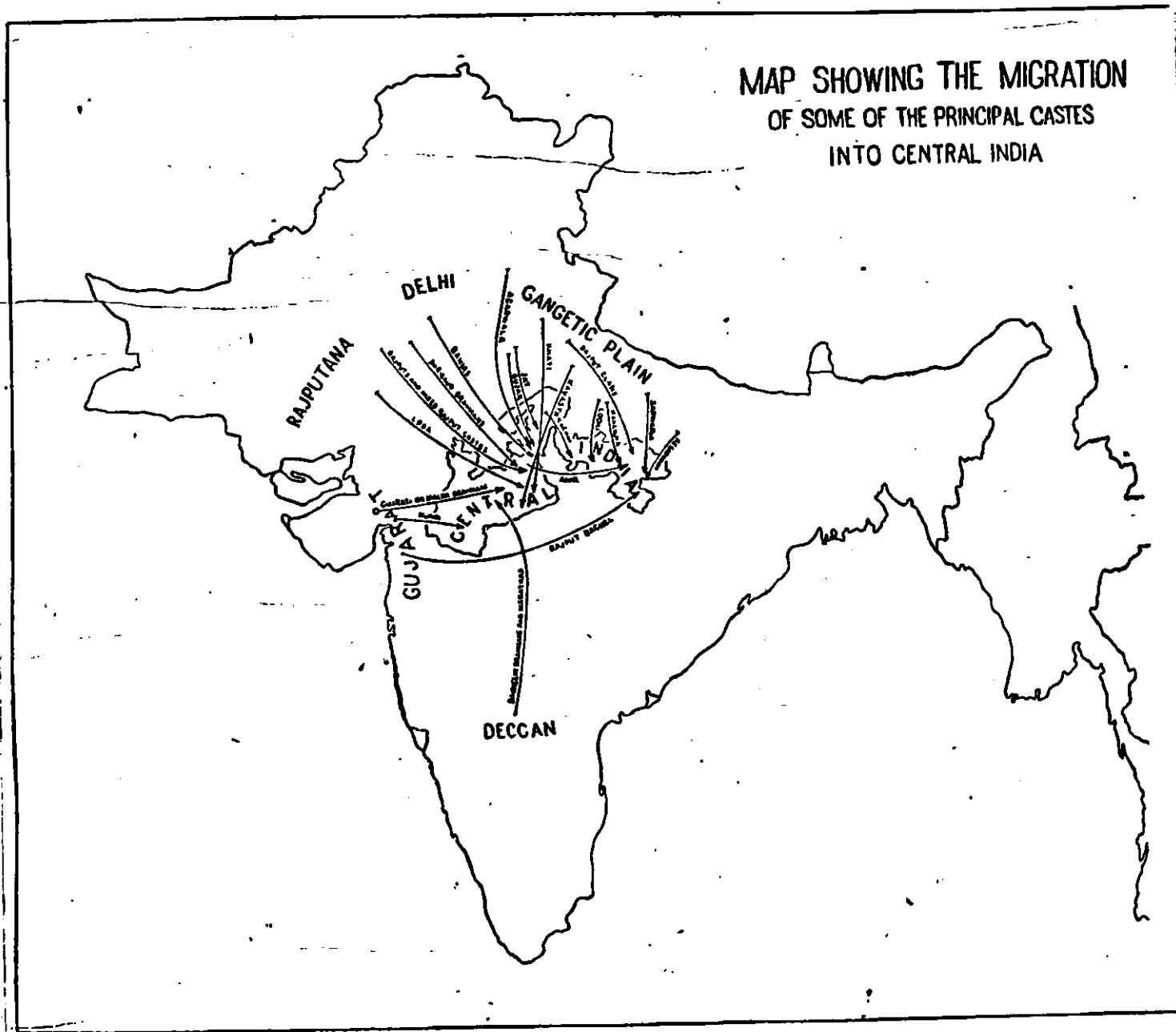
29. **Jat.**—This caste appears to have migrated originally from the west of Chambal, the country round about Bharatpur. It entered Hoshangabad district of the Central Provinces in the 18th century, migrating from Bharatpur and halting in Marwar on the way. The Jats in northern Malwa have also a tradition that they migrated there from Bharatpur due to famine. This appears to be borne out by their present day distribution. In north Gwalior they are

found in small numbers. But in the Malwa portion of Gwalior more than half are found in Ujjain and Mandasor districts. They are chiefly found in central Malwa in this Agency. They appear to have reached the Narbada valley through the Nemawar district of Indore and Bhopal.

30. **Kachhi.**—The Kachhis are mainly to be seen in the east and in Bhopal. They are concentrated in north Gwalior and have not spread to Malwa. The Bundelkhand Kachhis have a tradition that they migrated east from Narwar after the fall of the Kachhwaha Rajputs.

31. **Khatri.**—This caste is distributed in the Bhopal Agency, Indore and the Dewas States. They have a tradition that they were brought into Central India by the Muslim Rulers. They are concentrated in central Malwa. The bulk of the Indore Khatis are settled in the Indore district. They have not spread to any other part of Central India.

32. **Kunbi.**—The Kunbis have migrated from Gujarat. They are to be found in the Malwa and Southern States. They appear to have migrated to Malwa and thence to Khandesh which part they also colonised through the Tapti valley. According to the chronicles of the Rewa Kunbis they arrived about the 11th century in a large body in whose vanguard alone were 2,000 carts. It seems not unlikely that this account is correct and that the Kunbis were forced to leave Gujarat by the encroachment of Rajput tribes.¹



33. **Mixed Castes.**—The settlement of the Rajputs in Rajputana and Malwa has given rise to many mixed castes in the medieval and later periods. Such are the Charan, Dhakad, Dangi, Kirar, Sondhia, Banjara, etc. Some have arisen locally and others have migrated from Rajputana and are now settled in Central India. The Dhakad and Dangi castes are mainly found in northern Malwa and they have migrated from Rajputana. The Dangi is mainly found

¹ *Khandesh District Gazetteer* (1880), page 39.

in the Sangor district of the Central Provinces and the bulk of the Gwalior Dangis are returned from north Gwalior. According to the *Central Provinces Castes and Tribes* the Dangis migrated there in the 11th century. Their distribution shows they have migrated through northern Malwa and Bhopal. The Kirars are exclusively found in Bhopal and in the Central Provinces it is recorded they left Gwalior about 1468 A.D. under two of their leaders and settled in Hoshangabad district. In 1931 the Kirars in Gwalior numbered 75,897, the bulk of whom were enumerated in the northern districts of that State and very few in the Malwa districts. Their distribution seems to corroborate this tradition.

34. **Loda.**—In north Malwa they claim to have come from Lohargarh in Rajputana. After the fall of Prithvi Raj they went to Lohargarh and then migrated to Malwa. In the Betul and Hoshangabad districts of the Central Provinces they are considered to have immigrated there from Central India in the fifteenth century. In Central India they are now exclusively found in the Bhopal Agency. The Lodhia, a much more numerous group, are largely found in the east to which place they have spread from the Gangetic plains.

35. **Kayastha.**—We have the authority of Malcolm that the Kayasthas were brought into Malwa by the Muslim conquerors. Some of the families trace their settlement from the earliest Muslim conquest; many are of more recent date.

The following table shows the territorial distribution of certain main castes :—

Caste.	Total.	Malwa.	Bundelkhand.	Reghelkhand
1	2	3	4	5
Ahir	233,782	51,931	102,609	79,242
Gujar	81,813	79,396	5,146	271
Jat	28,135	27,358	755	22
Chandaria	98,350	36,500	40,730	15,120
Kochhl	224,212	44,803	113,562	65,847
Khati	64,649	64,640	..	..
Kuubi	42,182	32,188	..	9,994
Kurmi	205,371	64,219	37,810	103,342
Loda	19,226	19,224	2	..
Lodhi	135,554	48,147	80,669	6,738
Kayastha	37,092	13,000	15,124	8,878
Dangi	45,064	38,809	6,062	103
Dhakad	34,283	34,256	1	2
Kirar	32,822	30,151	2,664	7

APPENDIX III.

The Depressed Classes.

1. **The term depressed classes.**—Of all the terms that have acquired prominence or notoriety (as the case may be) in recent times none is so depressing to deal with from the point of view of Census statistics as the term 'depressed' classes. Ask any two people what they understand by it. They will without fail give you widely different but sufficiently confusing answers. That is because nobody yet knows whom to call or stigmatise as depressed and much also depends on the purpose for which a person should be considered as depressed. The term has nowhere been satisfactorily and accurately defined. It is sometimes associated with such synonyms as the suppressed or submerged classes which are meant to invoke your sympathy rather than convey any precise meaning. In Central India nobody seems to worry over the question as to who is depressed and who is not. As the Census Superintendent is bound to present the statistics for them he more than anybody else is worried about his submerged tenth. In this voiceless region, he too cannot maintain his silence. He is therefore compelled to listen to the din and clamour of the external voices and try to see what they mean.

It appears that the problem of the depressed classes has a political as well as a social side. The former for obvious reasons is out of court so far as Central India is concerned and so is that much of the social aspect as trenches upon the political or administrative side. In this Agency there is yet no movement for the classification of the depressed classes or for 'raising' them. The politico-social aspects of the movement have not reared their heads anywhere and it would be outside my province to take cognizance of forces that are working elsewhere. As I had to make a list of the depressed classes to obtain the necessary statistics for Provincial table II and the social map, I propose to state briefly who constitute the so-called depressed classes and on what considerations.

2. **How recognised.**—The depressed classes are first arrived at by a process of exclusion and then distinguished by certain unsatisfactory tests. Literacy forms no criterion for we will have to classify almost the entire population as depressed. The primitive tribes are excluded because they have a distinct culture and social organisation of their own. Then there are certain wandering castes such as Nat, Pardhi, Bahelia, etc., with no fixed abode and no definite place in the social hierarchy but caught in the eddying currents of Hinduism. There are again the criminal tribes like Sansi, Kanjar, Moghia and others. All these are excluded from the category of the depressed classes which is restricted to cover only those castes which are considered as untouchable, i.e., whose contact with the higher castes causes pollution and who are denied access to places of worship and to the use of public wells.

3. **Distinguishing characteristics.**—Untouchability is the overwhelming characteristic of the depressed classes and to this should be added isolation and servility arising out of degradation.¹ The rigour of these characteristics varies in different parts of India. In the south where the caste system was grafted at a later date untouchability is carried a step further and there we find unapproachability. In the Deccan or Gujarat also the problem appears to exist. A Mahar or a Dher in former times had to hang an earthen pot round his neck to hold his spittle, was made to drag thorns to wipe out his footsteps, and when a Brahman came near was compelled to lie far away on his face, lest his shadow fall on him and pollute him.²

Now, in Central India there are no castes whose presence by proximity would cause pollution, whose very approach would make the Brahman or any high caste man fly, and who are considered so degraded as to be condemned to a life of servility and put out of the pale of society. No restriction is imposed upon them in frequenting the public thoroughfares or in acquiring land for cultivation. But untouchability in some form does exist in few of the lowest castes and before we deal with the degree and nature of their untouchability it may be interesting to notice the probable origin of the impure castes in these parts.

4. **Probable origin of the impure castes.**—One theory of their origin is racial. The Aryan conquerors subjugated the indigene, made them their serfs and condemned them to the lowest of occupations. It is probable the Aryans subdued the aboriginal tribes of the plains *en masse* and turned them into helots wherever they could not exterminate them. That was possible in the regions where they settled down but where they ruled in small colonies as it appears to be the case in Central India³ it is not possible they could have reduced the whole population to one of servitude. With the evolution of caste system, certain occupations came to be associated with the degraded classes and persons who had fallen out of caste were also

¹ Report of the Depressed classes and aboriginal tribes Committee, Bombay Presidency, 1930.

² Tribes and Castes of Bombay, Art. Mahar.

³ See also Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, Vol. I, para. 40.

condemned to these low occupations. Thus racial conquest, fruits of mixed marriages in early times and occupation— all these three should be held as having contributed in turn to the formation of the impure castes.

The word *Chandala* to denote an outcaste person has become an approbrious term of abuse. But some of the despised tribes of the early days like *Chandala*, *Pukkusa* who hunted animals that live in holes and *Nishada*—a fisherman all had a considerably respectable pedigree according to Manu. Some of them are cited below for purposes of illustration¹ :—

Name.	Pedigree.	Proportion of Brahman Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra blood.	Occupation and Residence.
1	2	3	4
Nishada	Brahman father	Half Brahman	} Fisherman.
	Sudra mother	Half Sudra	
Chandala	Sudra father	Half Sudra	} Most degraded of mortals.
	Brahman mother	Half Brahman	
Pukkusa	Nishada father	$\frac{1}{2}$ Brahman	} Hunts animals that lie in holes.
	Sudra mother	$\frac{1}{2}$ Sudra	
Karavera	Nishada father	$\frac{1}{2}$ Brahman	} Leather trader.
	Vaidiha mother	$\frac{1}{2}$ Vaisya $\frac{1}{2}$ Sudra	
Sopaka	Chandala father	$\frac{1}{2}$ Brahman	} A simple wretch
	Pukkusa mother	$\frac{1}{2}$ Sudra	
Paniusopaka	Chandala father	$\frac{1}{2}$ Brahman	} Works in canes and reeds.
	Vaidiha mother	$\frac{1}{2}$ Vaisya $\frac{1}{2}$ Sudra	

In this pedigree of Manu the interesting thing to notice is that he gives a high proportion of Brahmanical strain even to the despised classes though he condemns the progeny of these mixed marriages to the degraded occupations. Even a law-giver can be irrational and for obscure reason Manu held the carpenter the most degraded of mortals and gave him the pedigree of a Sudra father and a Vaisya mother. The racial factor in the origin of impure caste is not without interest. "If the workers in leather of the present day are lineal descendants of the workers in leather of Manu's time, the Chamars may fairly consider themselves of no mean degree and may hold up their heads boldly in the presence of the superior castes."² Two other points require notice in connection with the above table. Certain castes are condemned to live outside the village or town and the attitude of contempt towards the degraded is clearly shown by approbrious epithets. It is likely with the development of caste endogamy, the earlier racial distinctions were obliterated for in the frame work of the caste system every one could be assigned a place. The impurity of castes came to depend more and more upon certain occupations which were despised. In Buddhistic times the basket maker, the weaver, the chariot maker and so on were held in less esteem or despised according to the degree of revulsion towards any particular calling. Perhaps a greater tolerance was shown towards the despised classes and no bar sinister was attached to them in those parts where Brahmanism was not all powerful. The same cannot be said when Brahmanism obtained ascendancy at a later period for we read from the account of the Chinese traveller Fa-lien who visited India in the time of the Guptas that the Chandalas or outcaste tribes who dwelt apart like lepers were required when entering a city or *bazaar* to strike a piece of wood as a warning of their approach so that people may not be polluted by contact with them.³ At some time in the evolution of caste arose that theory of defilement which results in a person of upper caste being defiled by the shadow or the touch of an individual of the low caste. The question of untouchability thereupon begins to assume importance according to the toleration accorded to or extreme view taken of the degree of ceremonial or personal purity.

5. **Untouchability in Central India.**—I have elsewhere shown in this Report that the Brahmanical hold on the society in these parts is not strong, and that a considerable number of the social groups are immigrants in more recent times. Though Hinduism has exalted ceremonial purity and has laid interdiction against uncleanly habits and persuasions the above-mentioned factors have in practice reduced the problem of impurity to a mild form and untouchability consequently arises in these parts primarily due to certain occupations which are held as unclean by other castes and to unclean habits chiefly in the matter of diet. In its

¹ Quoted in Sherring's *Hindu tribes and castes*.

² *Ibid.*, Art. Chamar.

³ Vincent Smith. *Early history of India*, 207.

operation it is limited to the Chamar who is a tanner, the Basor who is a bamboo worker, the Balai who is a village watchman, and the Bhangi who is a scavenger. It is the profession followed, more than any other consideration that is held in disrespect. Often when I have enquired from the villagers sometimes in remote parts, as to why they would not allow a Balai or a Chamar to come near the temple, or why they are not allowed to draw water from the village well, the invariable answer was their uncleanly profession. In a small village at the foot of the Vindhya, on enquiry I found that the solitary Bhil who had settled in the village had recourse to the village well which was the only supply of water for the inhabitants. When taxed as to why they would not allow the Chamar to draw water while the Bhil enjoyed the privilege, the reply was the Chamar followed an unclean profession and led an unclean life.

6. Other tests besides untouchability.—Untouchability by itself is not a safe test to differentiate the depressed castes from the other castes. The question of touch is largely relative. An orthodox Brahman would bathe even if he were to touch a touchable person. Again untouchability being an irrational feeling with no logical basis, in different localities people have different notions. A Beldar in one locality is considered as untouchable because he keeps donkeys to transport things. A Dhobi is considered to be an untouchable in other places because he washes unclean clothes. The Mochi or the Jingat is not usually considered to be an untouchable and so on. The preliminary lists of depressed classes furnished by the States were so confusing that it was difficult to see light through them. The State people were not to blame because I was trying to see a problem which to them does not exist.

7. Final classification of 'depressed' castes.—So far as it has been possible to ascertain, pollution by touch is quite mild in form though here and there the feeling regarding it may rise to some intensity. Untouchability by itself being no satisfactory test, it had to be coupled with certain social disabilities such as non-access to Hindu places of worship and to the use of village wells from which the higher castes draw water. These social disabilities were found to be in their operation. The Chamar or the Balai is never permitted to draw water from the common well. They have separate wells if they could manage to have one. They are also not permitted to enter a place of worship. It was therefore decided to draw a line and include the Chamar, Balai, Basor and Bhangi among the depressed castes as indigenous to the Agency. The Jhamrals of Malwa and the Dharkars of Rewa allied to the Basors were also admitted into the category. The rest Meghwal, Mang, Mahar, Dher, Dom, Domar and Bhambi are not indigenous to the Agency. They are recognised as depressed castes elsewhere and are found in small numbers in this Agency and they are considered as impure locally as well. Thus these thirteen castes have been listed as depressed.

8. Value of the list adopted.—I cannot pretend that this list is in any way complete. A list of the depressed classes for the Agency is of no conceivable use unless it be that it is necessary to arrive at the all India total for the depressed class population. The value of a list of this kind depends much upon the particular administrative or social needs of the locality. So long as they have not arisen, it is at present only of an academic interest.