

## Chapter II. DANGI CULTURE

### II. 1. Introduction

In this chapter, I have dealt with the concept of Dangi culture, analysis of previous research work, a relevant description of natural environment, a study of people, communities and languages, determination of socio-economic situations, presentation of pre-historic and historical evidence, and museo-ethnography of the Dangs including not only a comparative study of Dangi ethnographic materials but also Dangi ways of life from the anthropological point of view.

#### A. Concept of Culture

The primary concept of culture was firstly developed by anthropologists who dealt with the subject from late 19th century. Anthropologists are explicitly and directly concerned with all varieties of human being and human culture throughout the world, not only those close at hand or within a limited area but also from the emergence of mankind to the present time. They not only study all varieties of people, but also study many aspects of human experience. "When describing a group of people whom he or she has studied, an anthropologist might include a discussion of the history of the area in which the people live, the physical environment, the organization of their family life, the general features of their language, the group's settlement patterns, political and economic systems, religion, styles of art and dress, and so on."<sup>1</sup>

It is the so-called holistic approach in anthropology that describes many aspects of human experience together, both past and present, and at all levels of complexity. In the past, not even a single anthropologist tried to be holistic and covered all aspects of the subject. These days, as in many other disciplines, the field of anthropology has also become so broad and so much information has been accumulated that anthropologists tend to specialize in a particular topic or area. In any case, anthropologists are interested in various kinds of facts and things regarding man, his environments, and they attempt to deal with them all together, in all places and times. Therefore, they

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1. Ember, C.R. and Ember, Melvin, *Cultural Anthropology* (2nd), Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1977, p. 5.

can provide empirical knowledge about man and his culture, about which they, at least, serve to satisfy our curiosity.

It may be noted that anthropologists use the term 'culture' to refer to a much broader range of phenomena than the way laymen use the term 'culture' in ordinary speech. To the layman, culture commonly refers to a desirable quality that we can acquire by attending various educational programmes, reading news papers, watching T.V. programmes, listening to classical music, seeing masterpieces, talking about classics, etc. But, in terms of social scientists, such activities are simply elements within the totality of our culture. This totality definitely encompasses such mundane activities as washing clothes or playing games. From the anthropological point of view, these are placed quite on par with other cultural factors. In this connection, Ralph Linton (1945) defined 'culture' as "the total way of life of any society", and claimed that "Every society has a culture, no matter how simple this culture may be, and every human being is cultured, in the sense of participating in some culture or other".<sup>1</sup>

From the anthropological point of view, a 'culture' firstly refers to the entire ways of life of a particular group of people. It is everything that a group of people thinks, says, does, makes, etc. Secondly, a 'culture', refers to a particular group of people on par with the term 'society'. "When the term 'culture' is used in the plural, it refers to different groups of people."<sup>2</sup> Most of anthropologists have no difficulty in shifting from one usage of the term 'culture' to the other. They often speak of the 'culture of a culture'. For instance, under the world culture, they prefer to select and discuss a particular group of people in a subdivision of culture area or region. To add to this, L.K. Mahapatra (1972) has pointed out that "The concept of 'culture areas' may be understood in three or four different ways", (i) "a world area", (ii) "a largely homogeneous subdivision of a state or country", (iii) "an area which geographically and culturally forms a unit of the world area", and (iv) the meaning and the scope of "culture area studies, in which either the tribal cultures of a particular area engage the exclusive attention (e.g. North or South America) or they are disregarded, while culture zones of India or of a constituent state based on the cultural types of levels of the

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1. Linton, Ralph, *The Cultural Background of Personality*, New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1945, p. 30.

2. Otterbein, K.F., *Comparative Cultural Analysis* (2nd), New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1977, p. 2.

tribal people constitute the fourth category of culture areas".<sup>1</sup>

Earlier, in 1871, E.B. Tylor, known as the father of modern anthropology, defined culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society".<sup>2</sup> In 1941, a prominent anthropologist, Robert Redfield also briefly defined culture as "the conventional understandings, manifest in act and artifact, that characterize societies".<sup>3</sup> In both of these definitions, the emphasis is upon human behaviour and experience, learned and shared, by the members of a social group. In connection with these definitions, P.K. Bock (1974) critically commented as follows: "For Redfield, as for Tylor, the tools and hearths of *Homo erectus* are not the culture of these ancient men, though they are evidence from which students of prehistory infer the presence of a cultured, tool-making animal. Such objects are the material results of "capabilities and habits" shared within human groups. We can not "see" the culture. But from regularities in the form and distribution of things we can observe, we are able to infer the existence of "conventional understandings"."<sup>4</sup>

In 1952, A.L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn collected over a hundred definitions of culture and critically reviewed the concepts of culture.<sup>5</sup> In fact, since E.B. Tylor's time, the definitions of culture have proliferated. After 1900, owing primarily to the efforts of Franz Boas, as the father of American anthropology, and his students, the concepts of culture have

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1. Mahapatra, L.K., "Cultural Anthropology", *A Survey of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology* (sponsored by ICSSR), Vol. III, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1972, p.p. 12-13.

2. Tylor, E.B., *The Origins of Culture*, New York, Harper Torch Book, 1958 (Part I, *Primitive Culture*, first published in 1871), p. 1., cited in Bock, P.K., *Modern Cultural Anthropology* (2nd), New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1974, p. 14.

3. Redfield, Robert, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941, p. 132.

4. op cit., Bock, P.K., 1974, p. 15.

5. See, Kroeber, A., and Kluckhohn, C., "Culture : A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions", *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology*, Vol. 47, Washington, D.C., Harvard University, 1952.

greatly undergone modification and elaboration.<sup>1</sup> The major changes occurred in order to distinguish more clearly between actual behaviour, on one hand and abstract values, beliefs, and perceptions of the world that lie behind that behaviour on the other. To put it in another way, W.A. Haviland (1981) has mentioned that "culture is not observable behaviour but rather the values and beliefs that people use to interpret experience and generate behaviour, and which that behaviour reflects."<sup>2</sup> As G.W. Jr. Stocking has pointed out, "Tylor's definition of culture (1958:1 ; orig. 1871) is ambiguous"<sup>3</sup> since it does not state that culture is acquired by men as members of particular cultures, nor does it make explicit that only creative, rational capacities were considered culture at that time. Prior to 1900, the term culture was used in a different sense -- it referred to the "progressive accumulation of the characteristic manifestations of human creativity: art, science, knowledge, refinement ..."<sup>4</sup>

These days, many cultural anthropologists and folklorists prefer to use the term material culture as a subdivision in the fields of cultural anthropology and folklife studies. An eminent folklorist, R.M. Dorson (1973) has suggested the concept and scope of material culture: "In direct contrast to this oral folklore is physical folklife, generally called material culture. Now we deal with the visible rather than the aural aspects of folk behaviour that existed prior to and continue alongside mechanized industry. Material culture responds to techniques, skills, recipe, and formulas transmitted across the generations and subject to the same forces of conservative tradition and individual variation as verbal art. How men and women in tradition-oriented societies build their houses, make their clothes, prepare their food, farm and fish, process the earth's bounty, fashion their tools and implements, and design their furniture and utensils are questions that concern the student of material culture".<sup>5</sup>

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1. See, op cit., Otterbein, K.F., 1977, p. 3.

2. Haviland, W.A., *Cultural Anthropology* (3rd), New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981, p. 28.

3. See, Stocking, S.W. Jr., "Franz Boas and the Culture Concept in Historical Perspective", *American Anthropologist* Vol. 68, 1966, p.p. 857-882., cited in Otterbein, K.F., 1977, p. 3.

4. *ibid.*

5. Dorson, R.M. (ed.), *Folklore and Folklife* (3rd), Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1973, p.p. 2-3.



Of course, most professional museum workers and museologists in the world regard 'material culture' as tangible and visible things, and relevant factors. I also use the term material culture in the same context. Mostly, intangible and spiritual culture can be recognized by various means of cultural communications like music, dance, drama, beliefs, etc. There is an indissoluble connection between material culture and non-material culture. Indeed, culture is not a simple matter but complex whole, it can not be separated completely into two different parts. It is undesirable to deal with a particular cultural materials in terms of only one side of culture.

The term culture refers to innumerable aspects of life. "To most anthropologists, culture encompasses the behaviours, beliefs and attitude, and also the products of human activity, that are characteristic of a particular society or population."<sup>1</sup> Obviously, there can be no culture without society, just as there can be no society without individuals. Although ants and bees instinctively cooperative in a manner to indicate a degree of social organisation, anthropologists indeed do not deal with such instinctual behaviours as culture. However, the shared customs of a subgroup within a society can be called subculture, the degree to which subcultures are tolerated varies greatly from one society to another. Furthermore, when we study the shared customs of a particular group of people for which we do not even have a name, we may refer to such a phenomenon by labelling it geographically, e.g., "Dangi culture".

For something to be considered cultural, it must be learned and shared by the members of a particular group of people. To some extent, all animals exhibit learned behaviours, some of which may be shared by most individuals in a particular group. At that time, it may be considered cultural. "Of course, although humans acquire some learned behaviour by imitation, as do monkeys and apes, most of the human learned behaviour is acquired with the aid of a unique mechanism -- language."<sup>2</sup> The process whereby culture is transmitted from one generation to the other, is called 'enculturation'. Through enculturation, one learns the socio-culturally proper way of satisfying one's biologically determined needs. The biological needs and instinctive behaviours of humans are the same as those of other animals: food, shelter, companionship, evacuation, resting, sleeping, self-defense, sexual gratification, sleeping etc. However, when anthropologists speak about a culture, they are referring to that set of learned and shared beliefs, values, and behaviours, i.e., characteristics of a particular society.

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1. op cit., Ember, C.R. and Ember, Melvin, 1977, p. 23.

2. ibid., p. 25.

Innumerable cultural traits constitute the culture of a particular society. M.J. Herkovits (1948) defined a culture trait as the "smallest identifiable unit in a given culture".<sup>1</sup> To add to this, K.F. Otterbein (1977) stated as follows :  
"a culture trait is a catch-all term for any pursuit, customs, practice, or belief characteristic of a particular group of people. Hence, it is a useful term for referring to an aspect of a culture. Sometimes cultures are described or summarized by lists of culture traits."<sup>2</sup>

In studying any culture traits, customs and ideas of a particular society should be observed within the context of that society's culture. Such point of view is so-called 'cultural relativity'. Generally, there are two different attitudes in cultural relativity: firstly, the tendency towards negative evaluation, closely related to 'ethnocentrism', secondly, the tendency toward positive evaluation, closely related to a native yearning for the 'noble savage'. In the colonial period, one who had 'etic' view, as an outsider, primarily created 'ethnocentrism'. These days, no one is interested in ethnocentrism, which disturbs our appropriate understanding of customs of other societies and, simultaneously, keep us from having creative and rational insight into our own customs.

Every society develops a series of ideal cultural patterns which are so called 'norms'. Norms indicate what members of a particular society have to do and have not to do in a situation. In case one does not follow norms of a particular society, he will bring cultural constraints or he will be called a harbingers of new culture. Norms of a society frequently do not agree with actual behaviour. Thus there are some basic assumptions about culture. Firstly, culture is generally adaptive to the particular natural and socio-economic environment. Indeed, what may be adaptive in one environment, may not be so in another. Some culture traits may be neutral in view of adaptation, some may merely have been adaptive in the past, but others still may be maladaptive. Secondly, culture is mostly integrated in that the components or traits which constitute the culture are mostly adjusted to or consistent with one another. Thirdly, culture is always changing through adaptation, contact and integration. "The new and the old, the native and the foreign, may co-exist and be combined and yet may not appear as

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1. Herkovits, M.J., *Man and His Works : The Science of Cultural Anthropology*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf., 1948, p. 170.

2. op cit., Otterbein, K.F., 1977, p. 5.

incongruous or self-contradictory. This process is called 'syncretisation'<sup>1</sup> and the phenomena of that is so-called 'syncretism', in other words, amalgamation of elements from very different cultural sources. Mostly, despite strong individual differences, the members of a particular society are in close agreement in their responses to a particular social situation because they share and mostly learn common attitudes, values, and behaviour which constitute their culture.

Generally, anthropologists distinguish one group of people i.e. one culture from another through language distinctness and geographic separation. Language distinctness is an appropriate criterion because not only is it an important aspect of culture, but it is also the major means by which culture is transmitted or taught to the next generation. In case, two groups of people speak different languages, they are different cultural groups. Geographic separation is the second criterion which distinguishes geographically a particular cultural group from the other because people like instinctively to live together in a place with other people of the same group. As the proverb goes, "Birds of a feather flock together.", people also like to constitute and settle in their own community. A community is "the maximal group of persons who normally reside together in face-to-face association".<sup>2</sup> In particular, as Robert Redfield (1955) has pointed, "the little community is characterized primarily by its small size, distinctiveness, homogeneity, and self-sufficiency."<sup>3</sup> These days, many social scientists prefer to use the term 'community', which is based on the locality of a particular group. On the other hand, they also use the term 'society' which is based on the members of a particular group. "The local community is the usual focus of ethnological investigations because, at least in tribal societies, it is the smallest unit within which a total culture can be studied by a single anthropologist."<sup>4</sup>

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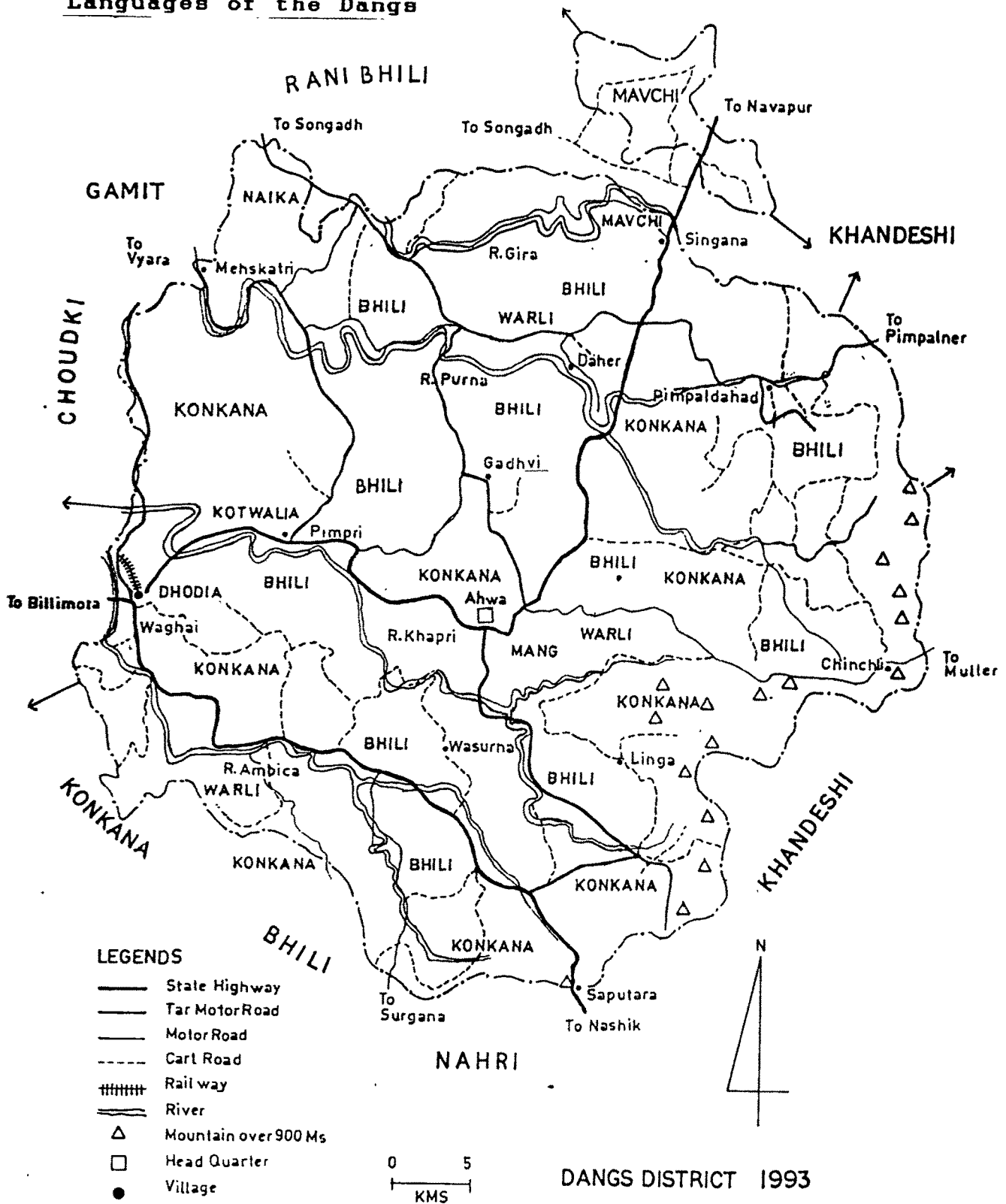
1. op cit., Mahapatra, L.K., 1972, p. 6.

2. Murdock, G.P., et al.(eds.), *Outline of Cultural Materials* (4th), New Haven, Human Relation Area Files, 1961, p. 89.

3. See, Redfield, Robert, *The Little Community*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1955, p.p. 3-9., cited in Schusky, E.L., *The Study of Cultural Anthropology*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975, p. 20.

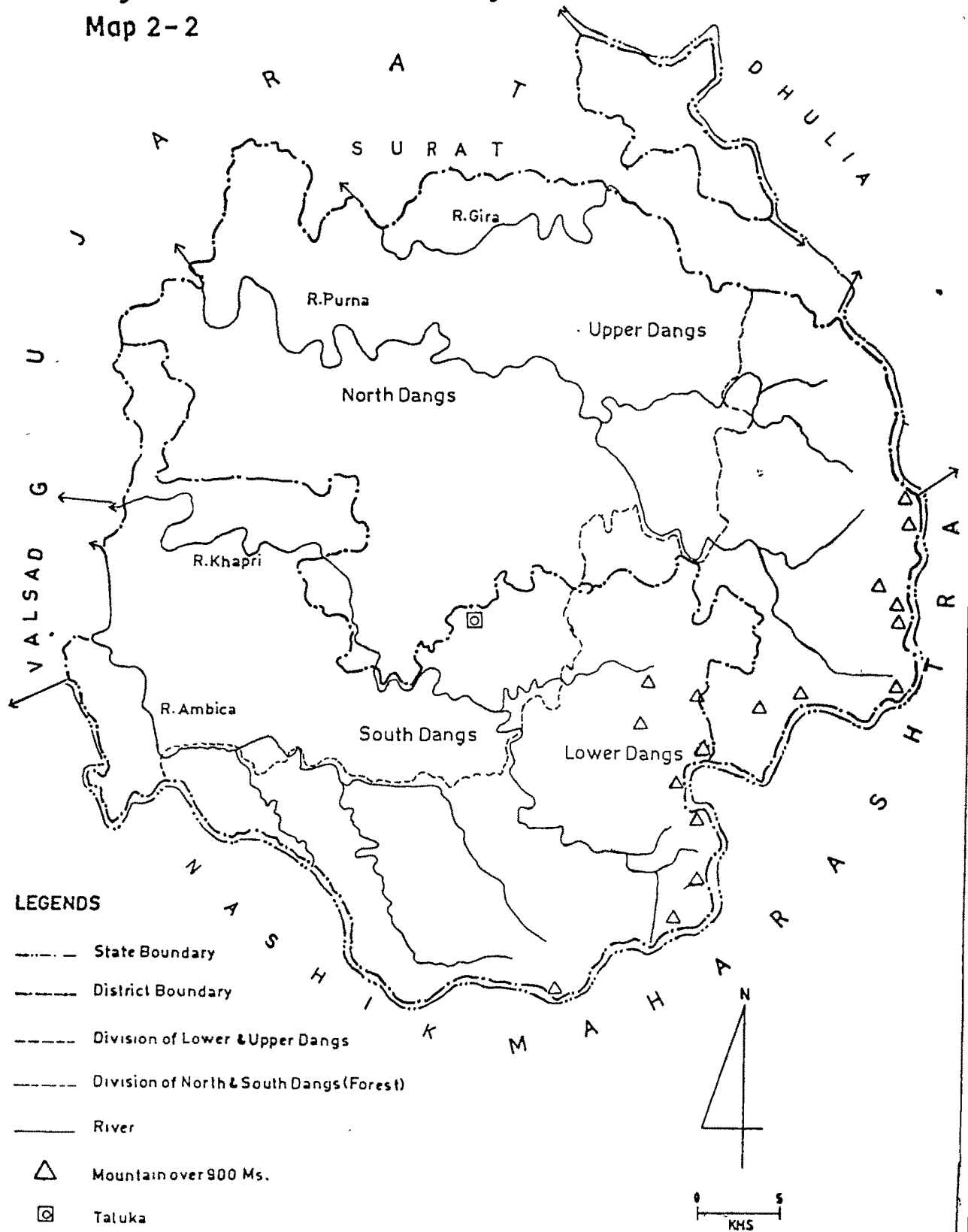
4. op cit., Bock, P.K., 1974, p. 140.

**Map 2-1 Distribution of Tribal Communities & Languages of the Dangs**

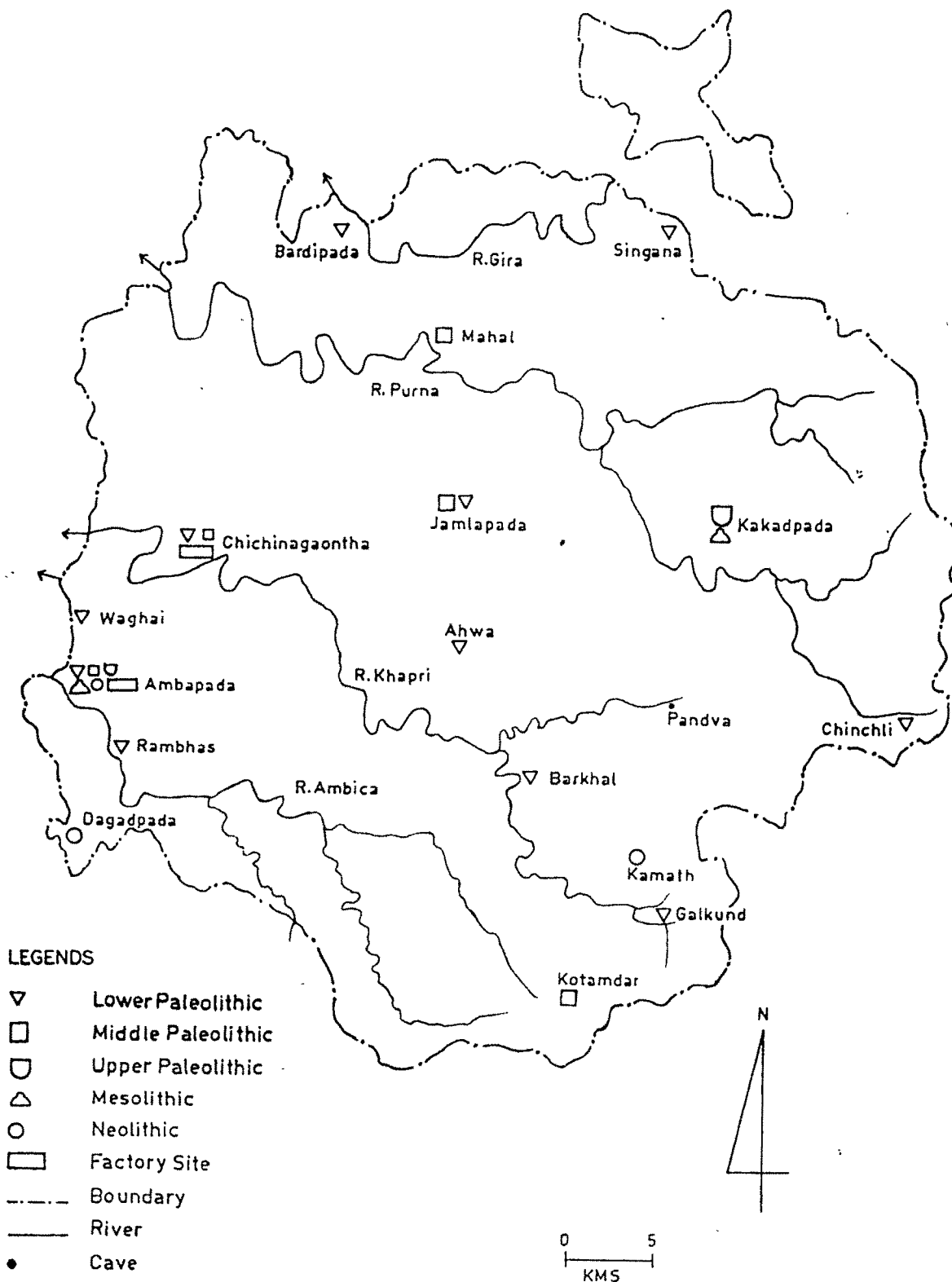


# Regional Divisions of the Dangs

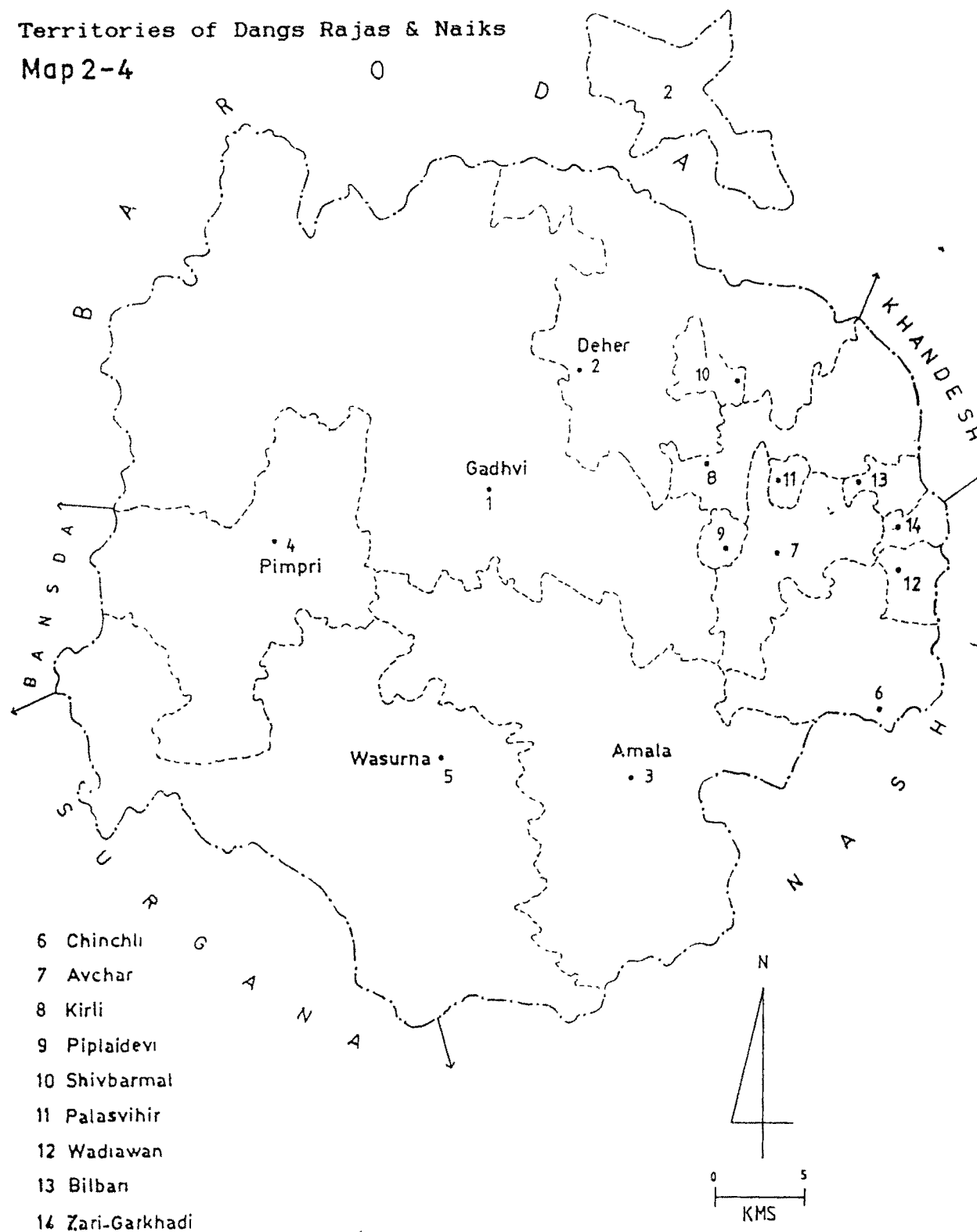
## Map 2-2



**Map 2-3 Stone Age Industries of the Dangs**

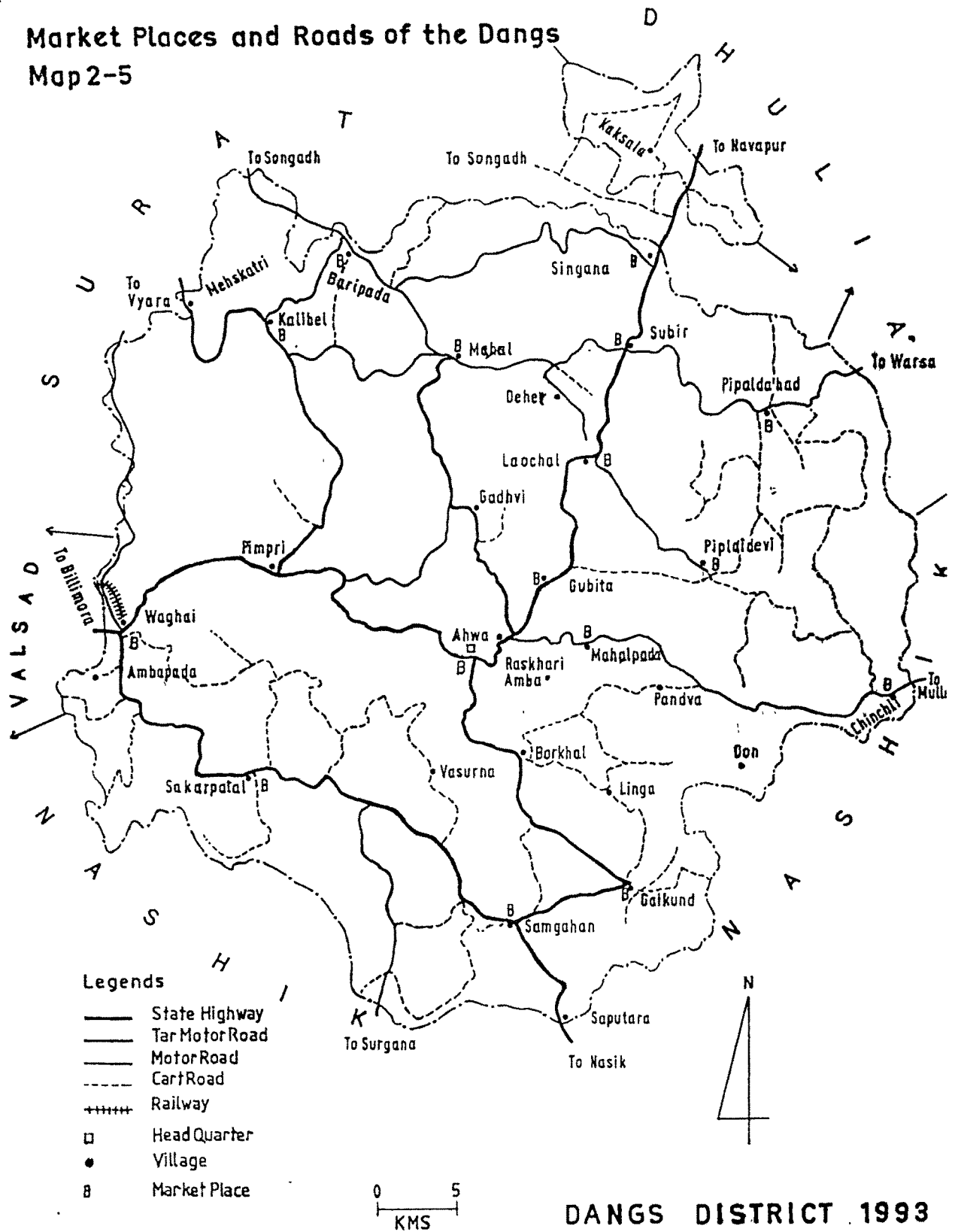


Territories of Dangs Rajas & Naiks  
Map 2-4



The present mapping is based on the  
Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XIII  
Khandesh 1880 p.p. 604-606

# Market Places and Roads of the Dangs Map 2-5





## B. Concept of the Dangi Culture

The Dangi culture has bloomed in the forests of the District of Dangs which is located in the spurs of the Sahyadri mountain ranges in between the southern part of River Tapi and the north-western part of River Godavari, and in the south-eastern border of Gujarat (See, Map 1-1). The area of the Dangs is geo-culturally laid on a borderline between north-western India and south-central part of India. So, the Dangs area is placed on a point of intersection of two different cultural groups known as Gujarati and Marathi.

Since paleolithic period, settlers of the Dangs might have communicated with outsiders who had inhabited the adjacent areas including the basins of rivers Ambika, Tapi, Narmada, Dundna, and Godavari, through land routes and along with the tributaries of the rivers. Geo-historically, people of the Dangs have kept themselves in contact with outsiders through many routes such as north-eastern Pipaldahad to Dhule via Pimpalner, northern Daher to Songadh and Nandurbar via Navapur, north-western Maheskatri to Surat via Vyara, western Pimpri to Bilimora via Bansda, south-western Wasurna to Dharampur and Valsad via Surgana, south-eastern Amala to Nasik via Vani, eastern Chinchli to Malegaon via Muller (See, Map 2-5). But, in a sense, the Dangs territory is quite isolated because the whole area is covered with thick forest and it is located in the hilly region. In fact, natural barriers such as the rugged mountain chains of the Sahyadri and the spurs of the Saputara plateau obstruct the Dangs from communicating with outsiders. Particularly, people who inhabit the southern and the eastern parts of the Dangs have extremely limited passages to keep in contact with outsiders.

Historically, the Dangs was a "part of Baglan and Khandesh for centuries under the political authority of Gujarat's rulers -- Rajputs, Muslims, Mughals and Marathas --- with the result that it had more social, economic and political relations with Gujarat than with Maharashtra."<sup>1</sup> Through ages, the Dangi culture has changed its characteristics from a simple single-ethnic society to complicated multi-ethnic society, and also, it has integrated many other culture traits such as the Hindu-peasants, Muslims, and neighbourhoods Marathi and Gujarati tribes. From the techno-cultural point of view, since paleolithic period, hunting and gathering is the basic pattern of human subsistence. Pre-historic stone tools which found in

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1. Patel, G.D. (ed.), *Dangs District Gazetteer*, Ahmedabad, Government of Gujarat, 1971, p. 168.

the Dangs represent that since paleolithic period, people has lived in the Dangs. The paleolithic people of the Dangs might have had the same subsistence technology. Since that period, they might have adapted to the forests and the basins of rivers of the Gira, the Purna, the Khapri and the Ambika. After a long period, new settlers in Neolithic period might have practised horticulture to obtain substantial food resources from the forest. After another long time, the improved method of cultivation; cattle-ploughing and slash and burn cultivation in settled agricultural fields, the use of bullock-carts, etc. might have been introduced by the immigrants, like the Konkanas, the Warlis, etc. By the recent immigrants, many other culture traits might have been added to the Dangis conventional ways of life and their material life.

Etymologically, the word "Dang in Sanskrit refers to a high upland or pediment region."<sup>1</sup> There is another connotation of the word "Dang which means bamboo -- a place of bamboos."<sup>2</sup> The word 'Dang' may indicate the hilly terrain and/or bamboo forest area. Practically, the plural word, 'Dangs' also is available. Needless to say, the word 'Dangis' derives from the noun, 'Dang'. It, therefore, is used as an adjective of 'Dang' or, sometimes, as a noun. For instance, a 'Dangis' means a person from the Dang, the 'Dangis' means people or the language of the Dangs. Furthermore, the 'Dangis' indicates a particular individual, and the 'Dangis' indicate many people of the Dangs. Besides, the word 'Dangis' indicates the origin of people, language of the Dangs, and products of the Dangis tribal communities (See, Appendix 2-1).

According to the 1901 census, the total population of the Dangs was computed as 18,333 persons. It increased to 143,490 persons in 1991. At present, over 93 percent of the total population of the Dangs follows the tribal life style, known as tribal culture. There are two main tribes, Bhils (33%), as aborigines, and Kunbis or Konkanas (46%), as settlers, with a sprinkling of Warlis (15%), Gamits, Dhodias, Kotwalias, etc. in the Dangs (See, Map 2-1). They live in the 311 villages scattered in the forests by practising 'slash and burn cultivation', livestock farming, gathering forest-products, making crafts, fishing, hunting, and, occasionally, working as agricultural labourers, forest-labourers, etc.

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1. Bhattacharya, A.N., and Vyas, R.N., *Habitat Economy and Society -- A Study of the Dangis*, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Co., 1979, p. 25.

2. op cit., Patel, G.D. (ed.), 1971, p. 1.

The Dangis speak their own dialects. They have no script. They are mostly illiterates and bilingual speakers. Whatever literature that the Dangis have is oral. The dialects spoken in the Dangs slightly differ from one another according to the communities. At present, 'Dangi' practically indicates the Bhili language of the Dangs which was a mixture of mainly Gujarati with Marathi. But there is no uniformity in this respect. Generally, a member of a particular tribal community prefers to speak his own dialect except when he communicates with others who can't properly understand what other says. At that time, he communicates with others in Dangi which is the common language among the Dangis. But even though Dangi is considered as the common language of the Dangs, there are many subdivisions in Dangi such as Bhili (Dangi dialect), Konkani (Marathi dialect), Warli (Marathi dialect mixed with Gujarati dialect), Gamiti (Gujarati dialect), Dhodia dialect (Gujarati dialect), Kotwalia dialect (Gujarati dialect), Mangi (Marathi dialect) etc.

It is certain that the Dangi culture is considered as a subculture of Western India, at par with other regional culture. It exhibits the characteristics of the Dangi ways of life and their adaptation to the Dangs forest. The Dangis consists of multi-ethnic tribal communities such as the Bhils, the Konkans, the Warlis, Gamits, Dodhias, Kotwalias, Kathodis, etc. Thus, the Dangi culture can be briefly defined as the Dangi total ways of life and the relevant materials from the Dangs. The Dangi culture encompasses the entire social, technological and ideological heritage, which is fully adapted to the thick forest and multi-ethnic tribal communities of the Dangs. It is shared and learned by all Dangis. It has been transmitted from generation to generation through oral, behavioural and material transmissions and traditions on the basis of universality of ideas, behaviour, experience and out of necessity.

Of course, the Dangi culture has continuously integrated many other culture traits in order to adapt to the Dangs environment and it has been changing its character through continual contacts with outside cultures. It also has confirmed the nature of 'syncretism', and a few cultural components have been decultured, rejected, and substituted due to change of natural and socio-economic environment. In this connection, L.K. Mahapatra has pointed out that "most changes in India have been of the nature of syncretism and few cultural items have been borrowed without reinterpretation"<sup>1</sup>, i.e. without assignment of new "meanings".

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1. op cit., Mahapatra, L.K., 1972, p. 6.

### C. Review of Ethnographic Studies in India

It is significant that S.C. Roy, later known as the father of Indian ethnology, classified and determined the early publications on anthropological studies as early as 1921.<sup>1</sup> His work provides noteworthy information about the initiate trends of anthropological researches in India. In the beginning of that, mostly initiating and promoting works come within the category of ethnological studies carried by the British administrators, foreign missionaries, army personnel, travellers, etc. Then an eminent Indian anthropologist, D.N. Majumdar (1947), in the course of a memorial lecture at Nagpur University, reviewed progress of anthropological researches in India<sup>2</sup> and continually analysed landmarks of the three phases of development of anthropology in India with theories of culture development in England and America.<sup>3</sup> Though borrowing the idea and terminology from T.K. Penniman (1935), his effort provided a scientific account of development of Indian anthropology i.e. "Formulatory (1774-1919), Constructive (1920-1937), and Critical (1938- )"<sup>4</sup>. Since then many attempts in order to categorize and review the ethnographic studies in India were made by S.C. Dube (1962), N.K. Bose (1963), L.P. Vidyarthi (1966b, 1970b, 1972, 1976, 1985a and 1985b), Surajit Sinha (1968), etc.

Among them, S.C. Dube (1962) in-depth analysed the three phases of development of social anthropology in India; the earliest phase brought out the initiative compilations and publications on the tribes and castes in order to give brief and sketchy accounts of the divergent customs and distinctive life style in rural area, the second phase characterized detailed monographic studies of individual tribes through personal observations, and the third phase marked considerable advancement

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1. Roy, S.C., "Researches in Anthropology in India", *Man in India*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1921, p.p. 11-75.

2. See, Majumdar, D.N., *Matrix of Indian Culture*, Lucknow, Unversial Publishers Ltd., 1947.

3. Majumdar, D.N., "Anthropology under Glass", *Journal of Anthropological Society of Bombay* (Special Issue), 1950a. p.p. 1-16.

4. *ibid.*

in terms of anthropological researches in India.<sup>1</sup> N.K. Bose (1963) also presented three such phases of anthropological researches in India: (i) encyclopaedia of tribes and castes, (ii) descriptive monographs, and (iii) analytical studies of village, marriage and family, castes, civilisation, etc.<sup>2</sup> L.P. Vidyarthi (1966b, etc.) continually reviewed the three phases of the rise of social anthropology in India: Formative (1774-1919)<sup>3</sup>, Constructive (1920-1949) and Analytical (1950- ), and highlighted the fact that while the emphasis was mainly on tribal studies in the formative and constructive periods it shifted to rural caste and urban studies during the analytical period of contemporary times.<sup>4</sup> He analysed the dominant trends of tribal studies in India, in particular, Himalayan and NEFA region,

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1. See, Dube, S.C., "Social Anthropology in India", in Madan, T.N., and Sarna, Gopal, (eds.), *Indian Anthropology : Essays in Memory of D.N. Majumdar*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1962.

2. See, Bose, N.K., *Fifty Years of Science in India: Progress of Anthropology and Archaeology*, Indian Science Congress Association, Calcutta, 1963.

3. The author points out L.P. Vidyarthi's wrong information about the year of establishment of Asiatic Society of Bengal and that of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The former was not established in 1774 but 1784, and the latter also was not established in 1784 but in 1788 (See, *Asiatic Society* (A pamphlet) published by the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, 1959, p. 1, and further, check L.P. Vidyarthi's "Tribal Ethnography in India", 1972, p.p. 36-37., *The Tribal Culture of India* (2nd), 1985a, p.p. 4-12., and "Traditions and Trends in Tribal Studies in India: Methodological Appraisal", 1985b, p. 73.).

4. Vidyarthi, L.P., "Tribal Ethnography in India", in *A Survey of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology* (sponsored by ICSSR), Vol. III, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1972, p. 36., and see the same author's "Researches in Social Science in India : Some Preliminary Observation", *Journal of Social Research*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 1966b, *Rise of Social Science in India : An Anthropological Orientation*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1970b, Vidyarthi, L.P., and Rai, B.K., *The Tribal Culture of India*, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Co., 1976., p.p. 4-12., Vidyarthi, L.P., "Traditions and Trends in Tribal Studies in India : Methodological Appraisal", *Research Methodology in Social Science in India*, Vidyarthi, L.P., and Haldar, A.K. (eds.), New Delhi, Today & Tomorrow's Printers and Publishers, 1985, p. 73.

Middle, Western, and South India, and furthermore, reviewed the development of the subfields in social anthropology, like economic system, social organisation, political and religious systems, folk art and crafts, village and family life, etc. Surajit Sinha (1968) also reviewed the three phases of development of social anthropology in India. He reviewed the academic attitude of Indian anthropologists, and pointed out that a few scholars like N.K. Bose, M.N. Srinivas, Surajit Sinha, Irawati Krave, and L.P. Vidyarthi established an Indian tradition in social anthropology in India, and thereby distinguished themselves in world anthropology.<sup>1</sup> All of these contributions provide proper understanding of the development of ethnographic studies in India.

The ethnographic studies in India started with the establishment of Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784.<sup>2</sup> The progress of the ethnographic studies in India may be summarized into formative (1784-1919), constructive (1920-1949), analytical (1950-1969) and accumulative (1970- ) phases.<sup>3</sup> Since the close of 1960s, a new atmosphere was brought out, e.g., some anthropologists like L.P. Vidyarthi (1970b, and 1972), and Surajit Sinha (1968), attempted to assess and review anthropological researches in India and furthermore, pointed out the gaps and priorities in ethnographic studies in India. Added to this, Anthropological Survey of India and Indian Museum organised the *Seminar on Research Programmes in Cultural Anthropology and Related Disciplines* held at Calcutta in 1967. Indian Institute of Advanced Study, organised the meeting on the *Urgent Researches in Social Anthropology : Tribal Situation in India* held at Simla in 1969. Early 1970, Indian Council of

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1. See, Sinha, Surajit, "Is There an Indian Tradition in Social Cultural Anthropology ? Retrospect and Prospect" (Presented in the Conference, *The Nature and Function of Anthropological Tradition*, Wenner Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, New York), 1968.

2. As mentioned above, the Asiatic Society of Bengal was established in 1784, and the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was established in 1788.

3. The author's categorization of the ethnographic studies in India partly borrowed L.P. Vidyarthi's idea (1966a, 1966b, 1970 and "Tribal Ethnography in India", *A Survey of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology*, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1972, p. 36.), which originally had borrowed T.K. Penniman's idea (*A Hundred Years of Anthropology*, London, Cerealol Duchworth & Co. 1935), and D.N. Majumdar's idea ("Anthropology under Glass", *Journal of Anthropological Society of Bombay*, 1950a, p.p. 1-16.).

Social Science Research (ICSSR) also started to sponsor a project *A Survey of In Sociology and Social Anthropology* to formulate priorities and significant programmes in promoting social science researches in India. In this connection, the above-mentioned institutions published a series of worthwhile books on the ethnographic studies in India and the relevant subject in social science. A series of these attempts confirm that a new phase of ethnographic studies in India has started. Practically, from the beginning of 1970s, the phase of accumulation (1970-) one after another shows capabilities of Indian anthropologists and accumulated academic results. Thus, we may regard this symptom as the opening of a new phase of ethnographic studies in India.

During the formative period (1784-1919), the scholarly British administrators, foreign missionaries, travellers and a few scholars collected a lot of data on the tribes, castes, and rural people of India including life style and environmental factors like geography, history, etc. for the purposes of "(i) colonial administration, (ii) cultural-historical study of religious conversions and (iii) adventurous memoirs"<sup>1</sup>. They presented their collected data to the academic journals such as *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* (est. 1788), *Indian Antiquary* (est. 1872), *Journal of Anthropological Society of Bombay* (est. 1895), *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (est. 1915). In short, during this period, many foreign researchers provide encyclopaedic inventories about the tribes and castes in India in the form of handbooks, gazetteers and monographs. Most initiative works are very much useful, even today, providing the fundamental data regarding Indian ways of life and their environmental factors from the anthropological point of view. Particularly, connection with identification and analyses of cultural contacts and changes on the tribes and castes of India were undertaken in a few researchers like H.H. Risley (1891 & 1905), L.K. Anantakrishna Iyer (1908 & 1912), S.C. Roy (1912 & 1915), etc. Besides, it is noteworthy that *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. 1-11, covering almost territory of India was made by G.A. Grierson (1904-1912). His pioneering work of linguistics provides us with the territorial distribution as well as the study of the major languages and marginal dialects, and further, with distinguishability between centred cultural zone and marginal cultural zone.

Since 1920, the ethnographic studies in India enter into its constructive phase which gradually brought out a new approach and atmosphere i.e. detailed problematic studies on individual groups of the tribes and castes were attempted by many trained

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1. Vidyarthi, L.P., "Tribal Ethnography in India", *A Survey of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology* (sponsored by ICSSR), Vol. III, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1972, p. 33.

anthropologists. During constructive period (1920-1949), many newly trained Indian anthropologists like L.K.A. Iyer, K.P. Chattopadhyay, T.C. Das, and D.N. Majumdar in the eastern and northern parts of India, and G.S. Ghurye, Irawati Krave, M.N. Srinivas, L.K. Anantakrishna Iyer and A. Aiyappan in the western and southern India provided the initial stimulation to organize scientific anthropological researches by conducting field expeditions, writing books and articles and also by training researchers for undertaking anthropological researches specially on various aspects of tribal culture".

The following academic results are remarkable during the constructive phase. In case of in-depth descriptive ethnography, R.E. Enthoven published the handbooks on the *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, 3 Vols. (1920-1922). S.C. Roy marked the new trace of progress of the ethnographic studies in India such as a series of the fullfledged monographs on *The Bihor: A Little Known Jungle Tribe of Chotanagpur* (1925), *Oraon Religion and Customs* (1928), *The Hill Bhuiyans of Orissa* (1935), and *The Khatia* (1937). His efforts laid the foundation of identification and analyses of individual groups of the tribes in India. K.P. Chattopadhyay wrote on "Some Malayalam Kinship Terms" (1922), "An Essay on the History of Newar Culture" (1925), "Contact of People as Affecting Marriage Rules" (1931), "Khasi Kinship and Social Organisation" (1941), "Khasi Land Ownership and Scale" (1949). His works remarkably contributed to the analyses of the kinship system, social organisation and culture contact. T.C. Das studied on "The Bhumik of Seraikella", (1931a), "The Wild Kharias of Dhalbhum" (1931b). "The Modern Trends of Primitive Culture on the Borders of Bengal" (1943) and "The Purums: An Old Kuki Tribe of Manipur" (1945). His studies gave an account of the changes in life style and marriage institutions due to the change of technology from shifting cultivation to settled plough agriculture. D.N. Majumdar presented various problem-oriented publications on *A Tribe in Transaction: A Study in Culture Pattern* (1937), *Fortunes of the Primitive Tribe* (1944), *Matrix of Indian Culture* (1947) and *The Affairs of a Tribe: A Study in Tribal Dynamics* (1950b). His major concerns were the identification and analyses of cultural pattern and the process of culture change.

In particular, after a joint session of the Indian Science Congress Association and the British Association in 1938, many trained researchers presented various problem-oriented monographs on the tribes and castes. Among them, Verrier Elwin provided a series of problem-oriented monographs on the tribes of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa like *The Baiga* (1939), *The Agaria* (1943a), *Maria Murder and Suicide* (1943b), *The Muriya and Their Ghotul* (1947a), and *Myths of Middle India* (1947b). His interests were place on the various parts of ethnographic studies including process of culture change, studies of tribal crafts and myth of middle India. In his first book (1939), he developed the



concept of "Park Land Theory" i.e. isolationism, which provoked some controversy regarding the approach to tribal problems.<sup>1</sup> His isolationism was vehemently criticised by Ram Manohar Lohia and G.S. Ghurye.<sup>2</sup> G.S. Ghurye emphasised an integrated approach to the study of castes and tribes from the anthropological point of view in his book, *Castes and Race in India* (1932). He also wrote about *The Aborigines so-called and Their Future* (1943) to counteract Verrier Elwin's isolationist theory, i.e. the idea of creating protected tribal areas like "National Parks". In his book, he gave an account of the status of the tribes and the process of assimilation of the tribes in the context of Indian social structure. N.K. Bose presented "Hindus Method of Tribal Absorption" (1941). M.N. Srinivas contributed to analyses of *Marriage and Family in Mysore* (1942) and "The Social Organisation of South India" (1946). It is significant that both Bose and Srinivas provided some theoretical idea and sophistication in social anthropology. Besides, A. Aiyappan wrote a long paper on the "Iravas and Culture Change" (1944). K.J. Save (1945) wrote about *The Warlis* of the Thana District which was located in not far away from the Dangas. Iravati Krave presented "Some Studies in the Making of a Culture Pattern" (1948). J.P. Mills wrote "Some Problems in the Khasi Hills" (1948). The above mentioned Aiyappan, Save, Krave, and Mills contributed to analyses of cultural contacts, changes and/or pattern of the tribes and castes.

Among the missionaries, J. Hoffman published a book on *Encyclopaedia Mundarica* (1924, reprinted 1950). P.O. Bodding gave an account of "Santal Medicine" (1925), *How the Santals Live* (1940), "Traditions and Institutions of Santals" (1940). Both Hoffman and Bodding provided in-depth ethnography of Mundarica and Santals. C. von Fu"rer-Haimendorf wrote about *The Chenchus: Jungle Folk of Deccan* (1943), *The Tribal Population of Hyderabad* (1945a), *The Reddis of Bison Hills: A Study in Acculturation* (with his wife, Elizabeth C. von Fu"rer-Haimendorf, 1945b), *Exploration in Eastern Himalayas: Tour Diaries of the Special Officer, Subansari Area 1944-1945* (1947) and *The Raj Gonds of Adilabad: A Peasant Culture of Deccan* (with his wife, Elizabeth C. von Fu"rer-Haimendorf, 1948). His work continually provides exhaustive identification and analyses of the culture pattern and process of culture change in the Deccan area. He maintained that there were several cultural strata in the Deccan and also were cultural influences from South-East Asia in the eastern and southern parts of India.

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1. See, op cit., Vidyarthi, L.P., 1972, p. 69.

2. See, Kothari, K.L., *Tribal Social Change in India*, Delhi, Himanshu Publications, 1985, p. 7.

After World War II, especially India's Independence, there were several changes in academic atmosphere and temper in Indian anthropology. From 1950, the ethnographic studies in India enter into the third phase. At the beginning of the analytical period (1950-1970), many American anthropologists came to India to study Indian culture including to test anthropological hypothesis, to refine some of the methodological framework developed elsewhere, and to assist the Community Development Programmes in Indian villages. M.E. Opler wrote about "The Division of Labour in an Indian Village" (with R.D. Singh, 1948) and "Village Life in North India" (1950). Oscar Lewis gave account of *Group Dynamics in a North India Village* (1954), "Peasant Culture in India and Mexico : A Comparative Analysis" (1955) and *Life in a North Indian Village* (1958). Robbins Burlings published a book entitled the *Renganggri* (1963), which dealt with family and kinship of a Garo village.

During the analytical period, inaccessible and remote areas also were opened up and brought into the focus of ethnographic studies. Some studies have appeared recently on the formation of India as a culture area from pre-historic times and in relation to adjacent areas. Foremost among these attempts were made by B. Subba Rao (*Personality of India*, 1958), and S.C. Malik (*Indian Civilisation: The Formative Period*, 1968). Irawati Karve (1953) published the exhaustive work on the *Kinship Organisation in India*. In particular, Karve (1953) suggested broadly two cultural zones within India, one characterised by the Dravidian languages with certain kinship usages, which are absent in the other zone characterised by Indo-Aryan languages and different kinship system. She (1962) continually identified "India as a Cultural Region" considering the different languages, religions, and ethnic types. She divided India into two broad cultural regions, very roughly on the two sides of a line drawn from Bengal to Karnatak. In other words, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Bengal and parts of Orissa share both Northern and Southern traits in different proportions. N.K. Bose (1956a) suggested "Cultural Zones of India". He scientifically gave an account of the distribution of the items of material culture in order to carve out the culture zones in India. Later, he (1961) contributed to publish a book entitled *Peasant Life in India: A Study in Indian Unity & Diversity*. They showed a distribution survey of material culture items and on the basis of the over-lapping zones of their distribution and they attempted to determine the major culture areas within India. B.S. Guha (1955) remarkably gave account of "Indian Aborigines and Who They Are". He divided "the tribal cultures of India into three categories, and described them as occupying three different areas of India and in

three different levels of culture contacts.<sup>1</sup>

It is notable that M.N. Srinivas wrote about *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India* (1952), "A Note on Sanskritisation and Westernisation" (1956), *Social Change in Modern India* (1966). His contributions laid the foundation of analysis of cultural change in India. He created the concept of "Sanskritisation" -- synonymous to Hinduisation, Brahminisation and Kulinisation, and the related concept of Westernisation -- synonymous Modernisation, Secularisation and De-Sanskritisation. Sanskritisation refers to the age-old process whereby lower castes strive to improve their caste status by changing their own customs and rituals into those prevalent among the locally important higher castes. It lately includes the process of Hinduisation of the tribal people and is equally conceived of the same order as Brahminisation and Kulinisation. He conceives of Westernisation as a special case of Modernisation, applicable to India, which in many ways runs counter to the process of Sanskritisation, the other correlated phase being de-Sanskritisation. The process of Secularisation is another aspect of Modernisation in India. But the processes are not entirely contradictory and may co-exist in the same group.

In connection with cultural change and acculturation, some articles provide theoretical analysis -- "Directed Cultural Change among the Tharus" by S.K. Srivastava (1956), "Socio-Cultural Barriers to Rural Change in an East Bihar Community" by N. Akhauri (1958), *Tribal Life in Gujarat: An Analytical Study of the Cultural Changes with special reference to the Dhanka Tribe* by P.G. Shah (1964). "Technological Development and Cultural Resistance" by L.K. Mahapatra (1965), "Structural Obstacles to Tribal Acculturation: The Case of Regional Ceremonial Integration in Bastar" by E.J. Jay (1965), "Cultural Change in the Tribes of Modern India" by L.P. Vidyarthi (1968).

Besides, there are some noteworthy ethnographic works regarding the tribals of south of Gujarat. B.H. Mehta submitted his M.A. Dissertation on "Social and Economic Conditions of Chodras: An Aboriginal Tribe of Gujarat" (1953) to the Bombay University, and presented an article on "A Summary of the Survey of the Economic Life of an Aboriginal Tribe of Gujarat" (1954). A.N. Solanki submitted his Ph.D. Thesis on *The Dhodias of South Gujarat* (1955) to the Bombay University. Y.V.S. Nath submitted

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1. Guha G.S., "Indian Aborigines and Who They Are", *The Adivasis*, New Delhi, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1955, p. 31., cited in L.K. Mahapatra, 1972, p. 14.

his Ph.D. Thesis on *The Bhils of Ratanmal* (1956) to the M.S. University of Baroda. His work contributed to the presentation of Bhil ethnography of Ratanmal. His analysis basically depends on the structural-functionalism to interpret Bhil ethnography, but his attempt does not make an outstanding academic results, viz., a new theoretical idea.

During the analytical period, not only newly trained Indian anthropologists but also many American anthropologists contributed to identification and analyses of the cultures of tribes, castes and rural village life, and tested their hypotheses. Particularly, some of the studies in connection with cultural contacts and changes were continually established by them. Their attempts established new theoretical ideas as in "India as a Culture Area", "Sanskritisation", "Bramhinisation", "Hinduisation", "De-Sanskritisation", "Secularisation", etc.

From 1970, the ethnographic studies in India enter a new phase, i.e., they receive the accumulative atmosphere gradually in terms of the progress of anthropological researches in India. At the beginning of the accumulative period (1970- ), significant attempts were made for the development of anthropological researches, especially, ethnographic studies in India. In practice, "Cultural Anthropology" by L.K. Mahapatra (1972), "Tribal Ethnography in India" by L.P. Vidyarthi (1972), "Material Culture Studies" by Baidyanath Saraswati (1972), "Folklore Studies" by Indira Deva (1972), and "Applied Anthropology in India" by T.B. Naik (1972) are remarkable.<sup>1</sup> Besides, theoretical and methodological aspects of the anthropological researches in India were undertaken by R.S. Mann (*Anthropological and Sociological Theory*, 1984).

In connection with the study of demographic aspect of the tribes, B.K. Roy Burman and H.L. Harit presented *A Preliminary Appraisal of the Scheduled Tribes of India* (1971). According to them, "There are altogether 427 tribal communities", which can be divided into "five territorial groups, taking into consideration their historical, ethnic and socio-cultural relations" scattered in all over India.<sup>2</sup> In this connection, the Anthropological Survey of India (1967) reported the number at 314, considering a number of tribes to be the constituents of a group of tribes designated by a common name such as Gonds,

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1. ICSSR, *A Survey of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology*, Vol. III, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1972.

2. See, Roy Burman, B.K., and Harit, H.L., *A Preliminary Appraisals of the Scheduled Tribes of India*, New Delhi, Office of the Registra-General, Ministry of Home Affairs, India, 1971, p. 2.

Bhils, Dhodias, Konkanas, etc.

Studies of tribal economic system were made by R.S. Mann ("Bhil Economy and Its Problems", 1978c), and A.N. Bhattacharya and R.N. Vyas (*Habitat Economy and Society -- A Study of the Dangis*, 1979). R.S. Mann (1978c) observed that the Bhils economy mainly depends on their collecting forest products, forest labour income, breeding domestic animals and agriculture products. However, their economic conditions are very poor due to indebtedness, lazy nature and small land tenure or landless. A.N. Bhattacharya and R.N. Vyas (1979) pointed out the following: "An average Dangi spends 66 to 80 percent of the total expenditure on his food." "Next item of expenditure for a Dangi is clothing for which he spends 10 percent." Besides, "Dangis' property mainly consists of land, house, animals, ornaments etc."<sup>1</sup>

Studies of belief and ceremony of the tribes were undertaken by Eberhard Fischer and Haku Shah, who presented *Mogra Dev -- Tribal Crocodile Gods* (1971), and *Memorials for the Dead* (1973). Their works contributed to the significant presentation of illustrative account of the tribal belief and ceremony. In terms of museo-ethnography, their attempts are attractive due to a large number of illustrations with simple labelling. Besides, *Tribal Marriages & Sex Relations* were written by Bhagwat Bhandari (1989). His discussion brought out the fact as : "Most of the Bhil customary laws depend on the concept of woman as a property." "The hill endogamy vis-a-vis plains endogamy constitute a very strong characteristic of the Garasias." "However, similar endogamy in the name of *pal* (hills) and plains is also found among the Bhils."<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, *Festivals and Holidays of India* (2nd) was undertaken by P. Thomas (1984). His contributions provide the outline of the important festivals and holidays of India including some tribal celebrations and rituals, in particular, among the Bhils, Santals, Gonds, Nagas, Todas etc.

The studies of the castes and tribes, regarding kinship, village life and religion were presented by A.C. Mayer (1973) and Romesh Thapar (1977). A.C. Mayer (1973) discussed various aspects of Indian village life style, and their castes system. He defines the caste as "a village group, based on traditional occupation, communal regulations and a particular status and mode

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1. Bhattacharya, A.N., and Vyas, R.N., *Habitation Economy and Society -- A Study of the Dangis*, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Co., 1979, p. 132.

2. Bhandari, Bhagwat, *Tribal Marriages & Sex Relations*, Udaipur, Himanshu Publications, 1989, p. 77. and p. 99.

of behaviour in the village", furthermore, propounds that "the subcaste is distinguished by name, perhaps occupation and endogamy."<sup>1</sup> Romesh Thapar (1977) described the fact that "the tribe as a society with a political, linguistic and somewhat vaguely-defined cultural boundary; further, as a society based upon kinship, where social stratification is absent."<sup>2</sup>

In particular, the studies of tribal religion were undertaken by J. Troisi (*Tribal Religion: Religious Beliefs and Practices among the Santals*, 1978), and R.S. Mann ("Bhil Religion", 1978e). Among them, J. Troisi (1978) contributed to identification and analyses of the Santals' religion and their life as a whole. His efforts show various methodological approaches and in-depth analysis of the Santals' seasonal rites and festival, rites of passage among the Santals, and furthermore, the process of change and adaptation in the Santals' religion. R.S. Mann (1978e) discussed various aspects of the Bhils' religion then analysed the fact that "To a Bhil, the parochial gods, goddess, and deities are sufficient to look after the simple institutions, and the activities thereof, concerning his social, economic and political life", and furthermore, "No Brahmin priest for tribal gods, goddesses and deities is reported."<sup>3</sup> Besides, a remarkable contribution regarding analysis of the sacred complex was made by Baidyanath Saraswati (*The Spectrum of the Sacred*, 1984). His attempts established a method of interpreting the "sacred complex" on the basis of the Indian cultural tradition. According to his statement, "they ('sacred' and 'secular') are the two sides of the same coin - the difference lies in the perception of the observer, depending from what angle he looks at it", and also "Nothing solely sacred or solely profane exists in the common experience of life, or in the ultimate analysis of thing."<sup>4</sup>

In connection with 'Nature-Man-Spirit Complex', the following attempts are significant, e.g., "Nature-Man-Spirit

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1. Mayer, A.C., *Caste and Kinship in Central India -- A Village and Its Region* (5th), Berkeley, University of California Press, 1973, p.p. 270-271.

2. Thapar, Romesh, *Tribes, Castes and Religion*, Meerut, Macmillan Co., 1977, p. 13.

3. Mann, R.S., "Religious Attributes of Bhil", *Rajasthan Bhils* (Special No. of *Tribe*), Vol. X, Udaipur, M.L.V. Tribal Research and Training Institute, 1978e, p.p. 119-121.

4. Saraswati, Baidyanath, *The Spectrum of the Sacred*, Ranchi Anthropology Series -- 6, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Co., p. 18.

Complex of a Hill Tribe: A Restudy" by Pradip Singh (1981), and "Cultural - Ecological Approach to the Study of the Bhil" and "Animism, Economy, Ecology and Change among Negrito Hunters and Gatherers" by R.S. Mann (1981a & 1981b). All of these are directly related to cultural ecology, one of the important current theoretical strategies, subscribes to view point that an intimate relationship exists between a culture and its surrounding environment. Pradip Singh (1981) analyses the social organisation and religious structure of the Malers with special reference to changing situation. He observes that certain cultural elements have been susceptible to change because of Hinduisation, Christianization, industrialization, welfare agencies, political parties etc. R.S. Mann (1981a, & 1981b) significantly dealt with the intimate relationship and interaction between ecology, religion, social life and economy of the tribes. His analysis (1981a) shows that "The Bhil gods, goddesses, spirits, ghosts etc., marking their supernatural world, have close relationship with physical environments, especially the hills, forest, water source and agriculture fields. Furthermore, his another attempt (1981b) gives an account of the Onge's life in connection with their environmental factors like climate, ecology, animism, nomadic living and gathering economy, social organisation in terms of cultural ecology.

Regarding cultural contact, social change and various social problems of the tribal society, the following works are remarkable, e.g., "Bhils and Culture Contact -- Case of Social Grouping", and "Social Control, Leadership and Planned Change" by R.S. Mann (1978b and 1978d).<sup>1</sup>, and *Tribal Social Change in India* by K.L. Kothari (1985). Among them, R.S. Mann (1978b) observed that "The contact of the Hindus and the Christians with the Bhils has also led to some breakdown in Bhil culture.", i.e., "The detribalization was further strengthened by some workers who condemned certain customs and practices, considering the latter as evils in Bhil society".<sup>2</sup> And also he observed (1978d) that "The Sarpanchas are generally from non-tribal Hindu castes who have settled in tribal villages as landlords, shopkeepers, liquor sellers, traders, money lenders or contractors." "Because of their influence, they could manage

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1. Vyas, N.N., et al. (eds.), *Rajasthan Bhils* (Special No. of *Tribe*), Vol. X, Udaipur, M.L.V. Tribal Research and Training Institute, Rajasthan, 1978.

2. Mann, R.S., "Bhils and Culture Contact -- Case of Social Grouping", *Rajasthan Bhils* (Special No. of *Tribe*), Vol. X, Udaipur, M.L.V. Tribal Research and Training Institute, 1978, p.p. 66-67.

to get all support from tribals who, being ignorant of new positions, largely remained silent."<sup>1</sup> K.L. Kothari (1985) found that "the traditional Bhil structure is under severe strain in the present situation of flux and transformation." for instance, "The high castes Hindu model of rituals has now become a reference model for the Bhil." Furthermore, he stated that "Any model of the tribal social change which is conducted on orthogenetic basis would help the tribe to move ahead in confident way while retaining their identity."<sup>2</sup>

Considering tribal development and their integration, the following works are noteworthy, e.g. *Process of Tribal Unification and Integration* by S.L. Doshi (1978), "Special Problems of Minor Tribes" by V.S. Upadhyay, "Forestry, Tribe and the Forest Policy in India" by P.K. Bhowmick (in *Tribal Development and its Administration*, 1981). Among them, V.S. Upadhyay (1981) propounds the fact that minor tribes having less than five thousand population face "questions of their total survival (isolated group) and economic survival (for communities living in larger group)".<sup>3</sup> P.K. Bhowmick (1981) explained that "the tribals who formerly regarded themselves as lords of the forests, were through a deliberate process of law, turned into subjects and brought under the control of the Forest Department."<sup>4</sup> and further, the traditional right of the tribals became 'right and privileges' in 1894, and they became 'privileges' in 1952 and now they are regarded as 'concessions'.<sup>5</sup>

The studies of tribal identity, self-image, and world view were undertaken by Susana B.C. Devalle (*Discourses of Ethnicity*:

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1. Mann, R.S., "Social Control, Leadership and Planned Change", *Rajasthan Bhils* (Special No. of *Tribe*), Vol. X, Udaipur, M.L.V. Tribal Research and Training Institute, 1978d, p. 102.

2. Kothari, K.L., *Tribal Social Change in India*, Udaipur, Himanshu Publications, 1985, p. 136 and p. 140.

3. Upadhyay, V.S., "Special Problems of Minor Tribes", in Vidyarthi, L.P. (ed.), *Tribal Development and Its Administration*, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Co., 1981, p. 44.

4. Bhowmick, P.K., "Forestry, Tribe and The Forest Policy in India", in Vidyarthi, L.P. (ed.), *Tribal Development and Its Administration*, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Co., 1981, p. 35.

5. See, *ibid.*



*Culture and Protest in Jharkhand*, 1992), K.N. Sahay ("Tribal Self-Image and Identity", 1977) and J.D. Mehra ("The World View of Indian Tribes", in *Tribal Heritage of India*, 1977). Among them, K.N. Sahay (1977) studied tribal self-image and identity based on various reference in connection with etymological meanings of the names of individual tribes or the appellations which the tribes use for themselves. J.D. Mehra (1977) summarized the fact that "The world view in respect of man-nature relationships among peasants is similar to that of the tribals, while the man to man relationships extend to the state".<sup>1</sup> Susana B.C. Devalle (1992) examined the relationship between historical structure, human experience and social consciousness in the construction of ethnicity as an ethnic group.

#### D. Review of Material Culture Studies in India

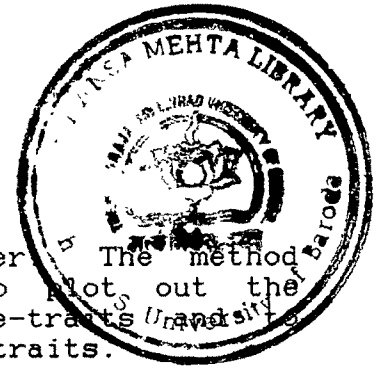
Already discussed the concept and scope of material culture in the earlier section. T.K. Penniman (1965), in his book on the title of *A Hundred Years of Anthropology* considers material culture of the existing peoples as a part of cultural anthropology, and further, that of the earliest people as the main concern of archaeology.<sup>2</sup> The studies of material culture can give an account of the entire historical profile of a particular society in the past and present, and provide with proper understanding of the culture and civilization belonging to simpler or complex societies.

From the methodological point of view, H. Balfour (1917, 1925, 1932a & 1932b) contributed to develop evolutionary approach to study the material culture in India in terms of technology. It is fact that the study of material culture goes along with the development of evolutionary school in technology, which depends on mainly the form or design of an object to trace the distribution of like forms, and shows their development by arranging them in a chain of sequences from simple to complicate. Later, W.H.R. Rivers' students, K.P. Chattopadhyaya (1938 & 1954) and G.S. Ghuyre (1936 & 1951), etc. contributed to develop the historical and diffusionist method which aimed at the reconstruction of cultural history of a particular society. With the rise of the historical and diffusionist school, the concept of 'cultural area' was developed

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1. Mehra, J.D., "The World View of Indian Tribes", in Dube, S.C. (ed.), *Tribal Heritage of India*, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, p. 74.

2. See, Penniman, T.K., *A Hundred Years of Anthropology*, London, General Duckworth & Co., 1965, p.p. 15-16.



by Franz Boas, Clark Wissler, and A. Kroeber. The method employed in the cultural area studies was to plot out the geographical distribution of a number of culture-traits and to locate the concentration of a specific group of traits.

Another methodological approach in the study of material culture is the historical and functionalism which was developed by Raymond Firth and Audrey Richards. N.K. Bose (1961) and his collaborators contributed to develop the method of historical and functional school in the study of material culture in India. Later, L.P. Vidyarthi (1963) employed 'cultural ecology' method and functionalism in his book on *The Maler: A Study in Nature-Man-Spirit Complex of a Hill Tribe*.

From the end of 1950s', several aspects of the material culture were gradually studied by the trained anthropologists. The Anthropological Survey of India prepared a detail list of material culture-traits for Culture Zone Survey, 1959-1961 (See, Appendix 2-3). Material culture includes various items which may be classified under the following broad headings:

- (1) Community settings and housing
- (2) Methods of procurement and preparation of food and customs
- (3) Clothing and personal adornment
- (4) Travel and transportation
- (5) Tools, weapons and machines
- (6) Ceramics, textile and metallurgy
- (7) Miscellaneous arts and crafts<sup>1</sup>

An important field of the material culture is the settlement pattern. Sarkar (1933) wrote an article on the settlement of "The Malers of Rajmahal Hills" and S.J. Singh (1933) gave an account of the habitation of the Maitais.<sup>2</sup> In the *Peasant Life in India*, S. Nandi and D.S. Tyagi (1961) presented the "Forms of Villages", and S.K. Biswas and N.K. Behura (1961) also presented the "Types of Cottages".<sup>3</sup> Their works greatly contributed to demarcate 'culture area' of India on the basis of the distribution of various forms of villages and houses. For the

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1. op cit., Saraswati, Baidyanath, 1972, p. 140.

2. See, Sarkar, Sasanka, "The Malers of the Rajmahal Hills", *Man in India*, Vol. 13, 1933., and Singh, S.J., "Habitations of the Maitais", *Man in India*, Vol. 13, 1933.

3. See, Nandi, S., and Tyagi, D.S., "Forms of Villages" and Biswas, S.K., and Behura, N.K., "Types of Cottages" in Bose, N.K. (ed.), *Peasant Life In India : A Study in Indian Unity & Diversity*, Calcutta, Anthropological Survey of India, 1961.

study of the settlement pattern, Baidyanath Saraswati (1972) suggested the following eight broad topics; "(1) Type of settlement, (2) Size and form of settlement, (3) Selection of site, (4) Boundary, (5) Composition and size of population, and arrangement of houses, (6) Supply of basic needs, and inter-settlement and inter-market distance, (7) Cultural landscape and (8) Settlement history".<sup>1</sup>

The study of types of settlement, in particular, permanent and semi-permanent has been adequately reported. In case of the temporary settlement, S. Piggott (1944) presented an important note on nomad house-sites, in western Himalayas. He stated that "by plotting the Banjara settlements all over India we may, perhaps, trace the ancient trade-route or route."<sup>2</sup> In connection with the formation of a particular type of settlement, A.B. Chatterjee and Mira Das (1964) explained that the "linear settlement and close housing in the Puri-Chika coastal tract 'are possible because of clan solidarity'".<sup>3</sup> R.L. Singh (1955) observed that in the middle of Ganga valley "compact settlement is formed for reasons of defence, while fragmentation of settlement is caused by castes prejudices and the presence of a low agricultural caste or tribe".<sup>4</sup> Additionally, he noted that "agricultural castes like Ahirs, Koeries, Kurmis, and Muraon prefer to live in separate hamlets near their fields".<sup>5</sup> In connection with the agglomeration or dispersal of a settlement, A.K. Sen (1966) found that in case of the Jupa in Rajasthan, "when joint families break up, they establish themselves in separate fields."<sup>6</sup>

The study of the selection of village site was made by V.K.

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1. *ibid.*

2. Piggott, S., "Nomad House Sites in the Western Himalyas", *Man*, Vol. 44, No. 121, 1944, cited in Saraswati, Baidyanath, 1972, p. 142.

3. Chatterjee, A.B., and Das, Mira, "Settlement Pattern in the Puri-Chika Coastal Tract", *Geographical Riview of India*, Vol. 31, 1964., cited in Saraswati, Baidyanath, 1972, p. 142.

4. Singh, R.L., "Evolution of Settlement in the Middle Ganga Valley", *National Geographical Journal of India*, Vol. 1, Part II, 1955, cited in Saraswati, Baidyanath, 1972, p. 142.

5. *ibid.*

6. Sen, A.K., "Settlement Patterns in Rajasthan", *Man in India*, Vol. 46, 1966, p.p. 215-225.

Anand (1967). He observed that "the Naga villages are located on the hill-tops for defence against the enemies from outside as well as protection during the inter-tribal and inter-village feuds".<sup>1</sup> His concerns extend to the study of the boundary of a village. The boundary of a village is not always on par with the demarcation of its Government revenue area. He found that "in Nagaland a large village is divided into smaller sections called *Khels*, and that *Khel* is treated like a separate entity".<sup>2</sup> Thus, a village may include more than one social entity. In connection with the selection of housing site, Baidyanath Saraswati (1972) propounded that "According to a Brahminical tradition each of the *varnas* is assigned one of the four sides of the village; the Brahman in the north, the Kshatriya in the east, the Vaisya in the south and the Sudra in the west".<sup>3</sup>

The study of the cultural landscape of a settlement was made by P.C. Agrawal (1968). He classified different tribal settlements on the basis of social and cultural forms i.e. the dancing ground, youth dormitory, and the burial ground or crematory in a tribal village. He noted that "menstruation hut is the characteristic feature of the Abhujmaria while *thanaguri* (rest house) is conspicuous in a Muria settlement".<sup>4</sup>

The study of facing direction of the buildings was made by S.J. Singh (1933), M.N.V. Devi (1962), V. Vidyanath (1962) and R. Ramchandran (1960). Among them, S.J. Singh (1933) discovered that "the houses of the Maitais generally face the east in order to get the morning sun on the verandah".<sup>5</sup> But there is exception that Maharaja's house faces the south because the Maitai King needs to watch the Angom Ningthou, the head of the most important clans of the Maitai. M.N.V. Devi (1962) also found that "in a Kerala village, most houses face either the east or the west, the east facing is for the morning sun and the Hindu belief of offering *pooja* to the morning sun and for an eastern darshan. In case of the west facing, this may be influenced by the Moslem custom of turning towards Mecca in the west, or in order to

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1. Anand, V.K., *Nagaland in Transition*, New Delhi, Associated Publishing House, 1967., cited in Saraswati, Baidyanath, 1972, p. 143.

2. *ibid.*

3. *op cit.*, Saraswati, Baidyanath, 1972, p.p. 143-144.

4. Agrawal, P.C., *Human Geography of Bastar District*, Allahabad, Garga Brothers, 1968., cited in Saraswati, Baidyanath, 1972, p. 145.

5. See, *op cit.*, Singh, S.J., 1933.

attract more fresh air from the western ward".<sup>1</sup> V. Vidyanath (1962) observed that "an island village in Andhra Pradesh, the houses face the east or the north, since the southern direction is dominated by the God of death and the west is dominated by that of darkness".<sup>2</sup> But R. Ramachandran (1960) had earlier mentioned, in his study of a village in Arcot district, that "traditional houses do not face the north in South India".<sup>3</sup>

The study of house pattern and division of space in a building is made by P.C. Agrawal (1968). He observed that "The Abujhmara erect their grain storehouse separate from the dwelling house, while the Muria and Porja (Dhurwa) keep their grain-bins in the interior portion of their house and raise a partition wall for this purpose. The Dorlas build an upper story in the house for storing the food reserve. The Bhatra, on the other hand, build a separate central room in their house for storing their grain."<sup>4</sup> Similarly, S.J. Singh (1933) also observed that "of the Maitais, on the verandah near the wall is the seat of honour, and rooms are reserved for the head of the family and the eldest son of the family".<sup>5</sup>

The study of the belief and customs in construction of the houses was made by Nilima Majumdar (1950) and S.J. Singh (1933). In connection with the customs of the use of material, Nilima Majumdar (1950) noted that "no iron nail or no iron beam are used for the Abor's dormitory house (*Mosups* and *Rasengs*)".<sup>6</sup> In connection with the belief in construction of a house, S.J. Singh

(1933) observed that "the Manipuris select the wood for the first post in their house according to the name of the man whose house

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1. See, Devi, V.M.N., "Edakkad: The Socio-Geographical Survey of a Village in Cannanore District of Kerala State", *Indian Geographical Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 3, 1962.

2. See, Vidyanath, V., "Circular House Type in Kolleru Lake Islands (Andhra Pradesh)", *Indian Geographical Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 2, 1962.

3. See, Ramachandran, R., "Mahammadupuram : A Village of Arcot District in Madras", *Indian Geographical Journal*, Vol. 35, 1960.

4. See, op cit., Agrawal, P.C., 1968.

5. See, op cit., Singh, S.J., 1933.

6. See, Majumdar, Nilima, *Abor House Type*, Indian Science Congress Association (Part III), Poona, 1950., cited in Saraswati, Baidyanath, 1972, p. 148.

is to be built. The name of wood should begin with the same letter as the name of the man who has thought of building a house".<sup>1</sup>

The study of decoration and furnishing of the house were presented by James Walton (1959a). He propounded a good description of Rajput folk-building in Malwa and attempted to interpret the symbols used in building and furniture.<sup>2</sup>

The study of clothes was made by G.S. Ghurye (1951). He has done excellent work on Indian costumes from ancient to recent through various references and archaeological and historical evidences. Jamila Brijbhusan (1955-1958) published a series of articles on Indian costumes and jewellery. In 1961, the Anthropological Survey of India conducted an all-India survey of dresses, footwears, and ornaments. Of these, P.K. Das Gupta & Kumar Pranab presented a report on "Men's Dress" (1961).

Regarding the preparation of food and food habits, R.S. Khare (1976) published a book entitled *The Hindu Hearth and Home*. He contributed to the ethnographic description of daily feeding, fasting and feasting in Hindu societies. His work gives an account of food area which refers to all food-related spaces within a home stead under both normal and ceremonial circumstances. His major concerns are in analyses of cycles and implications of Hindu food.

In connection with the study of tools and implements, Baidyanath Saraswati (1972) suggested the following eight broad categories : (1) Hunting and fishing appliances; (2) agricultural tools and implements; (3) Tools and Implements used in various crafts; (4) Transport: land and water (5) Musical instruments; (6) Tools for decoration; (7) Surgical instruments; and, (8) Sacrificial implements.<sup>3</sup> A similar attempt was made by W. Crooks (1879) in his book *Materials for a Rural and Agricultural Glossary of the North Western Provinces and Oudh*. M.S. Randhawa (1959) published a book on the title of *Farmers of India* which gives a good account of agricultural tools and techniques prevalent in different parts of India. It is again in *Peasant Life in India: A Study of Indian Unity & Diversity* (1961) that one gets an all-India picture of the types of ploughs, husking implements, oil-presses, bullock-carts, etc.

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1. See, op cit., Singh, S.J., 1933.

2. Walton, James, "Rajput Folk-Building in Malwa, Central India", *Ethnos*, Vol. 24, 1959a, p.p. 109-120.

3. op cit., Saraswati, Baidyanath, 1972, p. 149.

In connection with hunting tools and forest life style, H. Balfour (1921) made efforts to prove the "Asiatic Origin of the Reflexed Horn Bows". Later B.K. Chatterjee and G.D. Kumar (1954) presented an article on the hunting and fishing appliances of the Onges, showing their affinities with Negrito races. Moreover, the study of forest economy of the simpler societies was made by L.P. Vidyarthi (1963). In his book, *The Maler: A Study in Nature-Man-Spirit Complex of a Hill Tribe* has given an interesting account of forest economy while examining the Maler in their techno-economic environment in terms of 'cultural ecology' and functionalism.

Regarding fishing technique and fisherfolk, K.G. Gupta (1907) early wrote a *Report on the Results of Inquiry into the Fisheries of Bengal, etc.* He described three kinds of fisheries, namely, i) Fresh water, ii) Brackish water (estuaries and lakes) and iii) Sea (foreshore and deep sea).<sup>1</sup> H. Balfour (1925) presented an interesting article on the "Thorn-lined Traps and Their Distribution". His interests place on the geographical dispersal of a peculiar form of conical trap employed for catching fish in the Naga Hills. On the basis of the Indian Museum collection he attempted to compare it with similar traps found in North Arakan, western Burma, China, Sumatra, Borneo, Malay Archipelago, and also New Guinea. His work attempted to show affinity between the culture of the Naga Hills and the Melanesian culture. Bhabananda Mukherjee (1967) contributed to the "Comparative Study of the Fisherfolk : Coastal West Bengal and Orissa". His efforts made a detailed research programme on the coastal fisherfolk from the sociological point of view.

The study of the primitive method of iron smelting and tribal smithery was made by L. Jacob (1843). He observed the mines and modes of smelting ore in Kathiawar and reported on the comparative value of the Indian and British metal. Since then many scholars referred to tribal arts and crafts but a few of them dealt with them in terms of socio-economic aspect. The early foreign researchers were interested in weaving and gold-silver-copper-bronze work, i.e., the two most developed crafts of India which had commercial value.

After a long time, Verrier Elwin (1951) laid emphasis on the aesthetics of tribal art, N.K. Bose (1965) discussed the importance of crafts in tribal economy. S.K. Banerjee (1963) wrote an article on the "Role of Handicrafts in Tribal Economy". B.K. Roy Burman (1955) presented a book entitled, *Encouragement to Tribal Arts and Handicrafts*. He encouraged to develop the

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1. Gupta, K.G., *Report on the Results of Inquiry into the Fisheries of Bengal, etc.*, Calcutta, Government of Bengal, 1907.

economic tribal handicrafts. D.S. Nag (1955) wrote an article on "Effect of Culture Contact on Baiga's Handicrafts". His work reflected culture contact through changes of material and design of Baiga's handicrafts.

Then the Census Organization of India (1961) published various survey reports on traditional crafts under five topics; (1) antiquity and historical background; (2) raw-materials and equipments; (3) technology; (4) economic aspect; and (5) decay and resuscitation.<sup>1</sup> The Census Organization had selected about 200 traditional crafts. Previously, the *Khadi* and *Gramodyog* Board, the All India Handicrafts Board and various States published the survey reports on handicrafts and traditional arts. The purpose of the surveying these crafts was not much different from that of the Census Organisation and the Boards. Most of these publications provide useful information about techniques and economic aspects of industry from a practical rather than an academic point of view.

In particular, Surajit Sinha and his collaborators (1961) reported pottery, basketry, smithery and iron smelting; brass-work by the 'lost wax' process, bark-rope-making; and comb-making in south Manbhum from the socio-economic and ritual point of view.<sup>2</sup> The contribution of this work lies, not only in describing these crafts, but also in pioneering a study of regional culture through the network of craft relationship between tribes and peasant artisans. In practice, most of the survey reports are excellent documents so far as a detail description and illustrations are concerned.

#### E. Analysis of Previous Work regarding Dangi Culture

Earlier references to the Dangi culture are almost scarcity. Since 1818 the British acquired Khandesh from the Peshwa, the culture and geo-history of the Dangs gradually takes a definite shape. Very few ethnographic evidences are available in connection with the description of the adjacent areas such as former Khandesh, Nasik, Surat and Broach districts and further, Baroda state. The first attempts to describe the Bhils in the Dangs was made in the *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency* compiled by

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1. op cit., Saraswati, Baudyanath, 1972, p. 156.

2. Sinha, Surajit, et al., "Agriculture, Crafts, and Weekly Markets of South Manbhum", *Bulletin of Anthropological Survey of India*, Vol. 3, Part II, 1955.



J.M. Campbell (1869). The Gazetteer<sup>1</sup> presents the outline of primitive tribes including the Bhils of Gujarat. Then *Surat and Broach* (Vol. II, 1877), *Khandesh* (Vol. XII, 1880), *Nasik* (Vol. XVI, 1883) present the brief information about the Bhils of the Dangs. These, however, are secondary data in connection with their administrative interests.

Since the late 19th century, the ethnographic articles on the Dangi culture and its environment began to appear in print. The earlier ethnographic note on "Bhils in the Dangs" was written by T.E. Gibbs in 1873-74. He presented the note to the *Journal of Indian Antiquary* (Vol. V, 1876), in which he described the Bhili distinct life style and their environment with special reference to 'Pimpri' Naik and Musalman traders. The note provides some social phenomena such as serious drinking habit, Bhils' isolated life style and their ecological environment. Since then a few researchers have studied oral literature, territory, Dangi life style and they have presented their collected data to the academic journals, known as *Anthropological Society of Bombay*, *Gujarat Research Society*, *Man in India*, *Vanyajati*, etc. Among them, "Proverbs and Riddles Current among the Bhils of Khandesh"<sup>2</sup> by E. Hedberg (1928) presents valuable oral traditions among the Bhils. "The Bhils of Khandesh"<sup>3</sup> by G.A. Khan (1935) gives a brief summary of the Bhili life.

It was an event of remarkable significance that D.P. Khanapurkar submitted his Ph.D. thesis on *The Aborigines of South Gujarat* to the Bombay University in 1944. His work laid the foundation of a full-scale ethnographic study in the Dangs, Bansda and Dharampur. He took interest in Dangi traditional ways of life and oral literature in connection with the Hindu-Brahminic life style from the mainly ritual point of view.

*Memorandum* presented by Gujarat Pradesh Congress (1954) provides us with a detailed discussion about the geography, language and history of the Dangs. On the other hand *The Bhils -- A Study* by T.B. Naik (1956) presents the frame-work of anthropological analysis of the Bhili life style. The foreword

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1. Campbell, J.M. (ed.), *The Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency Gujarat Population : Musalman and Parsis*, Vol. IC, Bombay, Government of Bombay Presidency, 1869.

2. Hedberg, E., "Proverbs and Riddles Current among the Bhils of the Khandesh", *Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XIII, 1924-1928.

3. Khan, G.A., "The Bhils of Khandesh", *Man in India*, Vol. XV, 1935.

written by C. von Fu"rer-Haimendorf to the above book throws light on some anthropological aspects, viz., social hierarchy and social conflict between the Bhils and the Konkanas. His statement<sup>1</sup> now needs to be corrected, because at this stage, his observation is no more valid due to changes in the socio-economic and political situation. It is a fact that the Konkanas community have obtained higher socio-economic position and political power in the Dangs since 1960s.

The above-mentioned socio-cultural phenomena of the Dangs prove A.R. Holmberg's general premise, viz., 'one who can provides enough quantity of food for his society he will certainly obtain higher position and political power from his society'.<sup>2</sup> From the anthropological point of view, it is very interesting matter that an unusual social phenomena occurred in the Dangs while C. von Fu"rer-Haimendorf carried out his fieldwork in the Dangs. But it was a transitional stage. Later, the situation underwent change from the Bhil dominant political system to the Konkana dominant socio-economic and political system. Nowadays the Konkanas believe that they are superior to the others except the Dhodias.

Then, "Dangs' Native at a Glance"<sup>3</sup> by K.F. Kishori (1962) gives us a brief summary of the tribal communities of the Dangs. After that, *Census of 1961, Village Survey Monograph*<sup>4</sup> presents a full-fledged ethnography of Ghadvi (Gadhvi) and contains a detail description of Dangi ways of life and their socio-economic situation.

Since early 1970s, a few articles, monographs and publications dealing with Dangi culture were authored by D.H.

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1. C. von Fu"rer-Himendorf (1953) stated that "The co-existence of a politically dominate but materially backward ruling tribe, and a subject, but economically progressive peasantry, is an unusual variant of the relations between aboriginals and Hindu peasant populations.", cited in Naik, T.B., 1953, xiii.

2. See, Holmberg, A.R., *Nomads of the Long Bow*, Chicago, University of Chicago, 1960.

3. Kishori, K.F., "Dangs' Native at a Glance", *Vanyajati*, Vol. X, 1962.

4. *Census of India 1961, The Village Survey Monograph, Ghadvi (Dangs)*, Vol. V, Part VI, No. 7, Ahmedabad, Superintendent of Census Operation, Gujarat, 1967.

Koppar, Ghanshyam Shah, D.B. Chitale, R.R. Goswami, etc. Among them, *Tribal Art of Dangs* by D.H. Koppar (1971) is remarkable from the museo-ethnographic point of view. His attempt provides us ways to study ethnographic material for the purpose of museum presentation.

"Growth of Group Identity among the Adivasis of Dangs"<sup>1</sup> by Ghanshyam Shah (1972) dealt with the way in which the Dangi tribal communities have changed their identity. It is based on studies of social structure, socio-educational and political change of the Dangs. His article gives us a clue to the phenomenon of the loss of the Bhil chiefs' earlier political power in the Dangs since beginning of the 1960s'.

*Dang : Ek Samyak Devshak* (in Gujarati; *Dangs: A Legitimate Picture*) by D.B. Chitale (1978) presents ethnography of the Dangs and a detailed description of discoveries of pre-historic stone tools, modern history of Dangs, demographic diversity, rites of passage, gods and deities, festivals and celebrations, traditional musical instruments and dance, language and literature etc. His contribution is in the form of a detailed presentation of Dangi culture with archaeological evidence and history in terms of insider's view.

*Mavchis of Dangs* by R.R. Goswami (1980) provides us with the outline of Mavchi ethnography. It dealt with village settlement, social organisation, marriage and family life, costumes, ornaments, recreation, education, economic structure, religion and crafts of the Mavchis. His contribution is in the current presentation of Mavchi ways of life.

*Census of India* <sup>2</sup> *Handicraft Survey Report, Bamboowork* presents details of bamboo crafts, in particular, their socio-economic situation. It gives a detailed information about bamboo work and narrates the economic situation of the Kotwalias of the Dangs.

It is notable that Gujarat Tribal Research and Training Institute published many articles on Dangi ways of life and their socio-economic situations by R.B. Lal, D.H. Koppar, S.S. Solanki, M.I. Masavi and Gaurish Pandya, etc. Among them,

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1. Shah, Ghansham, "Growth of Group Identity among the Adivasis of Dangs", *Gujarat Research Society*, Vol. XXXIV, 1972.

2. *The Census of India, Handicraft Survey Report: Bamboowork*, Series 5, Gujarat Part X-D, Delhi, Deputy Director of Census Operation, Gujarat, 1989.

"Social and Cultural Life in the Dangs"<sup>1</sup> by R.B. Lal (1978) provides us with a brief introduction to ethnography of the Dangs. His analysis of the Dangi ethnography is remarkable. "Economic Development and Culture Change among Dangis" by D.H. Koppar<sup>2</sup>(1978) provides us with an analysis that how the Dangi culture could be affected by economic development. He suggested that economic development should go hand in hand with socio-economic and cultural changes.

*Area Study of Dangs* by S.S. Solanki (1980) provides us a full-scale of ethnography of the Dangs. His contribution is seen in a detailed description of Dangi life style and socio-economic situation. *Bhils of the Dangs* by M.I. Masavi and Gaurish Pandya (1986) provide us with the outline of socio-economic situation of the Bhili community. Their contribution is apparent in the scientific analysis of the Bhili socio-economic life style based on fieldwork data collected by them from various areas of the Dangs.

Currently, Binoy Mistry submitted his M.A. Dissertation, "The Unknown Architect: A Study of Tribal Architecture of South Gujarat with special reference to Dangs" to the Institute of Environment Design at Anand in 1993. His contribution is seen in the description and drawings of the tribal huts and village settlement from the architectural point of view.

## II. 2. Natural Environment

### A. Geography

The District of the Dangs is famous for thick forests and a hilly terrain. It is the tribal habitat of the Dangis including Bhils, Konkanas, Warlis, etc. The whole tract of the Dangs belongs to the Eastern Hilly Region (4.1.2.)<sup>3</sup> which is

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1. Lal, R.B., "Social and Cultural Life in the Dangs", *Adivasi Gujarat*, Vol. I, No. 1, Ahmedabad, Tribal Research and Training Institute, Gujarat Vidyapith, 1978.

2. Koppar, D.H., "Economic Development and Culture Change among Dangis", *Adivasi Gujarat*, Vol. I, No. 1, Ahmedabad, Tribal Research and Training Institute, Gujarat Vidyapith, 1978.

3. *Census of India, Regional Divisions of India -- A Cartographic Analysis*, Occasional Papers, Series I, Vol. I, (Gujarat), New Delhi, Registrar, General & Census Commissioner, Government of India, 1989, p. 29.

characterised by ridges and valleys with thick forests. The territory of the Dangs is composed of parts of the Sahyadri mountain range. Compared to the size of territory, it is one of the smallest district in Gujarat State. The Dangs district consists of only one taluka. The total area of the Dangs is 1,778 sq. kms. of which is almost equal to the size of a Taluka.<sup>1</sup> The entire tract of the Dangs abounds in forest which occupy nearly 95 per cent of its total area. The location of the Dangs lies in between the parallels of north latitude 20°33'40" and 21°5'10" and the meridians of east longitude 73°27'58" and 73°56'36".<sup>2</sup> The extreme length from north to south of this territory is about 59 kms. and from east to west about 50 kms. The tract of the Dangs is bounded on (See, Map 1-1 & 1-2) :

North : Vyara and Songadh talukas of the District of Surat and the Navapur taluka of the District of Dhule.  
 East : The Sakari taluka of the District of Dhule and the Baglan and the Kalwan talukas of the District of Nāsik.  
 South : The Kalwan taluka and the Surgana mahal of the District of Nasik.  
 West : The Bansda taluka of the District of Valsad and the Vyara taluka of the District of Surat.

In the Dangs, there are 311 villages<sup>3</sup> including 2 small towns, Ahwa and Waghahi (See, Map 1-2 & 1-3). For land revenue administration, the Dangs district has 4 Circles. Each Circle comprises of 6 or 7 Sejas.<sup>4</sup> There are totally 25 Sejas.<sup>5</sup> Each

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1. Patel, G.D.(ed.), *Dangs District Gazetteer*, Ahmedabad, Government of Gujarat, 1971, p. 2., and the total reporting area of the Dangs in the year 1979-1980 was 1,72,400 hectares, source from *Census of India 1981, The Dangs District Census Handbook*, 1984, p. iv., and recently that of 1991 Census was 1,71,723.18 hectares, source from *The Dangs District Village / Town Primary Census Abstract*, Ahwa, National Information Centre, March, 3, 1993, p. 9.

2. See, op cit., Patel, G.D. (ed.), 1971, p. 1.

3. See, *Census of India 1981, The Dangs District Census Handbook*, Series-5, (Gujarat), Parts XIII-A & B Village & Town Directory, Ahmedabad, Director of Census Operation, Gujarat, 1984, p. xiv., and *The Dangs District Village / Town Primary Census Abstract*, Ahwa, National Information Centre, March, 3, 1993, p. 1.

4. The head of Circle is known as Circle Inspector, and the head of Seja is called as Talati.

5. See, op cit., Patel, G.D. (ed.), 1971, p. 374.

Seja includes 11 to 15 villages. For purpose of the forest administration, the Dangs area is divided into North and South Dangs based on the general geography (See, Map 2-2). The Dangs forests consists of 8 territorial ranges and 7 working circles.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, for the purpose of tribal development, the Dangs tract is divided into two sub-micro regions, Lower and Upper Dangs on the basis of the geology, topography, soils, climate and natural vegetation.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, the Dangs forests is divided into two categories, the reserved and the protected forests. The whole tract of the Dangs was notified as reserved forest in 1879.<sup>3</sup> Legally, in the reserved forests neither lopping nor timber cutting is allowed. Later, for exercise of 'forest privileges' including cultivation, lopping etc., some small areas around Ahwa, Waghai were declared as protected forest.<sup>4</sup> The reserved forests are separated from the protected forests by a demarcation line. The reserved forests are mostly composed of larger and difficult hills, while the protected forests occupy the easier hillock, plateaux and flattened and undulating low-lying areas. Thus, most of the protected forests are located in the low hilly tract.

The total area of the Dangs forest is 1,708. 23 sq. kms. of which 831.95 sq. kms. constitutes the reserved forests area and 876.28 sq. kms. the protected forests.<sup>5</sup> The whole area of the reserved forests is divided into 345 compartments and that of the protected forests 183 compartments.<sup>6</sup> The average compartment area varies from 200 to 400 hectares. Although there is no clear-cut demarcation of compartments on the ground, each

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1. Under the Divisional Forest Officer, there are 8 territorial forest ranges, Waghai, Pimpri, Ahwa, Samgahan, Subir, Piplaidevi, Bardipada, and Bheskatri., op cit., Patel, G.D. (ed.), 1971, p. 18.

2. See, op cit., *Census of India, Regional Divisions of India - A Cartographic Analysis*, 1989, p. 221.

3. Under Notification No. 26 F, dated 1st March, 1897 issued by the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

4. Under section 29 of the Indian Forest Act, 1927., and under Notification of the Government of Gujarat, No: MSC/4063/A, dated 3rd January, 1963.

5. op cit., Patel, G.D. (ed.), 1971, p. 23.

6. Source from the Department of Forest (Dangs) 1992, Ahwa, on 24th June 1993.

compartment is denoted by fixing zinc plates showing the relevant compartment number on the trees at corners of the compartment and other prominent places on its boundary.

## B. Topography

The whole tract of the Dangs is characterised by hilly terrain with thick forests. The Dangs tract starts from the spurs of the Sahyadri mountain chains running about 1,100 mt. in the east and descends on the western side extending to the edge of the Gujarat plains by a series of plateaux and slopes to the lowest level of 105 mt. Except for a few high hills in the east and south parts, there is no main ridge in the Dangs. The tract varies in elevation from 105 mt. near Bheskatri to 1,290 mt. above the mean of sea level near Chinchli Gagad.<sup>1</sup> In other words, it is covered with a mass of flat-topped low hills. Thus, most of the tract lies in elevation between 300 to 700 mt. above the mean of sea level. In this tract, a large number of small sized plain grounds are interspersed with hilly terrains which form a very undulating rolling country.

The whole terrain of the Dangs is roughly divided into 4 main valleys of the Gira, the Purna, the Khapri and the Ambika rivers (See Map 2-2). The slopes of these valleys are very extensive towards the west side and contain a large number of compact forests with thick vegetation. The tributaries of these rivers cut deeply into intervening country north and south and form an irregular series of ravines and parallel ridges, the latter sometimes sharp and steep, often forming extensive plateaux.<sup>2</sup> In the river system, the Ambika and the Purna are main rivers, which originate from the Dangs and flow through the Valsad district to meet the Arabian Sea in the west. Besides, there are minor rivers, namely, the Gira, the Khapri, the *Dhodhad* and the *Sarpganga*. The above mentioned rivers flow from the east to the west except *Sarpganga*.

The Gira river flowing from the Malangdev Ota (Maharashtra), passes through Singana, Girmal, Bardipada, and Divadyawan of the Dangs and finally meets the river Mindhola in the Songadh taluka of the Surat district.

The Dhodhad rising in the Davad hills of the Western Ghats, passes through Pipaldahad, Jarsol and Uga of the Dangs and

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1. See, op cit., Patel, G.D. (ed.), 1971, p. 10., and op cit., *Census of India, Regional Divisions of India -- A Cartographic Analysis*, 1989, p. 228.

2. *ibid.*

finally empties itself in the Purna river near Laochali.

The Purna river originates from the Salher, and it passes through Chinchli, Laochali, Mahal, Kalibel and Kakarda. The river after leaving the boundary of the Dangs flows through the Vyara taluka of Surat district and finally meets the Arabian Sea in the Navsari taluka of the Valsad district.

The Khapri river rises in the Bhugu valley of Kanchanghat. Flowing through Galkund, Borkhal, Khapri, Bhavandagad, Pimpri, and Chichigaontha, the river meets the Ambika river near Borigaontha of the Dangs.<sup>1</sup>

The Ambika river has two tributaries; The northern one called *Vasan* river originates from the Taola hill near Bondarmal (Dangs), while the southern one rises from the adjacent hills of Shribhuvan in Surgana mahal of the Nasik district. The two tributaries meet within the Dangs near Susarda, whence the river is known as Ambika and it traverses towards west and passes through Rambhas, Ambapada and Waghai. After passing through the Dangs, the river flows through Valsad and finally meets itself in the Arabian Sea near Bilimora.

The *Sarpganga* rising in the Western Ghats, flows through Saputara in the serpentine manner and proceeds in the direction of the Nasik district of the Maharashtra State.

Besides, the above mentioned rivers, there are a few small catchment pools formed out of rocks in the deep valleys of the Dangs. These are Umara, Dhamda, Kunda and Kasarpada. In addition to these, some small perennial streams also exist in the Dangs. These are Koshmal, Vanar, Ukhatia, Morzira, Don and Ambapada.

### C. Climate

The climate of the Dangs is characterized by the tropical monsoon type with general dryness. From the meteorological point of view, there are four seasons in the Dangs; The cold season from December to February, the hot season from March to May, the south-west monsoon season from June to September and the post monsoon or retreating monsoon season from October to November.<sup>2</sup> But, according to the Dangsi folk nomination, there

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1. The author points out Khanapurkar's misinterpretation regarding the locations of the Khapri and the Ambika in his Ph.D. Thesis (Khanapurkar, D.P., 1944, p. v. and p.p. 5-6.).

2. See, op cit., Patel, G.D. (ed.), 1971, P. 49.



are only three seasons, namely, *Hiyalo* (winter), *Unalo* (summer) and *Pahue* (monsoon).

Normally, temperature begins to rise from the latter half of February. Throughout the year, May is the hottest month with the mean daily maximum temperature at about 40°C and the mean daily minimum at about 26°C.<sup>1</sup> The heat during the summer is intense and on some days temperature may rise above 44°C. With the onset of the monsoon around the second week of June, there is an appreciable fall in temperature (See, Appendix 2-4). After retreating of the monsoon by the end of September, there is an increase in the day temperature but the nights become progressively cooler. After November both the day and night temperatures drop rapidly. December is the coldest month with the mean daily maximum temperature of about 30°C and the mean daily minimum at 16°C.<sup>2</sup> In association with passing western disturbances across north India during the cold season, spells of colder weather occur and the minimum temperature occasionally drops down to about 4°C or 5°C.<sup>3</sup>

The rainfall is very important and essential from the viewpoint of agriculture and general prosperity of the people. The average annual rainfall in the Dangs ranges between 1,600mm. and 2,300mm. and the average annual rainfall is 1,998.8 mm.<sup>4</sup> On an average, the Dangs has 78 rainy days in a year.<sup>5</sup> Normally, the south-west monsoon advances into the Dangs from south to north and it retreats from north-western side. The rainfall in the Dangs decreases from the west towards east. According to the region, there are about 3 days difference between the south-west monsoon at extreme northern and southern parts of the Dangs or north-western and south-eastern parts. During the south-west monsoon, June to September, the Dangs receives as much as about 95 per cent of its annual rainfall (See, Appendix 2-5). July is the rainiest month, which receives about 41 per cent of the total annual average rainfall.<sup>6</sup> The heaviest rainfall in 24 hours recorded at any station in the district was

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1. See, *ibid.*

2. *ibid.*

3. *ibid.*

4. *ibid.*

5. *ibid.*

6. Chokshi, U.M. (ed.), *Gujarat State Gazetteer Part I*, Gandhinagar, Government of Gujarat, 1989, p. 72.

424.4 mm at Waghai on 2nd July 1941.<sup>1</sup>

During the monsoon season, relative humidity is generally high, exceeding 70 per cent.<sup>2</sup> After the withdrawal of the monsoon the relative humidity gradually decreases. The summer season is the driest throughout the year when the relative humidities in the afternoons are often less than 30 per cents.<sup>3</sup>

#### D. Flora

The Dangs forest is a good emporium of innumerable varieties of plant species. According to Champion's 'Classification of Forest Types', the Dangs forests belong to the type "South Indian tropical moist deciduous forests" (Group 3 A. subtype CI).<sup>4</sup> In concrete terms, the Dangs forests fall under the type "Semi Moist Teak Forest".<sup>5</sup> It is extremely rich in timber as most of the trees are *Sag* (Teak: *Tectona grandis*), which is the principal species of the Dangs forests. Indeed, the Dangs forests is divided into two types, moist and dry teak forests. Though there is no sharp dividing line, bulk of the area in the Waghai, Pimpri, Bheskatri and Bardipada ranges falls within moist types, while the rest of the division comes under the drier type.<sup>6</sup>

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1. op cit., Patel, G.D.(ed.), 1971, p. 49.

2. ibid., p. 50.

3. ibid.

4. ibid., p. 29.

5. ibid.

6. "The forests vary in quality from I to IV (M.P.qualities), corresponding to all India quality classes II/III to below IV. Area under quality I is negligible, as it occurs in small patches, while that under I and II combined, works out to only 4 per cent of the total reserved forest. Greater part of the forest is of quality III A and III B forming 40 per cent and 34 per cent, respectively. The rest is under quality IV, i.e., the poorest or under blanks. On the whole the forests can produce sound teak trees of 130 to 150 cms. in girth, while, the better quality areas can produce specially large-sized sound trees upto 200 cms. in girth or even more.", cited in Patel G.D. (ed.) 1971, p. 27.

In practice, the Dangs forests are roughly divided into two groups: (i) those in which manvel bamboo is typically abundant, and (ii) those in which manvel bamboo is scarce or absent. The one is composed of the forests in the western Dangs which have luxuriant manvel bamboo. The other consists of the forests in the eastern Dangs which have relatively sparse manvel bamboo. The above categorization is a rough one, as bamboos are plentiful in many places even in the eastern Dangs, while they are scarce or absent on the drier hill tops in the western Dangs.

Generally, forests on the northern and eastern sides of hills are superior to that on the west and south sides. The difference is more marked between the north and south sides than between the east and west sides. The forest on the left bank slopes of the Gira, the Purna, the Khapri and the Ambika rivers have a far denser and better mixed crop of timber than the opposite slopes.

In terms of the inter-relation between soils and the tree-growth, the following factors are relevant; "(1) Flat and undulating lowest areas along the nullah, soil deep and dark with detritus from the hill; heavy junglewood, with large clean teak poles infested with climbers, tangled undergrowth and bamboo of either species, huge sadad, often the most prominent tree. Regeneration of teak scarce, other species copious but often stifled. (2) Near the base and on the lower slopes, soil fairly deep with sharp red gravel and at times small boulders; either fine teak forest or dense belt of manvel bamboos which have usurped nearly all the growing space. (3) The steep side slopes from ascending spur or ridge, reaching to the dips in the watershed, hard washed soil, stony and red; rank growth mostly of karvi and some small manvel bamboo; nearly half the teak stag headed. (4) The rest upper slopes; crop much interrupted by old cultivations with precipitous intervals, former filled up with stunted pole crop, if enough soil is left, latter being rock supporting grass or karvi.<sup>1</sup>

To a very large extent, the tree-growth has disappeared or is fast disappearing due to cultivation and lopping in the protected forests. Its composition also has tended toward drier type. In the west and far up the main valley, the cultivation is still not extensive and the tree-growth presents a thick forests, while in the east and on the main plateaux, the tree-growth is not rich and insufficient. On the other hand, in the reserve forests, there is plentiful vegetation which is mainly composed of six groups; (1) overwood or top canopy, (2) underwood or middle canopy, (3) undergrowth, (4) ground cover, (5) grasses, and (6) climbers (See, Appendix 2-6).

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1. *ibid.*, p. 28.

There are mainly two kinds of forest products from the Dangs, (i) major forest products and (ii) minor forest products. The former consists of timber, firewood, charcoal and industrial woods; while the latter comprises bamboo, grass, gums, fruits, flowers, honey, lac, leaves, bark, medicinal plants, etc.

(i) Major forest products -- a) the timbers of *sag*, *tiwas*, *sadad*, *bio*, *khair*, *kanti*, *hed*, *kalam*, *shiwan*, *siris*, *kilai*, etc. are heavy in demand. For house-building, various wood like *sag*, *babul*, *limbda*, *garmalo*, *bondara*, *mahuda*, *hardan*, *sajad*, etc. are useful. For furniture-making, *sag*, *limbda*, *shiwan*, *dhaman*, *hardan*, *sajad*, etc. are in demand. For tool-handle or agriculture implements-making, *tiwas*, *babul*, *limbda*, *garmalo*, *bondara*, *hardan*, *sajad*, etc. are necessary. In particular, for plough-making, *tiwas*, *limbda*, *shiwan*, *dhaman*, etc. are required. For oil-press, mortar, rice-pounder and pestle-making, *babul*, *bila*, *limbda*, *garmalo*, *sajad*, etc. are required. For cart-making, *babul*, *bila*, *limbda*, *garmalo*, *mahuda*, *bedan*, *sajad*, etc. are necessary. For grains-measures-making, *shiwan*, *bedan*, etc. are useful. For comb and stamp-making, *babul*, *bila*, *shiwan*, etc. are in demand. For musical instrument-making, *shiwan*, etc. are required. For bow-making, *dhaman*, etc. are necessary. For boat-building, *sag*, *babul*, *limbda*, *garmalo*, *shiwan*, *dhaman*, *bondara*, *bedan*, *sajad*, etc. are in demand. For the purpose of religious and sacred requirements, *bila* is regarded as one of sacred tree and its leaves are offered to the God Shiva, and *pipal* is also regarded as one of the most sacred tree of the Buddhists and Hindus. b) charcoal and firewood from various jungle wood like *babul*, *garmalo*, *bondara*, *sajad*, etc. are supplied to the nearby towns and big cities like Bombay and Surat. Timber, charcoal and firewood from the Dangs forests are shifted by partly bullock-carts, mainly truck or train to Songadh, Navapur, Bilimora, Valsad, etc. for final disposal (See, Fg. 48-42 & 48-3, Vol. II).

(ii) Minor forest products -- a) bamboos are required for consumption. For house construction, in particular, wall, door, rafter, division, pole, fence, and for household and bamboo crafts such as baskets, mats, toys, musical instruments, *tatties*, a large number of bamboos are in demand. Besides, bamboos are supplied to paper mills, in particular, Central Paper Mills at Fort Songadh, for preparing paper pulp. Since establishment of bamboo crafts co-operative society, industrial bamboos are heavy in demand around Waghai to Ahwa areas. b) nutritious grasses in the Dangs forests are *bhatado* and *potado*, which are relished by the cattle. A large quantity of the grasses are collected and shifted to Bilimora for industrial use there. *Rosha* grass grows on the higher slopes and flat tops of the high hill, in particular, on the eastern boundary of the Dangs and on the top of the Rurgadh hill near Bardipada. *Rosha* oil is used for manufacture of scents and medicines. c) other minor forest products, in particular, gum from *babul*, *limbda*,

*kadaya*, etc.; *bidi* leaves of *ashitro*, *timru*, *baru* and *karvi*; oilseeds of *karani*, *limbda*, *garmalo*, *mahuda*, *doli*, etc.; flower of *mahuda*; bark for tanning from *amla*, *hardan*, *sajad*, *chilur*, etc.; medicinal source from the seed of *limbda*, flowers and bark of *mahuda*, leaves and fruits of *amla*, root, leaves, bark and fruit of *pipal*, root, leaves, flowers and fruits of *shiwan*, etc.; lac from *pipal*; mushroom, yam, honey, wax, etc (See, Fg. 49-1, 49-2 & 49-3, Vol. II).

Besides, there are a large number of fruit trees like mango, guava, citrus (*Kagdi* lime), papaya, chiku, *kaju*, banana etc. Recently, a few cultivators initiated to cultivate various kinds of fruit trees in their kitchen gardens and furthermore in the river-bed areas. Still orchards and plantation have not properly developed in the Dangs due to scarcity of water and lack of irrigation facilities. Various kinds of mangoes are available but mostly are local varieties. The improved species of mangoes are grown in the Government Nursery, Bhawandagad and Taluka Seed Farm, Daodahad, etc. They are 'Baranasi Lanngda' and 'Hafus.' Guava trees are grown in the Government Research Farm, Rambhas. The variety of guava is known as 'Dholka Guava'. Citrus trees are grown in many areas. The variety of citrus is known as 'Kagdi Lime'.

The Dangis mainly cultivate food crops as they produce for consumption and not for sale. For this reason, the total percentage of cash crops cultivated in the Dangs has always been quite negligible. Over a hundred years ago, the Dangis cultivated as: "The chief crops are *nagli Eleusine coracana*, rice *bhat Oryza sativa*, *kodra Paspalum scrobiculatum*, *vari Panicum miliaceum*, *bajri Penicillaria spicata*, *udid Phaseolus mungo*, gram *chana Cicer arietinum*, and *tur Cajanus indicus*. Among vegetables, potatoes, locally known as *bhui kand*, grow to a great size."<sup>1</sup>

At present, the crops grown in the Dangs are *nagli*, *bhat*, *vari*, *bajri*, *mag*, *udid*, *tur*, wheat, pulse, gram, groundnut, etc., and inferior millets like *sama*, *banti* and *kodra*. The main local crops are *nagli* and *vari*. Of late a few cultivators produce various vegetables like *bhinda* (ladies finger), *brinjals*, chillies, garlic, onion, potatoes, red pumpkins, tomatoes, and *karela*, etc. besides leafy vegetables like *tandalja*, *matalani bhaji*, cabbage, cauliflowers, etc. in their kitchen gardens and furthermore in the river-bed areas. A few cultivators have started to grow vegetable and fruit crops like *kakadi* (cucumber), *tadbuch* (water melon), and cash crops like sugar-cane and paddy

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1. Campbell, J.M, (ed.), *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XII, *Khandesh*, Bombay, Government of Bombay Presidency, 1880, p. 602.

on possible irrigation fields and riversides.

### E. Fauna

The whole tract of the Dangs is a hilly and with thick forests, which provides a suitable ecological habitat for wildlife. The forests provide natural shelter, food and water to the wild animals like tigers, leopards, bears, etc. for their subsistence. According to the Dangis, even before India's Independence, there was a large number of wild animals in the Dangs forests. Afterwards, their number is gradually going down due to both illegal killings by poachers and great changes of ecological environment, in particular, ruins of the thick forests. There is no scientific evidence regarding changes of the climate and physical environment. But there are some reasonable evidences and oral literature regarding these matters. According to T.E. Gibbs (1876), the Raja of Pimpri Dang possessed an elephant.<sup>1</sup> And near Waghai, there is a ruined old gate in the capital of the Bansda state, which has a big passage for elephants. According to evidence from people of the Bansda and the Dangs, around a hundred years ago, there were many elephants in the adjacent forests and a few domestic elephants in the villages. But, nowadays there is no elephant inhabiting in this area due to changes of natural and social environment.

For preservation of wildlife, the State Government of Gujarat has set-up a sanctuary of about 200 sq. kms. in the forest traversed by the Purna river in the north of the Dangs. The main object of the Purna Wild life Sanctuary are as follow:

"(i) to provide special and complete protection to wild animals and birds in the sanctuary. (ii) to provide facilities for research and study of habits of wild animals in their natural habitat. (iii) to provide recreation facilities to the visitors and naturalists, to observe wild life throughout the year, and (iv) to conduct experiments so far as introduction of exotic wild life in the sanctuary is concerned."<sup>2</sup>

However, there has been ruthless destruction of wild life both by the local people and outside poachers. There are a large number of crop protection licenses issued to the Dangis. Most of these weapons are the main cause of heavy poaching and destruction of wild life in the tract. Herbivorous animals and table birds have been sought after and killed. Tigers have

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1. See, Gibbs, T.E., "Bhills in the Dangs", *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, 1876, p. 83.

2. op cit., Patel, G.D. (ed.) 1971, p. 34.

become very rare and panthers and bears are less common. But, during my fieldwork in the Dangs in February of 1992, there was an onset of panther (*Panthera pardus*) near in the village Mahal. Owing to Wild Animal and Wild Bird Protection Act 1951 and 1963, some domestic animals, like calf and goats were victimized by wildlife. One day at night, a panther had invaded into a courtyard of a tribal hut, in a twinkling, he attacked one boy who was sleeping near fireplace in the courtyard. Fortunately, the boy had injuries to his one leg only. Many of the Dangis are afraid of wildlife, especially, of tiger and panther.

#### (1) Wild Animal

Tiger (*Panthera tigris*) is found in the Bardipada and Bheskatri ranges of the Dangs forests. It hunts all kind of animals but generally preys on deer, wild pigs, bears, porcupines, etc. It usually inhabits in dense tall grass, bamboos or other dense shrubs. It is also worshipped by the Dangis as *Wagh Dev* which is more feared than loved. This god is worshipped so that the tiger may not kill cattle and men. They believe that *Wagh Dev* protects them against tiger, leopard, panther and other wild life.

Panther (*Panthera pardus*) lives on the fringes of villages prey mainly on domesticated animals, goats and dogs. Therefore, the Dangis, in particular, the herdmen who are looking after cattle fear onset of panthers. But they generally live on deer, monkeys, porcupines, etc. Recently a few panthers are frequently sighted in the north Dangs.

Sloth Bear (*Meluresus ursinus*) is found mainly in the north and west parts of the Dangs forests. Its number is gradually decreasing by poachers owing to its herbivorous effective. Its main food consists of various fruits and insects.

Wild Boar (*Sus scrofa*) is found all over the Dangs forests. Plenty of wild boars live in bush jungle and swampy areas. It is omnivorous living on crops, roots, tubers, insects, snakes, etc. It is a very destructive wild animal.

Hyaena (*Hyaena hyaena*) is found all over the Dangs forests. It is by nature a scavenger animal. Occasionally, sheep and goats and quite often stray dogs are carried away by it.

Besides, there are many wild animal like sambhar (*Cervus unicolor* Kerr), chital (*Axis axis*), bhekhar (*Cervulus munntjac*), wild pig (*Sus cristatus*), barking deer (*Muntiacus muntjak*), porcupines (*Hystrix indica*), black buck, monkey, rodents etc.

#### (2) Birds

The Dangs forests is a paradise of birds including a number of settled birds and many of migratory birds in different seasons. Variation of forest settled birds are extensive.

Furthermore, various colourful and rare migratory birds are also seen in different seasons. There are 102 varieties of birds so far noticed in the Dang district.<sup>1</sup>

Peafowl -- *Pavo cristatus* is a sacred bird. Generally, a peacock is a representative of peafowl. The peafowl is protected by religion and hence is found in abundance. It is worshipped by the Dangis as one of goddess. It is found on the *Wagh-Dev* pole and on the *Chira* of the so-called memorial stone. It has been the most popular and widely accepted theme of expression in Indian classical literature and oral literature as well as in architecture because of its indigenous beauty of colours and form. The sweeping and graceful colours of its neck, body and plumage, artistic features, its melodious voice and its unique dance has endeared peacock to the people of India and made it the "National Bird". There will hardly be a village which has not a peacock as one of his denizens. Its feathers are used for decoration and some other functions like a sweeping. It moves in a small group. The list of birds in the Dang forests is given below:

White-necked Stork (*Ciconia episcopa episcopa*; Bodd.), Indian Black Ibis (*Pseudibis papillosus*; Temminck), Black-winged Kite (*Elanus caeruleus vociferus*; Latham), Crested Honey-Buzzard (*Pernis ptilorhynchus ruficollis*; Lesson), Brahminy Kite (*Haliastur indus indus*; Boddaert), Indian Shikra (*Accipiter badius dussumieri*; Temm. & Laugier), Asiatic Sparrow Hawk (*Accipiter nisus nisosimilis*; Tickell), White-eyed Buzzard (*Butastur teesa*; Franklin), Crested Hawk-Eagle (*Spizaetus cirrhatus cirrhatus*; Gmelin), Indian Tawny Eagle (*Aquila rapax vindhiana*; Franklin), Pale Harrier (*Circus macrourus*; Gmelin), Marsh Harrier (*Circus aeruginosus aeruginosus*; Linnaeus), Painted Partridge (*Francolinus pictus ssp.*), Common or Grey Quail (*Coturnix coturnix coturnix*; Linnaeus), Jungle Bush-Quail (*Perdica asiatica asiatica*; Latham), Red Spur-fowl (*Gallus sonnerati*; Temm.), Peafowl (*Pavo cristatus*; Linn.), White-breasted Waterhen (*Amaurornis phoenicurus spp.*), Southern Green Pigeon (*Treron phoenicoptera chlorigaster*; Blyth), Blue Rock Pigeon (*Columba livia spp.*), Rufous Turtle Dove (*Streptopelia orientalis meena*; Sykes), Spotted Dove (*Streptopelia chinensis suratensis*; Gmelin), Indian Emerald Dove (*Chalcophaps indica*; Linn.), Large Indian Parakeet (*Psittacula eupatria nipalensis*; Hodgson), Rose-ringed Parakeet (*Psittacula krameri borealis*; Neumann).

### (3) Snakes

With thick forest growth and heavy rainfall, the Dang

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1. *ibid.*, p. 38.



forests is ecologically good for habitat of various snakes both the poisonous and non-poisonous. Among these snakes, there are huge pythons, which can swallow a human being alive. Among other various species of snakes, king cobra, *Kamalia* and *fodchi* are poisonous and are in great demand by the Haffkine Institute of Bombay where vaccine is prepared out of the poison of snakes. This vaccine is effectively administered in the case of snake-bites.

Both poisonous and non-poisonous snakes are found in the Dangs district. The poisonous snakes include cobras, kraits and vipers. The non-poisonous snakes comprise rat snake, python, sand boa, wolf snake, etc. They vary in size, shape and colour. Generally, they hide themselves in earth-crevices and vegetation. Some of them are nocturnal in habits. They live on insects, worms and small mammals. Every year number of deaths occur in the district on account of snake-bites. The main reason for this is that Dangis people have to live in forests where immediate medical treatment is not available. However, in most of the cases when patient is given antivenin therapy, he survives. The list of the snakes in the Dangs district is given below :

Table 2-1 Snakes in the Dangs Forest

a) Non-poisonous snake ; Rat Snake ( <i>Ptyas mucosus</i> ), Racer ( <i>Coluber ventromculatus</i> ), Wolf Snake ( <i>Oligodon venustus</i> ), Indian Python ( <i>Python molurus</i> ), Sand Boa ( <i>Eryx conicus</i> ), John's Sand Boa ( <i>Eryx johnii</i> ).
b) Poisonous snake ; Cobra ( <i>Naja naja</i> ), Common Krait ( <i>Bungarus caeruleus</i> ), Banded Krait ( <i>Bungarus fasciatus</i> ), Bamboo Pit Viper ( <i>Trimersurus</i> <i>gramineus</i> ), Side Winder or Saw Scaled Viper ( <i>Echis carinatus</i> ), Russell's Viper ( <i>Vipera russelli</i> ).

Source : op cit., Patel, G.D. (ed.), 1971, p.p. 43-48.

#### (4) Fish

In the Dangs district there are many valleys and a number of catchment and streams. Due to scarcity of water, not only rivers but also reservoirs, most areas of river-bed and reservoir-bottom are exposed except during monsoon season. However, the Dangis like very much fish even small fry. During my field work in the Dangs in the latter part of summer season, I observed that the in the middle of Khapri the Dangis catch fish even less than 3 cms.long and small fry. There are various kinds of fish available like *bode*, *chikan*, *dakadu*, *dandavan*, *juti*, *huli*, *keng*, *keng*, *kjarava*, *kokali*, *malha*, *muri*, *palvan*, *seg*, *sondh*, *vadhio*, etc.

In the Dangs, there are a few reservoirs at Saputara, Ahwa,

Pandva, etc. in which various kinds of fishes like mirror carp, scale carp, common carp, mahshir, catla, rohu, mrigal, etc. are bred and supplied by the Department of Fishery for the development of fisheries in Dangs.<sup>1</sup>

#### (5) Domestic Animals

The chief domestic animals are cows, bullocks, buffaloes, goats, sheep, dogs and pigs. A few horses, ponies and donkeys are also found. Previously the Dangis preferred bullocks and he-buffaloes to cows and she-buffaloes. But recently many cultivators prefer cows and she-buffaloes to others on account of economic and domestic purpose for both produce of milk and supply of draught power in the form of bullocks. Similarly in terms of their negligible maintenance cost goats are reared in a large number for milk, meat and furthermore sacrificial purpose to the gods. Economically, bullocks and buffaloes are valued more than cows and others. Cultivators employ them in ploughing operation during monsoon and in transporting wood and other products from the forests to nearby towns. Poultry is popular with the Dangis and it provides meat and eggs for home consumption and subsidiary pocket income. Moreover it is used for sacrificial purpose. Most of cultivators commonly breed *deshi* (local) variety of poultry, but recently the improved varieties are also introduced.

#### F. Geological Formation

The geological formation of the Dangs district is given below in tabular form:

Formation	Age
Soil/Alluvium	Recent
2 Basic Intrusives	Middle Cretaceous to lower eocene
1 Basalt Flows	

From the viewpoint of geology, the whole tract of the Dangs is a part of the Deccan Lava Trap. "The Deccan traps represented by amygdaloidal and fine-grained basalt with fine-grained basic intrusives occupy extensive area; a horizon of brecciated trap is also observed."<sup>2</sup> It belongs to the type of called 'Plateau basalt' and is uniform in composition, corresponding to a dolerite or basalt. These are dark grey to dark greenish grey colour. There are two types, one is vesicular and the other is

1. *ibid.*, p. 48.

2. *ibid.*, p. 11.

non-vesicular types. The non-vesicular types are hard, tough, compact and medium to fine grained and break with conchoidal fracture. On the contrary, the vesicular types are comparatively soft and fragile and break easily.

The above mentioned amygdaloidal types are characterised by vesiculars and amygdules. The amygdaloidal type, common vesicular is found at many places between Pimpri, Kalibel and Ghadvi alternating with fine-grained basalt. The amygdules, representing the emanations from the lava at the last stages of cooling are zeolites in radiating sheaf like aggregates, calcite, chalcedony and other cryptocrystalline varieties of silica.

The fine-grained basalt is generally massive, finely crystalline and almost non-vesicular. A porphyritic variety is found at near north of the village Hanwatchond.

The brecciated basalt exposed around Ahwa, to the north-east of Borkhet, west of Chankhal and north of Ghadvi, is as much as 10 mt. thick or even more. The rock is fine-grained basalt, dark greyish to brownish, highly brecciated and finely by aggregates of honey-yellow translucent felspar having resinous lustre. In thin section, the rock shows laths and microlites of felspar, irregular plates of augite and iron-ore together with olivine in altered state.

The trap flows are traversed by a few basaltic intrusives; discordant intrusives are comparatively more common than the concordant types. Typical dykes of fine-grained basalt, noted south of Chikli and north of Hanwatchond and Pipaliamal occur in the form of dark grey boulders of varying sizes.

At places trap contains iron and traces of felspar and hornblende producing the red sharp gravel covering many hill sides, missed with loose rocks and boulders. These rocks have produced soil varying from red, through grey to pearly black. Due to rolling topography, the varying composition of parent rock, soils differ within narrow limits, loamy, clay, boulder loam, murumy loam, and murumy soils and commonly met with, depending on disintegration of rock and existence of erosion.

Black cotton soil is found in the valleys and low lands and red soil in the uplands. black cotton soil or *regur* as it is called is a clays to loamy, very fertile soil and is composed largely of clay material. It is generally black and contains high alumina, lime and magnesia with a variable amount of low nitrogen and phosphorus. The red soil is light and porous and contains no soluble salts or *kankar*. Soil fertility is very poor and lands are subject to erosion on slopes and terraces. In the entire Dangs tract, the soils are somewhat acidic and become very hard after the rains. They are known as lateritic soils which are generally formed owing to silting on the

soil-particles. In some areas, medium loam to sandy loam soils are found. It is useful for agricultural purpose.

On the other hand, the soils in the tract have good drainage quality and as such are most suitable for fruit crops like lemon, guava, cashewnut, pine-apple, etc. In the river side alluvial soils are applicable for cultivation of potato, sugar-cane, etc.

Regarding minerals, small lenticular pockets of light cream coloured travertine climephes are noticed along the banks of the streams, particularly near the villages of Chichgaontha, Kudkas, and Dhadhra. These lenticles of travertine, however, are too small for any large scale industrial exploitation. These deposits can only be used for local lime-burning.

Within the traps, the water level is found to vary in depth from 6 to 12 mt. The yield also varies greatly. Ground-water reservoirs in the traps are small and ground-water levels and other features vary within short distances. It has been observed that in traps, occurrence of close-spaced horizontal joints seem to be more suitable for large yields while columnar joints come next in importance. In many places, wide shallow depressions bounded by trap ridges are excellent sites for wells.

## II. 3. Pre-history

### A. Pre-historic Cultural Sequence

Before discussing pre-historic cultural sequence, we may confirm the terminology for the pre-historic periods in India. Till 1960 three kinds of usages of Stone Age<sup>1</sup> terms were in vogue in India. First of these divided the Stone Age along the European system into Paleolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic based

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1. The first attempts for using the concepts of "Three Ages" such as Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages was made by C.J. Thomsen in 1815 to arrange the new Museum of Northern Antiquities in Copenhagen. Somewhat earlier, the "three Ages" system was thought by Vedel Simonsen in 1813.

on economic criteria and change in the fauna.<sup>1</sup> The second divided the Stone Age into Series I, Series II, Series III, and Series IV.<sup>2</sup> The third followed the South African terminology of dividing the Stone Age into three periods<sup>3</sup>, Early Stone Age, Middle Stone Age and Late Stone Age. In order to avoid confusion the last-named was recommended as a provisional terminology<sup>4</sup> by the First International Conference on Asian Archaeology held in New Delhi in 1961.<sup>5</sup> A separate category was made for the Neolithic. However, the term Middle Stone Age gives rise to a confusion in the meaning of that either middle of stone age or Mesolithic age. Under the context of Indian archaeology, the Middle Stone Age is not equivalent to the Mesolithic period, which actually denotes 'middle stone-tool' stage. Nowadays, most of Indian archaeologists use the following as: i) Lower or Early Paleolithic, ii) Middle Paleolithic, iii) Upper or Late Paleolithic, iv) Mesolithic, v) Neolithic Period or New Stone Age. I also follow the current taxonomy system.

The Dangs territory falls into south Gujarat, which has been formed in the alluvial deposits of the Tapi and the Ambika their tributaries, and the spurs of the northern part of the Deccan and north-eastern part of the Konkan. As early as in

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1. The division of Paleolithic and Neolithic Ages based on economic criteria suggested by John Lubbock in 1863, and the subdivision of that, viz., Lower, Middle and Upper Paleolithic Ages was made by Lartet in 1870, and further, after 1921 the Mesolithic Age was added.

2. M.C. Burkitt and L.A. Cammiade (1930) classified the stone tool collections into four series based on stratigraphy, typology and *e'tat physique* from the Krishna basin in South India.

3. Note: Gordon Childe (1960) prefers to call them as 'stages' rather than 'ages' in terms of the fact that material remains of one and the same culture in different parts of the world, though technologically and culturally of the same level, would not have been of the same antiquity.

4. Note: According to New Delhi's recommendations (1961), "The Early Stone Age is equivalent to the Lower Paleolithic and Series I. The Middle Stone Age is equally corresponded with the Middle Paleolithic and Series II. The Late Stone Age represents the Mesolithic. In this terminology there is no place for the Upper Paleolithic culture.

5. Sali, S.A., *Stone Age India*, Aurangabad, Shankar Publishers, 1990, p. 4.

1893, R.B. Foote had made a prophetic statement that there was a long hiatus between the paleolithic and the neolithic cultural stages in Gujarat.<sup>1</sup> Since he found only two stone tools from Sabarmati valley in 1893, through archaeological expedition in 1941-1942, H.D. Sankalia found many handaxes, cleavers with irregular outlines and large, deep flakes-scars, with pebble surface still remaining on the butt-end were classed as Abbevillian from the Sabarmati valley.<sup>2</sup> Thereafter, B. Subarao, P.P. Pandya, S.C. Malik, R.N. Mehta, K.T.M. Hegde, and others carried out valuable work in this field.<sup>3</sup>

It was previously believed that only the northern Gujarat was a suitable region for the Early Man, on account of the availability of quartzite for making tools. But since 1964 partly, and mainly 1972, many pre-historic sites were discovered from the valleys of the Orsang, the Karjan, the Mahi and the lower Narmada. South Gujarat, Saurashtra, and Kutch regions also yielded early stone tools. Thus, it may be said that whole area of Gujarat was once occupied by the Paleolithic people. Furthermore, many microlithic sites were found in the northern part of Gujarat such as Mahi and Banas valleys. Besides, South of Gujarat including the former state of Dharampur, Valsad, Bansda and Dangs yielded a number of hand axes, cleavers, and flakes, which were discovered by D.B. Chitale during the period 1964 to 1969.<sup>4</sup> Due to the fact that the area is mostly covered with forests, therefore, no one was interested in surveying this area from the archaeological point of view. It was believed by the some European prehistorians that the Early Man avoided such forested region.<sup>5</sup> But H.D. Sankalia gave his students D.B.

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1. Foote, R.B., *The Foote Collection of Indian Prehistoric Antiquities: Notes on Their Ages and Distribution*, Madras, Government Museum, Madras, 1893., cited in Sankalia, H.D., *Prehistory and Historic Archaeology of Gujarat*, New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 1987, p. 6.

2. See, Sankalia, H.D., *Prehistory and Historic Archaeology of Gujarat*, New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 1987, p. 6.

3. Choksi, U.M. (ed.), *Gujarat State Gazetteer* (Part I), Gandhinagar, Government of Gujarat, 1989, p. 314.

4. Chitale, D.B., *Dang Ek Samyak*, Ahwa, Dangs Jilla Panchayat, 1978, p. 10.

5. op cit., Sankalia, H.D., 1987, p.p. 6-7.

Chitale<sup>1</sup> and W.H. Siddiqui<sup>2</sup> some mission like projects to find archaeological artefacts, in particular, stone tools from South Gujarat. His expectation was fulfilled by them and they shed light on the Paleolithic South Gujarat.

As early as in 1930, M.C. Burkitt and L.A. Cammiade investigated a vast collection of Old Stone Age artifacts from Kurnool in the Deccan plateau and the Krishna Basin to the East Coast.<sup>3</sup> They classified the stone tools into four series as belonging to distinct cultures of different stages from Early Paleolithic to Proto-Neolithic on the basis of stratigraphy, typology and *e'tat physique* of artefacts.<sup>4</sup> The four series of cultures are :

(4) Microlithic Industries -- Outnumbering all other implements and made of agate and quartzite. This series includes crescents, triangles, scrapers and cores which are also met with at Polavaram on the Godavari river as well as Banda and in the Vindhyan hills. The finding of a small polished and shouldered celt of Burmese type near the Godavari river with this series will be of great interest if it is contemporary. This series recalls those of the Wilton Culture of South Africa.

(3) Blade and Burin Industry -- Slender and with blunted backs, with a few burins, planing tools and end-scrapers; closely allied to (4). Their material is lydianite.

(2) Flake Industries -- Mixed with nearly made handaxes and made of quartzite, sandstone and chalcedony. Less weathered than (1); found at the eastern and the western end of the Nandikanama Pass.

(1) Earliest Biface Industries -- Consisting of handaxes and cleavers of various types closely paralleled among similar finds in Africa. In the Bhavanasi at Giddalur, the Victoria West type of South Africa is a type tool; square-ended coupe-de-poing and

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1. Chitale, D.B., "Pre-historic Man and Primitives in South Gujarat", *Journal of Anthropological Society of Bombay*, New Series: XII, 1966, p.p. 34-38.

2. Siddiqui, W.H., "Prehistory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli", *Pruratattva*, Vol. 10, 1978, p.p. 87-89.

3. Burkitt, M.C. and Cammiade, L.A. "Fresh Light on the Stone Ages in S.E. India", *Antiquity*, Vol. IV, 1930, p.p. 327-329.

4. *ibid.*

cleavers recall those at S. Rhodesia and Tabelbala.<sup>1</sup>

All these industries have exact counterparts in Africa. To support this idea, M.C. Burkitt, in arguing a climatic cycle of pluvial and interpluvial phases in this region from the data supplied by Cammiade, points out that the cycle with its industrial horizons is paralleled in Kenya (Africa).<sup>2</sup> The table given below corresponds M.C. Burkitt's four series of cultures with climatic changes of North-Western India and North and Central Gujarat region.

Table 2-2 Sequence of Cultural and Climatic Changes of the Stone Age

Quaternary	Deposits	Industries	Climate
Post-Pleistocene.	Red clay overlain by red sand.	(3) and (4) cultures Microlithic and Late Sohan(?)	VI-VII Dry phase followed by denudation leading to present conditions.
Upper Pleistocene.	River Deposits, Lateritization absent.	Flake Industry (2) Sohan.	<u>Humid Pluvial V.</u>
Mid-Pleistocene.	Gravels and clays.	Flakes Industry of (2) comes in, Hand-axes survive.	<u>Dry Phase IV.</u>
	River gravels.	Handaxes of Period (1) comes to an end.	<u>Violent Pluvial III.</u>
	Open Plain.	Handaxe of Period(1)	<u>Dry Phase II.</u>
Lower Pleistocene.	Laterite formation on East Coast.	Sterile.	<u>Long Pluvial I.</u>

Source : Krishnaswami, V.D., "Stone Age India", Ancient India, No. 3, 1947, p. 32.

The seven climatic stages postulated by M.C. Burkitt<sup>3</sup> is

1. *ibid.*

2. Krishnaswami, V.D., "Stone Age India", *Ancient India*, No. 3, 1947, p. 31.

3. *ibid.*



equivalent to the seven glacial stages discovered by H. De Terra<sup>1</sup> for the north-west India, and further, the circumstance of the age of the laterite of the Narbada Region in Central India was found by H. De Terra, has also equally corresponded with the Early Pleistocene, sterile and pre-human in Kurnool, South India presented by M.C. Burkitt. Except modern period containing dry season with a short wet period in the present, dry season, and slightly wet phase in the past, the climate changes of North and Central Gujarat presented by F.E. Zeuner is equivalent to the Yale-Cambridge Expedition's seven climatic and glacial stages.<sup>2</sup> Hence, the above presented table may give primary knowledge about cultural sequence of Stone Age.

Table 2-3 Stratigraphy of the adjacent areas of the Dangs

Name of the site			<from bottom upwards at>
<u>Gangapur</u>	<u>Nevasa</u>	<u>Akola</u>	
	Fine loose gravel		
Silt	Silt		
Fine gravel	Gravel		
Yellow silt	Yellowish silt	Silt	
Gravel	Cemented gravel	Rubble gravel	
Brownish clay	Rock	Rock	
Rock			

Source: op cit., Sankalia, H.D., 1962, p.p. 44-45.

As seen in the above presented table may give some idea of stratigraphy not of the Dangs district but adjacent areas of that in the Deccan trap. In practice, archaeological evidences from Nasik, Akola and Nevasa (latter two in Ahmednagar District) yielded various stone tools. Paleolithic people in these areas made implements from chunks or flakes available in the riverbed, or quarried them from dolerite dykes which appear in the basaltic formations of the Deccan. Normally the latter method seems to have been preferred, for these dykes supply very fine close-grained material.<sup>3</sup> Tools made on flakes therefore predominate, and even amongst these are mostly cleavers. The latter

1. Tera, H. de, Chardin, T. de, and Paterson, T.T., "Joint Geological and Prehistoric Studies of Late Cenozoic in India", *Science*, LXXXIII, 1939, p.p. 233-36.

2. Zeuner, F.E., *Stone Age and Pleistocene Chronology in Gujarat* (Deccan College Monograph Series: 6), Poona, Deccan College, 1950, p 23.

3. op cit., Sankalia, H.D., 1962, p. 45.

might suggest a genuine need for these cutting tools, due to the typical environment, and raw material. But there are a few (some very fine) hand-axes, scrapers or side-choppers, chopping tools with wavy edge and hammer stones or round balls.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, in the adjacent areas of the Dangs such as the Tapi in the West Khandesh and the Wardha in Chanda district solitary discoveries have been made. These areas also confirm the general picture of the life and times obtained from Gangapur and Nevasa. Of course, there are some differences between the Dangs and adjoining areas in terms of climate and vegetation.<sup>2</sup> But other environmental factors such as geological, and ecological aspects of these areas corresponded with each other. There might have been seven stages of climatic changes in the Pleistocene.<sup>3</sup> H.D. Sankalia assumed that there were two climatic cycles, consisting of wet and dry phases,<sup>4</sup> and furthermore, that the early man on the Deccan might have emerged in the first wet phase.<sup>5</sup> Recently, in 1987-88, his assumption was recognized through discovery of man-made stone tool found in the Kukdi valley near Pune dated from the early part of Lower Paleolithic period (about 1.4 millions years ago). H.D. Sankalia and F.E. Zeuner thought that Paleolithic man of Sabarmati might have been in the second wet phase.<sup>6</sup> It is said that the early man might have lived near source of water such as the riverbanks and ponds, and further, "he fell the trees and probably cut the carcass of animals like the *Bos namadicus* (wild oxen), *Elephas antiquus* (elephant) and Rhinoceros by cleavers, handaxes, etc. of which the remains have been found at Nandur

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1. *ibid.*

2. The Dangs area belongs to Humid zone in climate, and the tropical moist deciduous type in vegetation. But others belong to the tropical dry deciduous type.

3. See, *op cit.*, Krishnaswami, V.D., 1947, p. 20. -- based on the Results of the Yale-Cambridge Expedition of 1935.

4. *op cit.*, Sankalia, H.D., 1962, p. 45.

5. See, *ibid.*, p. 45-48., and Joshi, R.V., "Stone Age Maharashtra", *Dawn of Civilization in Maharashtra*, Bombay, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, 1975, p. 13. -- the Lower Paleolithic 150,000 -- 200,000 years old.

6. *ibid.*, and *op cit.*, Zeuner, F.E., 1950, p 23.

Madhmeshwar, Kalegon and Nevasa".<sup>1</sup>

The Middle Paleolithic industry was scientifically discussed by H.D. Sankalia, with nomenclature of Middle Paleolithic or Middle Stone Age.<sup>2</sup> Still some Indian archaeologists use the term Middle Stone Age in his own way, viz., either the meaning of that on a par with the Middle Paleolithic or the period between the middle and the Middle Upper Paleolithic. To avoid confusion, I shall not use the term Middle Stone Age in this thesis, except in a particular situation. Tools of Middle Paleolithic period consist of primarily flakes which are good enough for converting into a borer or a scraper, therefore, the Middle Paleolithic may be called a 'flake culture'.<sup>3</sup> And further, it denotes the 'fine flake-point cultures' in the circumstance of Mousterian and Late Levalloisian.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the Middle Paleolithic equally corresponded with the Series II Industries suggested by M.C. Burkitt and L.A. Cammiade.

However, since 1955 several small in situ collections have been made, particular from Nevasa, Bel Pandhari and Nandur-Madhmeshwar.<sup>5</sup> Besides, nearby areas of the Dangs such as several sites on the Tapi in Khandesh yielded various Middle Paleolithics.<sup>6</sup> From the sites of Bel Pandhari, Kalegaon, Nevasa, and Nandur-Madhmeshwar, the total 1851 artefacts collected by K.D. Banerjee are constituted scrapers 57.3% (219),

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1. Sankalia, H.D., et al. *From History to Prehistory at Nivasa*, p. 78., cited in the same author, 1962, p. 45.

2. See, op cit., Sankalia, H.D., 1962, p. 75., and Malan, B.D., "The Term 'Middle Stone Age'", in *Proceedings of the Third Pan-African Congress on Prehistory*, 1955, p.p. 223-227.

3. Zeuner, F.E., in his report on K.D. Banerjee's Ph.D. Thesis entitled *Archaeology on the Middle Paleolithic Industries of the Deccan*, Poona, Deccan College, 1957.

4. Watson, William, *Flint Implement: An Account of Stone Age Techniques and Cultures*, London, British Museum, 1956, p. 24.

5. *ibid.*, p. 79.

6. Banerjee, K.D., *Archaeology on the Middle Paleolithic Industries of the Deccan*, (Ph. D. Thesis), Poona, Deccan College, 1957, cited in Sankalia, H.D., 1962, p. 81.

borer 24.9% (95), points 15.7 (60), scraper-borer 2.1% (8). Most of these stone tools were made of veins of jasper, brownish chert etc. in the basaltic trap. In the course of Middle Paleolithic times, those stone tools were made on either flakes removed from huge cores or on pebbles or on the core after removal of the flake, first by 'free' and later by 'controlled' method of flaking.<sup>1</sup> At Nandur-Madhmeshwar and Kalegaon, the latter in Ahmednagar district, laminar silt formed under lacustrine conditions, was observed on this river. At Kalegaon on this river the Middle Paleolithics and skull of *Bos namadicus* were found in the well cemented gravel heaps, consisting of tiny trap pebbles, chunks of agate, chalcedony etc.<sup>2</sup>

Next, the Upper Paleolithic culture equally corresponds with the Series III Industry of M.C. Burkitt and L.A. Cammiade.<sup>3</sup> There are some others which have been variously referred to as 'blade-and burin', 'blade-tool', and 'flake-blade' industries. The Upper Paleolithic is frequently defined in terms of the 'blade culture'.<sup>4</sup> Actually blades are not unique to this period, but one of the major stone tools in the Upper Paleolithic. The evidence of the Upper Paleolithic is not well known to Indian archaeology from only a few number of sites till 1972.<sup>5</sup> In adjacent areas of the Dangs such as the central Tapi basin in the Dhule (former West Khandesh, later Dhulia) and Jalgaon district, a number of surface and stratified Upper Paleolithic sites were discovered by S.A. Sali, and R.V. Joshi.<sup>6</sup>

The Upper Paleolithic industry of Patne is dominated by blades and burin, and further, scrapers, points and borers. Blades and burins may be regarded as the characteristic forms. It has been inferred that the climate at Patne essentially remained semi-arid, more or less similar to that of the present,

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1. op cit., Sankalia, H.D., 1962, p. 77.

2. ibid., p. 76.

3. Sali, S.A., *Stone Age India*, Auangabad, Shankar Publishers, 1990, p. 206.

4. op cit., Watson, William, 1956, p. 24.

5. ibid., p.p. 191-191.

6. Joshi, R.V., and Sali, S.A., "Middle Stone Age Factory Sites in Western India", *Anthropos*, Vol. 63/64 No. 1, 1969., and Sali, S.A., *The Upper Paleolithic and Mesolithic Cultures of Maharashtra*, Pune, Deccan College, 1989.

but an increase in the degree of semi-aridity is evident during the Upper Paleolithic Phases IIa and IIb, and during the Mesolithic Phase IIIb.<sup>1</sup> The main raw material in the Early Upper Paleolithic is jasper, but chalcedony in the Late Upper Paleolithic.<sup>2</sup> In size, many tools of the late Upper Paleolithic approach microlithic proportions, and are almost as small as those of the succeeding Mesolithic industries. Further, in the late Upper Paleolithic semi-geometric forms such as lunates appear in Phase II D and the geometric triangles and trapezes in II E.<sup>3</sup>

Next, the Mesolithic industry was found at Patne in the Period III cultural stratum, which is divisible into three phases, III A, III B, and III C.<sup>4</sup> The Phase III A belongs to the Early Mesolithic while Phase III B and Phase III C belong to the Late Mesolithic. The Upper Paleolithic differs from the Mesolithic by a sudden decrease in the proportion of burins but an increase in the proportion of geometric forms. The Period III stratum contains various type of blades, lunates, triangles, trapezes, crescent and other points and a small proportion of burins.<sup>5</sup>

The other Mesolithic evidence was discovered from Tarsang, in Panch Mahal, which is relatively close to the Dangs district. Actually the site of Tarsang contains whole stone age industries right from early to even new stone age. One rock-shelter of the site represented a number of scrapers, lunates, blades and cores.<sup>6</sup> Besides, burnt bones, there were beads of dentalium shells.

Another Mesolithic evidence from Langhnaj was discovered in the sandy alluvial plains or dunes, of which the Period I stratum is the Mesolithic industry. The cultural remains of this period recovered from the excavation include microliths, ill-baked pottery, numerous animal bones and dentalium shell beads. Besides, out of thirteen excavated human skeletons, eleven belong to this period. The microliths comprises blades, lunate,

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1. *ibid.*

2. *op cit.*, Sali, S.A., 1990, p. 219.

3. *ibid.*, p. 219.

4. *ibid.*, p.p. 250-251.

5. *ibid.*, p. 251.

6. *op cit.*, Sankalia, H.D., 1987, p. 28., and *Indian Archaeology -- A Review, 1977-1978*, p. 13.

trapezes, triangles, scrapers, points, a few burins and fluted as well as amorphous cores. The parallel-sided tools such as lunates preponderate among the finished tools. The Microlithic industry is entirely crude and coarse and material for making them comprise chert, agate, carnelian and only occasionally quartz. Regarding microliths, H.D. Sankalia has pointed that the Microlithic industry is a 'Short Blade Industry' and an essential guide for defining a microlithic is retouch in making tools.<sup>1</sup> Thus it is possible to distinguish between such blades and true microliths.

Furthermore, a important Microlithic sites are spread in the Konkan along the west coast and the Thana creek, and further, along the banks of the rivers like the Ulhas in the north and the Amba in the south of Bombay. These are considered as a wide-spread habitat of the Microlithic people.<sup>2</sup> These people inhabited slightly higher elevated grounds -- usually rocks or hillocks and avoided the thicker jungle in the interior. However, they might have preferred the region because it grows abundance of bananas and coconuts and abounds in fish and fowl.<sup>3</sup> They could get easily raw material such as chert, jasper from the river gravels as well as in the veins of that in these hills.<sup>4</sup> The physical environment of these sites corresponded with that of the Dangs.

The evidence of Neolithic industry was found at Langhnaj, in the Period I, which contained mace-head or ring-stone of quartzite and small polished stones of chlorite and schist, and furthermore, round-stone from the site of Amba in the south of Bombay.<sup>5</sup> Neolithic industry is practically a sub-division of the Stone Age which originally was conceived on a technological basis. Taxonomically, neolithic connotes 'ground' or 'polished. stone tool'. It is difficult to say when the Mesolithic as indicated by tiny stone implements develops into the Neolithic or where the a clear picture of the cultures which have been brought to light in the Central and Western India. In India, the

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1. op cit., Sankalia, H.D., 1962, p.p. 126-128., Sankalia, H.D., and Deo, S.B., *Excavations at Nasik and Jorwe*, 1960, p. 51, and Subba Rao, B, *Excavations at Maheshwar and Navdatoli*, 1960, p. 41.

2. op cit., Sankalia, H.D., 1962, p. 141.

3. See, *ibid*.

4. Todd, K.R.U. *Ancient India*, No. 6, 1950, pp. 1-16.

5. See, op cit., Sankalia, H.D., 1962, p. 142. & p. 145., cited in Todd, K.R.U., 1950, pp. 1-16.

Neolithics have so far been found in the Deccan and very casually in Central India and elsewhere in the North. The beginning of the Neolithic culture might have been in circumstance of the hunting and food-collecting life style. However, the cultural stratum in the Period I of Langhnaj and the site of Amba fully represent the Neolithic industry, as H.D. Sankalia mentioned that "The presence of the New Stone Age Man is also indicated by the ring-stone"<sup>1</sup>. Taking these factors into consideration, the Neolithics such as mace-heads or round-stones discovered from the Dangs are a significant to interpret the Neolithic culture of the Dangs in the South Gujarat.

#### B. Recently Discovered Stone Tools From the Dangs

To study the pre-historic culture of the Dangs, primarily the Saputara Museum collections, in particular, the pre-historic stone tools are re-interpreted by me. The total 216<sup>2</sup> stone tools collected by D.B. Chitale in 1964-1969 were discovered from the Dangs and the adjacent area, like Bansda, Vanarsi, Silvasa etc. These pre-historic stone tools were found not in situ but mostly from surface of the river banks and riverbeds of the Gira, the Purna, the Khapri, and the Ambika in the Dangs, and the Kaveri, Damanganga, etc. out of the Dangs. Out of the total 216 stone tools, there are 115 stone tools from the Dangs. These 115 stone tools almost reflect the entire stone age industries of the Dangs (See, Map 2-3, Pl. 2-1 to 2-16, Fg. 1-3, 54-1 to 54-14, Vol. II).

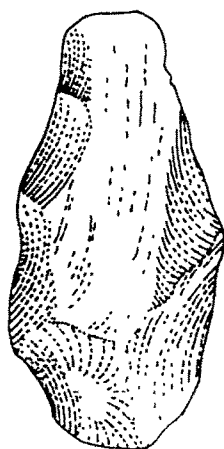
Out of the total 100 percentage of the 115 stone tools, Choppers occupy 11%, Chopping tool 3%, Cleaver 5%, Handaxes 3%, Pebble tool 1%, Chopper cum Scraper 1%, Cores 10%, Flakes 9%, Scrapers cum Flake 14%, Scrapers 8%, Side-scrapers 10%, End-scrapers 5%, Blades 11%, Points 2%, Fluted-cores 2%, Lunates 3%, and Round-stones 5%. The table given below provides a detail proportion of the stone tools.

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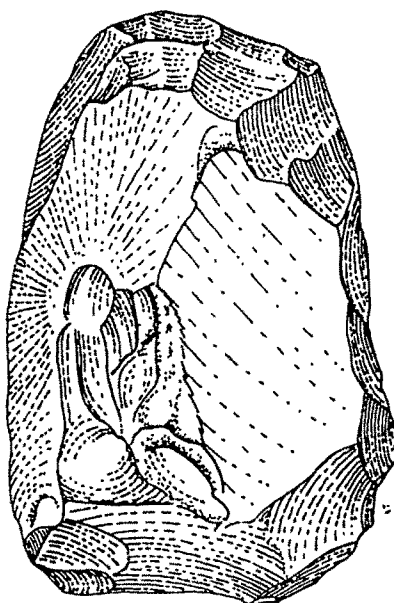
1. op cit., Sankalia, H.D., 1987, p. 28.

2. D.B. Chitale carried on his field expedition from the rivers Damanganga, the Kaveri, the Khapri, the Ambika, the Purna, and the Gira in South Gujarat from 1964 to 1969. The total 216 stone tools were collected by him from the riverbanks and riverbeds, later in 1976 (?) his collection was handed over the Saputara Museum. Out of 216 stone tools, 115 objects were dicsscovered from the Dangs, and others from the adjacent areas of the Dangs.

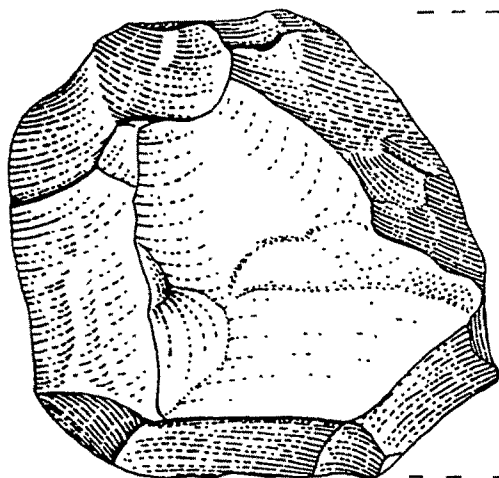
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3

Pl. 2-1

1. Side-scraper---Lower Paleolithic

Bardipada(6), R. Gira, S.M. 281(48)

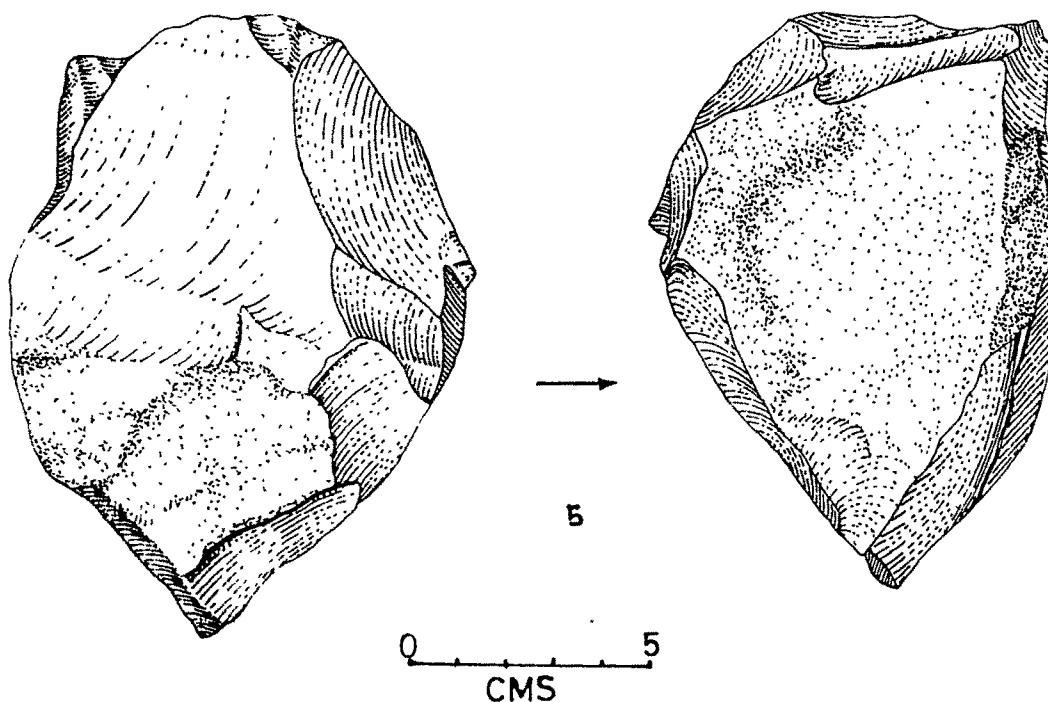
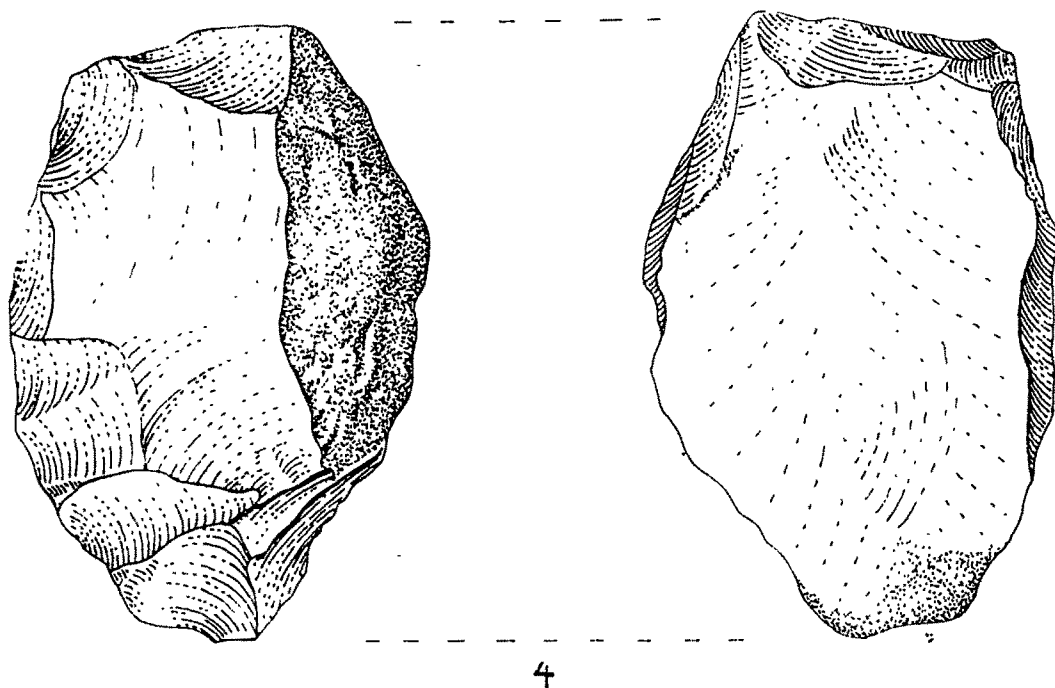
2. Handaxe---Lower Paleolithic

Singana(13), R. Gira, S.M. 283(50)

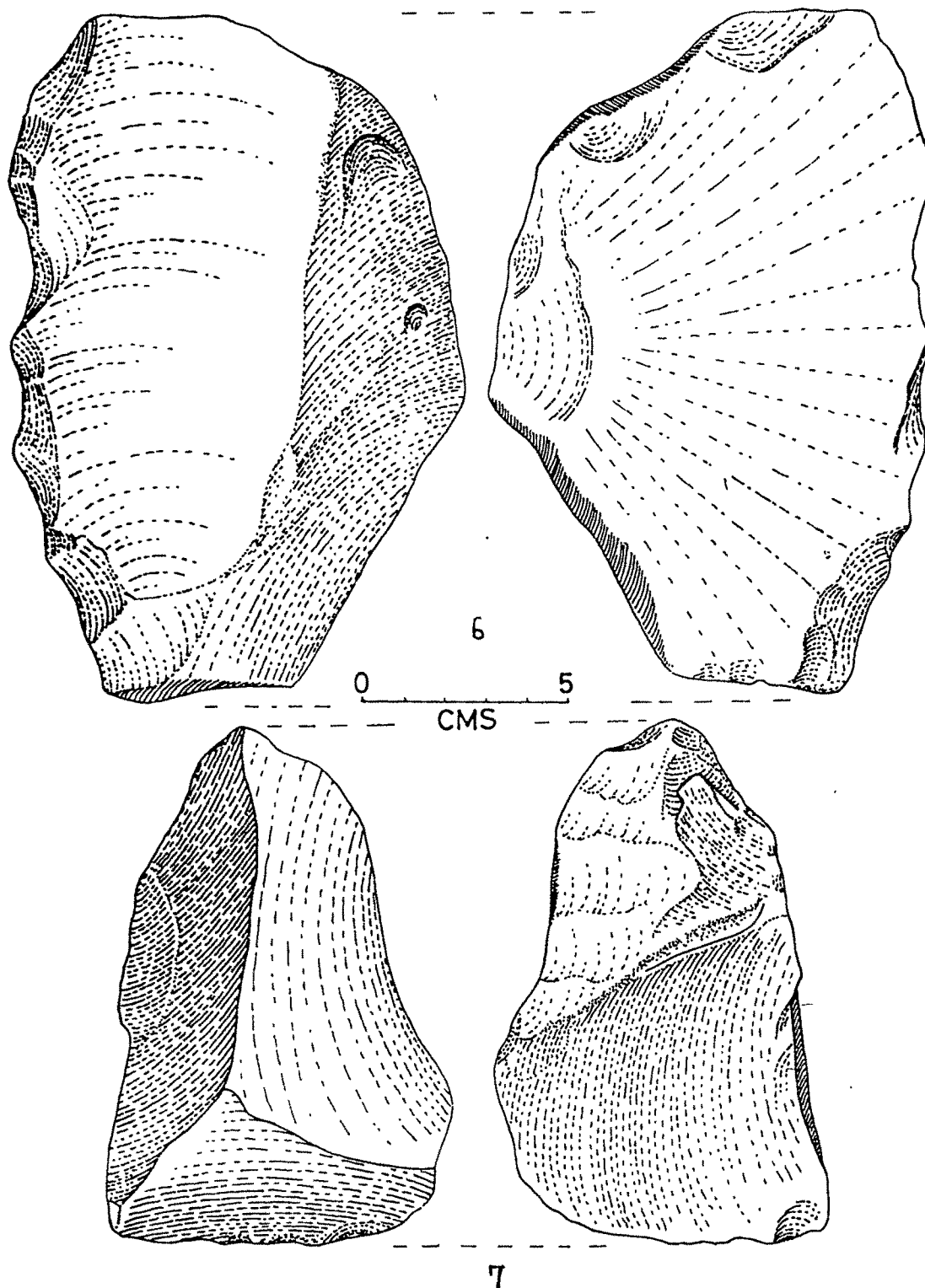
3. Core---Lower Paleolithic

Mavlipada, R. Gira, S.M. 289(56)





Pl. 2-2  
 4. Handaxe---Lower Paleolithic  
 Chinchli(224), R. Purna, S.M. 250(17)  
 5. Core---Lower Paleolithic  
 Jamlapada(101), R. Purna, S.M. 253(20)



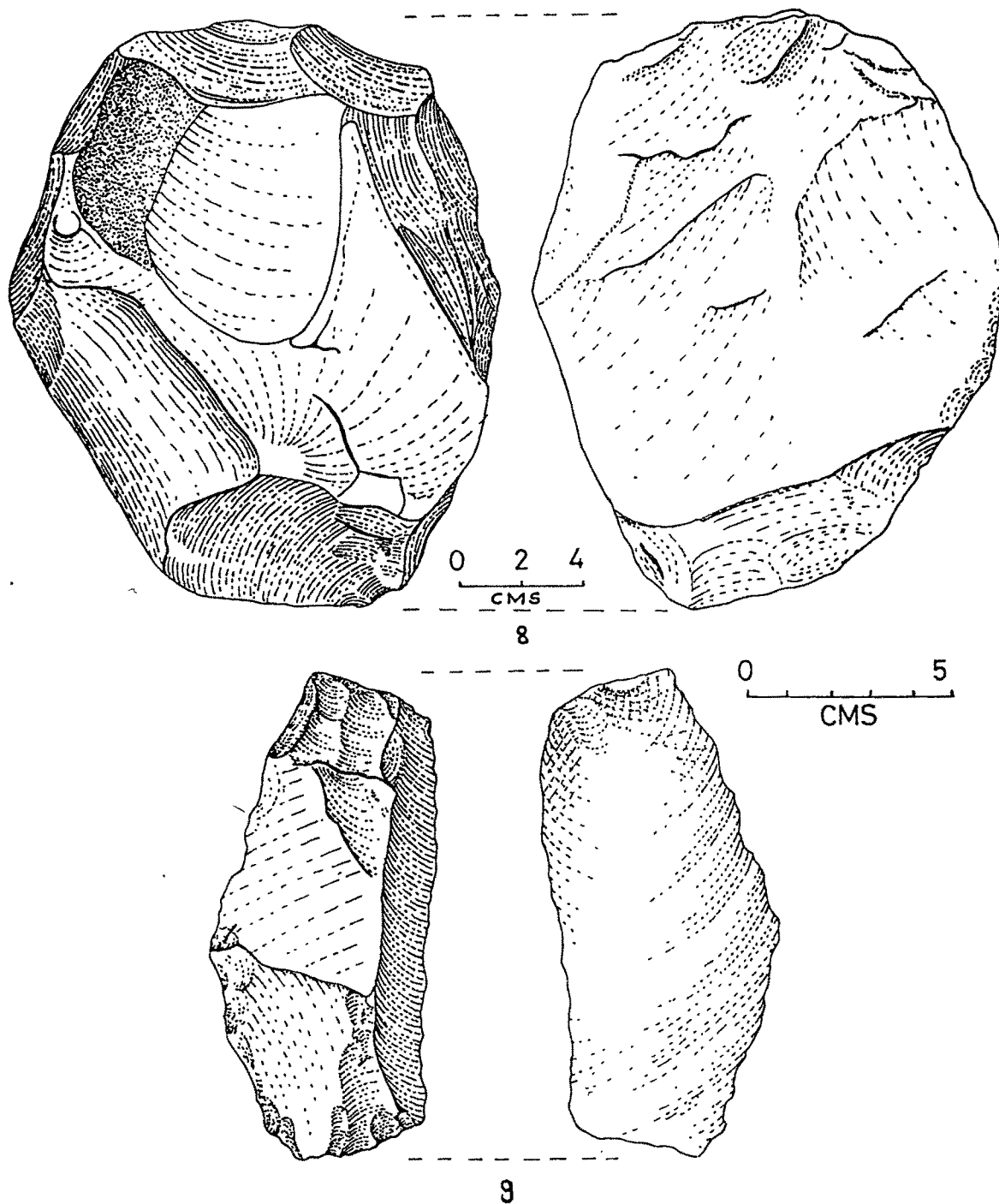
Pl. 2-3

6. Side-Scraper---Lower Paleolithic

Chinchli(224), R. Purna, S.M 277(44)

7. Handaxe---Lower Paleolithic

Chinchli(224), R. Purna, S.M 300(67)



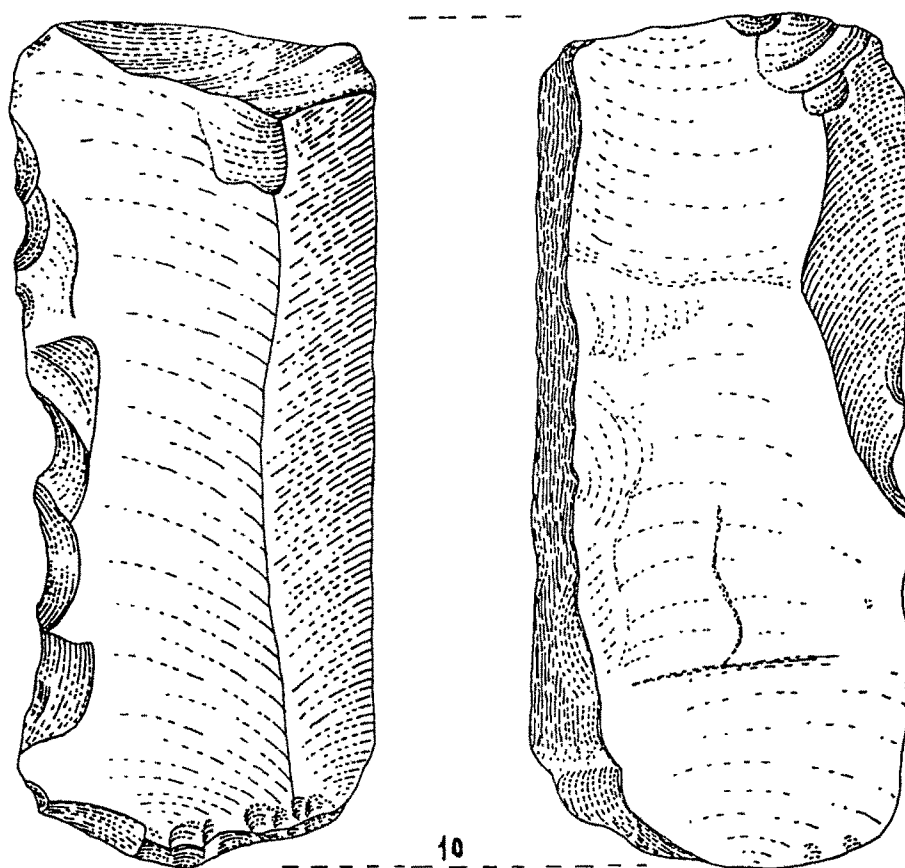
Pl. 2-4

8. Core---Lower Paleolithic

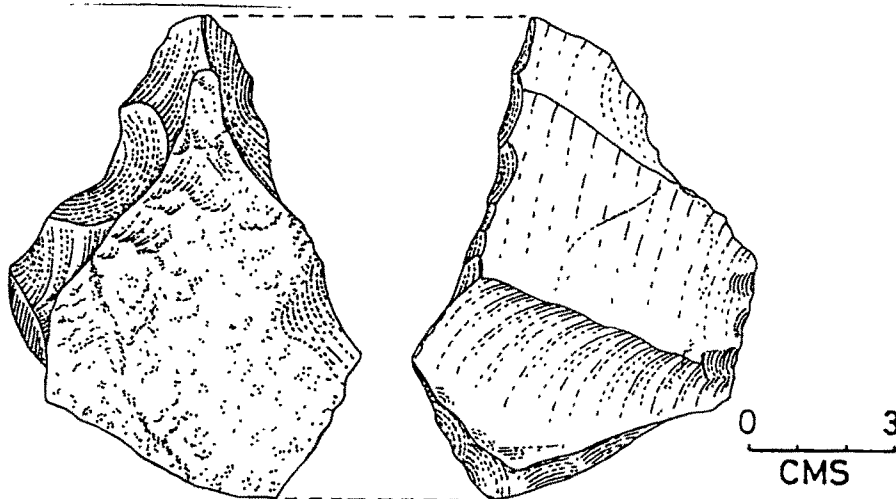
Chichigaontha(114), R. Khapri, S.M. 317(84)

9. Scraper cum Flake---Lower Paleolithic

Chichigaontha(114), R. Khapri, S.M. 320(87)



10



11

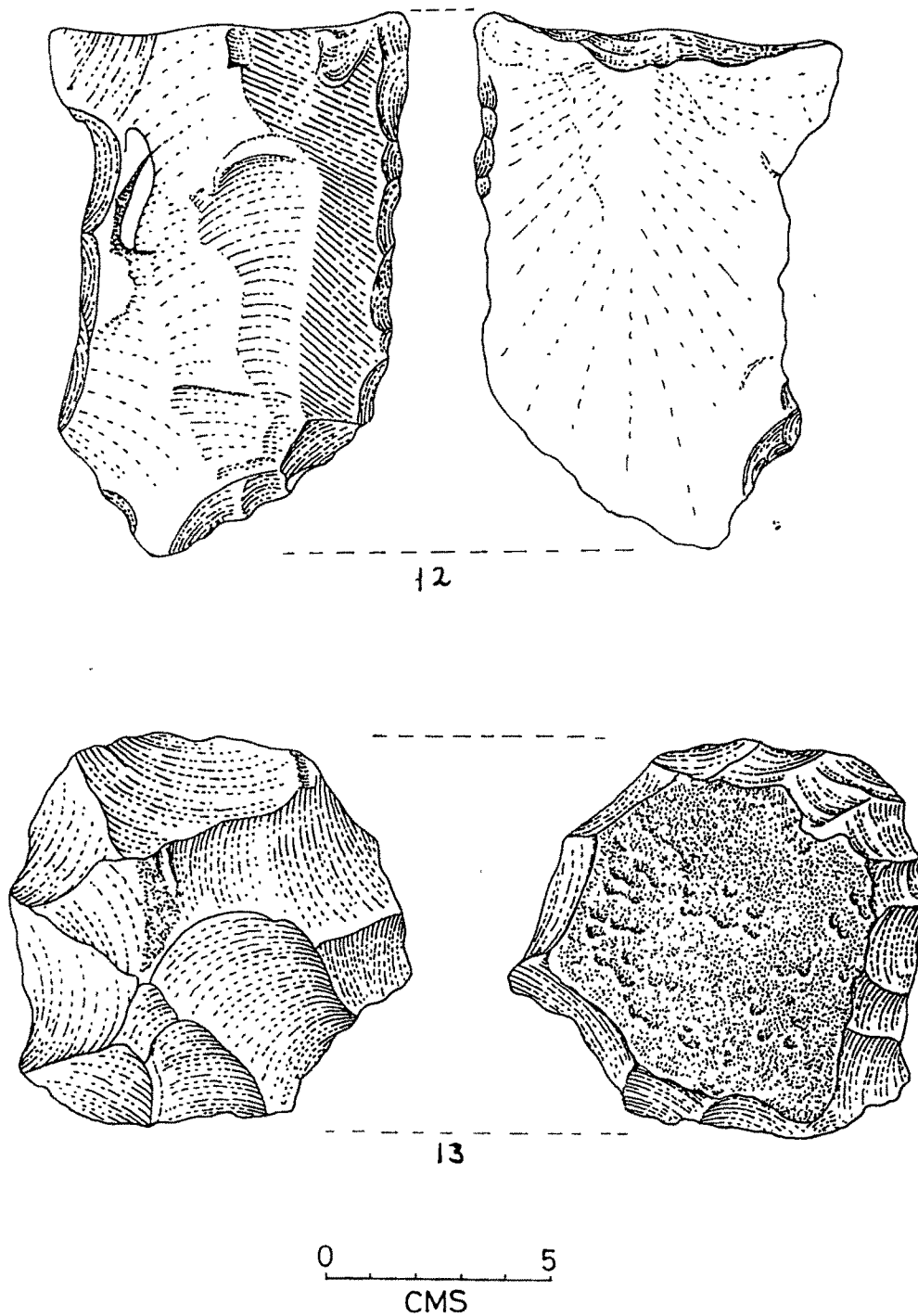
Pl. 2-5

10. Side-Scraper---Lower Paleolithic

Chichigaontha(114), R. Khapri, S.M. 322(89)

11. Scraper cum Flake---Lower Paleolithic

Chichigaontha(114), R. Khapri, S.M. 325(92)



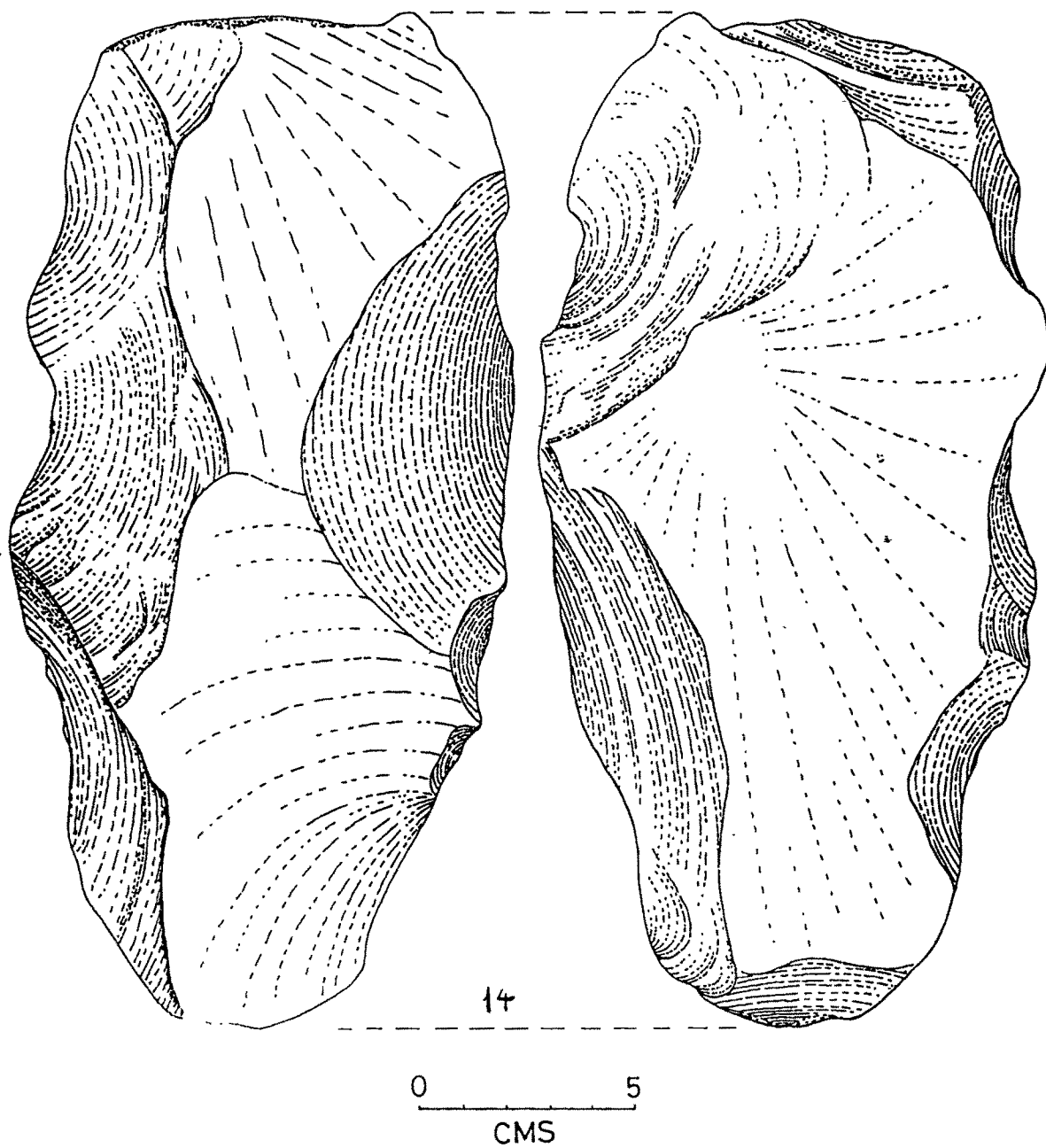
Pl. 2-6

12. Core---Lower Paleolithic

Chichigaontha(114), R. Khapri, S.M. 327(94)

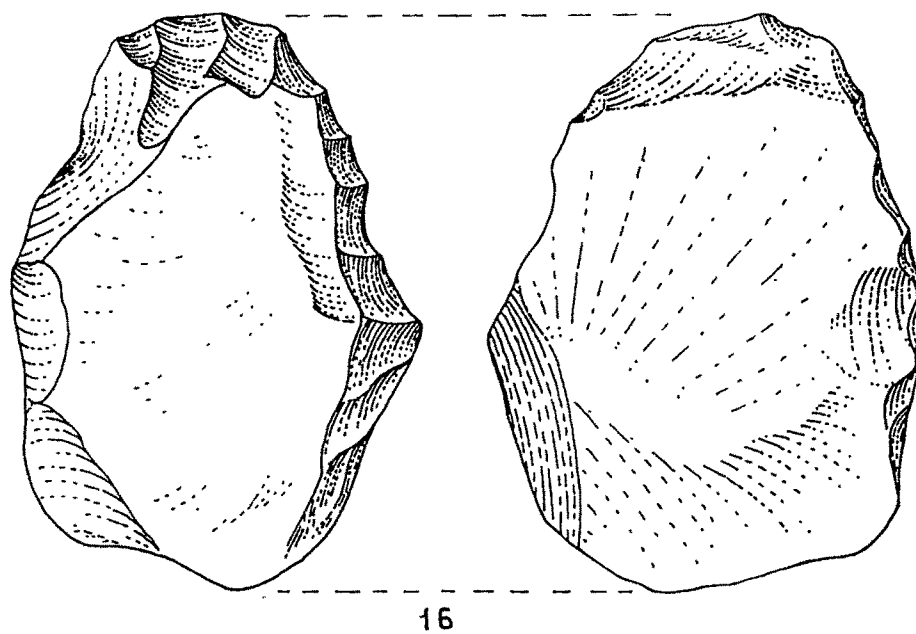
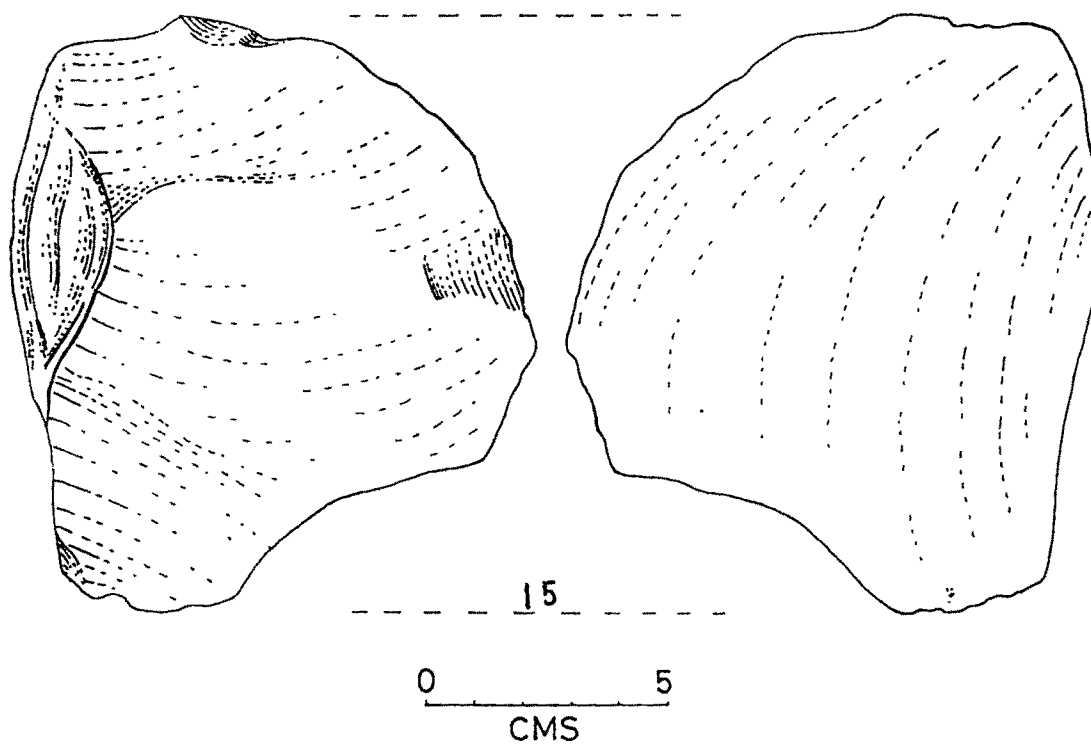
13. Scraper cum Flake---Lower Paleolithic

Chichigaontha(114), R. Khapri, S.M. 328(95)



Pl. 2-7

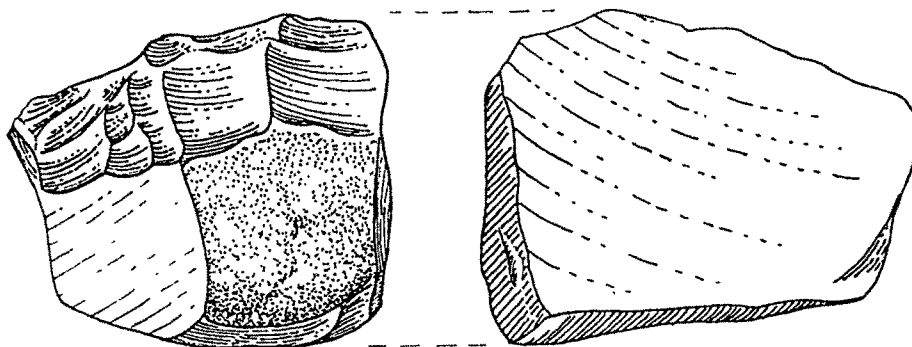
14. Scraper cum Flake---Lower Paleolithic  
Dhamunda(162), R. Khapri, S.W. 284(51)



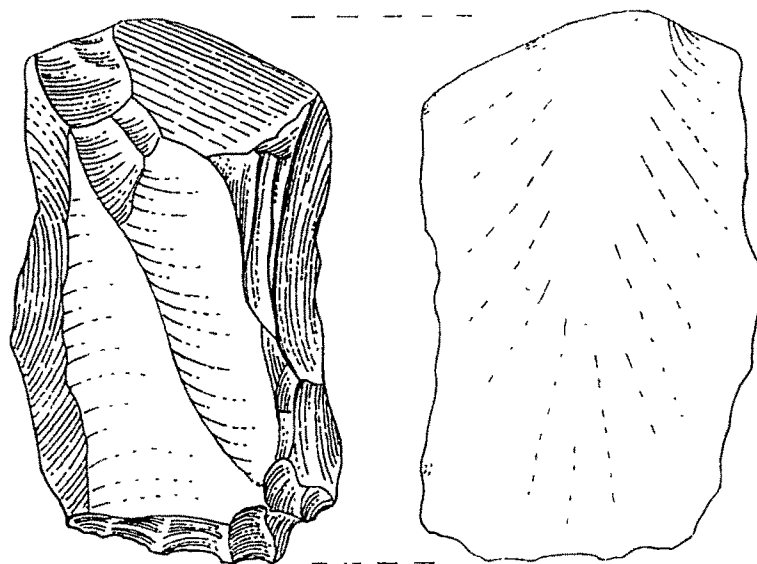
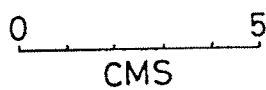
Pl. 2-8

15. Scraper---Lower Paleolithic  
Dhamunda(162), R Khapri, S M 298(65)

16. Handaxe---Lower Paleolithic  
Ambapada(196), R Ambika, S M 264(31)



17



18

Pl. 2-9

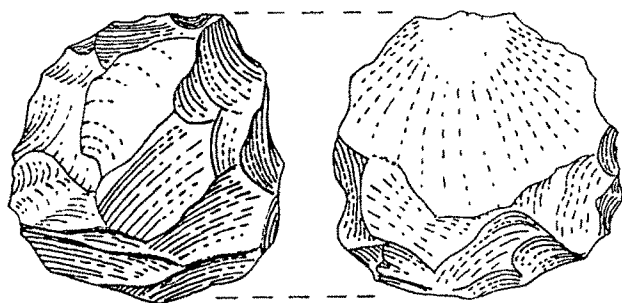
17. Chopper cum Scraper---Lower Paleolithic

Ambapada(196), R. Ambika, S.M. 247(14)

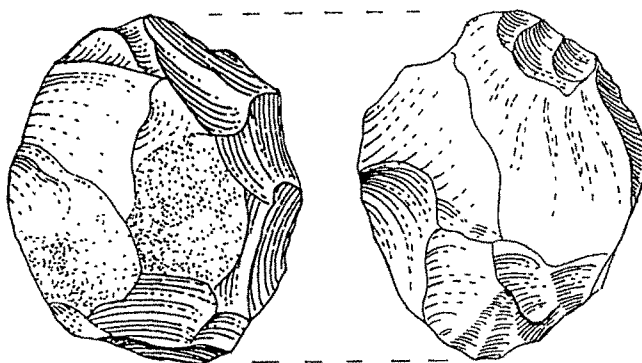
18. Cleaver---Lower Paleolithic

Ambapada(196), R. Ambika, S.M. 263(30)

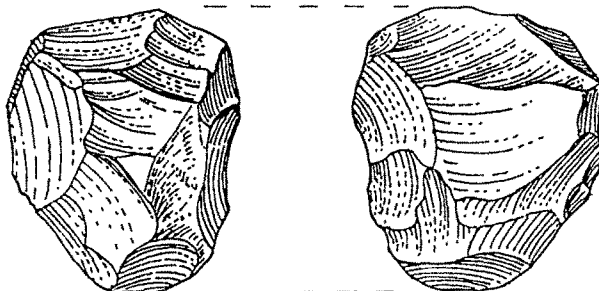




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Pl. 2-10

19. Core---Middle Paleolithic

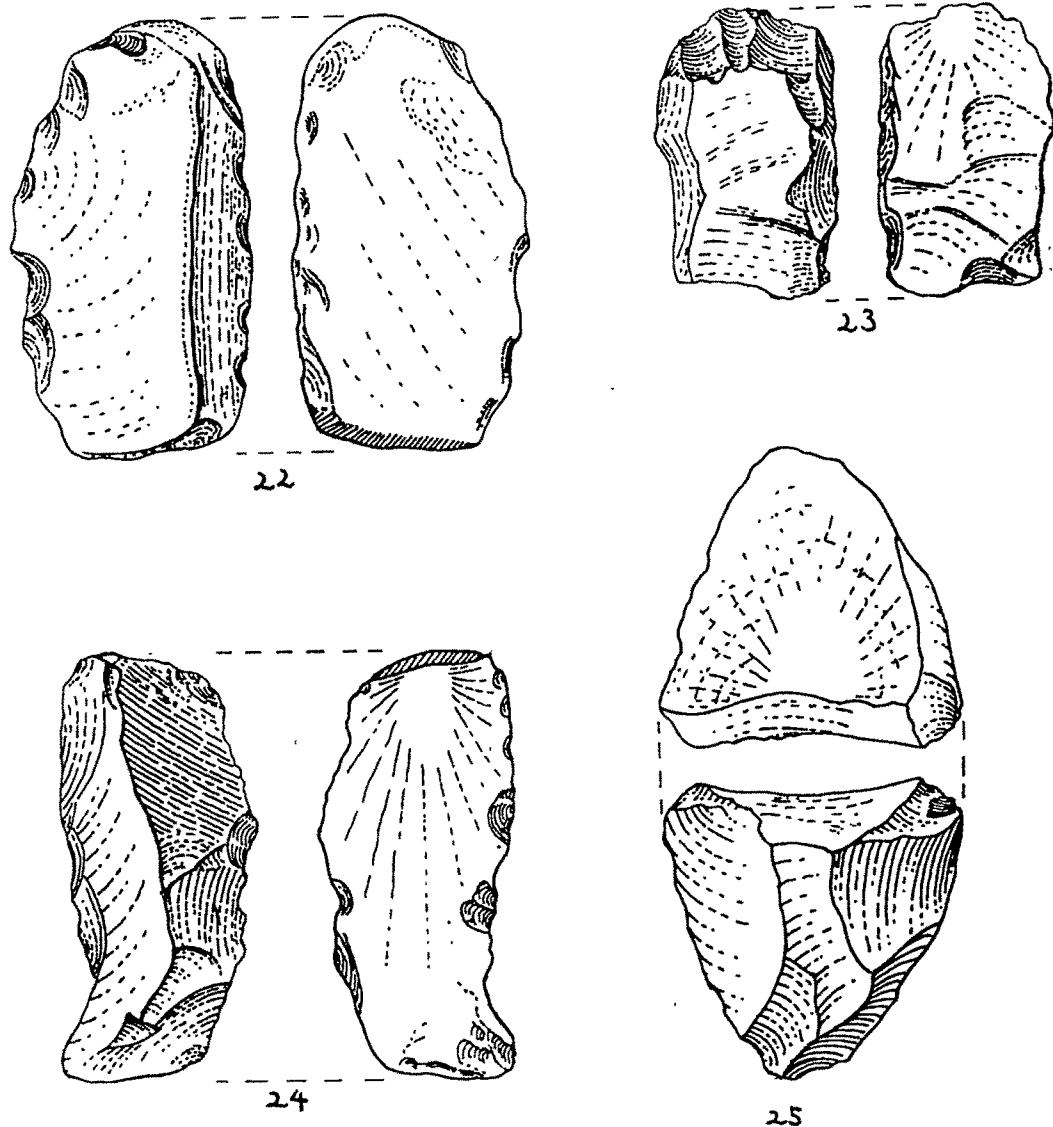
Unai, R Ambika, S M. 288(55)

20. Core---Middle Paleolithic

Unai, R Ambika, S.M 287(54)

21. Core---Middle Paleolithic

Ambapada(196), R Ambika, S M 315(82)



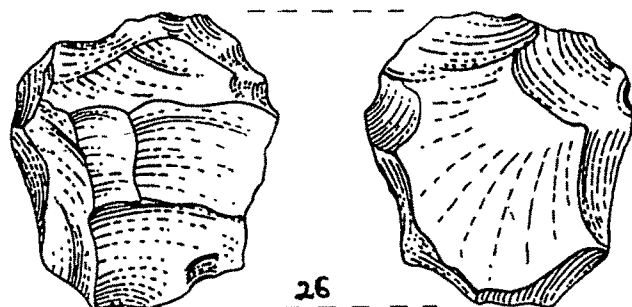
Pl. 2-11

22. Scraper cum Flake---Middle Paleolithic  
Mahal(39), R. Purna, S.M. 405(172)

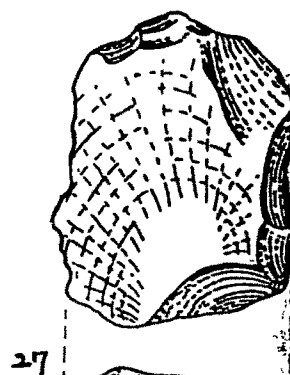
23. Scraper cum Flake---Middle Paleolithic  
Jamlapada(101), R. Purna, S.M.422(189)

24. Scraper cum Flake---Middle Paleolithic  
Chichigaontha(114), R. Khapri, S.M. 333(100)

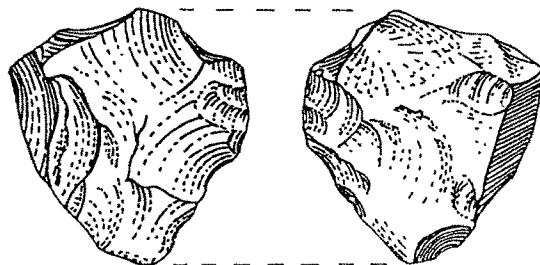
25. Scraper cum Flake ---Middle Paleolithic  
Chichigaontha(114), R. Khapri, S.M. 332(99)



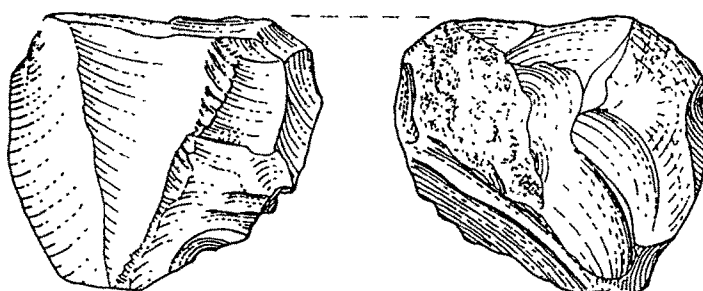
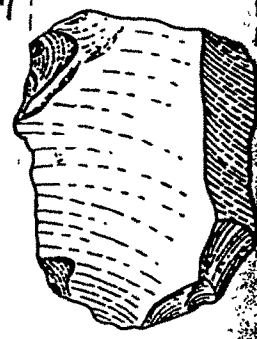
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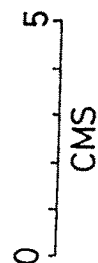
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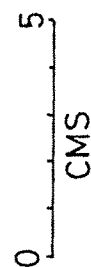
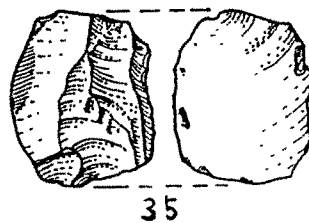
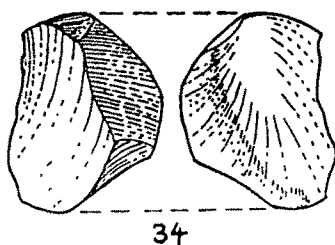
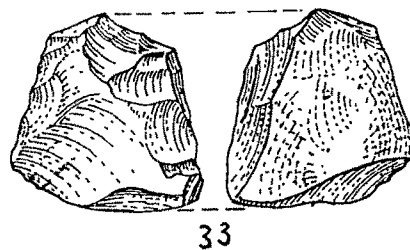
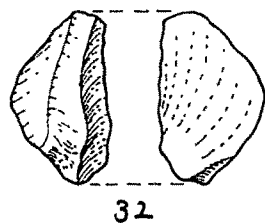
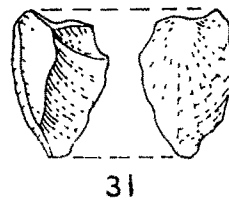
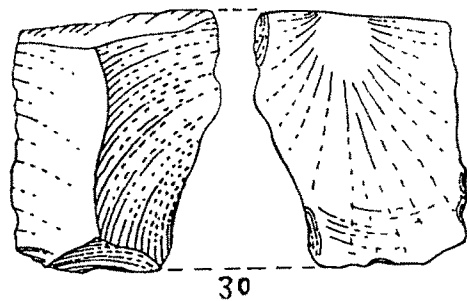
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- Pl. 2-12  
 26. Scraper cum Flake---Middle Paleolithic  
 Kotandar(310), R. Khapri, S.M. 414(181)  
 27. Flake---Middle Paleolithic  
 Kotandar(310), R. Khapri, S.M. 416(183)  
 28. Scraper cum Flake---Middle Paleolithic  
 Kotandar(310), R. Khapri, S.M. 418(185)  
 29. Core---Middle Paleolithic  
 Kotandar(310), R. Khapri, S.M. 417(184)



Pl. 2-13

30. Flake---Upper Paleolithic

Kakadpada(120), R. Purna, S.M. 406(173)

31. Blade---Upper Paleolithic

Ambapada(196), R. Ambika, S.M. 435(202)

32. Blade---Upper Paleolithic

Ambapada(196), R. Ambika, S.M. 438(205)

33. Scraper cum Flake---Upper Paleolithic

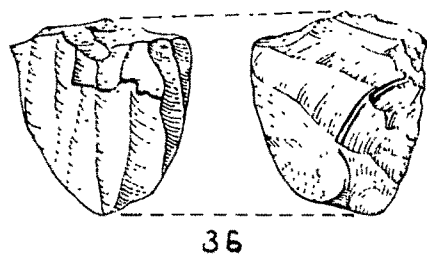
Ambapada(196), R. Ambika, S.M. 432(199)

34. Blade---Upper Paleolithic

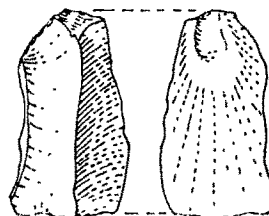
Ambapada(196), R. Ambika, S.M. 445(212)

35. Blade---Upper Paleolithic

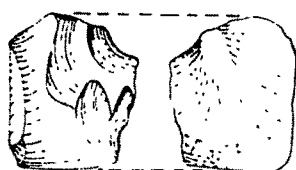
Ambapada(196), R. Ambika, S.M. 447(214)



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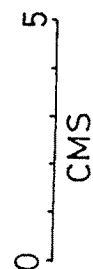
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Pl. 2-14

36. Fluted Core---Mesolithic

Kakadpada(120), R. Purna, S.M. 410(177)

37. Flake---Mesolithic

Ambapada(196), R. Ambika S.M. 433(200)

38. Flake---Mesolithic

Ambapada(196), R. Ambika, S.M. 443(210)

39. Flake---Mesolithic

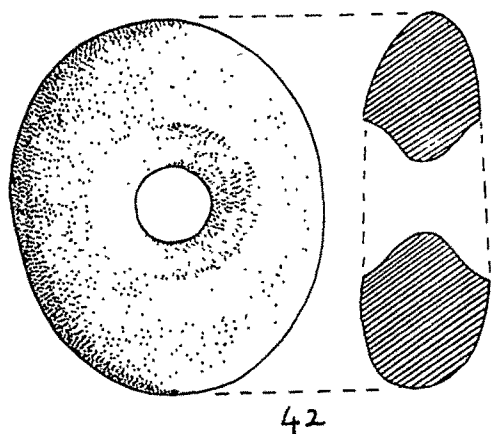
Ambapada(196), R. Ambika, S.M. 444(211)

40. Flake---Mesolithic

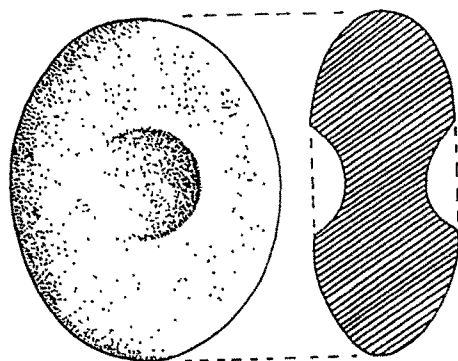
Kakadpada(120), R. Purna, S.M. 413(180)

41. Flake---Mesolithic

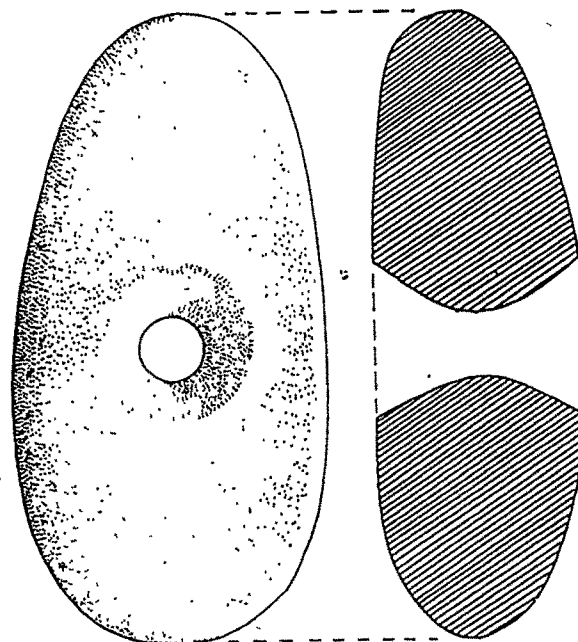
Kakadpada(120), R. Purna, S.M. 412(179)



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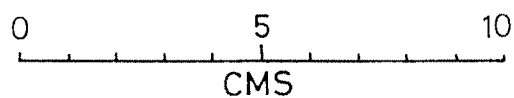
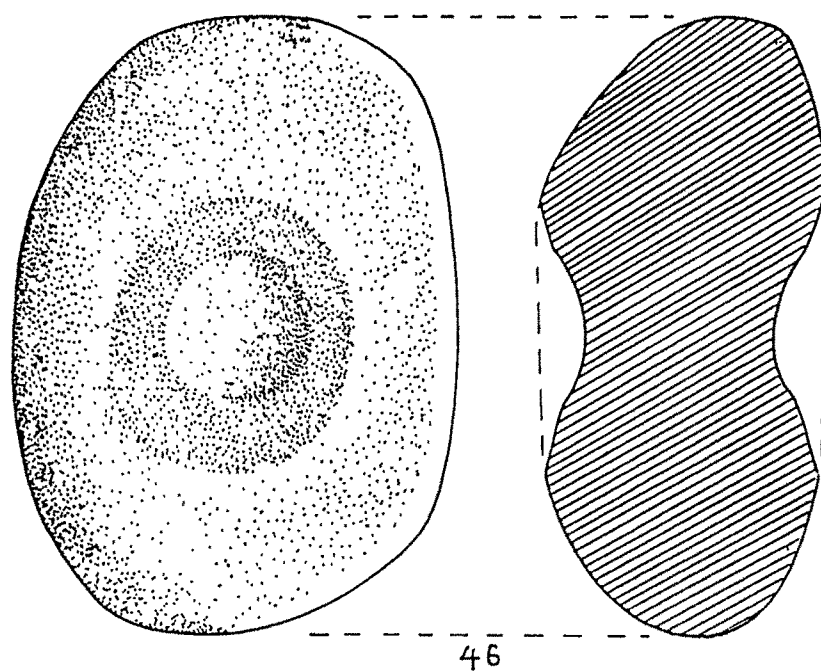
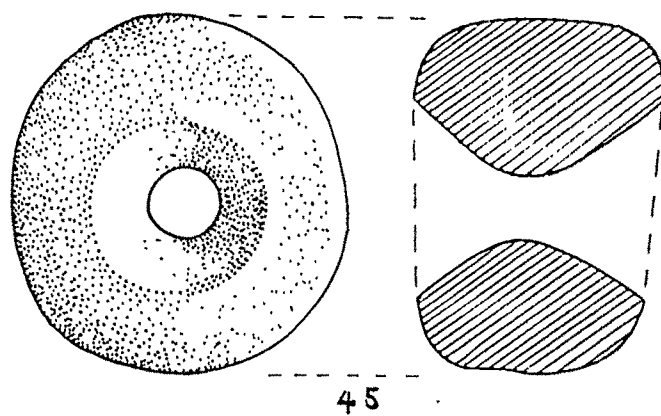
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Pl. 2-15

42. Ring stone (perforated)---Neolithic  
Borigaatha(108), R. Khapri, S.M. 307(74)

43. Ring stone (unfinished)---Neolithic  
Kamath(255), R. Khapri, S.M. 308(75)

44. Ring stone (perforated)---Neolithic  
Kamath(255), R. Khapri, S.M. 309(76)



Pl. 2-16

46. Ring stone (perforated)---Neolithic  
Dagadpada(237), R. Ambika, S.M. 313(80)

46. Ring stone (unfinished)---Neolithic  
Dagadpada(237), R. Ambika, S.M. 312(79)

Table 2-4 Pre-historic Stone Tools from the Dangs

Stone tool	%	No.	Stone tool	%	No.
Pebble tool	1	1	Handaxe	3	4
Chopper	11	13	Chopping tool	3	4
Cleaver	5	6	Chopper cum Scraper	1	1
Scraper	8	9	Side-Scraper	10	12
End-Scraper	5	6	Scraper cum Flake	14	15
Flake	6	7	Point	2	2
Blade	11	13	Core	10	11
Fluted-Core	2	2	Lunate	3	3
Round Stone	5	6			
Total		115 artefacts			

The yielded stone tools varies from the Lower Paleolithic, pebble tool to the Neolithic, ring-stone or mace-head, of which the largest proportion of the stone tools belong to the Lower Paleolithic period. Out of the total 115 stone tools from the Dangs, 42% of the stone tools typologically belong to the Lower Paleolithic industry (See, Pl. 2-1 to 2-9), 29% of those occupies to the Middle Paleolithic industry (See, Pl. 2-10 to 2-12). About 16% of those constitute the Upper Paleolithic industry (See, Pl. 2-13), and 8% of those make the Mesolithic industry (See, Pl. 2-14). The rest 5% of those belong to the Neolithic industry (See, Pl. 2-15 & 2-16).

River-wise distribution of the above stone tools is as follows (See, Map 2-3) : The Gira yielded only 5 artefacts, which included the Lower Paleolithics known as Handaxe, Chopper, Core, Side-scraper. The Purna presented 26 artefacts, which varied from the Lower Paleolithics to the Mesolithics. The Khapri showed 46 artefacts, which contained the Lower Paleolithic, Middle Paleolithic and Neolithic. There is a hiatus between the Middle Paleolithic and Neolithic. But it is believed that the hiatus may not be real because few researcher hardly carried out field expedition from the Khapri riverbanks and riverbed. Since the adjacent area yielded most of the stone ages, there is a possibility of material to be found to fill the gaps in the future. Further, the Ambika yielded 38 artefacts, which completely represented the entire stone ages from the Lower Paleolithic to Neolithic. It is remarkable that the village, Ambapada located at near the Ambika riverside is considered as a stone age factory site due to yielding of various stone tools of the stone ages.



Table 2-5 Distribution of Stone Tools in the Gira

Lower Paleolithic : 5  
Handaxe ( S.M. 283), Chopper (280, 282) Side-Scraper (281),  
Core (289)

Total 5 artefacts

\* (S.M. No.) : Saputara Museum Regd. No.

Table 2-6 Distribution of Stone Tools in the Purna

Lower Paleolithic : 13  
Handaxe (250, 300), Side-Scraper (273, 277), Scraper (276),  
Core (253), Chopper (271, 272, 274, 275, 278, 279),  
Chopping tool (290)

Middle Paleolithic : 6  
Scraper cum Flake (S.M.405, 419, 421, 422), End-Scraper  
(423), Scraper (420)

Upper Paleolithic : 4  
Flake (S.M.406), Scraper (407, 408), Point (411)

Mesolithic : 3  
Fluted Core (S.M. 410), Flake (412, 413)

Total 26 artefacts

\* (S.M. No.) : Saputara Museum Regd. No.

Table 2-7 Distribution of Stone Tools in the Khapri

Lower Paleolithic : 24  
Chopper (269, 270, 267, 268, 319 ), Core (317, 327, 294),  
Scraper cum Flake (284, 320, 324, 325, 328, 329),  
Side-Scraper (322), Scraper (298), Chopping tool (291,  
292, 293), Cleaver (299, 302, 303, 304, 305)

Middle Paleolithic : 19  
Core (417), Scraper cum Flake (332, 333, 414, 418),  
Flake (416), Blade (321, 336, 337), Scraper (171, 404,  
415), Side-Scraper (323, 326, 334, 335, 338),  
End-Scraper (330,331)

Neolithic : 3  
Ring-stone (S.M. 307, 308, 309)

Total 46 artefacts

\* (S.M. No.) : Saputara Museum Regd. No.

Table 2-8 Distribution of Stone Tools in the Ambika

Lower Paleolithic : 6	
Chopper (265), Chopper cum Scraper (247), Handaxe (264),	
Cleaver (263), Scraper (266), Pebble tool (248)	
Middle Paleolithic : 8	
Core (287, 288, 315, 427), End-Scraper (424, 425),	
Fluted-Core (426), Point (428)	
Upper Paleolithic : 15	
Blade (435, 438, 445, 447, 434, 436, 439, 441, 448, 449),	
Side-Scraper (429, 430, 440), Scraper cum Flake (432),	
End-Scraper (431)	
Mesolithic : 6	
Flake (433, 443, 444), Lunate (437, 442, 446)	
Neolithic : 3	
Ring-Stone (311, 312, 313)	
Total	38 artefacts

\* (S.M. No.) : Saputara Museum Regd. No.

The Lower Paleolithics found in the Dangs equally corresponds with the Series I, so-called earliest bifacial culture. The Series I industry in the Dangs consists of choppers, chopping tools, cleavers, hand axes, scrapers or side-scrapers, and cores which were found in the river banks and beds of four main rivers such as the Gira, the Purna, the Khapri, and the Ambika from the north to the south Dangs (See Map 2-2). As seen in the above presented table, in the Dangs, the total proportion of the stone tools is predominated by choppers and cleavers with handaxes. It is notable that the Lower Paleolithic industry of the Dangs culturally intervened between the so-called "Sohanian" or "Chopper-Chopping Culture" and the "Handaxe Culture".

Most of the Lower Palaeolithics from the Dangs are made not of quartzite but dolerite available in the form of pebbles, rock or on out-crops and boulders. It is peculiar that these stone tools were made of mainly dolerite and partly chert and jasper, which were used since the late Lower Paleolithic industry. Except a few number of stone tools such as chert Cores (253 & 327), chert Flakes (325 & 328), brownish chert Flake (329), yellowish chert Blade (320), jasper Core (317), and jasper Side-scraper (322 & 324), which were mainly discovered from the surface of the Khapri riverbank and riverbed, in particular, near the Chichigaontha village.

Table 2-9 Distribution of Lower Paleolithics, Dangs

Stone tool	No. of tool	Origin and Rgd. No. of S.M.
Handaxe	4	(G: 283 / P: 250, 300 / A: 264)
Chopper	14	(G: 280, 282 / P: 271, 272, 274, 275, 278 279 / K: 269, 270, 267, 268, 319 / A: 265)
Chopper cum Scraper	1	(A: 247, 265)
Chopping tool	4	(P: 290 / K: 291, 292, 293)
Cleaver	6	(K: 299, 302, 303, 304, 305 / A: 263)
Scraper	3	(P: 276 / K: 298 / A: 266)
Side-Scraper	4	(G: 281 / P: 273, 277 / K: 322)
Core	5	(G: 289 / P: 253 / K: 317, 327, 294)
Scraper cum Flake	6	(K: 284, 320, 324, 325, 328, 329)
Pebble tool	1	(A: 248)
Total	48 artefacts	

\* (S.M. No.) : Saputara Museum Regd. No.

\*\* G : the Gira, P: the Purna, K: the Khapri, and A: the Ambika.

\*\*\* The chief materials for making the stone tools in the Lower Paleolithic period were mainly dolerite dykes and pebbles which were easily available from the Dangs.

The Lower Paleolithic man in the Dangs made and used choppers, chopping tools, cleavers, handaxes, scrapers. The characteristic stone tools of this cultural stage are choppers, chopping tools, handaxes and cleavers so-called the "heavy-duty" tools. Among them, at most of the sites, handaxes and cleavers are the dominating tool types. But here, in the Dangs Choppers and chopping tools are predominating tool types. This proportion of stone tools is corresponded with "the Case III F-24 in Bhimbetka", in Vindhya Hills in Madhya Pradesh. Generally, handaxes dominate over the cleavers, although the cleavers take over in the Late Acheulian stage. But at present there is statistically no such cultural evidence in the Dangs.

In general, the early Abbevillian handaxe<sup>1</sup> has patches of original cortex. The earliest Acheulian handaxe<sup>2</sup> is almost

1. The Abbevillian handaxe found in the clayed conglomerate of the early part of Second glacial period is roughly pear-shaped and made on a quartzite nodule., cited in Sali, S.A., 1990, p. 122.

2. Normally, the deposits containing Acheulian industries are boulder and pebbly gravels, although examples are not wanting where they have been found in the sandy fine gravels., cited in Sali, S.A., 1990, p. 127.

similar to the Abbevillian handaxe but for a little finer work along the margins (See, Pl. 2-1-2). Cleavers are also included in the biface of the earliest Acheulian. In the circumstance of Abbeville-Acheulean, Early Clactonian and Levalloisian, the Lower Paleolithic cultural sequence includes the hand-axes and coarse flake tools. When the Paleolithic man here was manufacturing Acheulian type of tools, the basal gravel of the lower stratum was deposited. It is considered that choppers, pebble tools, Abbevillian handaxes, and the large flakes were manufactured before the beginning of the process of deposition of the basal gravel. This group of tools has, therefore, been placed earlier in date than that of the Acheulian.

Of the techniques of the Lower Palaeolithic which were continued to be used in the Middle Palaeolithic, mention should be firstly made of Abbevillian technique (See, Pl. 2-2-4), which was applied for the handaxe. The Abbevillian handaxe has usually the entire surface worked with bold and step flaking. The step flaking is crude and, therefore, technologically the handaxe is Abbevillian.<sup>1</sup>

The pebble tools might have been prepared for various purposes. The handaxe with many sub-types is a multi-purpose tool used for various functions. The pebble tool which is made out of pebble from the river represents the location of habitat of the paleolithic man who inhabited in the riverbanks or riverbeds. The choppers are of unifacial and bifacial type. The former has a round, semioval or almost straight working edge along the end of the pebble made by flaking in one direction and at one face only (See, Pl. 2-9-17). Pebbles with a natural flat undersurface are generally selected and upper surface is steeply flaked. The latter is used in bifacial varieties. The working edge is made by alternate flaking on both the surfaces.

The most outstanding feature of the Acheulian technique is the use of soft-hammer such as of hard wood, bone of antler for manufacturing the tools. However the use of cylinder hammer enabled the tool-maker to prepare the handaxes thinner in section and with more regular edges (See, Pl. 2-8-16). The Acheulian handaxes were made both on cores or lumps of stone and flakes obtained either from the nodule of rock or large pebbles. On the other hand, in the proto-Levallois or Levallois technique of flaking is involved core preparation before detaching a flake from the core. Practically, the core was prepared from its upper surface by flaking in order to produce a round and dome-like shape. The core thus prepared resembles an inverted tortoise shell, therefore, it is called a tortoise core and further, its technique also is termed tortoise core

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1. op cit., Sali, S.A., 1990, p. 122.

technique (See, Pl. 2-6-13 & 2-10-19).

The scrapers are made on cores and flakes. Core scrapers are made on nodule of rock in suitable size and shape by flaking either unifacially or bifacially to obtain a convex or straight working edge (See, Pl. 2-8-15). The flaking is mainly confined to the working edge portion. The scraper cum flakes are made on thick flakes. Usually, either the undersurface or the upper surface is steeply flaked along the longer or shorter side to get a convex or straight cutting edge (See, Pl. 2-1-1). The cleavers were made on flakes which are end-struck, side-struck and indeterminate, those on end-struck flakes being higher in number than those on side-struck flakes (See, Pl. 2-9-18). They are comparable to the present day axe with its sub-types based on the types of edges and butts must have been used for cutting and chopping. They also might have functioned as meat mattocks and flensors for dealing with the thick-skinned big game animals.

The Lower palaeolithic sites suggests that Paleolithic man lived mostly close to the riverside or near pond. They might have mainly led camp life<sup>1</sup> or lived in rock-shelters,<sup>2</sup> such as at Adamgarh Hill and Bhimbetka in Madhya Pradesh. In the Dangs also there are some cave like Pandva in which is, however, inappropriate place for residing by the Paleolithic man due to its topography (See, Fg. 55-1 & 55-2, Vol. II). Generally, man usually avoid spots above 2,500 ft. as they were thickly forested and it must have been difficult to get water there except places like Pahlgam in Kashmir where man lived at an altitude of 7,000 ft. The Pandva cave in the Dangs is located at the middle of hill and further, it has no sufficient space inside as well as nearby outside.<sup>3</sup> Appropriate habitat for Paleolithic man requires easy availability of water, abundant food and raw material for making the tools which are their prime necessities to inhabit in a certain place.

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1. The Camp site of Chirki near Nevasa where crudely-made boulders were placed in a row which might have supported a winds creen made of thickets. See, Corvinus, Gudrun, "The Acheulian Workshop of Chirki on the Pravara River, Maharashtra", *Indian Antiquary* (3rd Series), Vol. IV, Nos. 1-4, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1970.

2. The rock-shelter at Adamgar Hill and Bhimbetka in Madhya Pradesh. See, Misra, V.N., et al., *Bhimbetka: Prehistoric Man and His Art in Central India*, Pune, Deccan College, 1977.

3. The author has been to the Pandva Cave with a local guide but no archaeological evidence was found from the Cave.

Table 2-10 Distribution of Middle Paleolithics, Dangs

Stone tool	No. of tool	Origin and Rgd. No. of S.M.
Flake	1	(K: 416),
Scraper cum Flake	8	(P: 405, 419, 421, 422 / K: 332, 333, 414, 418)
Scraper	4	(P: 420 / K: 171, 404, 415)
Side-Scraper	5	(K: 323, 326, 334, 335, 338)
End-Scraper	5	(P: 423 / K : 330, 331 / A: 424, 425)
Point	1	(A: 428)
Blade	3	(K: 321, 336, 337)
Core	5	(K: 417 / A: 287, 288, 315, 427)
Fluted-Core	1	(A: 426)
Total	33 artefacts	

\* (S.M. No.) : Saputara Museum Regd. No.

\*\* P: the Purna, K: the Khapri, and A: the Ambika.

\*\*\* The materials for making the stone tools in the Middle Paleolithic period were mainly chert, Jasper, and partly dolerite dykes.

The Middle Paleolithics industry<sup>1</sup> of the Dangs is equivalent to the Series II, so-called "Flake Culture". Basically, against the Lower Paleolithics, the stone tools of the Middle Paleolithics are 'light duty'. The Series I industry of the Dangs consists of mainly scrapers cum flake and various other scrapers such as side-scrapers, end-scrapers. Beside, there are many cores, flakes, points and blades. Various scrapers claim 42% of the total proportion of the stone tools while flakes, including scraper cum flake occupies only 27% of that. We may consider the Middle Paleolithic industries in the Dangs as "Scraper Culture".

The scrapers are divisible into three sub-types, side-scraper, end-scraper and hollow-scraper. Some scrapers are of both "side and end" variety. Some scrapers have straight scraping the scrapers are made on round, oval, triangular, rectangular and trapezoidal flakes, cores or thin nodules and thin flat pebbles. These different types of scrapers indicate existence of wooded forests where the scrapers were used to make various tools from hard tropical woods. It was also found that the skin of an animal like the goat could be removed more easily with a true stone blade of chalcedony or chert than with a

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1. The Mesolithics are found in the fine and less cemented gravel overlying a thin basal gravel. See, op cit., Sankalia, H.D., 1944.

scraper or other thicker flake of the Middle Palaeolithic.

The main materials for making stone tools in the Middle Paleolithic period were chert and jasper. H.D. Sankalia had found flake industry in the gravel of the Godavari at Nandur in 1943, which contains mainly jasper stone tools.<sup>1</sup> The raw material varies from region to region. But at the same time the over-all tendency of the Middle Paleolithic man was to use silicious or fine-grained raw material such as jasper and chert. The next choices were quartzite, sandstone, indurated shale and phyllites. However, in the Dangs, the Middle Paleolithics were made of mainly chert and also of Jasper and dolerite. In particular, out of the total 33 stone tools in the Middle Paleolithic, there are only two dolerite cores (S.M. 287, 288), and one jasper scraper cum flake (405). In other words, the Middle Paleolithic industry of the Dangs extremely depended on making various scrapers and quarrying blocks of chert and further, developed the 'Scraper Culture'. In the Middle Paleolithic period, the villages Chichigaontha<sup>2</sup> and Jamalpada might have been prosperous owing to abundant source of chert near Khapri riverside.

Scrapers were made on simple flakes, or flakes with prepared platform or flat nodules and sometimes on the long edges of the blade flakes. Practically, flat natural chips or even small tabular pebbles were directly converted into desired tools by simply retouching or step-trimming thus minimising the labour. The new methods of flaking which the Middle Palaeolithic man developed can be made out from the following evidence.<sup>3</sup>

(i) Some tools are on thin flakes with thin and narrow platforms. Such flakes were detached from a core by using an intermediary punchlike instrument. This method of removing flakes is called punch technique. (ii) Quite a number of cores in the Middle Palaeolithic are flat discoidal cores of Mousterian type. The occurrence of this type of cores in the Middle Palaeolithic industries is a new feature which marks an advance made in the flaking technique during these time. Many Middle Palaeolithic tools are made on flakes struck out from the Mousterian type

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1. Sankalia, H.D., "Studies in the Prehistory of the Deccan, A Survey of the Godavari", *Bulletin of Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. IV, Pune, Deccan, 1944, p.p. 186-198

2. D.B. Chitale considered the Chichigaontha as a stone age factory site owing to yielding of various stone tools. Prior to Upper Paleolithic period, there might be a stone age factory.

3. op cit., Sali, S.A., 1990, p. 169.

discoidal or circular cores

Some simple points were made by stone hammer technique while some others by Levalloisian and Mousterian techniques. Mention should also be made of cylinder-hammer technique which was prolific. The tools were made from large flakes of pieces removed from the original material or nucleus or parent rock by employing the methods of block-on-block followed by hammer technique and step flaking technique where necessary. In the later stages of lower palaeolithic period, flakes removed from tortoise cores have been converted into tools which became the main technique for producing the flake tools of Middle Palaeolithic period.

Table 2-11 Distribution of Upper Paleolithics, Dangs

Stone tool	No. of tool	Origin and Regd. No. of S.M.
Blade	10	(A: 435, 445, 447, 434, 436, 438, 439, 441, 448, 449)
Flake	1	(P: 406)
Scraper	2	(P: 407, 408)
Scraper cum Flake	1	(A: 432)
Side-Scraper	3	(A: 429, 430, 440)
End-Scraper	1	(A: 431)
Point	1	(P: 411)
Total	19 artefacts	

\* (S.M. No.) : Saputara Museum Regd. No.

\*\* P: the Purna, and A: the Ambika.

\*\*\*The materials for making the stone tools in the Upper Paleolithic period were chert, jasper, and chalcedony.

The Upper Paleolithic industry of the Dangs equally corresponds with Series III, so-called "Blade and Burin Culture". It is also called "flake-blade" industries, and "blade tool" culture. The distribution of the stone tools in the Upper Paleolithic is characterized by predominating blade and small size of various stone tools such as scrapers, point and flakes. In the Late Stone Age, viz., after the middle Upper Paleolithic period, the chief materials for making stone tools were only silicious or fine-grained raw materials such as chert, jasper and chalcedony due to manufacturing tiny stone tools. So far concerning raw-material for making stone tools in the Dangs, there occurred only a little change to use more quantity of chalcedony.

In practice, retouch technique is an important guide for identifying a microlithic. Generally, microliths in the Mesolithic period were carefully and many time retouched by secondary working on one edge or both the edges. In short,



microliths in Upper Paleolithic period are relatively tougher than those in the Mesolithic period. Microliths were made for the specific purposes.

The Upper Paleolithic man used not only stone tools but also bone along with antler, horn and ivory. These raw materials became very common in the Upper Paleolithic period. Bone has many advantages over stone. The widespread use of bone resulted from the development of the burin; it had a thick point that did not break under pressure. Practically the scrapers, points, borers and awls are made on blades as well as on flakes and cores. A large number of tools are made out of blades. Hence the blade is the most dominant primary product of the Upper Paleolithic period.

The blade is a narrow or slender parallel-sided flake. But the blade, although a flake, is distinguished from the latter by the following three characteristics : (i) It is relatively thin and slender. (ii) its sides are parallel. (iii) its length is at least twice its breadth. For producing blades the following three methods seem to have been used : (i) Indirect percussion or punch technique. (ii) Chest-Pressure technique (iii) Direct percussion technique.

Table 2-12 Distribution of Mesolithics, Dangs

Stone tool	No. of tool	Origin and Rgd. No. of S.M.
Fluted Core	1	(P: 410)
Flake	5	(P: 412, 413 / A: 433, 443, 444)
Lunate	3	(A: 437, 442, 446)
Total	9 artefacts	

\* (S.M. No.) : Saputara Museum Regd. No.

\*\* P: the Purna, and A: the Ambika.

\*\*\* The materials for making stone tools in the Mesolithic period were brownish chert, greenish chert, whitish chert, and chalcedony.

The Mesolithic industry of the Dangs is almost equivalent to the Series IV, so-called "Microlithic" culture. The majority of microliths in the Mesolithic consists of flakes, lunates, and fluted cores. Without stratigraphic data and microliths in the deposit, there are some problems to determine whether it belongs to the Upper Paleolithic or the Mesolithic. It is difficult to identify microliths of the Mesolithic in the Dangs. The primary function and design of the microliths should be taken into consideration for indentifying. Since all microliths were found from the riverbed and they were collected from the surface it is

difficult to determine the exact period to which they belong. Generally, microliths are found from the Upper Paleolithic period to the Chalcolithic period. As H.D. Sankalia already mentioned the outstanding microlithic feature,<sup>1</sup> in fact, microliths in the Mesolithic period have more relationship with food-collecting system, and furthermore, improved hunting and fishing techniques. In practice, the Mesolithic man used improved microliths, viz., well-made and sharp-retouched tiny stone tools such as arrowheads, lunates, flakes and fluted-cores. There are, however, some problems to identifying them because without evidences of stratigraphical data and microliths in the deposit.

Table 2-13 Distribution of Neolithics, Dangs

Stone tool	No. of tool	Origin and Rgd. No. of S.M.
Ring-stone	6	(K: 307, 308, 309 / A:311, 312, 313)
Total	6 artefacts	

\* (S.M. No.) : Saputara Museum Regd. No.

\*\* K: the Khapri, and A: the Ambika.

\*\*\* The materials for making stone tools in the Neolithic period were dolerite dykes and pebbles.

The Neolithic or New Stone Age is remarkable for the introduction of the cultivation of land and the domestication of animals. The Neolithic industry of the Dangs presented only a few round stone or mace-head. They were found from the Ambika and Khapri riverbanks. The stone tools with sockets for inserting either wooden handles or rope for the purpose of hammering or macing. Mainly there are two interpretation on round-stone, one is it was used for the purpose of agricultural implement, the other is used as a hunting tool. But these interpretations depend on the functions of the perforated ring-stones and mace heads.

The other so-called unfinished ring-stone is used in various ways: the unfinished ring-stone was used for offering sacred material to the alter which was believed to be the super natural being inhabiting there. It has relationship with primitive religious life or belief system. This belief is directly connected with wishing for abundant production and prosperity.

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1. See, op cit., Sankalia, H.D., 1962, p. 127.

## II. 4. Historical Aspect of Dangs

### A. Early History

From the historical point of view, there is no definite evidence or historical reference to the Dangs territory till 1300s.<sup>1</sup> We can brush up the early history of the Dangs from that of the adjoining areas.

The area of the present Dangs district possibly might have been under the Mauryas. The Mauryan political power seems to have extended over the Western India during the reign of Chandragupta Maurya (c. 322-298 B.C.).<sup>2</sup> The Mauryan regime probably continued at least till the reign of Samprati (c. 229-220 B.C.), the grandson of Asoka.<sup>3</sup>

Then the Satavahana kings (c. 30 B.C.-235 A.D.) of the Deccan seem to have occupied southern parts of Gujarat when the supreme power of Magadha declined and fell.<sup>4</sup> Thus the area of the Dangs was transferred into the southern political power rising from the Deccan, while previously under north-eastern power rising from the South Bihar. In A.D. 100, the southern parts of Gujarat along with northern parts of Maharashtra seem

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1. The first historical reference to the Dangs might be Rashid-ud-din's translation (A.D.1310) of Al-Biruni (A.D.970-1031), while the first reference to the territory of the Dangs is Hawkins' record of Cruly (Kirly) in 1608.

2. See, the reference to the construction of the Sudarshan reservoir near the Girnar as "Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman I", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, P. 42., cited in Patel, G.D.(ed.), 1971, p. 75.

3. Raychaudhuri H. C., *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 352., cited in Patel, G.D. (ed.), 1971, p. 75.

4. Sirkar, D.C., *The Satavahanas and the Chedis, Age of Imperial Unity*, Bombay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Publication, p.p. 195-199., cited in Patel, G.D.(ed.), 1971, 75.

to have been under the power of the Kshaharata-Kshatrapa kings.<sup>1</sup> From the 1st century of the Christian era to the beginning of the 17th century, the present Dangs area seems to have been occupied under several sovereigns known as Abhira (Nasik; c. 248-415 A.D.), Traikutaka (Aparanta { Konkan; c. 415-520 A.D.), Katachchuri (Konkan ; c. 525 - 620 A.D.), Sendraka (South Lata and Khandesh ; c. 620-670 A.D.), Early Western Chalukya (Navsari { Deccan; 671-740 A.D.), Rashtrakuta (Deccan } Navsari ; c. 740-970 A.D.), Lata Chalukya (Deccan } Navsari ; c. 970-1080 A.D.), Chaulukya (Pipalagramas: Pipal near Songhad-Vyara, later Salgiri: Salher; c. 1080-1180 A.D. ), Chahamana (Lata; c. 1180-1222 A.D.), Vaghela Chaulukya (Anhilwad Patan; later partly Baglan and Nandurbar; c.1223-1306 A.D.), and Yadava (Devagiri; 1306-1313 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> In short, from the Satnavahana to the Vaghela Chaulukya periods, the present Dangs territory might have been under mainly the Deccan political power, in particular, based on the regions namely, Nasik, Konkan, Khandesh, Navsari, Salher, Baglan and Nandurbar. The Dangs territory was mostly under the inland political power, while during the periods between the late 7th century A.D. and the early 11th century, in particular, from 800 A.D. to 900 A.D., it was possibly under the coastal political power rising from the western coastal strip.

Historically, from the middle of 7th century, Muslims appear in Indian history.<sup>3</sup> As the Muslims pressed Rajputs to the south (A.D. 1064-1306), "Rajputs drove Bheels from Rajpipla, Bansda and Dharampur".<sup>4</sup> Till the first Mahomedan invasion of the Deccan in A.D. 1294 the greater part of the northern Konkan was held by Koli and Warli chiefs.<sup>5</sup> It seems probable that the Khandesh Ahirs, particularly, Galvali Rajas were closely connected with Yadavas, the Ahirs were in power since the 3th A.D. and again appear as the rulers of Devagiri during 13th and 14th

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1. See, op cit., Campbell, J.M. (ed.), *History of Guajarat*, Vol. I, Part I, 1896, p. 24., and the reference to the Pandulena cave-inscription (Nashik Cave No. 10) as "Inscription of the time of Nahapana", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 78., cited in Patel, G.D.(ed.), 1971, p. 76.

2. See, op cit., Patel, G.D. (ed.), 1971, p.p. 75-81.

3. See, op cit., Choksi, U.M.(ed.), 1989, p. 343.

4. See, op cit., Campbell, J.M. (ed.), *History of Gujarat*, Vol. I, Part I, 1896, p. 294., citing in op cit., Khanapurkar, D.P., 1944, p. 12.

5. Campbell, J.M. (ed.), *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XIII, *Thana*, Bombay, Government of Bombay Presidency, 1882, p. 703.

centuries.<sup>1</sup> Even before Sultan Allaudin Khilji of Delhi vanquished the Vaghela Chaulukya once in 1299 and again in 1304, the Yadavas of Devagiri were overlords of Nasik and Khandesh.<sup>2</sup> In A.D. 1306-1307 Sultan Allaudin sent Malik Kafur to invade Devagiri, placing Alp Khan in charge of the siege of Baglan.<sup>3</sup> Thereafter, Malik Kafur vanquished the Yadava King Singhanadeva in 1313, and put his kingdom directly under the control of the Sultanate.<sup>4</sup> In the course of time, Nandurbar and Baglan were formed into *sarkars* of the Gujarat province (*subah*) under the Delhi Sultanate.<sup>5</sup> After the Gujarat province was divided into 24 *sarkars* (divisions), Nandurbar was under the Khandesh *sarkar* and Baglan and Muller were under the *sarkar* of Baglan (later Nasik).

## B. Medieval History

With the beginning of the Medieval period, Rashid-ud-din, in his translation (A.D. 1310) of Al-Biruni (A.D. 970-1031) mentions that the forests of the Dangs is the habitat of *Sharva*, an animal resembling the buffalo but larger than a rhinoceros, with a small trunk and two big horns, with which it attacked and

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1. See, Campbell, J.M. (ed.), *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XII, *Khandesh*, Bombay, Government of Bombay Presidency, 1880, p. 39. and p. 242., and further, op cit., Khanapurkar, D.P., 1944, p. 11., and p. 13.

2. op cit., Patel, G.D.(ed.), 1971, p. 80., and Campbell, J.M. (ed.), *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XVI, *Nasik*, Bombay, Government of Bombay Presidency, 1883, p. 184.

3. Shastri, H.G., "History", in Trivedi, M.R.(ed.), *Gujarat State Gazetteer*, Part I, Gandhinagar, Government of Gujarat, 1989, p. 161.

4. Majumdar, R.C.(ed.), *The Struggle for Empire*, Bombay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Publication, p. 196., cited in Patel, G.D.(ed.), 1971, p. 81.

5. See, Naik, C.R., "Madyhya-yuga Gujarat-ek-Parichaya", (Indian History Congress, the 66th Session, Souvenir), p. 103, cited in Patel, G.D.(ed.), 1971, p. 81.

destroyed elephants.<sup>1</sup> This is probably the first historical reference to the Dangs, in particular, its forests. In those days, the Dangs territory might have been under the Chaulukya, Chamahana, Vaghela Chaulukya Rajput and finally Yadava kings.

Thereafter, "from tributary Yadavas of Devagiri, Nasik and Khandesh passed to Delhi governors of Daulatabad or Devagiri (A.D. 1312-1347)".<sup>2</sup> From them these territories passed into the hands of Bahamani Kings of Gulbarga (Kalburga) (A.D. 1347-1487), and then from 1487 to 1637 were under the political control of the Nizamshah, the King of Ahmednagar. In A.D. 1417 the title of *Khan* was given to Faruki Chief of Khandesh by Ahmed I, King of Gujarat. To suit the name of the country to the title of *Khan*, the name, Senudesh was changed to Khandesh. Senudesh was given by the King Senuchandra, one of the Devagiri Yadavas.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, from A.D. 1530 to 1573, the west of Khandesh and North Konkan ceased to form part of Gujarat kingdom.<sup>4</sup> In the same way, the local chiefs of the eastern Dangs seem to have been left alone and independent during these changes of political overlords.<sup>5</sup>

A historical reference to one of the Dangs Chiefs is found in Hawkins' record. In 1608, Hawkins speaks of the Chief of the Cruly (Kirli ? four miles south-east of Salher) as a lord of a province between Daman, Gujarat and Deccan.<sup>6</sup> The reference to territory of the Kirly gives rise to a question, because the present Kirly Dang is located in the eastern Dang and its territory is so small (See, Map 2-4). But it might be possible

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1. See, op cit., Campbell, J.M. (ed.), *History of Gujarat*, 1896, p. 508., cited in Khanapurkar, D.P., 1944, p. 12.

2. op cit., Khanapurkar, D.P., 1944, p. 14.

3. See, ibid.

4. op cit., Campbell, J.M.(ed.), 1896, p. 207., cited in Khanapurkar, D.P., 1944, p. 14.

5. In connection with this matter, the author points out wrong information, i.e. not "the wild western Dangs" but "the Dangs" or "the eastern Dangs", see Map 2-4 and op cit., Campbell, J.M.(ed.), 1883, p. 187., and op cit., Patel G.D. (ed.), 1971, p. 81.

6. op cit., Campbell, J.M. (ed.), 1883, p. 187.

that Kirly Dang had extensive territory at that time.<sup>1</sup>

However, on the final over-throw of the Nizamshah dynasty in 1637, the Mughals became supreme in the North Deccan and the Province of Khandesh and Daulatabad were united under Prince Aurangzeb, who fixed his capital at Aurangabad near Daulatabad. In 1637, Aurangzeb reduced the hill country of Baglan and made the Chief of Baglan a commander of 3,000 horses. At that time, Baglan had its territory 200 miles long and 100 miles broad with thirty-four petty divisions, and about 1000 villages. It was bounded on the north by Sultanpur and Nandurpur, on the east by Chandor, on the south by Trimbak and Nasik and on the west by Surat and territory of the Portuguese.<sup>2</sup> From the description of the territory of Baglan, the Dangs territory might have been included in it.

Further historical reference to the Dangs is found in the Shivaji's attack on Surat in 1644.<sup>3</sup> Before attacking Surat for plunder, he sent one Bahiraji Naik to spy out the country for attack and plunder. On receiving a final report from Bahiraji, Shivaji declared that he should go to perform religious ceremony at Nasik. After spraying powder to the people, Shivaji with a force 4000 picked horsemen dashed down the Ghats, passed through the Dangs jungles, stormed Surat and plundered it for 6 days. In 1672 Moropant Trimbak, one of the generals of Shivaji took possession of Salher fort, bordering on the north-east of the Dangs.<sup>4</sup> It is regarded as the most frequent passages from Deccan into Gujarat. Thus we can find Marathas' ruling in the adjoining territories of the Dangs. But Surgana and the Dangs were held as country *Bandi muluk* under Maratha rule.

Historically, after the period of the Yadava (A.D. 1306-1313), the Dangs territory became gradually independent or rather semi-independent. Since then it might be practically independent without any direct political control from the Nizamshah (A.D. 1487-1637). Probably, the country, being wild, might have been neglected, though we find powerful kingdoms holding the adjoining territories of Nasik and Khandesh.

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1. Consider the following matter: the present Linga Raja's farther who previously inhabited in Borkhal was called Amala Raja because the British entitled him Amala Raja in connection with the lease of forest and timber sale at Amala; Information from Linga Raja on 23rd June 1993.

2. op cit., Campbell, J.M.(ed.), 1883, p. 189.

3. ibid. p. 386.

4. ibid., p. 387.

In short, during the Medieval period the Dangs territory was transferred from the various political powers, e.g. from the Yadava (Gujarati) to Muslim Sultanates (Maratha, later Gujarati) and then was under autonomous Bhils' chieftainship. Thereafter, the territory of the Dangs might have been under the political power of the Baglan (Maratha) for a short time, and then consequently after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, it was under the local autonomous chieftainship, known as Rajas, Naiks, Pradhan and Powar. Another controversy is about its fate after the collapse of the Mughal Empire. Due to the internecine quarrels between the Maratha powers, Dangs, in 1752, was partitioned between the Gaekwad of Baroda and Peshwa.<sup>1</sup>

The Bhils of Khandesh and the adjacent Dangs created serious troubles during the period from 1802 to 1816.<sup>2</sup> The Bhils, who till 1802, had lived with other inhabitants as village watchmen, and had been the chief instrument of police, gathered in large numbers, retreated to the hills and when the famine was over, pillaged rich plain villages.

### C. Modern History

The history of the Dangs takes a definite shape only after 1818. When the British acquired Khandesh territories including northern half of Nasik from Peshwa in 1818, the Dangs territory was in the hands of Bhil Naiks (See, Map 2-4). They were entirely independent, and as in other parts of Khandesh, had been treated as out-laws and punished with merciless cruelty. At that time there were constant inroads of the Bhils from the Dangs upon the villages in the newly acquired territory of Khandesh. The Bhils of the Dangs were famous for plundering and terror to the people of the adjoining territories. The British, therefore, considered it their primary duty to suppress the Dangs chiefs.<sup>3</sup>

In 1819 the whole adjoining areas of the Dangs seems to have been in confusion because even the Patel aided plunders and the devastation was carried on with impunity.<sup>4</sup> The Government of Bombay issued a proclamation that all the Bhils who would return to their villages would be provided with grain by the Patels.

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1. *Memorandum: Presented by Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee to the State Reorganization Commission*, Ahmedabad, Congress House, 1954, p. 48.

2. *ibid.*

3. *op cit.*, Patel, G.D.(ed.), 1971, p. 85.

4. *ibid.*



In spite of the proclamation, Silput Raja of Gadhvi with his followers went out on rampage. Continually, the Dangs Rajas and their followers plundered and threatened Umarpat and Bhour in 1821, Navapur in 1823 on the western frontier of Khandesh, and Surgana in 1820.<sup>1</sup>

In 1825 Shivram (Sewaram) a blacksmith, producing forged documents under the signature of Chatrapati Raja of Satara and entered into conspiracy with the Bhils of the Dangs and adjacent areas.<sup>2</sup> They ravaged the village Antapur of the Gaikwad and took possession of the Fort Muller for a short time. In the same year, the Gaikwad sent an army of 10,000 to suppress the Dangs chiefs but the expedition ended in failure due to sturdy resistance of the Chiefs and their followers.<sup>3</sup> The situation became so serious that the East India Company on behalf of the British ordered formation of the Bhil Corps from the Bhils of Khandesh.<sup>4</sup> Thus, chains of military posts were established along the foot of the hills to intercept supplies and to act immediately on information.

In the same year, the Government of Bombay ordered to divide the territory of Khandesh into 3 Agencies, Nandurbar, Sultanpur and Pimpalner with all the independent and tributary chieftains including those of the Dangs which formed the North-Western Agency. The Dangs, which were subject to a number of semi-independent Bhil chiefs were included in one of the Bhil Agency called the North-Western Agency under a Resident European officer.<sup>5</sup>

Continually, the Dangs chiefs and their followers threatened and plundered Sultanpur in 1826, surrounding area of Navapur in 1827 and Chorwad in 1829.<sup>6</sup> In connection with this situation, Lt. Outram camped at Fort of Muller. In his letter dated 15th September 1829, the Assistant Collector of Khandesh suggested an

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1. See, *ibid.*, p.p. 85-86.

2. See, *ibid.*, p. 86.

3. *ibid.*

4. See, *Selection from the Records of the Bombay Government*, No. XXVI, New Series, 1856, p.p. 200-223.

5. Under the orders of Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay Presidency, cited in Patel, G.D.(ed.), 1971, p.p. 86-87.

6. See, *ibid.*, p.p. 85-86.

invasion against the Dangs chiefs to check their raids.<sup>1</sup>

In 1830, to suppress the Dangs Bhils, all the available force of the Bhils Corps and auxiliary force together with a strong detachment of regular troops marched on Dangs.<sup>2</sup> A severe and harassing campaign ensued due to the difficult nature of the country and the rapid movement of the Bhils. In order to subjugate them, the British made arrangements to cut off assistance from the Gaikwad officials. In particular, Silput Raja, Khem Raja, Sukhia Naik were very much brave and turbulent. Lt. Outram, however, captured Silput Raja and his relatives and decentralised his followers. But Khem Raja took to heels and disappeared in the forest. To capture Sukhia Naik, the British declared a prize of Rs. 1,000 for him.<sup>3</sup> One Deshmukh of a village swallowed the bait and got him arrested. All chiefs were seized and brought to Khandesh, where the claims of each were thoroughly settled.<sup>4</sup> After 3 years the Naiks of Isani and Huntania pillaged the villages of Sultanpur in 1833.<sup>5</sup> The Dang chiefs again plundered the village of Umarpat and Umbarpada in 1839.<sup>6</sup> Detachments of the Bhils Corps moved to the top of Ghats. All the Dangs chiefs on the first summons attended the Bhil Agency. An unconditional restoration of all the plundered property was followed by a pardon for the aggression. Again the claims of the chiefs were examined and settled.

In 1840, Pratabsing Raja of Amala, south Dangs threw off his allegiance and allowed his followers to plunder the British villages. The Bhil Agency ordered to march a force to Raja's settlement in which a force seized his family, flocks and arms. The Raja surrendered at discretion on the following day.

In 1842 the Collector of Khandesh, on behalf of the East India Company and deysing Valud Joravarsing and others, proprietors of Dangs Garvi (Gadhvi) assembled at Moolair and made an agreement with forest lease.<sup>7</sup> The British Government on paying a yearly sum of Rs. 11,230 entered into an arrangement

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1. op cit., Patel, G.D. (ed.) 1971, p. 87.

2. ibid., p. 86.

3. See, ibid.

4. See, ibid.

5. ibid., p. 87.

6. op cit., Khanapurkar, D.P., 1944, p. 17.

7. See, op cit., Patel, G.D.(ed.), 1971, p. 138.

with the chiefs for the lease of teak forests.<sup>1</sup> After that the Political Agent visited the country once a year and held Darbar at which chiefs received their yearly stipends and other presents.

During the period of general revolt of 1857 against the British, the Dangs chiefs continued to create trouble. In the Dangs and the adjacent areas revolts and depredations continued till 1860. The Dangi people surrendered to the British only after stiff resistance. Thereafter, the Dangis kept the British rule with awe. The British military officials tried to strike terror in the hearts of the Dangi people by adopting a three-fold programme of repression, viz., shooting of wild pigs, tigers and Bhils. Bhils were shot dead like wild animals.<sup>2</sup> As a result of the merciless repression, the Dangs chiefs with their followers were quelled and quieted for about twenty years but they suffered from frustration and discontent.

The leased Dangs were notified in 1879 as a reserved forest under the Indian Forest Act, 1878. Cultivation was prohibited in the reserved forest, and constraints were placed on cultivation. As a result, the Dangs Chiefs estimated that under the Indian Forest Act 1878 the reservation of the forests was a first step towards depriving them of all their rights in the forests. They, therefore, started to cut down trees and to cultivate virgin land in violation of the agreement with the British.

A large part of the Dangs till 1880 continued to belong to the Baroda State. In 1867, however, a committee of representatives Governments of Bombay and Baroda reported that Baroda had no such rights as the Gaikwad claimed. In 1881, Mr. Melwill, the Agent to the Governor-General in Baroda, after a detailed enquiry, recommended to the Government of India that Dangs belonged to the Gaikwad of Baroda and should be restored to him. This recommendation was rejected. The Government of India recognized the chiefs of Dangs as independent.

In September, 1907, the Bhils created riot at Ahwa. Some Chiefs and Naiks gathered at Ahwa with bows and arrows and for wine, dashed down the distillery which was managed by a Parsi lady, Dhanbai.<sup>3</sup> She felt serious trouble and therefore, alerted all the Government servants at Ahwa to leave the place

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1. op cit., Campbell, J.M. (ed.), 1880, p. 603.

2. Diwivedi, Manibhai, *Puratan Dakshina Gujarat*, 1940, p.p. 1-23., cited in Patel, G.D.(ed.), 1971, p. 88.

3. See, op cit., Patel, G.D.(ed.), 1971, p. 89.

immediately. Due to this riot not only the Government properties but also private possession were damaged by the Bhils. The Amala Raja's son Nilu, was responsible for this riot. However, the Gadhvi Raja did not help rioters but offered assistance to the British Government.

On 24th April, 1911, the Bhil Chiefs again rose in revolt against the strict enforcement of the provisions of the Indian Forest Act. The disturbances were occurred at two places, the north-east in Derbhavati Dang where Bhil Sonji Kabia was wounded due to felling trees, and in the south-east, Amala Dang, where the former convict Rajhans, a relative of Amala Raja, was hiding. There was discontent and excitement among the Bhils in the north-east and that Chiefs, who were in receipt of forest subsidies refused to give assistance to the Government for protection of forest against fires.<sup>1</sup>

In the first week of December 1914 the Dangs chiefs created a riot against the British rule.<sup>2</sup> Due to occurrence of the First World War the Bhils of the Dangs got excited. They, therefore, considered it a good opportunity to strike and throw off its yoke. Firstly the Bhils of Pimpri Dang started to burn the forest. Thereafter a number of the Bhils and others met in several places and began systematic burning of the forests, interfering in several cases with the road construction and other works in the Dangs. Many officers were intimidated but none was put to injury. Fortunately, the forests were too green to burn continuously and only highly exposed plateaux and some southern slopes were completely burnt over an area of about 26 sq. miles. The fires were so widespread that they could be seen nearly all over the Dangs. The British arrested the Pimpri Naik and thereafter the riot fizzled out. The Pimpri Naik was in the vanguard in this riot and induced the Gadhvi, Amala and other smaller Dang chiefs to participate with him. Derbhavati and Wasurna Rajas played a secondary role personally, though some of the Kunvars later on did a lot of burning.

In short, with the beginning of 1800s, the Dangs Bhils faced a new counterpart so-called the British Government, in particular, the North-western Political Agency instead of the Peshwa. With the passing of time, the Political Agency took various socio-economic sanctions against the illiterate and poor Dangis and gave rise to discontent and repression. For the survival, the Dangis struggled against the British. Furthermore, for their survival in the forest, they cut down trees then cultivated the forest land, and also invaded adjacent

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1. *ibid.*

2. See, *ibid.*, p. 90.

territories to get needful grains and cattle. The British official records tell us that the Bhils' plundering occurred between the end of summer and the beginning of monsoon which are usually periods of famine in the Dangs. The Dangis believe that they were not plunders but strugglers for survival.

Since the period of general revolt of 1857, the British Military officials on behalf of the Political Agency became merciless and showed cruelty on par with the Bhils massacre by Ballaji Sakham, Sar-Subedar of Khandesh and Baglan of the Peshwa from 1806 to 1808.<sup>1</sup> Even after that time, the Dangis continually struggled against strict enforcement of the Indian Forest Act. To throw off its yoke i.e. the Indian Forest Act and Lease, their steady struggle continued till the out-break of World War I (1914-1918). Of course, their struggle is going on even today for survival of their life in the Dangs forests.

## II. 5. People, Communities and Languages

### A. People

The total population of the Dangs district was 143,490 during the 1991 Census, which was the smallest population size out of the total 19 districts of the Gujarat State.<sup>2</sup> The total population during the past 90 years (1901-1991) increased to show a rise of 682.69% i.e. 125,157 persons (See, Table 2-14). Throughout the period, the total population steadily increased except during 1911 and 1921 Census primarily due to the ravages of famine and plague during previous decade, while that in 1921 Census was due to a severe epidemic influenza which swept over the country in 1918. Thereafter, the population of the Dangs is continually increasing till today. The reason is placed on many factors such as fertility of the Dangis, decline in death rate, immigrants from the adjacent territories, improved means of communications, establishment of a number of the Government offices and development agencies resulting in flow of teachers, contractors, traders, and Government employees.<sup>3</sup> The main cause

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1. See, *ibid.* p. 83., and *op cit.*, Diwivedi, Manabhai, 1940, p.p. 1-23.

2. Bose, Ashish, *Demographic Diversity of India, 1991 Census, State and District Level Data -- A Reference Book*, Delhi, B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1991, p. 164.

3. *op cit.*, Patel, G.D. (ed.), 1971, p. 159.

is immigration from outside. Many people including Dhodias, Kotwalias, Mangs, and the non-tribals immigrated from the adjacent areas to settle in the Dangs during 1910s and 1950s.

Table 2-14 Variation in the Total Population and Decadal Growth Rate (1901-1991), Dangs

Year	Population	Decadal Variation	Decadal % Growth Rate
1901	18,333	..	..
1911	28,926	+10,593	+57.78
1921	24,142	- 4,784	-16.54
1931	33,495	+ 9,353	+38.74
1941	40,236	+ 6,741	+20.13
1951	47,282	+ 7,046	+17.51
1961	71,567	+24,285	+51.36
1971	94,185	+22,618	+31.60
1981	113,664	+19,479	+20.68
1991	143,490	+29,826	+26.24
Total 1901 to 1991		+125,157	+682.69

Source : op cit., Patel,G.D.(ed.), 1971, p. 159., *The District Census Handbook; Village & Townwise Primary Census Abstract*, 1982, p. xiv., *The Dangs District Village / Town Primary Census Abstract*, 1993, p.p. 1-9., Bose, Ashis, 1991, p. 158.

The total 311 villages in the Dangs including two small towns, Ahwa(162) and Waghai (149), are inhabited. Saputara (311) seems to be a town but it is more of a hill station. Among 311 villages, 11 villages have population below 100. Range of population in 220 villages 100-499, ; in 66 villages 500-999, in 11 villages 1000-2000; 1 town 2000-5000; another town do 10,000.<sup>1</sup> Most of the villages have 200-500 villagers, while a few villages have 500-1000 villagers.

The density of the population (number of persons/per sq. kms.) of the Dangs district rises considerably from 11 (1901), 17 (1911), 14 (1921), 20 (1931), 24 (1941), 28 (1951), 43 (1961), 56 (1971), 64 (1981), to 81 (1991).<sup>2</sup> Compared to the average density in the Gujarat state, that of the Dangs district is sparse. Factors like the extensive forests, small size of

1. op cit., *The Dangs District Village / Town Primary Census Abstract*, 1993, pp. 1-9.

2. See, op cit., Chokshi U.M. (ed.), 1989, p. 371, and op cit., Bose, Ashis, 1991, p. 164.

agricultural land and absence of industrialization or specialized business and commerce centres have affected the density of the population of the Dangs. Of all the factors, agriculture productivity is the most-important cause of density variation in the State.<sup>1</sup> The density of the population of the Dangs district as in 1991 is 81 persons per sq. kms. as against 210 for the Gujarat state.<sup>2</sup>

The total literate (crude literacy rate %) of the Dangs district is 37.39% of which male literate(%) is 46.90% and female(%) 27.75%.<sup>3</sup> According to my fieldwork data, only a few people can read Gujarati or Marathi. Even today, many of school children do not regularly go to school owing to several other preoccupations and various daily routine work like grazing cattle, gathering forest products, etc. Generally, they are not interested in learning something from the school, but recently they realize the importance of modern education. Many of them daily go to forest for hunting, fishing and gathering.

The sex ratio (number of females per 1000 males) since 1920s rises gradually number of females 938 (1901), 987 (1911), 888 (1921), 848 (1931), 848 (1941), 877 (1951), 913(1961), 946 (1971), 970 (1981), to 986 (1991).<sup>4</sup> The proportion of males is comparatively higher owing to the forest labourers coming from outside for working in the coupes and many Government employees staying in the Dangs without their families. The other minor reason of that is the notion of preferring a son to a daughter in the tribal communities.

The total population in the age group (0-6) is 31,583 of which males are 15,799 and females 15,784. It occupies 21.92%

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1. op cit., Choksi, U.M., (ed.), 1989, p. 323.

2. See, op cit., Bose, Ashis, 1991, p. 159.

3. See, op cit., Bose, Ashis, 1991, p. 161.

Note: Literates exclude children in the age group 0-6 who are treated as illiterates in the 1991 census.

$$\text{Crude Literacy Rate} = \frac{\text{Number of Literates}}{\text{Total Population (except 0-6 age group)}} \times 100$$

4. See, op cit., Patel, G.D.(ed.) 1971, p. 161., Solanki, S.S., *Area Study of Dangs*, Ahmedabad, Tribal Research and Training Institute, Gujarat Vidyapith, 1980, p. 41., and op cit., Bose, Ashis, 1991, 159.

of the total population of the Dangs. Out of the population in age group (0-6), 92.10% of that live in the villages except Ahwa and Waghai areas.

The distribution of the population by religion in the Dangs is characterized by the predominance of Hindus. During 1961 Census, as many as 69,948 persons i.e. 97.74% of the total population of the Dangs is Hindus, Muslim numbered 778 (1.09%), Jains 24 (0.03%), Christians 654 (0.91%) and Sikh 57 (0.08%). Among others 62 are Buddhists and 44 followed other religions. It is strange that the sex ratio in the population by religion of the Dangs is abnormal except of Christians.

Table 2-15 Distribution of Population by Religion

Religion	Males	Females
Hindus	36,540	33,408
Muslims	438	340
Christians	324	330
Sikhs	35	22
Jains	14	10
Buddhists	43	19
Others	24	20
Total	37,418	34,149

Source: op cit., Patel, G.D.(ed.), 1971, p. 175.

According to *The Dangs District Village / Town Primary Census Abstract*(1993), the total population of the Dangs district as on 3rd March 1933 was 144,061 persons. The total population of scheduled castes was 1,049 persons of which males were 536 persons and females 513 persons. Out of the total population, the scheduled castes occupied 0.72% . Out of the total population, 78.55 % of the scheduled castes live in Ahwa and Waghai areas.

The total population of the scheduled tribes was 135,386 persons of which males were 67,980 persons and females 67,406 persons. Out of the total population, the scheduled tribes occupied 93.96% . Out of the total population, 92.5% of the scheduled tribes live in the villages. Most of the Dangis are living in the villages.

## B. Communities

In the Dangs, the population of the scheduled castes is not considerable as mentioned above. Those who belong to the seven scheduled caste are mostly recent migrants from adjacent areas,



like Nasik, Dharampur, Valsad, Bansda, Navapur, Songadh, Vyara, Surat and Bharuch. They are composed of a minority group as blacksmith, silversmith, bamboo craftsman, carpenter, etc (See, Fg. 38-3 & 38-10, Vol. II). Most of the scheduled castes live in Ahwa, Waghai, Singana, Kadmal, Kalibel, Hanwatchond, Dhadhra, Nadagkhadi, Pimpri, Jhariya, Bhawandagad, Bhisya, Rambhas, Chinchli, Sakarpatal, Bhadarpada, Chichipada, Galkund, Samgahan, Bondarmal and Saputara.

The caste, formed under many circumstances represented a region, a craft, a profession, a religious system, a social belief, a usage, often split due to some innovations in the mode of life, etc. In the past, the caste system was, however, subject to limitations; first, marriage and second, social contacts at meals. The caste member could marry only a member from his caste. The second limitation was related to physical contacts, especially at meal time or on occasion of physical contact with the members of the lower castes, or the objects handled by the lower castes.

In the Dangs district, there are many ethnic groups known as the Bhils, Kunbis or Konkanas, Warlis, Gamits, Dhodias, Kotwalias, Kathodis, Naikdas, Dublas, Choudharis, Dhorkoli, etc. (See, Map 2-1).

The Bhils are one of the earliest inhabitants of India, who are either pre-Aryan or pre-Dravidian.<sup>1</sup> Later, when the Dravidians and the Aryans came on the scene, the Bhils were forced to retreat to the hills and forests of Central India. Today, they are mainly confined to the Vindhya, Sahyadri and Satpura mountains. The word *Bhil* occurs in *Kathasaritsagar*, where it is said that progress of one Aryan king through the Vindhya was opposed by a Bhil chief.<sup>2</sup> The word *Bhil* itself means 'bow' in the Dravidian.

The first rank of known tribe of the Dangs is the Bhil who is called by himself as a lord of the forest. The Bhils are considered as the first settlers of Gujarat and the aboriginals of the Dangs territory. Bhils have inhabited in Gujarat, at least, from the early Christian centuries.<sup>3</sup> The Bhils are the

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1. *Let Us Know India*, Vol. 7, Bombay, Indian Book House Pvt. Ltd., 1993, p. 24.

2. op cit., Enthoven, R.E., 1920, cited in *Memorandum: Presented by Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee to the State Reorganisation Commission*, Ahmedabad, Congress House, 1954, p. 28.

3. *ibid.*

largest tribal group of Gujarat and constitute about 39% of the total tribal population.<sup>1</sup> In the Dangs, previously the Bhils formed the largest tribal group but now it is second. They constitute 32.3% i.e. 28,475 out of the total population of the Dangs District.<sup>2</sup> The Bhils in the Dangs originally lived in the spur of the Sahyadri mountain ranges as food-gatherers and hunters.

As time passed, they became gradually cultivators or wage labourers. These days, most of the Bhils are either wage labourers or settled agriculturists. They are not a single ethnic group with unique ways of life and social customs. They speak their own language, the so-called Dangsi, a mixture of Gujarati, Hindustani and Marathi, of which Gujarati is the primary element. Though they are ignorant, lazy and drunken, they are honest and grateful. Nowadays they don't mind any occupation like cultivation and various forest work including plantation, cutting off trees, etc. They are expert archers and bow makers from old days. Some of them are good bamboo craftsmen like the Kotwalias who professionally make bamboo articles including various baskets and household things.

Secondly, the Kunbi or Konkans are relatively recent settlers in the Dangs. There is some controversy, but they are mostly recent immigrants. The Kunbis are considered as earlier settlers than the Konkans. The Konkans originally lived in the western spurs of the Sahyadri mountains and have immigrated from the northern Konkan since the Nizamshah period (Maratha Muslim Sultanate; 1487-1637), in particular, Nizam period (Maratha; 1723-1795). Another possibility of the Kunbis' immigration from the northern Konkan is between the first Mahomedan invasion of the Deccan in 1294 and the Gulbarga period (1347-1487). At present, they are the largest tribal group of the Dangs which constitutes 45.3% i.e. 39,876 out of the total population of the Dangs. There is also some controversy on account of no differentiation between Konkans and Kunbi groups. *Census of India 1961* differentiates the Konkana (including Kokna, Kokni and Kukna) from the Kunbi, and furthermore, states that the Kunbi community of the Dangs was notified as Scheduled Tribes.<sup>3</sup>

In my opinion, there are some distinctive cultural traits between two groups, but most of them have been assimilated with

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1. op cit., Choksi, U.M.(ed.), 1989, p. 337.

2. op cit., Lal, R.B., 1978, p. 14.

3. Under Order No. G.R. 02477A dated 20th October 1956 of the President of India cited in Shah, P.G., 1964, p. 307.

education, e.g., "Konkanas is the same as Kunbis", and cultural adaptation and inflection to get relatively more benefit for the Kunbis under Konkanas' strong management of distribution of social welfare and financial support to the Dangis.

The Kunbis or Konkanas of the Dangas are comparatively more progressive than others except the Dhodias. The Kunbis were previously inferior to the Bhils in the social hierarchy before India's Independence. But nowadays they are both socio-politically and economically better than others because of their active participation with socio-economic development projects and industries and due to more progressive farming practices. Agriculture is their main occupation, but since it does not sustain them throughout the year they take out their livelihood by other activities such as hunting, gathering forest products and labouring. But wage labour is not popular among them because it is socially considered inferior to cultivation. Another strange fact is that though they attend marriage of the Bhils, they do not dine with the Bhils. Some of them even do not drink water from the Bhil's place. Although they carry out both cultivation and forest labour together, they do not share food and drinks. They, however, enjoy playing dances, and hunting games together.

Thirdly, the Warlis are considered as recent immigrants from the south-east part of the Valsad district. The Warlis constitute 14.4% i.e. 12,688 out of the total population of the Dangas district. Many Warlis claim that their original home was in Rammagar (Dharampur) or Nagar Haveli in the Daman territory. The Warlis are originally from 'Varalat' the sixth of the seven Konkanas in the Puranic lists, which occupied the central part of Thana.<sup>1</sup> The northern part of the Konkan was called 'Varalat' because Varalis or Warlis originally lived and still live there.<sup>2</sup> The Warlis lived in the northern part of the Konkan and have immigrated from the spur of the Satpura, Vindhya mountain ranges since the Nizamshah period (Maratha Muslim Sultanate; 1487-1637), in particular, Cruly Dang (around 1608) and Nizam period (Maratha; 1723-1795). Though the origin of the Warlis is somewhat vague, it may be reasonably accepted that the Warlis

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1. Wilson, J., *Aboriginal Tribes of the Bombay Presidency*, 1876., cited in Campbell, J.M.(ed.), *History of Gujarat*, Vol. I., Part I, 1896, p. 534., and op cit., Khanapurkar, D.P., 1944, p. 10. Note: The names of the seven Konkans are Kerala, Tulav, Govarashtra, Konkan (proper), Kerahat, Varalat, and Barbar.

2. Save, K.J., *The Warlis*, Bombay, Padma Publication Ltd., 1945, p. 4.

are of non-Aryan origin.<sup>1</sup> According to R.E. Enthoven, the "Varalis are a sub-division of Bhils -- who are found not only in Khandesh in considerable numbers but also in the northern part of Gujarat."<sup>2</sup> Of course, they have many common cultural traits with not only the Bhils but also the Kolis.<sup>3</sup> In my opinion, the Warlis are Warlis because they have their own origin, language, and distinctive life style. It is certain that the Warlis might be treated as a separate ethnic group on account of their cultural identity.

The Warlis are originally cultivators, especially, in the upland and forests.<sup>4</sup> Most of the Warlis cultivate a small agricultural land, and they live either as cultivators or as wage labourers. At present, they are mostly peasants and/or forest labourers. A few Warli family occasionally migrate to earn wage to the nearby towns and cities, such as Valsad, Navsari, Surat, etc. during off-season, viz., from post-harvest to pre-monsoon. Most of the Warlis enjoy very much fishing, small hunting and gathering various forest products. Due to this life style, most of the Warlis have a small size of agricultural land.

The Gamits are a minority ethnic group in the Dangs. The Gamits comprise 4.2% i.e. 3,692 out of the total population of the Dangs. They are primarily cultivators depending on agricultural products. Most of the Gamits have their own land. Those who do not possess agricultural land or possess a small piece of land, work as agricultural labourers or lease land from others as share croppers. Another important source of income depends on forest labour and collections of forest products. From the socio-economic viewpoint, they are more progressive than the Bhils and the Warlis. By nature, they are very humble, simple, honest and law-abiding. They are, however, ignorant and superstitious. They are found in Singana, Girmal, Kakshala, Nishana, Kesbandh, Jamla, Biliyamba, Jamal-Sonsda, Behedun-Sawarpada, Gavan, Amthawa, Bardipada, Sajupada, etc. near Vyara

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1. Katyayan, *Vartikas* cited in Rajwade, V.K., "Mahikavatichi Bakhar", 1924, p. 82, recited in Save, J.K. 1945, p.p. 4-5.

2. op cit., Enthoven, R.E., 1920, p. 156.

3. See, Pandya, Gaurish, "Dungri Warlis", *Adivasi Gujarat*, Vol. 4, No. 1, Ahmedabd, Tribal Research and Training Institute, Gujarat Vidyapith, 1981, p. 114.

4. Note: In 'Bhagwato-Mandal' dictionary, it is written that Warlis (F) means an aboriginal tribe which is proficient in digging out roots and transplanting the new trees in the forests and are also involved in agriculture.

and Songadh talukas of Surat district. Many of the Gamits claim that their original home was in Dharampur, Bansda, Vyara or Songadh.

The Dhodias are recent immigrants from Valsad and Surat. They are the most progressive tribal community in the Dangs. In short, they become gradually the non-tribals. The Dhodias comprise 1.6% i.e. 1,386 out of the total population of the Dangs. The Dhodias are originally cultivators, living in the plain and settled villages in Valsad and Surat, from which some of them have immigrated since the beginning of 19th century. Most of them work as contractors, forest labourers, teachers, traders, Government employees, etc. and live in Ahwa and Waghai. A good deal of change has taken place in the cultural life of the Dhodias. They have affected considerably the traditional Dangi ways of life. They have gradually adopted improved Hindu manners and have always remained in contact with non-tribal people of the region.

The Kotwalias are recent immigrants from Vyara, Sonagadh and Mandvi talukas of Surat district. The Kotwalias constitute 0.6% i.e. 488 out of the total population of the Dangs. They belong to a small tribal group among the Dangi tribal communities. They are among the poorest and the most backward tribal groups. This ethnic group show a picture of most backward and retarded socio-economic life of landless labourers and subsists on household industry of bamboo crafts including basket making, fishing traps, etc. Their income depends on forest labour and collections of forest products. This group suffers from the stigma of untouchability. They have no land of their own as house sites or for cultivation and they lead a nomadic life. Recently they settled in Waghai and Chichigaontha.

The Kathodis are recent immigrants from Surat. They are originally forest settlers and live in exclusive hamlets on the fringes of forests. The Kathodis comprise 0.8% i.e. 689 out of the total population of the Dangs. They belong to a minority group among the Dangi tribal communities. They have social contacts with other communities and still lead an isolated life. The main source of their livelihood depends on forest labour and collections of 'Katha' (catechu), fruits, herbal, etc. from the forest. With the decline of the forest wealth, some of them have been forced to give up their traditional occupation of charcoal making. By nature, they are honest, ignorant, superstitious and law-abiding. They are found in Singana, Girmal, Kakshala, Nishana, Kesbandh, Jamla, Biliyamba, Jamal-Sonsda, Behedun-Sawarpada, Gavan, Amthawa, Bardipada, Sajupada, etc. near Vyara and Songadh talukas of Surat district.

The Naikdas is also considered as recent immigrants from Panchmahals and Valsad districts. The Naikdas constitute 0.5% i.e. 424 out of the total population of the Dangs. They belong

to a minority and backward tribal group. Those living in south Gujarat are better off than their counterparts in the Panchmahals. They are generally landless agricultural labourers and depend on wage earning and forest produce. Their socio-economic situation is very poor. Standard of literacy among them is low and they are slow in reacting to outside influences.

The Dublas are considered as immigrants from Surat and Valsad. The total population of the Dublas is 153 persons. They belong to a minority group in the Dangs. They are basically cultivators, but most of them are landless labourers. The land owners of farms have exploited them much. Contact with the non-tribal society has had considerable influence on their cultural life. The influence of the Hindu way of life on their special customs, norms and values is also fairly evident. They speak Gujarati. Their level of political consciousness is fairly high. But they are economically very poor.

The Choudharis are recent immigrants from Surat, Valsad, Bharuch districts. They are originally cultivators and plain dwellers like Dhodias and Dublas. The total population of the Choudharis is 101. They belong to a minority group in the Dangs. They live in the north-western part of the Dangs district. They are an industrious group of people. Though they are primarily cultivators, all of them do not have sufficient land and have to supplement their earning by working as wage-earners in construction works, in farms or in forests during the off-season. Literacy standard amongst them is fairly high.

### C. Language

As the mentioned above, there are many small tribal communities of which almost each community has its own dialect (See, Map 2-1). The Dangi is the most primary means of communication among them. The Dangi indicates previously only the Bhili of the Dangs. "The original Bhil dialect, which belongs to the Austric group of languages, has been greatly altered"<sup>1</sup>; for example, in Khandesh, "the so-called Bhil dialects gradually merge into the language of Khandesh," and "Bhili is nearer to Gujarati and Rajasthani than to any other Indo-Aryan language."<sup>2</sup>

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1. *Let Us Know India*, Vol. 7, Bombay, Indian Book House Pvt. Ltd., 1993, p. 24.

2. Grierson, G.A., *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX, *Indo-Aryan Family*, Central Group, Part III, *The Bhil Language*, 1907, p. 95., and p. 4.

The related subjects which deal with language or culture, the meaning of the Dangi has extended to languages which people residing in the Dangs usually speak in daily life. The broad meaning of the term "Dangi" refers to various Dangi dialects which are spoken by several communities of the Dangs. Hence, we may distinguish the broad meaning of the Dangi from the narrow meaning of that Dangi; One is the so-called Dangi, mainly the Bhili, the other is complex whole of various independent Dangi dialects, namely, Konkana, Warli, Gamiti, Dhodia, Kotwalia, Mangi, etc. Each of them may be treated as one of the Dangi languages.

Each member of a community speaks his own dialect, but his dialect has no script. The most of the Dangis are illiterate and bilingual speakers. Whatever literature they have is orally transmitted from generation to generation. Generally, the Dangis communicate with one another in the Dangi which is a mixture of mainly Gujarati and Marathi. But there is no uniformity in this respect. Practically, the Dangi, a member of a particular tribal community prefers to speak his own dialect except when he communicates with others who can't properly understand what he says. Practically, the Bhili is spoken in the heart of Dangs along with other dialects like Warli and Konkana. Bhili of the Dangs is bounded by Khandeshi in the east, Konkana and Nahri in the south, Dhodia, Choudhari, Gamiti and Ranibhili in the west and Gujarati in the north.<sup>1</sup>

The Dangi is considered as the common language of the Dangs and among the Dangis, there are many variation according to region and communities. Furthermore, the broad meaning of the Dangi are divided into many subdivisions ; i) the so-called Dangi is a mixture of Gujarati, Hindustani and Marathi dialects, ii) Konkana is a Marathi dialect, in particular, northern part of the Konkan, iii) Warli is a mixture of Marathi and Gujarati dialects, iii) Gamiti is a Gujarati dialect, iv) Dhodia is a Gujarati dialect, v) Kotwalia is a Gujarati dialect), vi) Kathodi is a Gujarati dialect, vii) Choudhari is a Gujarati dialect, viii) Dubla is Gujarati dialect, ix) Naikda is a Gujarati dialect, x) Mangi is a Marathi dialect, etc. From the linguistic point of view, "the Bhili of Dangs show close similarity with the Kakari dialect spoken in Kolaba and Thana distiricts, ... the Konkana dialect has many borrowings from Gujarati and the Warli has borrowed from Khandeshi."<sup>2</sup>

The question about the language of the Dangs territory has

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1. op cit., Kulkarni, S.B., 1976, p. 9.

2. ibid., p. 10.

been studied by many administrators, linguists and social scientists in the past.<sup>1</sup> According to Mansfield' report (1854), the language of the Dangs (Garvee, Wassoorna and Amelle) is a mixture of Guzerathee and Hindusthani".<sup>1</sup>

To add to this, *Khandesh District Gazetteer* (1880) presents the following observations: "According to the geographical position, Bhils speak the cognate dialects of Marathi, Gujarati, Rangdi, Mevadi, Narmadi and Rajputani. They have many peculiar terms, and, with some Prakrit, use many Scythian words. There is no trace of any connection with the tribes of South India. In Khandesh their dialect is a mixture of Hindustani, and Marathi with Gujarati endings. It varies considerably in different parts of the district and among different tribes. The language of the plain Bhils differs little except in pronunciation from the Marathi spoken by other peasantry, while the Akrani Pavras and Western Bhils speak, among themselves, a dialect of Gujarati, unintelligible to the plain Bhil of Central and South Khandesh".<sup>2</sup>

In 1907, a well-known linguist G.A. Grierson presented the following analytical observations: "the language of all the tribes from Dangs is Dangi".<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, he made a significant statement as: "Khandesh itself is not a Marathi dialect. Several suffixes, it is true, are identical with those used in Marathi. But most suffixes and the inner form of the language agree more closely with Gujarati and Rajasthani. The northern and eastern dialects connect Gujarati with Rajasthani, while, in the west, there runs a continuous line of dialects southwards towards the broken Marathi dialects of Thana. ... The same statement applies to Dangi also."<sup>4</sup>

The Dangis have been influenced by various factors as follows; Geographically, the Dangs territory is quite isolated due to distinctive physical environment. Therefore, the Dangis' social communication range have been extremely limited. In particular, one residing in the south-eastern and east parts of the Dangs has an extreme social communication range.

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1. See, Mansfield' Report 1854, *Selections from Records of the Bombay Government*, No. XXVI, New Series, 1856, p.p. 180-184., Campbell, J.M. (ed.), 1880, p. 84., Grierson, G.A., 1907, p.p. 1-2., Shah, P.G. 1964, p. 247., Dave, T.N., *The Language of Gujarat*, 1964, and Kulkarni, S.B., 1976, p.p. 2-10.

2. op cit., Campbell, J.M. (ed.), 1880, p. 84.

3. op cit., Grierson, G.A., 1907, p.p. 1-2, and p.p. 224-228.

4. ibid., p.p. 1-2.



Historically, the Dangs was transferred from the several Gujarati political authorities (mainly Rajputs), to Muslim Sultanates (Maratha later Gujarati, again Maratha), then it was under autonomous Bhils' chieftainship till India's Independence. As a result, the Dangis have had more socio-economic and political relations with Gujarat than those with Maharatas. Therefore, the language of the Dangs is considered as Ahirani which is primarily a mixture of Gujarati, Rajasthani and Marathi with predominance of Gujarati.

In the *Linguistic Survey of India* (published in 1907, Dangi, spoken by nearly 97% of the people, has been classified as a dialect of the Gujarati variety.<sup>1</sup> In short, the Dangi was classified as one of the dialects of Gujarati. On the contrary, during 1931 Census, the people speaking languages in the Dangs were classified as follows: Out of the total population of the Dangs, i) one who prefers to speak Bhili comprises 32,324 persons ii) Gujarati 731 iii) Marathi 613.<sup>2</sup> It is certain that the Dangi is not one language and people of the Dangs mostly speak Bhili, as the so-called Dangi.

Till 1946 there was no trouble about the language of the Dangs. The Dangis residing in the north, north-eastern and north-western parts of the Dangs speak a mixture of mainly Gujarati and Hindustani, while those residing in the south, south-eastern and south-western parts of the Dangs speak a mixture of Gujarati, Hindustani with Marathi. It is natural that people residing in all the border areas speak a mixture of languages. The Dangi dialect has developed mostly by its contacts with the Parsi, Hindu and Muslim timber traders and contractors from the Surat, Navsari, Valsad, Dharampur, Bansda, Navapur, Songadh as far as Bombay and Nandurbar.

In 1948, the Dangs was constituted as a separated district in Bombay State. By that time, Maharashtrian leaders had begun to put forward a claim to the Dangs. A dispute arose as to its official language and after a summary inquiry in May 1949, Marathi was adopted by the Government of Bombay as its official language. In the Census of 1951, the language composition of the Dangs is miraculously different from what it was in 1931. Out of the total population of the Dangs, i) one who prefers to speak Marathi comprises 45,017, ii) Gujarati 1,802, iii) Telegu 129, iv) Urdu 135, v) Sindhi 17.<sup>3</sup> To add to this, strangely there were 54 Marathi and 43 Gujarathi schools in the Dangs. By that

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1. op cit., *Memorandum*., 1954, p. 50.

2. ibid., p. 51.

3. ibid.

time, the Dangs has only 7% literacy.<sup>1</sup> However, after bifurcation from the Bombay State on 1st May 1960, Marathi schools converted into Gujarati medium schools one by one. As the result, in the Census of 1961, the languages spoken in the Dangs are as follows: Out of the total population of the Dangs, one who speaks Dangi as his mother-tongue comprises 84.64%, Marathi 9.51%, Gujarati 3.90% etc. The total number of persons speaking a language subsidiary to their mother-tongue were 4,521 or 6.32%, who have returned between themselves as many as 7 languages as subsidiary languages. The most important among them are Gujarati (2,513), Hindi (899), Marathi (835), English (251), and Urdu (13). The Dangis claim the highest number of bilingual speakers 2,913, Gujarati 2,129, Marathi 696, Hindi 81 and English 7.<sup>2</sup>

Recently, a linguist, S.B. Kulkarni (1976) presented the characteristic features of the dialect of the Dangs as follows ; The dialects spoken in the Dangs differ from each other and from Marathi or Gujarati in many respects. ... The basic vocabulary is common to all these dialects including Katkari, which is almost identical with that of Marathi with certain archaism. ... Historically, they seem to be a branch of Indo-Aryan, a link between the languages of inner and outer circle, with a non-Aryan substratum.<sup>3</sup>

## II. 6. Socio-Economic Situations

### A. Social Organisations and Facilities

Every society has its own social organisation and social structure. It is generally said that a family is the smallest unit of social organisation and structure. Except for certain personal and family affairs like farming, fishing, hunting, food-gathering, etc, a village is the secondary unit of social organisation and social structure. In all social, economic and religious activities, in giving co-operation to the Government, the village serves as a unit.

#### (1) Local Self-Governmental Organisation

At the village level, the *Patel (Patil)* is the head of a village and in that capacity, he plays the role of a leader

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1. *ibid.*

2. *op cit.*, Patel, G.D. (ed.), 1971, p. 163.

3. *op cit.*, Kulkarni, S.B., 1976, 10.

(socio-political), presider (cultural-ceremonial) and guardian (civil administrative and criminal) in a village. He is appointed by the Government (as a police *Patel*). The selection of the *Patel* is based not only on the consideration of his age and experience, but also on his personality, status and leadership. The *Patel's* office though not hereditary, by convention, first preference is given to the heir when the post falls vacant. He is highly respected, therefore, he is always invited by the villagers whenever they perform marriage ceremony for their children. Practically, he performs many of the functions of the old-fashioned tribal chiefs. However, in all matters of family disputes, personal troubles or quarrels, his advice and decision are almost absolute. Mostly the villagers and the parties follow his decision. Besides, *Karbhari* is an important person. He is a village servant who is appointed by the Government. The *Karbhari* office is not hereditary. He assists the *Patel* in his work and acts as secretary. Sometimes in a small village, a *Karbhari* on behalf of the *Patel* perform his role, in particular, in poor wedding and small size village occasion. A *Jagalia* is another important person like *Vartania* as a village peon. He is a full-time paid servant.

The *Panchayat* system which kept the most important feature of the corporate life in India, had maintained remarkable solidarity and continuity to the various rural groups throughout the country. The tribal communities have their own panchayat for regulating social and economic relations. It is the most important social institution among the Dangs. The members of the *panch* are constituted of the *Patel*, the *Karbhari*, one or two *assamis* (rich persons) and one or two old persons, who are selected by the villagers, in particular, the *Patel*, the *Karbhari* and the elders, on the basis of age, experience, and personality. These persons are called upon to intervene and advise in settling inter-personal, intergroup and inter-village quarrels.

The Dangs *Jilla Panchayat* (District Panchayat) under the Gujarat Panchayats Act (1961), was introduced with effect from 1st April, 1963.<sup>1</sup> Since the Dangs is a one-taluka district, the *Jilla Panchayat* exercises all the powers of the *Taluka Panchayat* in addition to its own. There are 67 *grams* and less than 10 group *panchayats* in the district. Normally, less than 8 *grams* constitute one group of *Grampanchayat*, which elect one *Sarpanch*. The number of *Sarpanchas* is less than 10 persons in the District. The *Jill Panchayat* consists of the elected members such as *Sarpanchas* elected by the group of *Gram Panchayats* and members elected by qualified voters of the district. The number of members to be elected is equal to the number of

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1. op cit., Patel, G.D.(ed.), 1971, p. 433.

*Sarpanchas*. Besides, there are 4 reserved seats -- 2 seats for women and 2 seats for the scheduled castes. The President of the *Jilla Panchayat* is called *Panchayati* President, who is administratively assisted by 25 *Mantris* (Secretaries) in the *Panchayats*. The Collector of the district, the Mamlatdar, Members of the Parliament, Members of the Council of State and the Members of the Legislative Assembly are associate members.

## (2) Educational Facilities

In the Dangs district, there are 358 primary schools, 18 residential schools, 12 high schools and one Government Arts and Commercial College.<sup>1</sup> Among them there are some peculiar schools such as Swaraj Ashram, Ashram Schools, Brethren Mission School and many vocational schools.

The Dangs Swaraj Ashram, Ahwa, was established in 1948 by the social worker, Jugatrambhai Dave.<sup>2</sup> The main objective was to improve the standard of Dangi life through various activities such as *Khadi* production, spread of primary education, co-operative movement, participation in no drinking liquor. By the Government assistance, the Ashram has been able to achieve good educational results among the Dangis. The Ashram manages two Chhatralayas at Ahwa, one is for boys and the other is for girl students. It also runs one training centre for the spread of Rashtrabhasha. Additionally, the Ashram established one Ashramshala at Kalibel which is the only Ashramshala run by a private institution in the District.

The other Ashram schools run by direct supervision of Government. The importance of Ashram school is its height from the educational viewpoint among the Dangis. They are residential schools, almost located in the rural areas like Kalibel (est. 1954), Singana, Chinchli, Pimpri (est. 1960), Bardipada, Mahal, Garkhadi (est. 1961), Rambhas (est. 1963), Malegaon (est. 1967), Chichipada, etc.<sup>3</sup> They provide all facilities of free education, boarding, lodging, clothing and medical aid. Besides, Government of Gujarat provides free of charge aids such as slates, pencils, notebook, text-book.

Another is the Brethren Mission School which was established in 1903 by the Catholic Church.<sup>4</sup> Actually, the Mission started

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1. Source: Action Plan (1991-1992) of Education Inspector, The Dangs District, 1992, p. 1.

2. op cit., Patel, G.D.(ed.), 1971, p. 448.

3. See, ibid., p. 442.

4. ibid., p. 447.

in 1905 and opened the school for spread of education among the Dangis. Thereafter, the Mission established many schools in different parts of the Dangis. The Mission has offered the hostel facilities for the students.

Besides, there are many vocational schools in the Dangis such as Auxiliary Nurse Midwife Training School, Carpentry Training School, Smithy-cum-Welding School (Ahwa), Carpentry Training Centre (Chankhal), etc.

### (3) Medical and Public Health Centres

The amenities of the medical and public health centres are available in only 13.50% of the total villages in the Dangis.<sup>1</sup> There is one hospital which is called the Central Hospital, previously known as Sampson Dispensary till 1950. The new hospital building has been fully equipped with modern equipments. The hospital is capable of providing treatment to all types of diseases. Since the economic condition of the Dangis is very poor, Government of Gujarat has provided free medical treatment both to indoor and outdoor patients.<sup>2</sup> Even free ambulance service is made available to the Dangis for quickly bring serious cases from the distant villages to the hospital.

There are 8 dispensaries such as Silver Jubilee Dispensary (Waghai), Government Aryurvedic Dispensary (Subir), Government Dispensary (Saputara), Mobile Dispensary (Samgahan). Besides, there are 20 family planning centres in the Dangis district. Till 1964, only two workers were attached to the family planning centres at Kalibel and Subir. Moreover, the Centres are located in Waghai, Samgahan, Piplaidevi, Mahal, Laochali, Pipaldahad, Sakarpatal, Manmodi, Borkhal, Chinchli, Galkund, Rambhas, Pimpri, etc. Furthermore, there are two primary health centres at Kalibel and Sakarpatal. To add to these, 17 primary health sub-centres are situated in the Dangis district. At present, there are 7 maternity and child welfare centres located in Waghai, Subir, etc., and furthermore, as many as 98 community health workers serve in the Dangis district. Most of these amenities are located in the villages having the total population range over 500 persons. Still remote many villages have no medical amenities, the villagers depend on traditional treatment by *Bhagat* and herbal medicines (See, Fg. 38-7 & 38-8, Vol. II).

### (4) Socio-Religious Service Organisation

In the Dangis, the Church of the American Brethren (est. 1903) firstly started to mission to the Dangis. In 1905 a

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1. op cit., *Census of India 1981*, 1982, p. xi.

2. op cit., Patel, G.D.(ed.), 1971, p. 466.

missionary of American Brethren Church established the Mission School and opened the Church and School to the Dangis for spreading Christianity and knowledge. Then owing to Amala (present Linga) Raja's donation of the Church site for the Baptist Church was established at Ahwa and have spread Christianity to the Dangis. In 1925, *Mahadev mandir* at Ahwa was established by the Dangis Club. Still the *Mahadev mandir* serve its religious function to the Dangis. After India's Independence, the Dang Swaraj Ashram, the *Dang Seva Mandal* and other voluntary social service institutes such as *Yuvak Mandals*, *Mahila Mandals*, etc. were established one after another. Those of voluntary organisations have played and the important role in the social, cultural and economic uplift of the standard of Dangi life. At present there are 45 *Yuvak Mandals* and 5 *Mahila Mandals* which were established by the Tribal Development Block of the Dangis.<sup>1</sup> The *Dang Seva Mandal* at Ahwa as the branch of the *Dang Seva Mandal* of Nasik, was started in 1948 for doing social work. The *Mandal* is now almost on closed condition. On the other hand, many *Hanuman mandir* and many Christian churches have gradually increased yearly, e.g. Gadhvi, Malegaon, Pimpri, etc (Fg. 44-1, 44-2, 44-5, 44-14 to 44-18, Vol. II).

## B. Industries and Economic Facilities

### (1) Forest-Based Industries

Before India's Independence, this area was cut off from rest of the country on account of restrictions imposed during the British rule on outsiders who were not allowed to stay in the Dangis.<sup>2</sup> Generally, most of the products of the aboriginals are not for sale but only for personal consumption. Therefore, until the British came to the Dangis, there was no industrial products. According to the provisional figures the total enterprises in the Dangis were, 2,765 out of which 407 were agricultural enterprises whereas 2,349 were non-agricultural enterprises.<sup>3</sup> During the 1981 Census out of total workers 63.09 per cent were cultivators, 17.90% were agricultural labourers, 2.03% were in household industry and 16.98% were other workers.<sup>4</sup> Of these, most of Dangi wage-labourers perform either forest labour work or agricultural work.

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1. See, *ibid.*, p.p. 494-495.

2. *op cit.*, Patel, G.D.(ed.), 1971, p. 247.

3. *op cit.*, *Census of India 1981*, 1982, p. viii.

4. *ibid.*

According to *Khandesh Gazetteer* (1880), in the Dangs territory there was only two industries of basketry and *kath* manufacture the past. Owing to the abundant natural resources like bamboo, *Kair* trees, etc., the people of the Dangs could develop bamboo basketry and *kath* manufacture in demand of the market as it was. Regarding *kath* manufacture, the *Gazetteer* (1880) presents a detailed information as: "The only manufacture is catechu, *kath*. The heartwood of the *khair* is cut into chips about an inch square and as thick as a piece of cardboard. The pieces are boiled in pots by women, each woman having before her two rows of six pipkins, each holding about a quart of water. In ten of these, the chips are boiled and the liquid is then poured into two larger pots placed in the centre, where it is kept boiling to evaporate the superfluous water. At the end of the day the liquid in the jars is poured into a wooden trough, and strained by dipping a piece of blanket into it an squeezing the blanket into the trough. The liquid is then allowed to stand, and poured down a sediment, which when dry is *kath*. The people employed in catechu-making are called Kathodis. The whole process is managed by their women."<sup>1</sup>

Regarding bamboo basketry manufacture, *Handicrafts Survey Report: Bamboo Work* (1981) presents the following as: The handicraft items like Pati (basket), Topla (big basket), Topli (small basket), Chhabadi (flat basket), Supada (winning fan), Karanda (basket), Chatai (floor mat), Pala (storage bins), and Fulchhabdi (flat basket) in different sizes are being produced by the craftsmen of the Waghai (See, Pl. 2-31, Fg. 26-9 to 26-11, 26-19 to 26-22, & 50-1 to 50-4, Vol. II). ... "In short yearly average product per house hold in respect of various handicraft items produced in Waghai village varies from 99 in case of Pala (storage bins) to 2,982 in case of Pati (basket). ... On inquiry it was found that craftsmen of all selected house holds receive raw materials (bamboo) directly from the store of the Forest Department for which they have not to pay in advance."<sup>2</sup>

At present, there are three main bamboo crafts villages such as Waghai, Ahwa, Chichigaontha. Besides, bamboo craftsmen of the villages such as Rajendrapur near Waghai, Kudkas, Ambapada, produce various bamboo crafts and basketry. The Dangs Forest Department provides the craftsmen with the required raw

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1. op cit., Campbell, J.M. (ed.), 1880, p.p. 602-603., cited in Patel, G.D.(ed.), 1971, p. 247.

2. *Census of India 1981, Handicraft Survey Report: Bamboowork*, Series 5, Gujarat Part X-D, Delhi, Deputy Director of Census Operations, Gujarat, 1989, p.p. 79-90.

materials, and further it cooperate with them for selling out their products.

The other important industry regarding the forest is timber manufacture, in particular, sawing wood, preservation and seasoning. At Waghai, there is the Government Saw-Mill which has been managed by the Forest Department since 1940. From 1959, as demand for timber began to increase it was considered desirable to introduce some of the *injali* (non-teak) timbers by making them acceptable after seasoning and giving preservative treatment.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, seasoning kiln and a treatment plant were installed in 1959. Thereafter, gradually the total quantity of sawn wood supplied by the Saw-Mill has increased till 1968. Furthermore, the following list of timber products gives an idea about economic value of the Dangs forest.

Table 2-16 Products of Timber from the Dangs \*

Out-turn 1967-1968			Out-turn 1967-1968		
Species		(in cu. metres)	Species		(in cu. metres)
Sag (Teak)	..	49,083.518	Khair	..	55.000
Ain	..	3,181.187	Shiwan	..	21.800
Sissam	..	444.934	Dhaman	..	400.700
Kalam	..	4,146.015	Tiwas	..	1,647.235
Bio	..	239.306	Others		11,599.768
Total			70,819.463		

Source: Patel, G.D.(ed.), 1971, p. 253.

## (2) Agro-Based Industries

Paddy and oil-seeds are the two main commercial crops as well as agricultural products, from which rice and oil can be further processed by rice milling and oil crushing. Paddy is one of the principal food crops grown in the area of 4,500 hectares in 1951 to 5,100 hectares in 1981.<sup>2</sup> The main paddy-growing areas in the district are Pimpri, Pipaladahad, Gadhvi, Galkund, Sakarpatal, etc. (See, Fg. 36-1 to 36-6, Vol. II) Currently, paddy grown in the Dangs is sent to Bansda, Chikhli and other places of the Valsad district for further processing. However, during the period 1951 to 1981, out-put of paddy increased from

1. op cit., Patel, G.D. (ed.), 1971, p. 251.

2. op cit., *Census of India 1981*, 1982, p. vii.



2,900 tons in 1951 to 5,604.9 tons in 1981.<sup>1</sup> Comparing to the total output of paddy, the output of paddy of 1981 is more by 2,704.9 tons than that of 1951. For the uplift of output of paddy, once the Japanese method of paddy cultivation was practised during the period 1954 to 1958, then the Japanese method of cultivation have partly practised due to lack of irrigation facilities in the Dangs.

Another main commercial crop grown in the area is *khursani* oil-seeds. Besides this, other oil-seeds like groundnut and castor seeds are also grown on a large scale. The total area under oil-seeds increased 400 hectares in 1961 to 1,000 hectares in 1981.<sup>2</sup> Throughout past 20 years (1961-1981), the total output of oil-seeds increased 100 tons to 1,846 tons.<sup>3</sup> Till there is no big oil mills in the Dangs. However, two units on a cottage basis are working at Ahwa for extracting oil from *khursani* oil-seeds by local *ghanies*. Yield of oil from *khursani* seeds by local *ghanies* is low as 10 to 12% of oil remains in the oilcake. The production of oil-*ghanies* which are working in the traditional manner is limited and meets a very small portion of the local demand. The oil-seeds grown in the Dangs are sold out in the nearby towns Bansda, Valsad, Dharampur, Surat, etc. for further processing.

### (3) Other Household Industries

Household industry is generally conducted by the head of the household with the help of members of the household at home or on the precincts. According to 1981 Census the total number of persons actually working in the enterprises are 7,154 out of which 407 persons are working in the agricultural enterprises whereas 6,212 persons are working in non-agricultural enterprises. Among them, there are 27 groups of household industries such as wood products, furniture, fixtures and manufacture, and furthermore, 97 groups of those such as repair services.<sup>4</sup> Practically, many of them are engaged in the manufacture of sundry hardware such as galvanized iron pipe, wire-net, bolt, screw, bucket, cutlery, manufacture of textile

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1. *ibid.*, and *Statistics of Area, Production and Yield per Acre of Principal Crops in Gujarat State for the Period 1949-50 to 1963-64*, Ahmedabad, Director of Agriculture, 1965, p.p. 26-156.

2. *ibid.*

3. *ibid.*

4. *op cit.*, *Census of India 1981, 1982*, p. viii.

garments, repairing motor vehicles, producing rice, atta, flour, etc., by milling, dehusking and processing of crops and foodgrains. Moreover, some local craftsmen residing at Ahwa, Chichipada, Waghai, etc. produce various kinds of *wak* rope for sale (See, Fg. 51-1 to 51-4, Vol. II). *Khadi Kendras* at Ahwa and Kalibel are managed by Swaraj Ashram. A Carpet Weaving Mill is operated by one private enterprise in Subir.

#### (4) Co-operative Societies

These days co-operative system is not new to the Dangis. They have co-operated in their traditional manner in the cultivation of land, fishing, hunting; fairs and festivals in their community life. Still many of the Dangis do not properly conceive the co-operation in the modern sense. The main cause is the non-modernization of its economy. They have barter system which is a traditional institution for sale and purchase of consumer commodities by the Dangis. Secondly, the needs of the Dangis are few and limited and may be satisfied from the natural resources available locally. The economy of the Dangis is to a large extent self-sufficient, meeting their daily requirements from inferior foodgrains raised, fruits, roots, tubers, fish and flesh available in the area. Thirdly, there is customary restriction on the entry of the non-Dangis in the territory. This has prevented free social and economic intercourse with the people of the adjacent areas. Fourthly, the hilly terrain and the dense forest with malignant malaria and wildlife frighten any outsider. In these circumstances, the need for co-operative credit societies in the modern sense was hardly required by the Dangis.

For the first time, the Grain Lending Society in the modern sense of co-operative credit society was set up in 1908. But the Government advances money at reasonable rate of interest in order to provide grain. The main objectives of the society are as follows: i) to maintain a store of *nagli*, or of other grains if necessary, in the Dangs as an insurance against famine, ii) to loan *nagli* to Dangis at a reasonable rate, iii) to free the Dangis from the grain lenders and *shahukars*, iv) to encourage the habit of thrift among Dangis, v) to meet the Chiefs' demands for *nagli*, and vi) to loan out money to Dangis for agricultural purposes.<sup>1</sup> Generally, the stock of *nagli* is distributed to the *adivasi* agriculturalists at the time of agricultural operations and is received from them in kind at 25% interest on the quantity advanced. The society has greatly contributed to maintain many poor Dangis, in particular, during famine. Recently the mobile *nagli* depots also run in the rural area.

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1. op cit., Patel, G.D.(ed.), 1971, p.p. 280-281

Many Agricultural Credit Societies have been set up after India's Independence. Even though the Dangs is full of forest, agriculture is important in terms of employment and livelihood. For all-round development of the primary sector in the backward class, the Government supports development of agriculture by providing sufficient funds to the co-operative societies for granting loans liberally. Besides, performing all the normal functions of credit societies, such as providing money-loans, seeds and manures, these societies also run the grain depots. As many as 25 agricultural credits societies are registered in 1980.<sup>1</sup>

Another important non-agricultural co-operative society is the forest labour co-operative society which was set up in 1949. Before India's Independence, the work of felling the trees in the forest coupes was entrusted to contractors who exploited forest labourers and made huge profits. It was, therefore, decided to stop the exploitation of poor tribal labourers by forest contractors after Independence. The aim was to give the tribal forest labourers both full wage along with a share in the profits, and to train them gradually to take responsibility of conducting forest and other business through co-operative societies.

#### (5) Electricity facility

During the Gandhi centenary (1965) in the State, out of the total 311 inhabited villages, the following 14 villages were electrified: Sivarimal, Susarda, Chikhali (Samgahan Seja), Baj, Baripada, Sakarpatal, Malegaon, Nanapada, Rambhas, Ambapada (Waghai Seja), Devipada, Samgahan, Jamalapada (Gadhvi Seja), Chichigaontha. Since then the total number of villages electrified extends to 33 which work out at 10.61% of the total inhabited village in the Dangs.<sup>2</sup>

#### (6) Water Supplies Facility

Even though the average rainfall is about 2,000mm, many villages in the Dangs face acute scarcity of water in summer. In order to alleviate the sufferings of the people, the Board maintains 50 to 60 *parabs* or water-places in different villages. It also supplies drinking water with the help of bullock-carts at 25 to 35 villages. At Ahwa and in 14 other villages, where it is not possible to supply water by carts, water is supplied by tankers given on nominal rent by Government. The recurring expenditure in this respect is borne by the Board. The expenditure towards bullock-carts, *parabs*, and tankers

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1. *ibid.*, p. vii.

2. *ibid.*, p. ix.

approximates to Rs. 35,000 every year. The Board prepares and maintains existing public wells in the district. It also constructs new wells where deemed necessary.

#### (7) Market Places

The Board had constructed two *pucca* markets one at Ahwa and the other at Waghai (See, Appendix 2-7). The shops in these markets are rented to businessmen. The rent varies between Rs. 5 and Rs. 10 per day as per extent of accommodation. According to the data furnished by the 1961 Census, 390 persons (males 361, females 29) were engaged in retail trade in the district. Retail trading in cereals, pulses, fruits, sugar, spices, oil, fish, dairy products, poultry, etc. employed 224; trading in fuel such as coke, coal, firewood and kerosene 33, and trading in fibres, yarns, *dhoti*, *saree*, ready-made garments of cotton, wool, silk, etc., 22. The Census data further shows that among the retailers, 60 persons were employers, 77 employees, 134 single workers and 119 family members of those employed in retail trade.

Retail trade is generally distributed in the following groups :

i) Grocery shops selling cereals, pulses, spices, *gur*, ground-nut and sesame oil, *ghee*, tea, coffee, condiments, *agarbatti*, etc.,  
ii) *pan-bidi* and tobacco shops, which are generally one-man establishments selling *pan* (betel leaves), *bidi*, cigarettes, cigars, chewing tobacco, betel-nuts, wax-candles, match-boxes,  
iii) cloth and hosiery shops which deal in all kinds of textiles, cotton and other varieties of textiles, iv) fuel and charcoal shops, v) stationery and cutlery shops, vi) shops selling household utensils of brass and copper, and vii) sweetmeat and *farsan* shops dispersed in all areas. The important retail marketing centres continue to be Ahwa and Waghai.

During the Second World War, there was an abnormal rise in the prices of essential commodities like cereals, pulses, cloth, sugar, *gur*, kerosene, etc. To check the spiral of rising prices, Government, therefore, opened fair price shops for selling essential commodities at reasonable rates to persons in lower income groups, i.e. middle and economically backward sections of the society. The scheme is operated on a no-profit no-loss basis. Distribution of cheap grains is made through these shops, wherever possible by co-operative societies and by private individuals elsewhere. The quantum of issues is determined from time to time and supplies regulated by maintaining family ration cards which are registered with these shops. Advance quotas are also stored for meeting contingencies during monsoon when remote areas become inaccessible.



## II. 7. Material Culture with Non-Material Culture Traits

### A. Pattern of Settlement

#### (1) Types of Village Settlement

It is said that the tribal villages of the Dangs have their own characteristics. They are different from the common Indian villages both in character and composition. They have; more or less, similar natural environments of hill and forest, poor economy, and specific traditions which are ideal for a tribal settlement to come up. Most of villages of the Dangs stands on the riverbanks which can easily supply fresh water or on the slope and rarely on flat-topped ridges. A few villages are located in a relatively plain area of the hilly region, e.g., Chinchli, Gadhvi, Kalibel, Pipaldahad, etc., but most of villages are surrounded by woods or thick forest. Some villages lying in a thick forest, e.g., Dhongiamba, Chavdvel, etc. may not even be guessed by an outsider, and further, a few villages such as Don, still have no approach road except narrow *kacha* road. Therefore, inhabitants of such villages follow their traditional customs and life style.

After practising Forest Lease (1842) and Indian Forest Act (1878), cultivation was prohibited in the reserved forest within the Indian legal circumstances. On account of mainly these factors, their traditional life style should be changed in a different way. Indeed, their nomadic and semi-nomadic life in the forest has been rapidly changing into settled peasant life since late 19th century.

The pattern of village settlement in the Dangs is quite distinct due to the natural environment as well as the socio-economic and ethnic-cultural environment. Generally, the pattern of village settlement is divisible into three types, i) massive, ii) dispersed and iii) isolated.<sup>1</sup> Most of villages belong to massive type but not a big size and partly contain *verania* (scattered) huts. The massive type is also common in the Gangetic plain, Rajasthan and Maharashtra.

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1. Nandi, S., and Tyagi, D.S., "Forms of Villages", in Bose, N.K. (ed.), *Peasant Life in India: A study in Indian Unity & Diversity*, Calcutta, Anthropological Survey of India, 1961, p.p. 1-8.

forest. In many cases, one hut is found at about 2 kms. away from another hut. The dispersed type is common in the Western Ghats, in eastern Uttar Pradesh, the Assam plain and a portion of Madhya Pradesh.

Previously, there were more than 466 hamlets and villages in the Dangs but at present there are only 311 villages.<sup>1</sup> The isolated type is generally found in high hills, forest, desert and estuary areas which incidentally is true of tribal village. However, the inhabitants residing in isolated homestead have gradually shifted to the larger village which provides the villagers with better socio-public facilities.

Generally, the inhabitants of the Dangs construct their huts near one another. It is natural that people gather in a place and live together. In the hilly tracts, when the villagers face any danger such as wild animals' attack or fire, they can rise together at a call and drive away any danger in a short time. So the people like to live together. But strangely the Konkanas and even Warlis don't like to live together with the Bhils or other tribes except the Dhodias. The primary reason comes from the tradition or idea of purification based on Bramhinism or Hinduism. In fact, most of the villages in the Dangs are characterized by the mixed or parallel mixed tribes, castes and other minority tribal group.

Especially, the Konkanas themselves believe that they are superior to others such as the Bhils, Warlis, etc. Today, they don't like to take food at the same place. They, therefore, separately settle in a different part of a village. Thus, the village which contains multi-ethnic tribal communities reflects a distinctive feature. A different settlement is found in it for each tribal community. In connection with this matter, D.P. Khanapurkar (1944) mentioned that "at least Dhor Kolis and Bheels are not allowed to live in the same *pada* where Konkanas and Warlis reside".<sup>2</sup> So they have their separate *padas*. To meet a member of different tribal community in a village, one has to move from one *pada* to another *pada*.

## (2) Cultural Landscape regarding Human Needs in a Village

On the approach road to the village, tied to the trees on both roadsides are auspicious grass bundles showing the boundary of a village. The boundary is generally demarcated by a

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1. In 1842, there were 466 villages in the Dangs at the time of Forest Lease (See, op cit., Patel, G.D., 1971, p. 14.), but at present there are only 311 villages.

2. op cit., Khanapurkar, D.P., 1944, p. 25.

demarcation zone plate on the tree or a mound of stone. On the out-skirts of the village, there are two or three *devta* (shrine) or *mandir* (temple) which contain *Wagh dev* (tiger god), *Nag dev* (cobra god), *Gam dev* (village god), *Simaria dev* (boundary god) and *Hanuman mat* (monkey god). *Wagh dev* is mostly located at the boundary in the shape of wooden pillar (See, Pl. 2-31, Fg. 44-7 & 44-8, Vol. II). Sometimes, commemoration wooden pillar for the dead seems to be similar. *Nag dev* is placed under a tree on which are fixed a dozen or more white flags. *Gam dev* is represented by a stone or a wooden block (See, Fg. 43-5 & 43-6, Vol. II). *Simaria dev* has no specific structure. *Hanuman mat* consist of a stone smeared with oil and *kunku* (vermilion). In particular, a few villages like Kasadbari have water scarcity. In the summer to get water enough, the villagers worship *Pandev* (crocodile god) on the outskirt of the village at the time of water scarcity (See, Fg. 44-9 & 44-10, Vol. II). Most of villages have these kind of *devta* (shrine) and *mandir* which are located on the outskirt of the village (See, Fg. 43-3, 44-3 & 44-6, Vol. II). Among them, it is said that *Wagh*, *Nag*, *Gam*, *Pan*, *Simaria*, etc. reflect Dangi animism and totemism, viz., traditional tribal belief system.

As mentioned above, its tribal community has its own *pada* in a village, in which each community has its own *masan* (cremation places) and *sasandiri* (grave yard). To fulfill their belief, custom and world view, even if today they live together in a village, they don't like together to live in the same after world. Most of villages, therefore, have at least, two or three *masan* and *sasandiri* (See, Fg. 41-1, Vol. II). For instance, in the village Gadhvi, there are three *masan* and two *sasandiri*. Those are usually located on the western outskirt of the village, e.g., Gadhvi, Malegaon, etc. It is remarkable that in the villages such as Bardipada and Malegaon, the Christian graveyard is located at the eastern front of each village (See, Fg. 41-2, Vol. II).

In short most of the Dangis believe in the after world wish for entering the Western Paradise while Christians wish for going near the God who is residing in the Eastern Heaven. It is certain that in funeral ceremony they prefer to select the west. From the Bramhinal tradition, many people believe that both the east and the west are auspicious. Particularly, many temples of *Hanuman mat* prefer to face to the west, e.g., as in Borkhet, Chichipada, Chinchli, Malegaon, Navgam, etc. and it generally avoid to face the south.

Similarly, houses and huts prefer to face the east and the north, e.g., to the east, Linga Raja's, Pipaldahad Konkana's, Kasadbari Warli's houses, and to the north, Rajendrapur Dohodia's, houses and Dhongiamba Warli's hut (See, Pl. 2-17-A, 2-18, 2-19, 2-21, 2-23, 2-24 & 2-29). In this connection, D.P.

Khanapurkar mentioned that "The huts do not face west or south".<sup>1</sup> But, there are many houses and huts faced to the south, e.g., Malegaon Konkana's house, Chichigaontha Kotwalia's hut and Ahwa Mang's House (See, Pl. 2-22, 2-28 & 2-29). And further, there are some houses facing the north-west, e.g., Borkhet Konkana's, Kakshala Gamit's, Singana Gamit's house and newly built house cum grocer shop on roadside (See, Pl. 2-20, 2-25 & 2-26).

It is, however, said that the traditional huts have avionic to face the west and the south-western due to receiving serious hot air in the afternoon and much more south-west heavy rain in monsoon. During my fieldwork, it was found that many Dangis prefer to face the east when they select the house site. On the other hand, they believe that *devta* and *mandir* should face either the east or the west. Thus, we can get some idea about their belief, customs, and world view, which are completely reflected in their cultural environment.

On the other hand, for the people, mention should be made about the location of the religious service centres. For instance, a newly built *mandir* (temple) is generally located at the central part of the village, e.g. Pipaldahad and Navgam. A *devta* (shrine) is traditionally located either at central part or on the outskirts of the village e.g., Gadhvi and Mokhamal. And further, a Christian church is located at the outskirts of the village, e.g. Malegaon and Pimpri (See, Fg. 44-15, Vol. II).

Next, in Malegaon, there is a festival ground with open-air communal fire place which is located at the central part of the village (See, Fg. 43-2, Vol. II). The festival place and the open-air communal fire place occupy an agricultural field while in the off-season it changes its role as a dancing and celebrating arena. Various festivals such as *Baya* which is a harvest thank giving festival is held there. The open-air communal fire place is found at the village Navgam. The village Chankhal also has similar ceremonial area which is situated at the central part of agricultural fields.

The concept of Hindu secular and sacred complex is different from E. Durkheim's<sup>2</sup> and L. Dumont's<sup>3</sup> absolute profane and sacred division. At the festival place, while celebration of festival is going on, there is no barrier among the Bhils, the Konkanas,

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1. op cit., Khanapurkar, D.P., 1944, p. 26.

2. Durkheim, E., *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, New York, 1961.

3. Dumont, L., *Homo Hierarchicus: The Castes System and Its Implications*, London, 1970.



the Warlis and others, but when they return to own space, an invisible socio-religious barrier rises up again among them. It means that in the sacred place, they are on par with each other. But in the secular space there are invisible socio-religious barrier and socio-economic conflicts among them. Thus the festival place carries out the role of cultural integration and dissolution of social conflict among the different tribal communities of a village.

Turning to source of water in the village, it is one of the most important necessities for living in a place as well as for selection of village site. The first consideration of selection of the village settlement is source of water, the next is food-supply, the third is appropriate shelter for defense and resting place. Most of villages of the Dangs have some source of water supply, near or far. Some villages are supplied water by a *dabaka* or *takla* which is a ditch, one or two feet deep where water is found. *Takla* is very important in terms of not only water supply but also a place for exchange of information and communicating something with each other. Many villages, like Kasadbari in the hilly region have this kind of *taklas*. *Takla* is the best place for communicating with each other, in particular, for village women. Recently, the function of *takla* has gradually shifted from a well to a pipe line water tap.

In Malegaon, there is a water pumping place which is located at the central part of the village (See, Pg. 31-1, Vol. II). Every morning and evening time, many villagers, in particular, women fetch water and wash their vessel at the place. In the past, in a village, each tribal community had its own *takla* or well, because one community does not allow others to yield water in the same *takla* due to the idea of purity. Nowadays in many villages, water is supplied by the pipeline, thus this kind of custom has gradually disappeared. The pipeline water tap which is generally located at central part of the village replaces the role of *takla*. It is said that the pipe line water tap is also one of the important landmarks in a village.

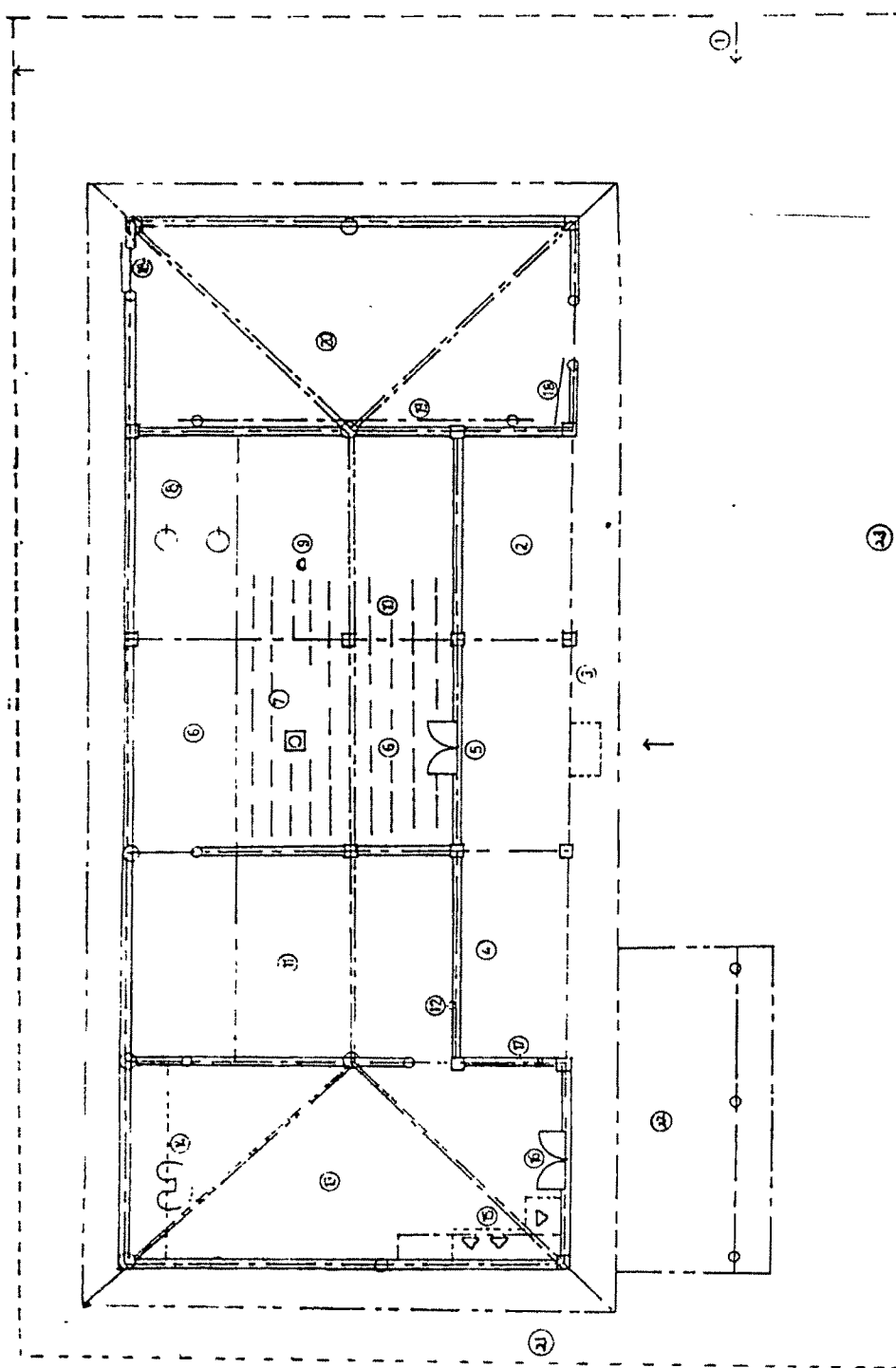
## B. Houses and Huts

### (1) Types of Houses and Huts

According to Census of 1991, the total 27,747 houses are spread in the Dangs district.<sup>1</sup> Out of the total houses, 88%

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1. op cit., *Village / Town Primary Census Abstract*, 1991, p.p. 1-9.



Pl. 2-17-A  
Bhil Raja's House  
Ground Plan  
Linga, Dangs  
27 June 1993

- (1) Baroni (Gate)
- (2) Machi (Hay Storage)
- (3) Earthen Platform
- (4) Matha (Lobby)
- (5) Dar (Door)
- (6) Wasli (Livingroom)
- (7) Ukha (Pounding Hole)
- (8) Garthi (Grinding Stone)
- (9) Shekoti (Fire Place)
- (10) Mara (Attic)
- (11) Kholi (Bedroom), (12) Diwa (Stone Lamp), (13) Rasoda (Kitchen), (14) Chulla (Hearth), (15) Vatuli (Cupboard), (16) Khidaki (Window), (17) Peep Hole, (18) Darwaja (Bamboo-Mat Door), (19) Lasi (Bar Hanger), (20) Gotha (Cow Shed), (21) Bathing Place, (22) Khermed (Threshing Pole)

Pl. 2-17-B Bhil Raja's House

Layout &

Side View of the Northern Part

Linga, Dangs

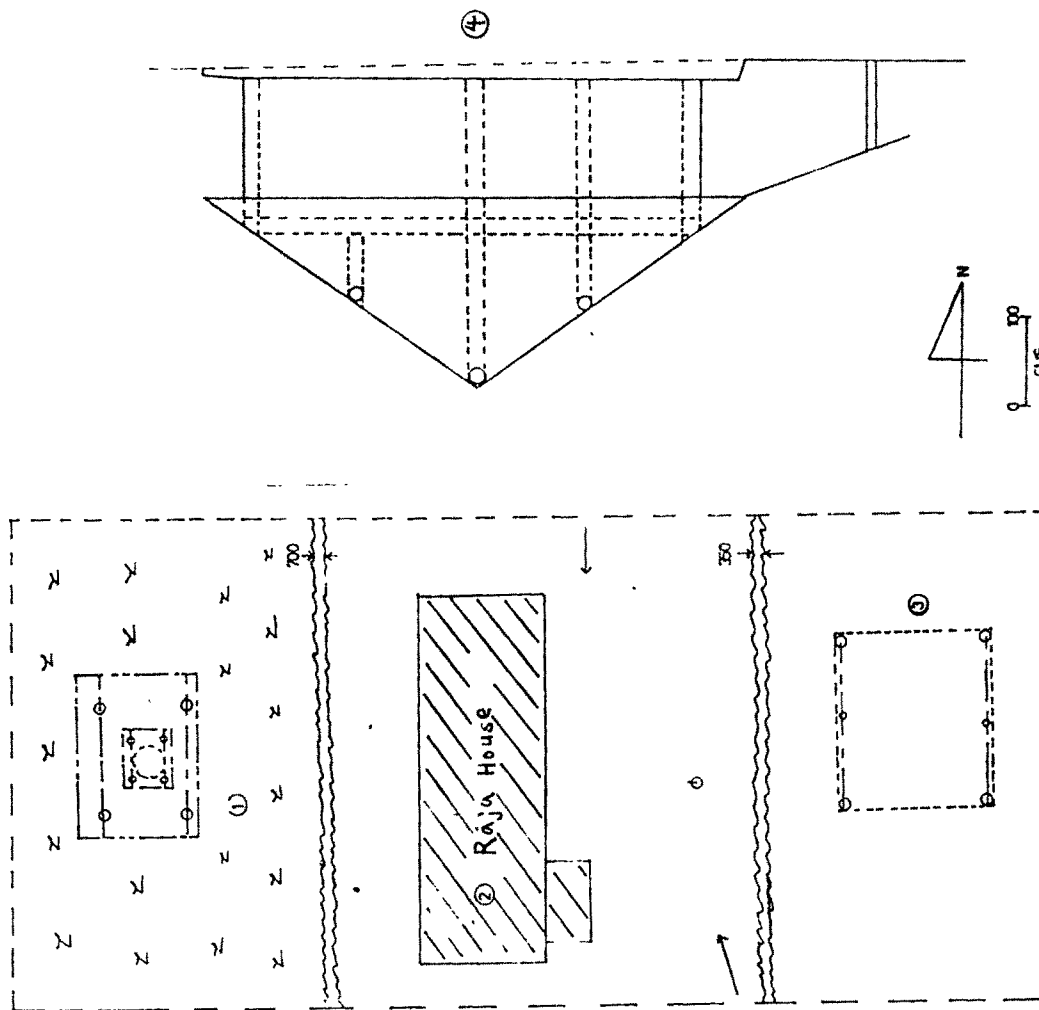
27 June 1993

(1) Deushi Padar (Ancestor Shrine) ; Mangalo Tile Roof

(2) House; Mangalo Tile Roof

(3) Mandou (Shade cum Open-air Cowshed) ; Hay Roof

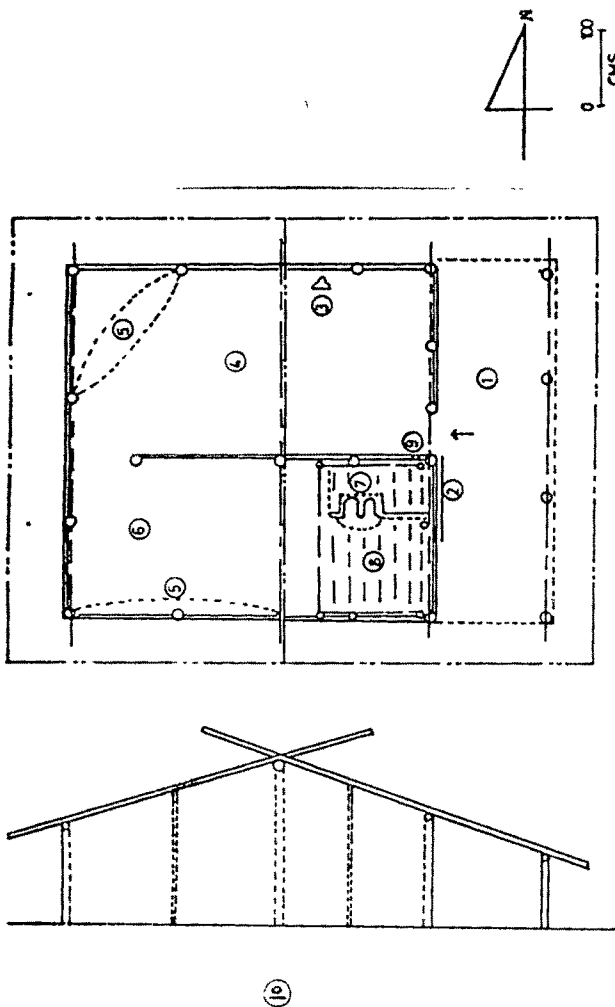
(4) Side View of the Northern Part; Bamboo-Mat Wall



Pl. 2-18  
 Bhil Peasant's Hut  
 Ground Plan &  
 Side View of the Southern Part  
 Pipilmai, Dangs  
 3 June 1993

- (1) Watha (Lobby)
- (2) Darwaja (Bamboo-Mat Door)
- (3) Degda (Water Jar)
- (4) Wasli (Livingroom)
- (5) Hindi (Swing)
- (6) Rasoda (Kitchen)
- (7) Chulla (Hearth)
- (8) Machi (Storage Stand)
- (9) Peep Hole
- (10) Side View of the Southern Part;

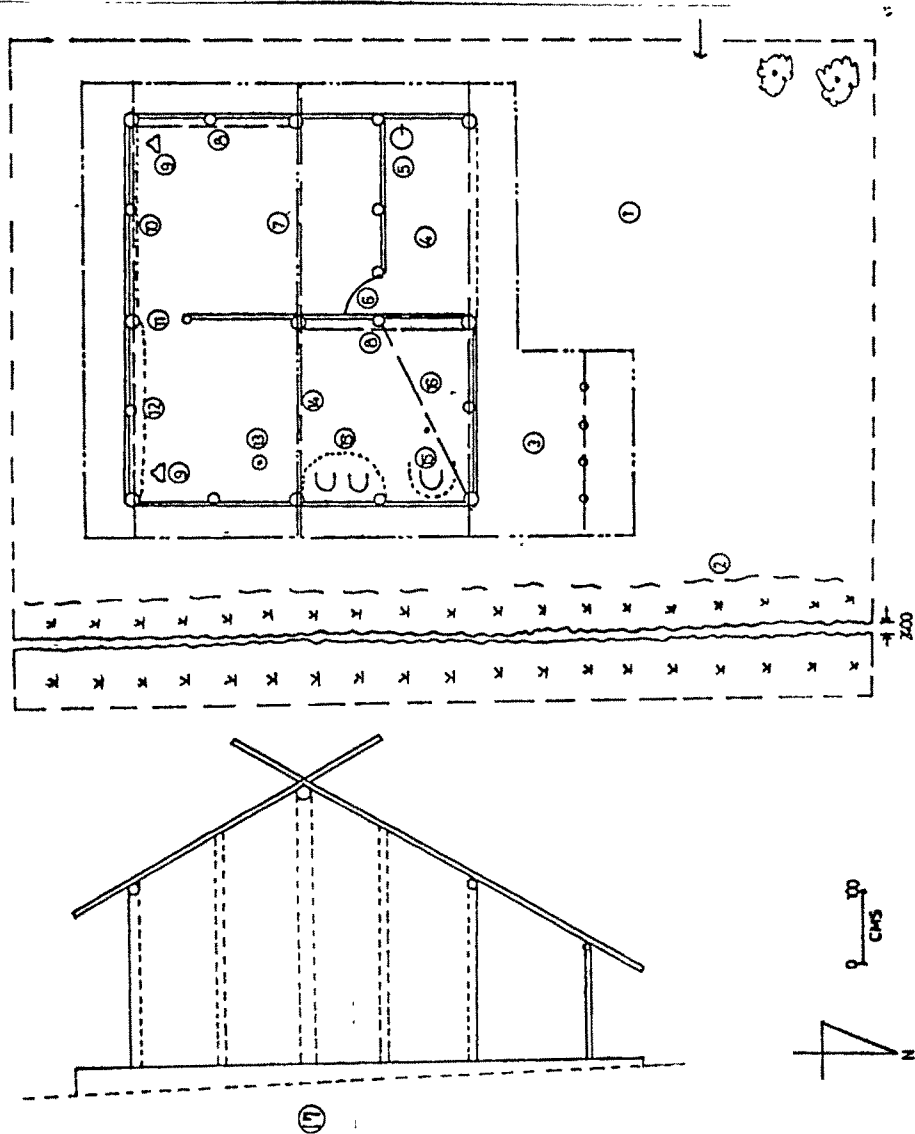
Straw-Thatched Roof  
 Bamboo-Mat Wall Plastered with  
 Clay and Cowdung  
 Vegetable Garden



Pl. 2-19  
 Bhil Craftman's Hut  
 Ground Plan &  
 Side View of the Eastern Part  
 Kudkas, Dangs  
 22 June 1993

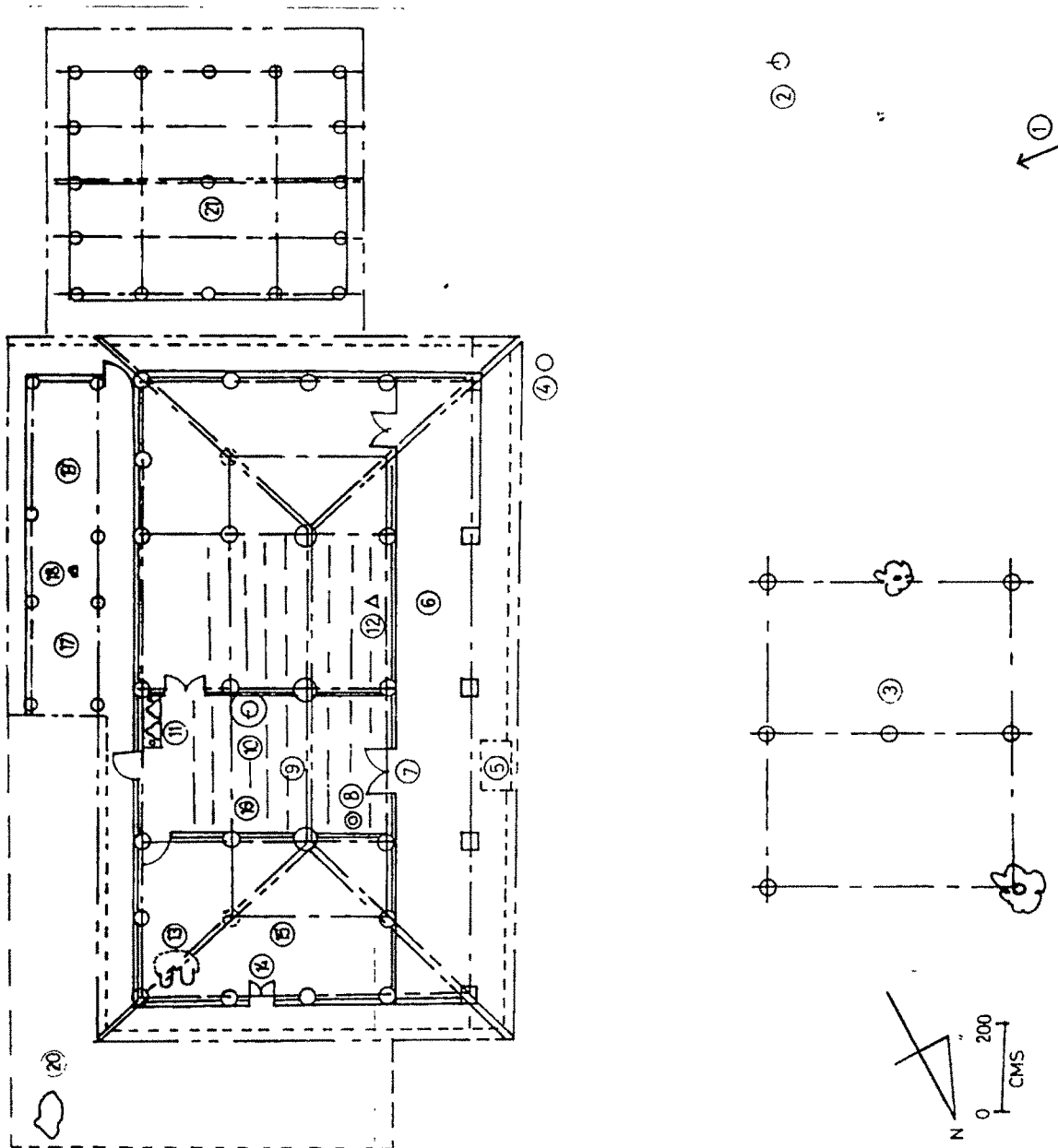
- (1) Court Yard
- (2) Vegetable Garden
- (3) Path; Machi (Fire Wood Stand)
- (4) Watha (Lobby)
- (5) Garthi (Grinding Stone)
- (6) Dar (Door)
- (7) Wasli (Livingroom)
- (8) Lasi (Bar Hanger)
- (9) Gagar (Water Tank)
- (10) Hanger for Clothes
- (11) Baroni (Entrance)
- (12) Wani (Hanger)
- (13) Kuthie (Pounding Hole)
- (14) Rasoda (Kitchen)
- (15) Chulla (Hearth)
- (16) Shelf

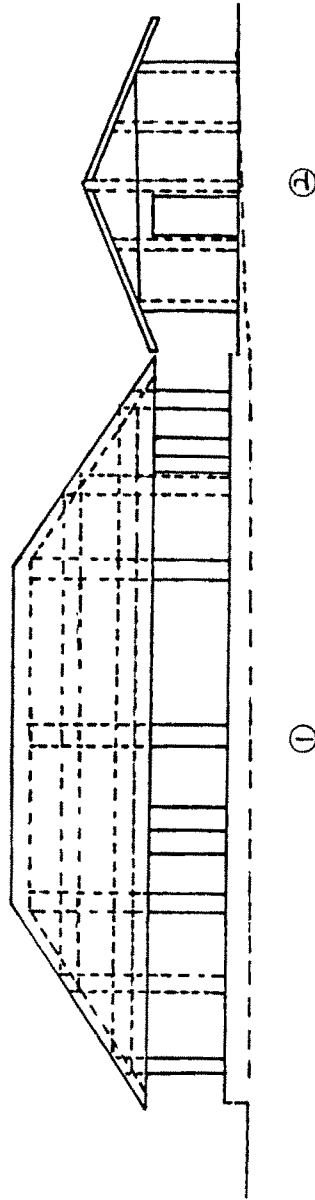
- (17) Side View of the Eastern Part;  
 Straw-Thatched Roof  
 Bamboo-Mat Wall Plastered with  
 Clay and Cowdung  
 Mango Trees



P1. 2-20A  
 Konkana Farmer's House  
 Ground Plan  
 Borkhet, Dangs  
 16 February 1992

- (1) Baran (Entrance)
- (2) Kheroad (Threshing pole)
- (3) Mandou (Shade)
- (4) Electric Pole
- (5) Earthen Platform
- (6) Waiba (Lobby)
- (7) Dar (Door)
- (8) Ukhar (Pounding Hole)
- (9) Wasli (Livingroom)
- (10) Garhi (Grinding Stone)
- (11) Mori (Water Stand)
- (12) Mandir (Shrine)
- (13) Chulla (Hearth)
- (14) Kidakhi (Window)
- (15) Rasoda (Kitchen)
- (16) Mara (Attic)
- (17) Kholi (Bedroom)
- (18) Shekoti (Fire Place)
- (19) Padvi (Shed)
- (20) Bathing Place
- (21) Gotha (Cowshed)





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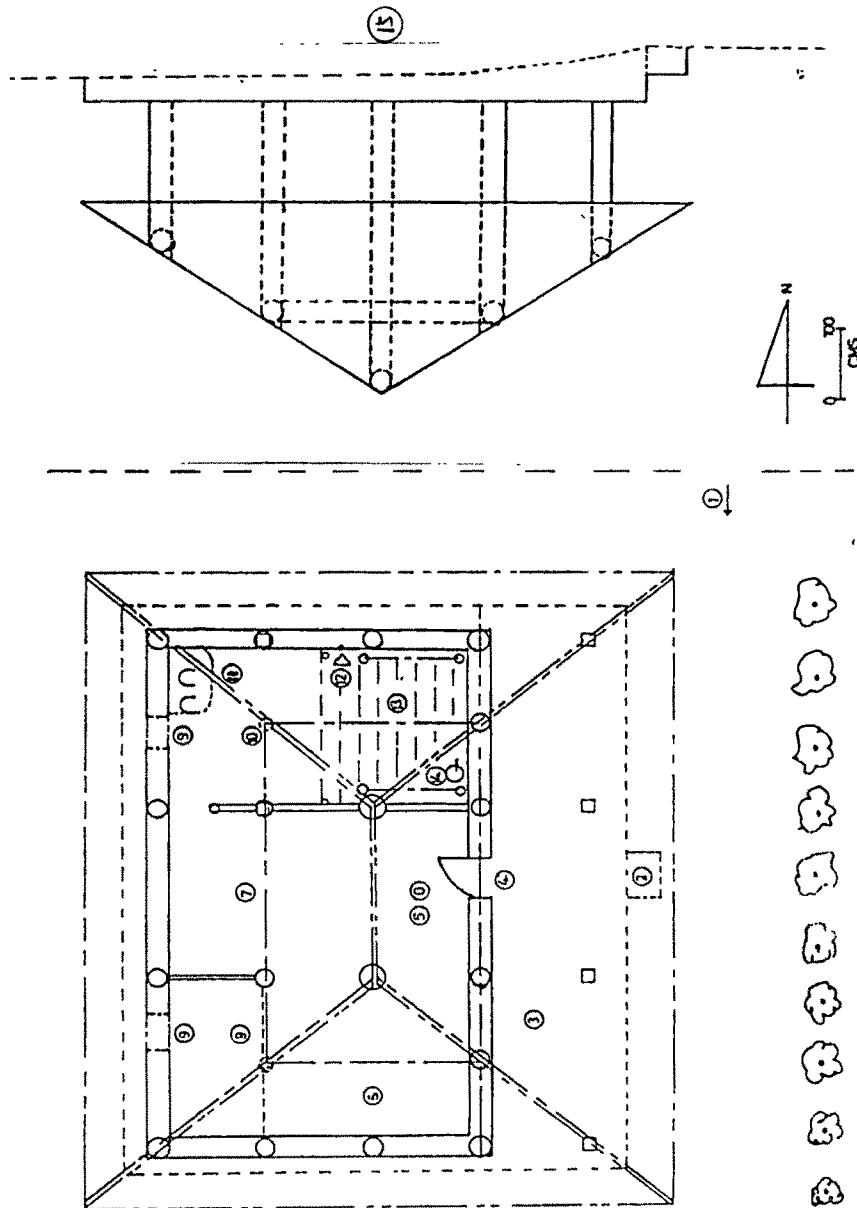
P1. 2-20B  
 Konkana Farmer's House  
 Front View of the North-Western Part  
 Borkhet, Dangs  
 16 February 1992

- (1) House: Mangalo Tile Roof  
 Bamboo-Mat Wall Plastered with Clay and Cowdung
- (2) Cowshed : Mangalo Tile  
 Bamboo-Mat Wall  
 Mango Trees

P1. 2-21  
 Konkana Farmer's House  
 Ground Plan &  
 Side View of the Northern Part  
 Pipaldahad, Dangs  
 20 June 1993

- (1) Baroni (Entrance)
- (2) Stone Platform
- (3) Watha (Lobby)
- (4) Dar (Door)
- (5) Ukhara (Pounding Hole)
- (6) Ghota (Shed)
- (7) Wasari (Livingroom)
- (8) Chara (Loft)
- (9) Khidaki (Window)
- (10) Rasoda (Kitchen)
- (11) Chulla (Hearth)
- (12) Degda (Water Jar)
- (13) Mara (Raised Storage)
- (14) Garthi (Grinding Stone)
- (15) Side View of the Northern Part;

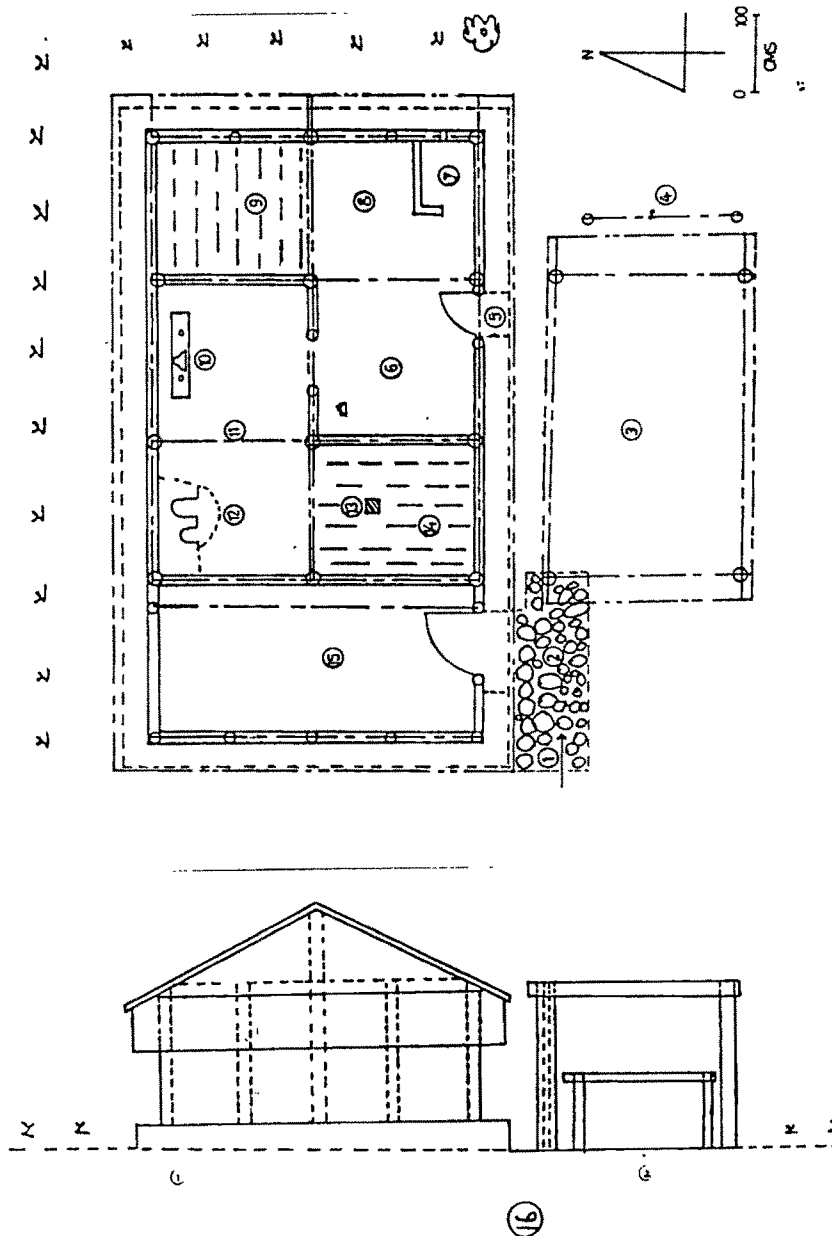
Desh & Magalo Tile Roof  
 Earthen-Block Wall  
 Modwi Trees ( ; Edible Seed)  
 Vegetable Garden



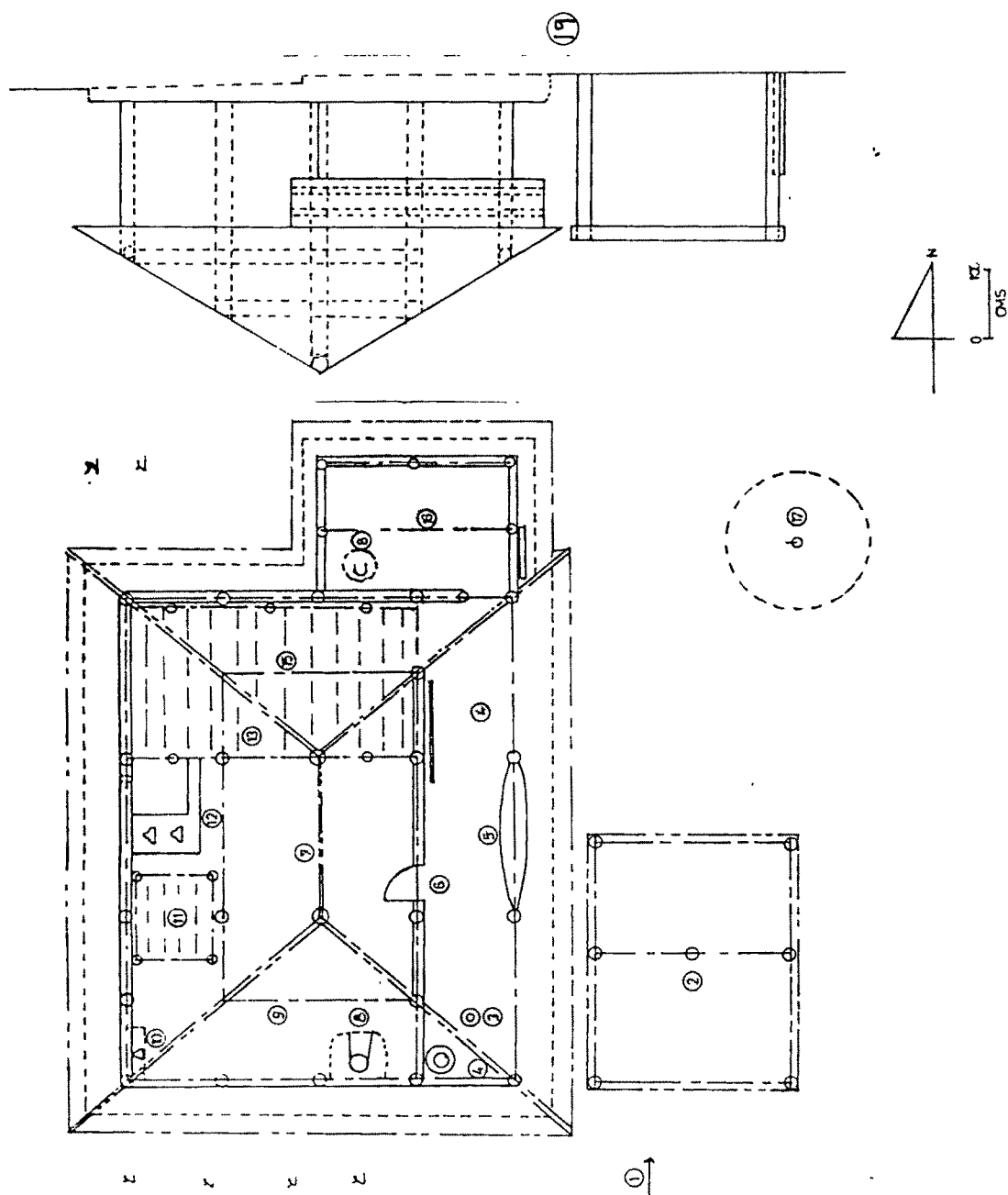


Pl. 2-22  
 Konkana Patel's House  
 Ground Plan &  
 Side View of the Western Part  
 Malegaon, Dangs  
 9 June 1993

- (1) Entrance (Baroni)
- (2) Pave Stone
- (3) Mandou (Shade)
- (4) Machi (Fire Wood Stand)
- (5) Dar (Door)
- (6) Wasli (Livingroom)
- (7) Bathroom
- (8) Watha (Lobby)
- (9) Paal (Storage)
- (10) Mori (Water Stand)
- (11) Rasoda (Kitchen)
- (12) Chulla (Hearth)
- (13) Chakri (Skylight)
- (14) Mahi (Raised Storage)
- (15) Padvi (Shed cum Storage)
- (16) Side View of the Western Part ;  
 Mangalo & Desh Tile Roof  
 Bamboo-Mat Wall Plastered with  
 Clay and Cowdung  
 Jamuluk Tree  
 Vegetable Garden



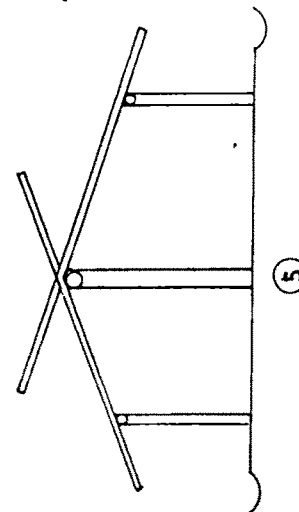
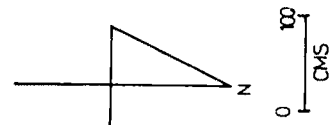
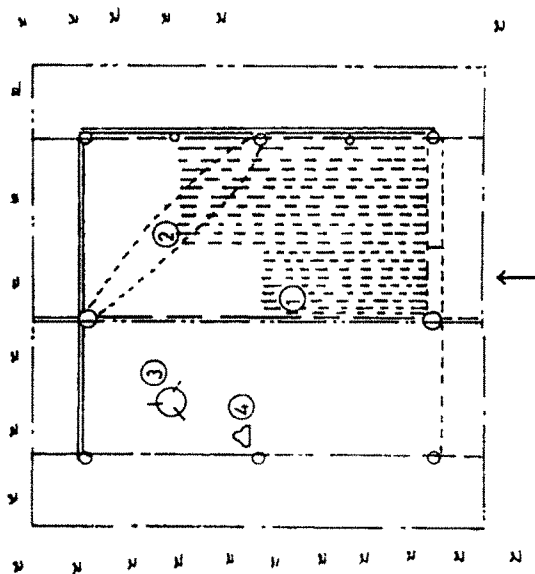
Pl. 2-23  
 Warli Farmer's House  
 Ground Plan &  
 Side View of the Northern Part  
 Kasadbari, Dangs  
 18 June 1993



- (1) Baroni (Gate)
- (2) Mandou (Shade)
- (3) Ukhara (Pounding Hole)
- (4) Garthi (Grinding Stone)
- (5) Hindi (Swing)
- (6) Dara (Door)
- (7) Wasli (Livingroom)
- (8) Chulla (Hearth)
- (9) Rasodu (Kitchen)
- (10) Mandir (Shrine)
- (11) Machi (Raised Floor)
- (12) Mori (Washing Place)
- (13) Mara (Loft)
- (14) Watha (Lobby)
- (15) Gotha (Shed)
- (16) Kholi (Bedroom)
- (17) Meda (Threshing Pole)
- (18) Rakhra (Fire Wood Stand)
- (19) Side View of the Northern Part;  
 Desh and Mangalo Tiles;  
 (South and Western Roof)  
 Sagna Pan (Teak Leaves)  
 and Baru (Corn Stick);  
 (North and Eastern Roof)  
 Bamboo-Mat Wall Plastered with  
 Clay and Cowdung

Pl. 2-24  
 Warli Peasant's Hut  
 Ground Plan &  
 Side View of the Northern Part  
 Dongiamba, Dangs  
 19 June 1993

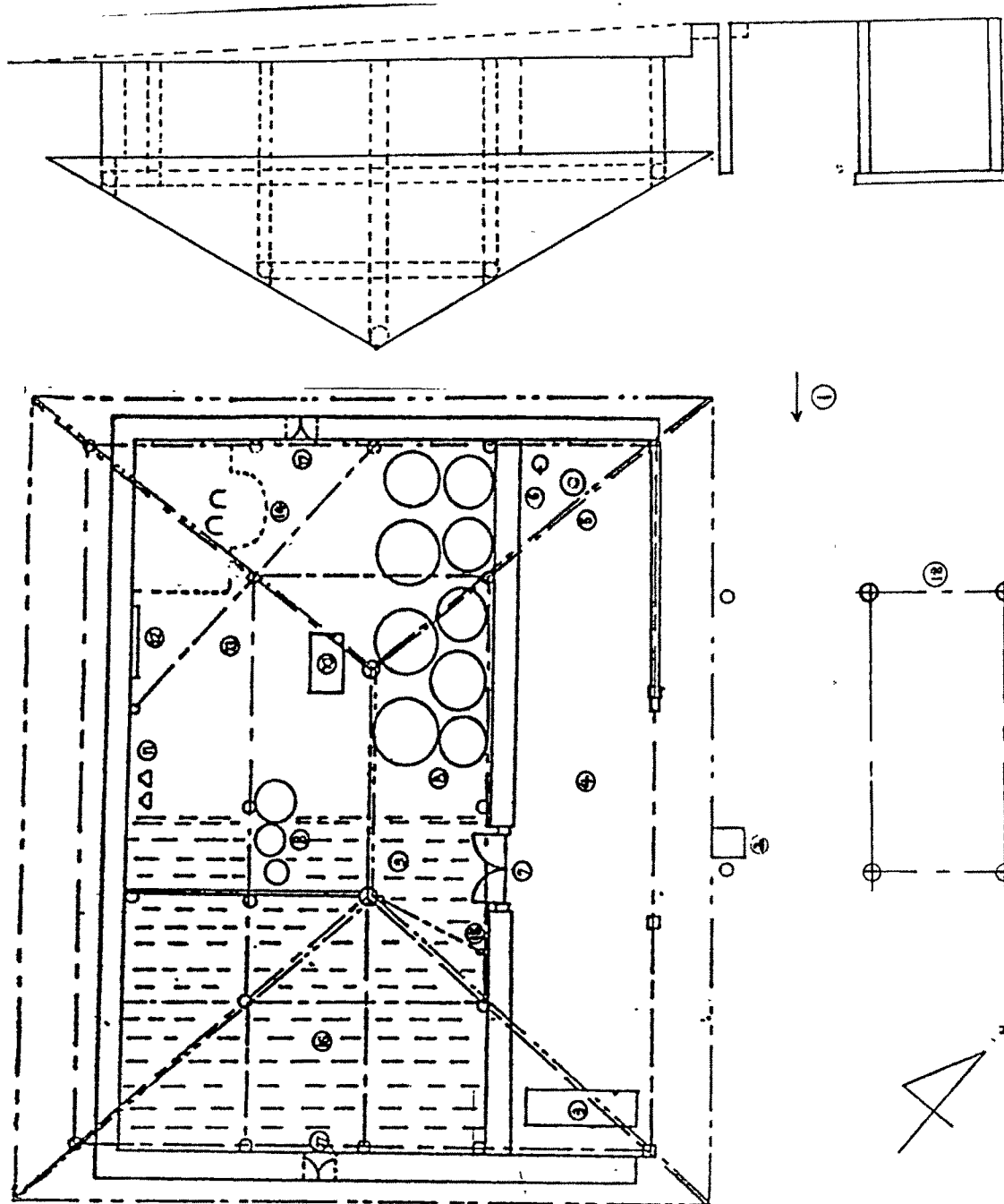
- (1) Wasli (Livingroom)
- (2) Hindi (Swing)
- (3) Chulla (Hearth)
- (4) Gagar (Water Jar)
- (5) Side View of the Northern Part ;  
 Leaves-Thatched Roof  
 Bamboo-Mat Wall  
 Vegetable Garden



Pl. 2-25  
Gamit Farmer's House  
Ground Plan &  
Side View of the North-Western Part  
Kakshala, Dangs  
21 June 1993

- (1) Baroni (Entrance)
- (2) Stair-Block
- (3) Wooden Bench
- (4) Otlo (Lobby)
- (5) Ukhuka (Pounding Hole)
- (6) Gathi (Grinding Stone)
- (7) Dar (Door)
- (8) Kotar (Storage)
- (9) Maro (Loft)
- (10) Khabat (Cupboard)
- (11) Degda (Water Jar)
- (12) Source Stand
- (13) Rasodu (Kitchen)
- (14) Chullo (Hearth)
- (15) Wooden Bar
- (16) Ghota (Cowshed)
- (17) Kidhaki (Window)
- (18) Mandou (Shade)
- (19) Side View of the Northern Part;

Dead Tile Roof  
Earthen-Block Wall &  
partly Bamboo-Mat Wall  
Vegetable Garden



Pl. 2-26  
 Gamit Farmer's House  
 Ground Plan &  
 Side View of North-Western Part  
 Singana, Dangas  
 21 June 1993

- (1) Ukhua (Pounding Hole)
- (2) Gatha (Grinding Stone)
- (3) Otlo (Lobby)
- (4) Dar (Door)
- (5) Ehotu (Cowshed)
- (6) Asada (Hanger)
- (7) Maro (Loft)
- (8) Khabat (Cupboard)
- (9) Rasodu (Kitchen)
- (10) Degda (Water Jar)
- (11) Chullo (Hearth)
- (12) Kotar (Storage)
- (13) Side View of

the North-Western Part;

Mangalo Tile with

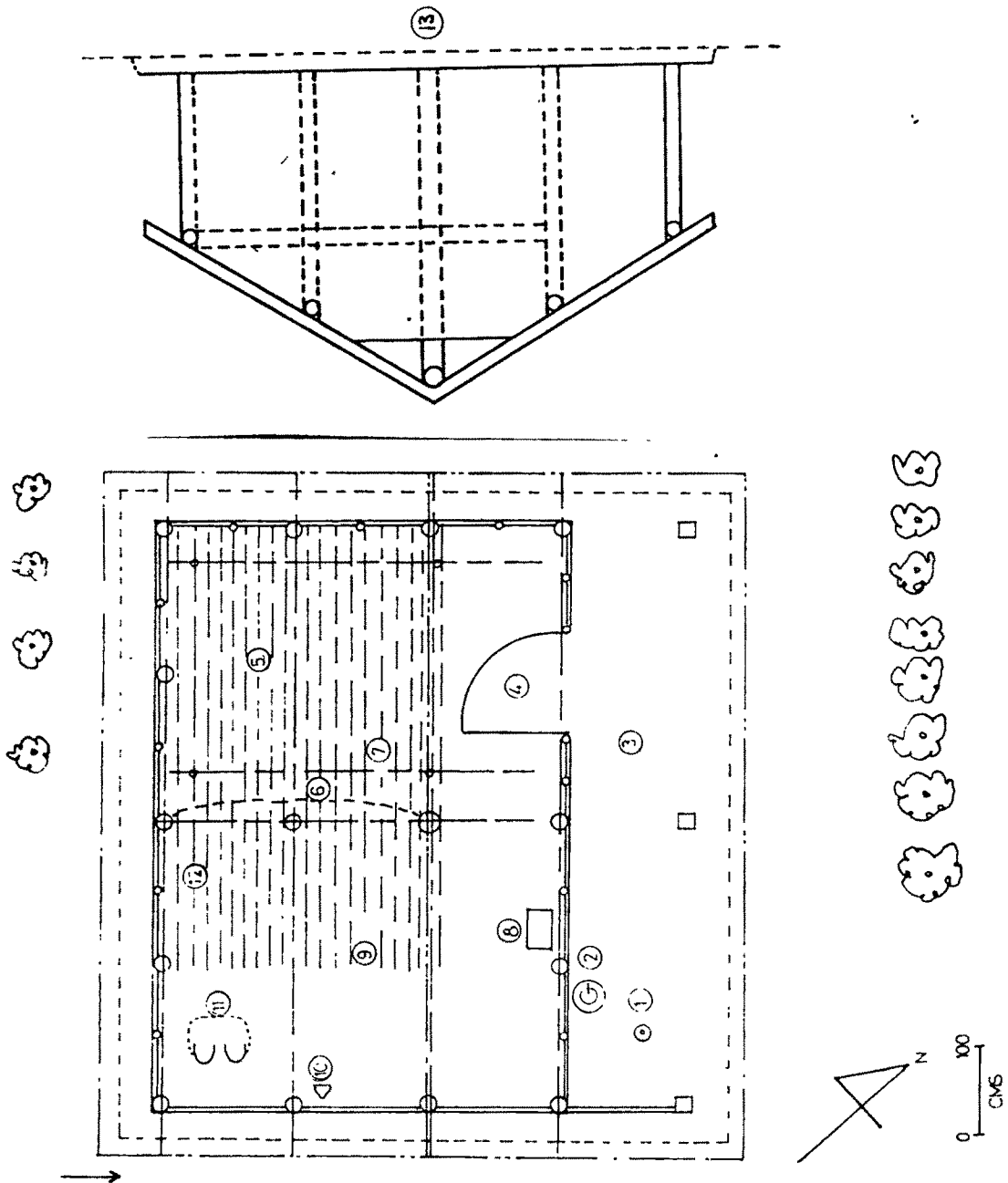
a few of Deth Tile

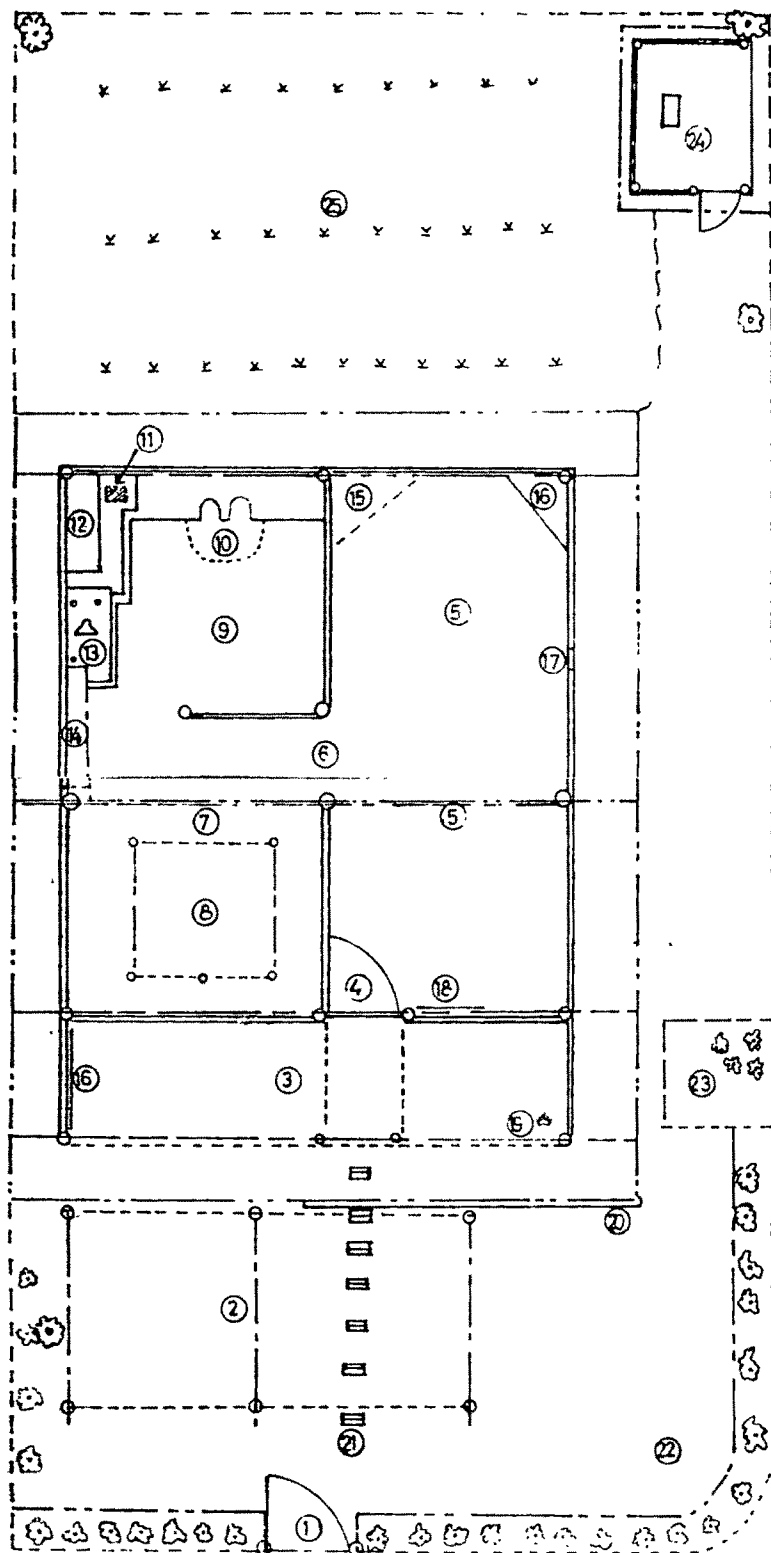
Bamboo-Mat Wall Plastered with

Clay and Cowdung

Modiri Trees (: Edible Seed)

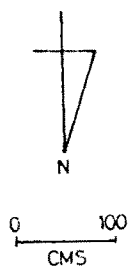
Vegetable Garden

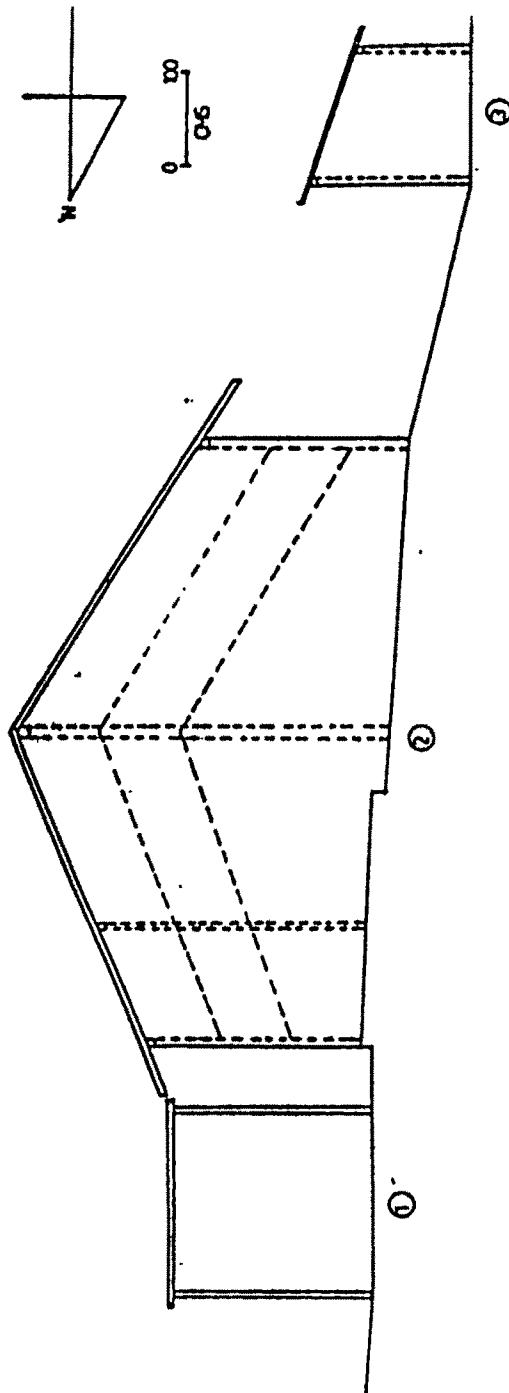




P1. 2-27-A  
 Dhodia Labourer's House  
 Ground Plan  
 Rajendrapur  
 (near Waghai), Dangs  
 29 June 1993

- (1) Baruna (Gate)
- (2) Mandou (Shade)
- (3) Otlo (Lobby)
- (4) Baruna (Entrance Door)
- (5) Ubhedo (Livingroom)
- (6) Baruna (Entrance)
- (7) Betakrun (Storage)
- (8) Lakdani Machi  
(Fire Wood Stand)
- (9) Lasodu (Kitchen)
- (10) Chulla (Hearth)
- (11) Chakri (Skylight)
- (12) Mashala Mukhane Patyu  
(Source Shelf)
- (13) Matla Mukhane Machi  
(Water Stand)
- (14) Ghoda (Vessel Shelf)
- (15) Oroni (Hanger)
- (16) Chaupura (Shelf)
- (17) Katlo (Wall Bit)
- (18) Mandir (Shrine)
- (19) Shekoti (Fire Place)
- (20) Eveans-Through
- (21) Pave-Brick
- (22) Fulwari (Garden)
- (23) Bathing Place
- (24) Ordo (Toilet)
- (25) Chogano  
(Vegetable Garden)  
 Various Trees &  
 Flowers



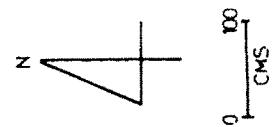
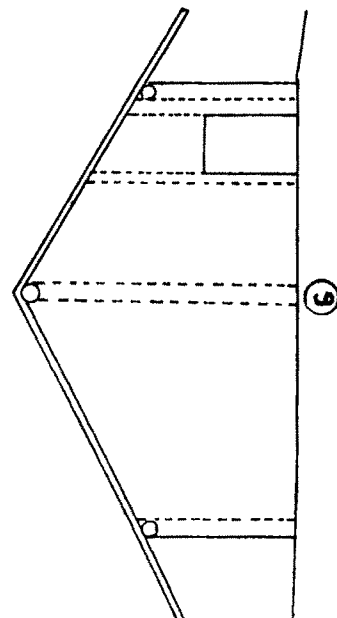
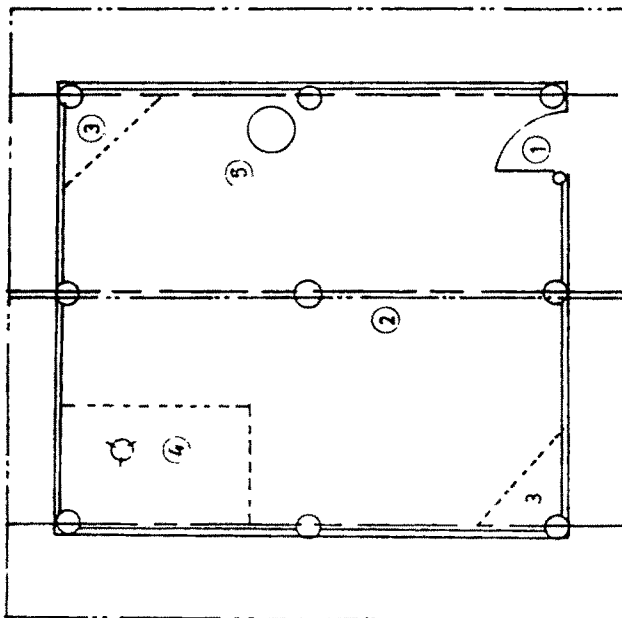


- (1) Mandou (Shade)
- (2) House ; Mangalo Tile Roof  
Bamboo-Mat Wall Plastered with  
Clay and Cowdung
- (3) Toilet; Straw-Thatched Roof

Pl. 2-27-B  
 Dhodia Labourer's House  
 Side View of the Western Part  
 Rajendrapur (Near Waghai), Dangs  
 29 June 1993

Pl. 2-28  
Kotwalia Craftsman's Hut  
Ground Plan &  
Side View of the Southern Part  
Chichgaontha, Dangs  
22 June 1993

- (1) Dar (Door)
- (2) Koli (Room)
- (3) Akhri (Hanger)
- (4) Chulla (Hearth)
- (5) Topla (Bamboo Jar)
- (6) Side View of the Southern Part ;  
Straw-Thatched Roof  
Bamboo-Mat Wall (Walcha)



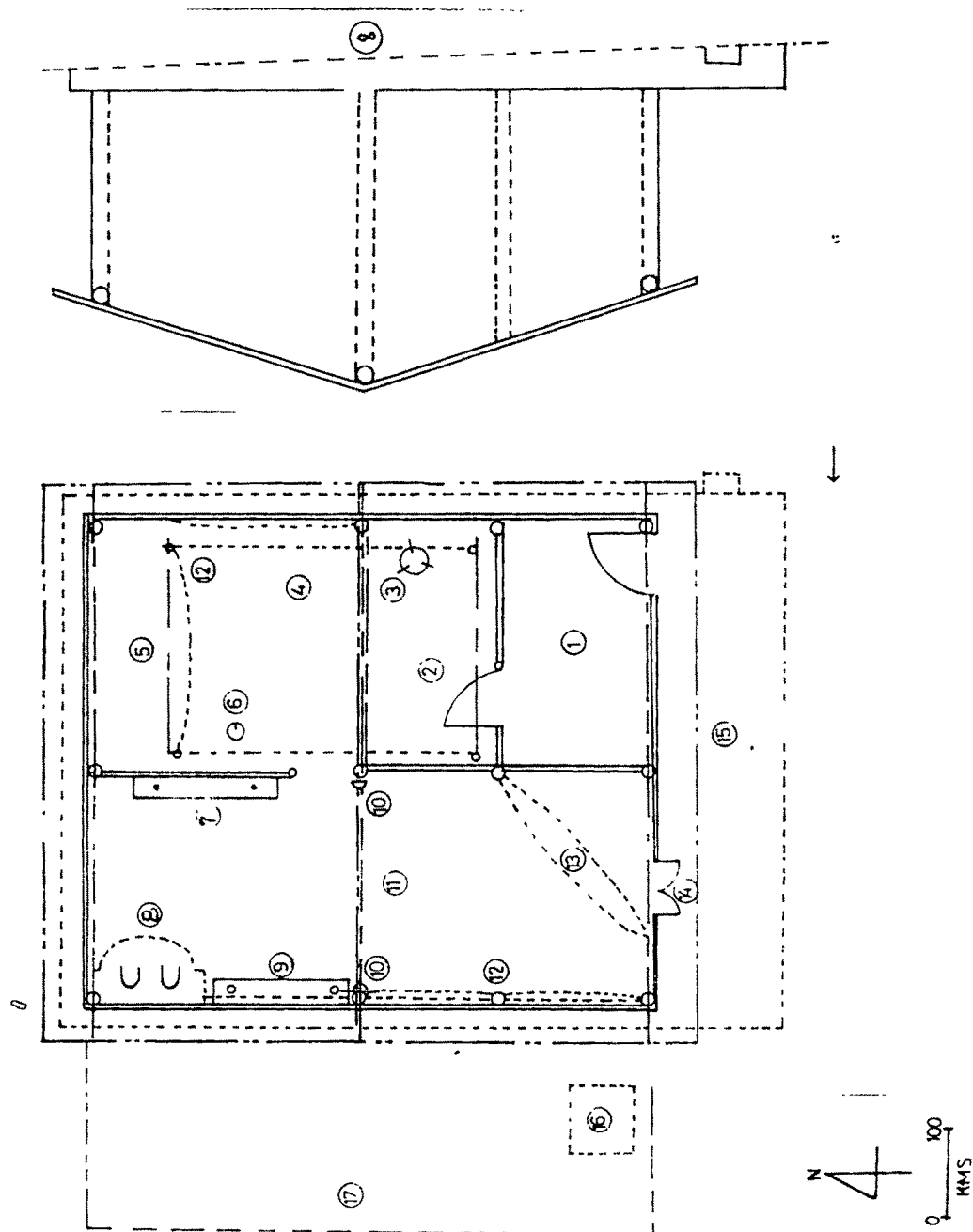


Pl. 2-29  
Mang Craftsman's House

Ground Plan &  
Side View of the Eastern Part  
Ahwa, Dangs  
28 June 1993

- (1) Watha (Lobby)
- (2) Wasl (Livingroom)
- (3) Shekhoti (Fire Place)
- (4) Mandsa (Loft)
- (5) Mara (Storage)
- (6) Garthi (Grinding Stone)
- (7) Fori (Shelf)
- (8) Chulla (Hearth)
- (9) Basnathawalchi Fori (Vessel Shelf)
- (10) Dehewara (God of the House)
- (11) Kholi (Bedroom)
- (12) Warani (Hanger)
- (13) Hindi (Swing)
- (14) Window
- (15) Earthen Platform
- (16) Bathing Place
- (17) Open-air Storage
- (18) Side View of the Eastern Part;

Mangalo Roof  
Bamboo-Mat Wall Plastered with  
Clay and Cowdung



i.e., 24,525 houses are situated in the villages. The rest are located in Ahwa and Waghai areas. The construction of the *pucca* house was firstly introduced by the Diwan Kacheri building. In particular, Diwan's Bungalow, Forest Rest-house, Civil Hospital, etc. are more than one hundred years old. Except Government buildings there was only a few *pucca* buildings such as Christian churches and a Parsi distillery. But nowadays there are many *pucca* houses which are recently built in the Dangs. On account of Indian Forest Act, no one is allowed to construct his house in the Reserved Forest, and further, the construction of *pucca* houses in the forest is prohibited by the Government.

Most of the Dangis live in the *kacha* houses or huts. Between a house and a hut, there are no serious differences in terms of daily life and living condition. But the houses differ from the huts from the architectural point of view, in particular, using materials, size of the internal space and long duration. As D.P. Khanapurkar (1944) mentioned earlier, "the houses enclose a larger area than the huts and have tiles on roofs".<sup>1</sup> In practice, the houses are made of long duration materials and are semi-permanent or permanent structure and used for the settled life (See, Fg. 17-9, 18-1, 18-13, 18-7, 20-6, 21-1 & 23-1, Vol II). On the other hand, the huts are made of short duration materials, and are small and temporary structures and used for camp life like nomadic or semi-nomadic settlement. The huts are mostly made of *kacha* materials and have a smaller space and shorter durability (See, Fg. 17-1, 17-2, 17-5, 19-5, 22-1 & 22-2, Vol. II).

In particular, the primitive tribes like hunters and food-gatherers do not construct *pucca* house due to shifting from one place to another place seasonally. With the passing of time, the Dangis also have gradually adapted to semi-settled nomadic life or settled agricultural life. As a result, they began to construct semi-permanent huts or permanent houses since late 19th century. Moreover, they were enforced to get settled in a village by the Government since 1930s.

## (2) Lay-out of Houses and Huts

Basically humans need at least a shelter structure which can provide an appropriate resting cum sleeping space with a defense structure. And further, the shelter may contain a simple fireplace and storage for the daily necessities like fire, food and water. These factors are primary requirements for residing at a certain place and for the selection of human habitat.

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1. op cit., Khanapurkar, D.P., 1944, p. 29.

The layout or division of the house or the hut is closely related to the above-mentioned factors. Traditionally, the Dangi tribal hut is of very simple type which contains only a bed room (*koli*) including fire place (*shekoti* or *chulla*) and storage (*kotar* or *mara*). This is a primary division of the human shelter. And further, a common Dangi hut is divisible into three sections: one is *watha* or *otlo* (lobby; front), the other is *wasli* (living room), another is *rasoda* (kitchen). Besides, a larger house have *gotha* (cowshed), *koli* (bedroom), *vavari*<sup>1</sup> or *kotar* (storage) and *maro* or *mara* (attic).

A simplest Dangi hut, which has no division of interior space, contains a *koli* including *chulla* and *kotar* or *mara*. This kind of hut is prevalent in the Dangs (See, Pl. 2-24 & 2-28). The next evolved hut basically contains two divisions made by means of a simple bamboo wall or storage structure like bamboo basket and clay jars as a divide or semi-divide (See, Pl. 2-18 & 2-19). It has a sleeping cum kitchen space (*rasoda*), and a sleeping cum storage space (*wasli*). Moreover, this kind of hut has mostly a lobby or front (*otlo* or *watha*). In a word, a sleeping space is the first requirement then a cooking and a storing spaces.

The better evolved hut or house consists of three separated divisions such as living room, kitchen and storage (See, Pl. 2-22, 2-27 & 2-29). Of course, this kind of house or hut also has *otlo* or *watha*. In the *watha* (See, Pl. 2-23, 2-25, 2-26, & 2-27) there are usually a *hindi* (swing), a *ganthi* (grinding stone) and/or a *ukhara* (pounding hole). Functionally the storing space can be for two purposes; one is for storage, the other is for keeping cum breeding domestic animals (See, Pl. 2-22, 2-25, 2-26 & 2-29).

The best developed house contains four separate divisions such as living room, kitchen, bedroom, storage with *watha* or *otlo* (See, Pl. 2-17, 2-20 & 2-23). Besides, some well developed houses have a separate portion of cowshed, shrine, toilet or bathroom (See, Pl. 2-17, 2-20, 2-22 & 2-27, Fg. 17-12, 18-12, 21-2, 21-3, 24-3, 24-4, 42-3 to 42-6, Vol. II). As evolving from the simple shelter to the complicate house, the layout or division of the artificial structure for human being becomes more and more complicated.

Furthermore, the longitudinal division of the hut should be mentioned. Through roofing of the structure, a longitudinal division is made by the bars and extra bars for the purpose of hanging, keeping, storing and/or residing. The simplest hut has no attic or no raised floor (See, Pl. 2-24 & 2-28). The

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1. See, *ibid.*, p. 28.

evolved hut contains a raised floor or an attic (See, Pl. 2-18 & 2-19, Fg. 18-3, Vol. II). The better evolved hut or house has both a raised floor and an attic (See, Pl. 2-21 & 2-22, Fg. 19-2, Vol. II). The well-evolved house has various raised floors and many attics (See, Pl. 2-17, 2-20, 2-23 & 2-25).

The layout or division of the tribal huts or houses differ from each other due to mainly economic situation and their life style. For instance, it is natural that the houses of agriculturalist tribes differ from the huts of nomadic tribes. By and large, the poor Kotwalias, Warlis, Bhils, etc. have very simple hut or house. Comparatively, the houses of Rajas, Naiks, Panchs, Patels (See, Pl. 2-17 & 2-22), and furthermore, many houses of the Konkanas, Gamits and Dhodias have good residential facilities (See, Pl. 2-20, 2-25, 2-26 & 2-27). Especially, most of the Konkanas and the Gamits have their own house on their own land. They are mostly farmers, they may need to establish a *gotha* (cowshed) for breeding cattle, which are useful for getting draught power for agricultural purpose such as ploughing and carrying a bullock-cart (See, Pl. 2-20, 2-21, 2-25 & 2-26). But many others do not possess a buffalo or a cow, thus they may not need to install the cowshed in their house or hut. Moreover, most of them occupy a small hut on the Government land<sup>1</sup>.

### (3) Structure of Houses and Huts

Previously the traditional types of the Dangi houses and huts were mainly circular and rectangular (*koo*) (See, Fg. 1-19 & 17-1, Vol. II). Of course there were also a few horseshoe and square types. The more primitive type of hut is conical shape which is also found in the Dangs at the temporary camp site such as for fishing or felling lumbers, e.g., the Khapri riverside fishing huts. At present there are only a few circular type of huts which are found in the villages, namely, Daodahad and Dongiamba. A horseshoe type of huts are found in the village Baj, and a square type of huts are found in many villages of the Dangs. It may be said that the circular type was popular<sup>2</sup> but nowadays is not popular among the Dangis as it provides on by a small interior space, an inconvenient space division and a short duration.

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1. Since early 1970s many Dangis began to claim their own land property. But many illiterate Dangis can not afford to claim their right due to lack of legal knowledge. They, therefore, camly live on the Government land. It is certain that the primitive tribal community has no concept of private land property, but only concept of communal territory.

2. op cit., Lal, R.B., 1978, p. 14.

The circular type of a hut is built by erecting one central post and one or two circles of wooden posts which are connected with the wooden bars or bamboo rafters comprising the roof. A central tall post supports the upper parts of the rafters and further, the central portion of the roof while the bars in a circle on the wider circles arranged by short posts support the lower parts of the rafters. The top height of the hut is about 4.0 mt. and the height of eaves is about 1.8 mt., and further, the diameter is about 6.0 mt. (See, Fg. 17-1, Vol. II). Usually, new huts are erected after rainy season.

The roof of a hut is made of a number of *banda* (bamboo stripes), which are laid on the rafters and tied to them by *adya* (stripes of cane) or *vakh* fibres (*Grewia tiliaefolia*). Then the roof is covered with many folds of *sag* (teak) leaves or *polusha* leaves so as to make the hut water proof in rainy season (See, Fg. 19-7 & 22-4, Vol. II). Afterward, on the roof above, *gavt* or *sukal* (grass) is spread where this grass is not available, the other materials such as *dabadi* (grass), *paddy* (rice) straws, *nagli* straws, millet stalks and/or a number of twigs with leaves are overlapped to prevent water from entering into the hut as well as heating and cooling inside space excessively (See, Fg. 17-2, 17-5, 19-5 & 22-2, Vol. II). Finally, in order to secure the roof, from being blown away by wind or storm, many pieces of wooden bars or bamboo poles are placed upon the thatched roofs (See, Fg. 17-2, 17-5, 19-5 & 22-1, Vol. II). Generally, the roof of hut is re-thatched in *Jyeshtha* (May-June), viz., before monsoon yearly or biyearly.

The walls of a hut are generally made of bamboo mats round the circle of outer posts where bamboo is not available, *karavi* (*Strobilanthus grahamianus*) reeds takes its place<sup>1</sup>. The bamboo walls are generally plastered with a mixture of cowdung and clay before winter (See, Fg. 17-6 & 20-5, Vol. II). In summer, some portion of the bamboo wall plastered with a mixture of cowdung and clay and some portion of the roof are removed for the purpose of good ventilation as well as getting fresh air (See, Fg. 18-2, 19-6 & 22-2, Vol. II). The walls of huts are decorated with crude drawings of sun, moon, trees, dancers, horses, riders etc. (See, Fg. 43-13 to 43-15, Vol. II) The Dangi women draw wall paintings in *Pacchavi* (July-August; *Nagpanchmi*) festival<sup>2</sup>, while they draw some pictures on the hearth and also

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1. op cit., Khanapurkar, D.P., 1944, p. 26.

2. See, op cit., Koppar, D.H., 1971, 106.

on the kitchen wall in *Diwali* (September-October)<sup>1</sup>.

The floor of a hut is plastered with a mixture of cowdung and clay. By and large, it is not even, therefore, some careful Dangi woman beats it to evenness by a wooden bat. And further, it is frequently plastered with a mixture cowdung and clay, and further, for the purpose of good maintenance the woman sprays it with water every morning.

Generally, the huts have no windows but only one opening, which is used as an entrance. Some rectangular houses have holes in the walls to admit light and air (See, Pl. 2-18 & 2-27). Recently some rectangular houses install windows also (See, Pl. 2-17, 2-20, 2-21, 2-25, 2-27 & 2-29, Fg. 18-9, Vol. II). The entrance of the hut is closed from within by means of a long bamboo bar (*adasa*) or a bamboo mat (*darwaja*) with padlock (See, Fg. 25-3, Vol. II). The inner portion of a hut may be partitioned by simple dividers such as bamboo mats or *mushki* (bamboo grain container).

The rectangular types of houses and huts are more substantial and spacious and many house are roofed with *deshi* ('U' shape) or *mangalo* (flat shape) tiles (See, Fg. 18-7, 19-1, 20-1 & 2-25 Vol. II). Recently *deshi* tiles which were made by a *kumbhar* (potter) in the village are not available. Many houses, therefore, are roofed with *mangalo* tiles, which are brought from the nearby towns such as Bansda, Chikli and Navapur. In case of Rajas' house, the roof (11 x 6.75 mt. in land) is covered with 4,500 pieces of mangalo tiles (See, Fg. 17-9 & 17-10, Vol. II).

The size of a common rectangular house is about 7 x 8 x 3.6 mt. (See, Pl. 2-18, 2-21, 2-26 & 2-28). By and large, a rich farmer has a larger house and the peasants have relatively smaller huts (See, Fg. 18-1, 19-1, 20-1 & 20-6, Vol. II). The labourers and crafts man live in the medium size of the house.

It is interesting that nearby the front door, there is one peep hole on the wall which is connected with the kitchen side for the insiders (See, Pl. 2-17 & 2-18). Through this hole the insiders, especially, housewife or young lady can watch out a stranger or outsiders without going out to meet them. This facility can tell us one custom that the Dangi woman, in particular, *maharani* (Raja's wife) or even common house wife also does not like to meet directly outsiders.

In front of some houses, there is a *mandou* or *mandava* which functions a shade cum hay and rice-straw storage (See, Pl. 2-22,

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1. op cit., Naik, T.B., 1956, p. 30.

2-23, 2-25, & 2-27, Fg. 18-8, Vol. II). Some houses have a separated *mandou*, which is an open-air shed cum hay storage for cattle (See, Fg. 26-27, Vol. II). The cattle-shed being near *manbdou*, cowdung is thrown here. A separate *mandou* is also occasionally found in the agricultural field. In the front or at the back of the houses and huts have an *angan* (court-yard). Sometimes mango, chiku, lime, papaya, modwi, jamuluk etc. fruit or seed trees are grown there, and further, one or two flower shrubs are planted or they spring up themselves (See, Pl. 2-19, 2-21, 2-22, 2-26 & 2-27-A).

#### (4) Construction of Houses and Huts

Although the Dangis may not perform ceremony for erecting a new house or hut, they ceremoniously erect the *dharan* (usually located at right central part) before erecting others. When the *dharan* (middle pillar) of the house is erected, a *toran* (bunting) of mango leaves (*Mangifera indica*) is tied to the pillar. Near the pillar an earthen pot, with a coconut and a red cloth is placed. When *dharan* is placed on the central span, *torans* of mango leaves are tied to them. To the central span, a coconut, some pieces of green chilly, and some ears of *nagli* bundled by a piece of white or red cloth, are tied (See, Fg. 24-1 & 24-2, Vol. II). A hole is created in the central span, and a two rupee coin, previously two anna piece is placed there<sup>1</sup>. When the structure of the house is complete, a *mali* (fishing tool), a piece of *kambali* (rug) and a branch of *sag* (*Tectona grandis*) are tied to the front pillar.<sup>2</sup> The piece of rug contains a marking-nut (*Semicarpus anacardium*). It is a belief that if a witch arrived to do some evil to the house, her eyes would be injured by rods of *mali* and marking-nut would cause boils on her body.<sup>3</sup> After the completion of the building, family gods are worshipped, a hen is sacrificed and *sak* (drops) of liquor is dropped.

In South Korea also similar ceremony is performed when the central span is placed on the main pillar. Though the procedure of the ceremony is quite similar but offering items is quite different due to ecological difference. Before lifting the central span, they write the date of construction on the bottom of span in calligraphy or the written paper of that is inserted into the hole of the central span. Of course, there are some differences but main motivation of that is the same as Korean. The owner of the house offers at least a little quantity of liquor, a handful of rice or rice-cake, a head of

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1. op cit., Khanapurkar, D.P., 1944, p. 29.

2. *ibid.*

3. *ibid.*

dried fish, and some seasonal fruits to the *Seongchoshin* (House God) for wishing of safety and prosperity.

#### (5) Utensils of Houses and Huts

In the *rasodu* (kitchen) a *zagari* (earthen cooking stove) or *chulla* (hearth) is managed by the house wife. The light shed by the fire in *zagari* or *chulla*, at night, serves the purpose of a lamp to the tribal huts. For only the lighting purpose, some houses have *diwa* (stone lamp) or improved lamps in the *koli* (bedroom). Generally, the *chulla* has three main functions: cooking, heating and lighting. For the purpose of cooking it is used three times in a day, heating in winter and lighting at night only. A small hut has only one *chulla* which is installed at the south or north corner, while a large house has two hearths and/or a separated *zagari* or *shekoti* in the *wasli* or *watha* (See, Fg. 17-3, 17-8, 18-6, 18-15, 19-4, 20-3, 20-8, 21-4, 22-3, 23-2 & 23-4, Vol. II). The *chulla* occupies an important role that represent the centre of the home and its economic life when a newly-wed bride first comes to the house. In case of an extended family, it is sometimes found that each sub-family independently cooks each family food. Nowadays a few *zagari* also are used by a few rich Dangis (See, Fg. 26-6, Vol. II).

Besides, in the *rasodu*, there are *ghoda* or *basmatha machi* which is a raised platform of bamboo or wooden pole, on which some vessels are placed. Most of the *rasodu* or the *wasli* contains another raised platform on which water jars or pots are placed (See, Fg. 17-13, 18-4, 18-11, 19-3, 20-7, 21-4, Vol. II). In summer water vessels are placed near the wall, on the outer of the kitchen. In *rasodu*, there are various water jars and pots : *ghagar*, *ghadia* or *ranjan* (bigger water jars), *doria*, *gadaga*, or *kochis* (earthen pots). Some houses have *karewadi* (water drainage) made of 1.2-1.5 mt. long hollow trunk of wood, cut in a semi-circle is placed in the near the vessels and water jar stand. A dried bottle-gourd, called *davali* or *dohol* or *hakad* (by Dhodias) serves the purpose of a drinking vessel.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, in the *rasodu*, there are various cooking utensils such as *chapara*, *lotaka* (earthen-pots) and stainless steel vessels (See, Fg. 17-4 & 17-14, Vol. II). A wooden *chatu* is used to mix or serve the cooked pulses (See, Fg. 26-12, Vol. II). To prepare *chapati* (thin pan-cake) or *roti* (thick pan-cake), the flour of *nagli* (eleusine corocana) is mixed with water, in a *datharo* (earthen vessel) or stainless steel vessel (See, Fg. 33-2 & 33-2, Vol. II). The flour is kept in a *palu* (wooden pot) or *vatu* (a vessel of bell-metal). *Chapati* (bread) is baked on an iron *tava* or an earthen *tava* called *thikari*. The hot *chapati*

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1. See, *ibid.*, p. 30.



are moved and served by means of iron *kalatha*, *chaletho* or *ulathi*. Salt and chillies are pounded in a *dadi*, *katura*, *ukhli* (See, Fg. 26-8, 33-3, Vol. II) or *mota* (small wooden mortar; See, Fg. 26-7, Vol. II).

The Dangis previously used *kachala* or *thobali* (earthen vessels) in their houses or huts, but nowadays many Dangis prefer to use stainless steel vessels (See, Fg. 26-5, Vol. II). Big *thobali* (big earthen pot) is called *hanako*. *Tordu* is another earthen pot found in *rasodu*. *Tumada* a dried pumpkin (*Cucurbita longa*) is used to fill water or *toddy*. *Topli* (bamboo basket) is used to place sundry things. *Utiva* made of bamboo is hung high near *zagari*, so as not to catch fire, in rainy season to warm the *nagli* grains (See, Fg. 18-4, Vol. II). In some houses, a *ravi* (churning rod) is found in a *ranjan* (See, Fg. 33-4, Vol. II). The churning rod is tied loosely to a pillar by a rope and is churned by means of the ends of the rope. The *rasodu* contains a *supa* (winnowing pan) made of bamboo. Many Dangis have replaced earthen vessels with brass or stainless steel vessels. If one is very rich he tries to discard the earthen pots and vessels and replaces them with brass or stainless steel pots and vessels.

In the *kotar* (floor storage), or in the *mara* (raised floor storage), there are various grain containers (See, Fg. 18-10, 18-16 & 23-3, Vol. II). In particular, the Gamits houses have many *kothis* (big bamboo earthen jars) to store the grain (See, Fg. 20-4, Vol. II). The *kothis* are circular or square in shape (See, Fg. 26-4, 26-23 & 26-24, Vol. II). To store grains the Dangis use various *musakis*, which are made on bamboo mats with two ends, having bamboo poles. The two ends are joined and the mat is raised in a circular position. The ends are tied. After filling *musaki* with grain, it is covered with leaves of *palas* (*Butea frondosa*) On the *palas* leaves and the outsides of *musaki* a layer of a mixture of cowdung and clay is applied. After sealing it with a mixture of cowdung and clay, pests and rats are prevented from entering the *musaki*. A big *musaki* is called *bhovali*. A *musaki* without bamboo ends, is called *bhotadi*. The other type of bamboo baskets for storing grains or sundry things, are called *zilya*, *kirkat* or *kkhai* (See, Fg. 26-9 to 26-11 & 34-14, Vol. II).

In the *wasli* (living room cum storage) there are various household objects and some pieces of cloths (See, Fg. 17-11 & 26-3, Vol. II). A *ukhua* or *ukhara* (pounding hole) is installed in the *wasli* or *otha* (See, Fg. 2-1, 3-1, 20-2 & 32-1, Vol. II). Nearby *ukhara*, there are a *khutie* (pestle) and various brooms such as *zadu*, *bhara* or *sarav* (See, Fg. 26-18, Vol. II), which are made on *khajuri* (*Phoenix sylvestris*). Commonly one or two *garthi* or *gathi* (grinding stone; mortar) are also placed near the *ukhara* See, Fg. 32-2, Vol. II). Beside, there are various kinds of items: bamboo mats, old rags, old *saris*, *phetas*, some

musical instruments such as *dholak* (drum), *pava* (flute); (See, Fg. 47-4 & 47-7, Vol. II) and various agricultural implements namely *kurada* (big axe), *kuradi* (small axe), *pavda* (big hoe), *pavdi* (small hoe), *tikam* (pickaxe), *pahr* or *pahl* (pick with handle), *pahrai* (pick), sickle, scythe, etc (See, Fg. 37-20 to 37-23, Vol. II).

In the other corner of the *wasli*, there are *chap* (chicken coop) and *kolaja* (fowl nest) for hens to lay eggs (See, Fg. 26-21, Vol. II). The *kolaja* is a bamboo funnel resting on a small bamboo pole. On the wall of *wasli*, there are various arrows such as *sayati* (arrow-head fixed on a bamboo stick), *chandri* (semi-circular sharpened piece of iron fixed to a bamboo stick), *kand* (arrows with iron arrow-heads) and *kubhit* (arrows with a wooden knob at the top) for catching birds (See, Fg. 35-2, Vol. II). Nearby them, there are *mali* (See, Fg. 34-5 & 34-6, Vol. II) or *katava* (fishing tools). Nearby it, there are *chikath* (bird trap), *dart* (bow) and *danu* (arrow) for hunting (See, Fg. 35-2, 35-3, 35-4, Vol. II). On the other wall, there is a bamboo tube which contains coconut oil. The oil and *phani* (wooden comb) are required by the women of the house to comb their hair. A few carrying bags woven out of ropes are hung on the bamboo-mat wall (See, Fg. 26-17, Vol. II).

In another corner of the *wasli* or the wall of the backside of the house, there are one or two *musakis* (bamboo mask for cattle), and wooden *tikhadas* to prepare for *wak* (See, Fg. 49-1, Vol. II) or *adya* ropes. And further, *rahat* for preparing and twisting ropes may be also found on the same wall (See, Fg. 51-2, Vol. II). One or two *gongla* (umbrella-like) also are found in the *wasli* or on the wall or the roof of the house. Generally, *gongla* is made by the Dangis himself before monsoon (See, Fg. 26-25 & 26-26, Vol. II).

In *gotha* (cattle-shed), there are a worn out broom and a *shenukali* (bamboo basket for cowdung). Generally, *mara* (raised floor above the cattle-shed) contains hay, *paddy* (rice) straws, sometimes fire wood, etc. In some houses and huts, wood for fuel is stored in a separate shed called *padvi* and it is sometimes constructed for that purpose in the court-yard or is attached to the front or side of the house.

In the *otha* or *watha* (lobby ; front), some houses have *ukhara* (pounding hole) and *garthi* (grinding stone). Besides, many houses have a *hindi* (swing or cradle) in the *otha*. The *hindi* consists of a rope tied to two pillars and a robe thrown between the two pieces of ropes. A few houses have a *shekoti* (open-air fire place) for heating in winter (See, Pl. 2-27, Fg. 23-4, Vol. II). Recently, wealthy Dangis use a wooden stool, a wooden bench, a folding chair and a *khathi* (knot bed), etc. in the *otha* or *watha* (See, Fg. 26-13 to 26-16, Vol. II).

In the court-yard, to preserve the seeds for sowing next year, *bhotadi* (seeds bundle) is hung in the air at the top of a tall pole (See, 37-13 to 37-15, Vol. II). Generally the *bhoadi* is filled with the seed grains and is wrapped with *palas* leaves and further, is smeared with cowdung. Besides, farmers houses have *khermed* or *meda* (threshing yard) and *mandou*. Nearby the *mandou* or the side of the house, the *pathi machi* (fire wood stand) is constructed for drying and storing woods (See, Fg. 18-8, Vol. II).

These are some of the things found in the houses and huts of the Dangs. There are only a few chests, (in particular, in the Gamits houses; See, Fg. 26-2, Vol. II) and trunks (especially, in Raja's house and craftsman's hut; See, Fg. 26-1 & 26-3, Vol. II) to hide their valuable things. There are no treasures and precious things to be hidden from the thieves and so the huts have no locks or chains to fasten the doors (See, Fg. 25-1, Vol. II). But nowadays many houses have locks. A middle class Konkana's house with utensils estimated the value of twenty thousands Rupees, while "the whole contents of poor aborigines' houses cost less than twenty-five Rupees" and "the house of a well-to-do person contained goods worth Rupees fifty at the most" in the standard year of 1940.<sup>1</sup>

Comparing utensils of the aboriginal house in 1940 to that of the Dangi craftsman hut in 1993, the following differences and changes in the cost of utensils are given by the Table 2-17 & 2-18 given below :

Table 2-17 Utensils of the Aboriginal House, 1940

Quantity	Utensils	Quantity	Utensils
6	Dorayas	4	Handalis
6	Toradis	3	Thobalis
2	Brass dishes	1	Cup
1	Brass pot for drinking water	2	Metal cups
1	Brass Vati	1	Winnowing fan
1	Grinding wheel	2	Bamboo mats
2	Sarees	2	Bottles
1	Mortar and pestle	1	Zagari
4	Kothis for grain	1	Katura
1	Karewadi	2	Chatus
1	Tava & Kalatha		

Source : op cit., Khanapurkar, D.P., 1944, p.p. 34-35.

1. op cit., Khanapurkar, D.P., 1944, p.p. 34-35.

Table 2-18 Utensils of the Dangi Craftsman Hut, 1993

Quantity	Utensils	Quantity	Utensils
2	Bagna	3	Bagni
2	Pharat	2	Gagar
2	Gunda	1	Thagagar
2	Thali	3	Wathkha
1	Tawa	1	Titiwi
1	Ulti	1	Chamchi
4	Daba	1	Pethi
2	Supura	2	Mushiki
2	Botha	1	Chatu
2	Chim	1	Chema
1	Kuthie	1	Ukhara
2	Galwon	2	Mali
2	Mara	2	Gardi
2	Asie	2	Tipuni
1	Paudi	1	Kurada
2	Kurar	1	Wase
2	Kharatha	2	Suri
1	Bandi Gasula		Path
1	Karatha		Nakhede
3	Chulla	2	Gongla
1	Taar	1	Arsa
3	Thatki	4	Lasi

Except the above items there are some others.

### C. Clothes and Adornments

#### (1) Dress for Man

The dress of the Dangis is divisible into two categories: formal or festival dress and everyday dress. Actually, there is no specific difference between the festival and the everyday dress. One may wear the same dress both in daily and/or in holidays. However, they can be differentiated depending on the context of wearing and degree of gorgeousness. For instance, the Dangis usually wear simple clothing such as *langota* (loin cloth) or knee trousers in their house as well as in the agricultural field (See, Fg. 27-5, Vol II). When they go to a Government office or town area, they may change their clothes and/or add to wear, at least, *kabaja* (waist-coat without sleeves), with *pagri* (turban; See, Fg. 27-3, Vol. II), or Sometimes, their informal clothes may create trouble when they approach to meet the Government Officer, they may be prohibited

by the Clerks due to the informal clothes like a knee trouser.<sup>1</sup> Even though, after wearing the same knee trousers they may attend to the neighbour's wedding, they may not give a rise to any trouble.

According to place and time, wearing a knee trouser either creates trouble or may not create any trouble, and further, the knee-trouser may be considered as either a formal or informal clothes. Actually there is no difference between the formal and the informal in terms of material and design. Only difference is placed on the different aspect of recognition of wearing clothes.

Nowadays, many Dangis wear manufactured clothes such as western style trousers, running, T or Y-shirts, Punjabi dress, etc. (See, Fg. 27-8, Vol. II) purchased from the local bazaar (marketplace). Even Raja's family also preferably wear manufactured clothes. Their clothes and ornaments are not different from common Dangis (See, Fg. 30-1 & 30-2, Vol. II). However, many old Dangis prefer to wear the traditional type of clothes in the house as well as in the agricultural field (See, Fg. 27-7, Vol. II). The traditional clothes for men in the Dangs is called *langota* or *langoti*, which is a simple square piece of cloth for men. To wear the *langota*, first it is passed over the waist-cord on the front, and its opposite corner then passed between the legs tightly and tucked behind. The loose end at the front is also tucked behind.

To the waist-cord they bind a small cloth-bag, containing *flint* and *steel* (See, Fg. 53-2, Vol. II) with a small hollow bamboo tube called *chosati* or *kargu*. *Chosati* contains silk-cotton of *savar* (*Bombax malabaricum*). When travelling through forests they put a scythe in *khodagi* (a piece of wood) which is bound to the waist-cord (See, Fg. 27-4, Vol. II).

They wear a *dagala* (waist-coat with a half sleeves), *bandi* (waist-coat) in winter or *kabaja* (waist-coat without sleeves) in summer (See, Fg. 27-1, Vol. II). And further, they wear a *kopari* (waist-coat with short sleeves) in monsoon. In the pockets of waist-coat, they keep leaves of *sidha* (*Prosopis spicigera*) and tobacco, prepared from leaves of *dira* (See, Fg. 38-4, Vol. II). Many Dangis including young man enjoy smoking *bidi* (See, Fg. 53-1, Vol. II) or cigarette.

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1. The author saw an example of such case in the District Office on 5th June 1993. When one young Dangi who wore a knee trouser came to meet the Government Officer, he was warned not to come again to the Office wearing a knee trouser.

On the head, they wind *pagri*, *phalia* or *pheta* (red or white colour silk turban; See, Fg. 27-3, Vol. II). "In this *pheta* a small iron pair of tongs with *khurapi* and *koran* are inserted in order to take out thorns from their feet"<sup>1</sup>, as they frequently work without foot-wears in the agricultural field. The men who grew long hair tie *pheta* at the back of head in a knot. The peculiarity is that this knot of hair is kept out from the coils of *pheta*<sup>2</sup>. But nowadays few Dangis who bring out his hair is found in the village. And further, many Dangis periodically shave their mustaches and beards.

"In winter the Dangis cover their bodies with an additional cloth, called *phadaka* (dhoti)"<sup>3</sup>. To wear *phadaka*, they wind it round the waist and pass one end between the legs on right hand. While sleeping in daytime, they just spread the *phadaka* near *shekoti* or *zagari* then sleep on the *phadaka*, using *pagri* or *pheta* as a pillow. A *dhoti*, a *dagalo*, a *pagri* or Gandhiji cap and a pair of *chappal* are all that the old Dangis desire to wear on occasions like wedding ceremony or attending meeting of the *Panch*, and further, while being on journey.

## (2) Dress for Women

The daily clothes of the Dangi women consist of *lugda* or *lugde* (short sari) and *cholli* (bodice). To wear *lugde*, they wind round the waist in a sheet of cloth (150 x 60 cms.) and drawn it up between the thighs and brace it up tightly, covering their nakedness upto the knee. In Dangs, all Koli and konkana women wind one end of the robe round the waist in coils.<sup>4</sup> A *cholli* which is a short sleeved covering for the upper part of the body covering the back and the bosom, is tied at the front by a knot.

The Dangi women wear a *phadhki* (loose-cloth thrown or folded over head), which is a sheet of cloth in size of 150 x 60 cms. They wear *phadhki* (loose-cloth) with various ornaments and a pairs of *chappal* on occasions like attending marriage ceremony or on festivals (See, Fg. 27-9 to 27-12, Vol. II). They also wear it while working in the agricultural field. When working in the fields, the hanging sides are folded and tied behind in a knot (See, Fg. 37-6, Vol. II). In winter, women cover their bodies with other robe like *lugde*. They tie their hair into a knot at the back of the head (See, Fg. 28-4, Vol. II).

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1. op cit., Khanapurkar, D.P., 1944, p. 38.

2. See, *ibid*.

3. *ibid*.

4. *ibid*., p. 39.

The dress of Dhodia women partly differ from common Dangi women. In the past, they also wore a *lugde* (180 x 60 cms.) which was cut into two equal pieces.<sup>1</sup> But nowadays, most of Dhodia women preferably wear western style home dress (one piece of full-size home dress).

### (3) Ornaments

Various kinds of ornaments worn by the Dangis. *Chaukhada* is an ear ornament which worn in the lobe and passed round the ear. The Dangis wear *mudis* (small ear-ornaments or finger-rings), *kanganyas* (armlets), *kadas* (wristlets), etc. (See, Fg. 27-3 & 27-4, Vol. II). Wealthy persons wear *kargota* (silver chain round waist). The ornaments are of silver, German silver, copper and/or gold according to the economic situation of the person. Except *kargota*, all are common to the Dangis.

The Dangi women preferably wear various kinds of ornaments (See, Fg. 28-1 & 28-2, Vol. II). There are some differences of wearing ornaments between married women and unmarried girls. Generally, unmarried girls do not wear *jorwi* (second-toe ring) and black or red beads necklace. The common married women preferably wear *jorwi* (second-toe ornaments), *paali*, *goth*, *bangadya*, *tuiband* and *bajuband* (silver bracelets), *yela* (silver bracelets of wire), *kada* (silver wristlet), glass or silver bangles, *chausara* (necklace of rupee-coins), *nath* (nose-ring), *phulaki* (nose-ornament), *kap* (ear-ornaments worn in the lobes), *phulia* (ear-ornaments on the top of the ear), *mudis* (small ear-ornaments), *sakhali* (hair-ornament of silver chain), etc. (See, Fg. 28-4 to 28-12, Vol. II). Round the neck they also wear *sari* and *gathi* (necklace). Konkana and Warli women preferably wear black or red-beads necklace. Wealthy women, like chief's wife wear *sakhalya* (silver chain anklets; See, Fg. 28-12, Vol. II). It is notable that Dhodia women wear small ear-ornaments called *mudis* for upper ear and in lower lobe they wear *lavangia* (See, Fg. 28-6, Vol. II). In case of women ornaments, the Dangi women preferably wear gold nose-ring or knob, gold ear-ring or knob, gold or glass bangles and silver ankle-lets and toe-rings, and furthermore, black and red-beads necklace. Besides, they prefer to wear silver-coin necklace and silver armlets. All of these ornaments are common to the Dangi women (See, Fg. 38-3, Vol. II).

### (4) Tattoo

The Dangis believe that tattoo protects them from the witches. On the forehead of the Dangis, a figure of tree is tattooed (See, Fg. 29-1, Vol. II). Sometimes there is only one dot below the tree or a ring of dots round it. At the both ends of the forehead, are two dots. On the face of the women one

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1. See, *ibid.*, p. 40.

dot is tattooed on the chin and one on the left side of the nose. Sometimes, instead of a tree, two lines of dots are tattooed on the forehead. This is called *har* (necklace). They like tattoo but tattooing is not compulsory. However, some Dangis for the sake of adornment, get a figure of peacock or tiger tattooed on the chest, and a design of *Sitecha rath* (chariot of Sita), *Sitechi vihir* (well of Sita), *Siteche bashing* (marriage coronet of Sita), *Panch Gavalani* (five milk maids) or trees on the forearms (See. Fg 29-2, Vol. II).

#### D. Food and Drink

Most of the Dangis are non-vegetarians. Except the Bhils, Kolis (Dhor), a few Christians and Muslims, nobody eats beef. They eat food three times daily ; once in the morning, then in the noon and at night. Generally, the Dangi women prepare for their food every time or twice a day (See, Fg. 33-1 & 33-2, Vol. II). In the morning they eat *ambil* or *ghatu* of *vari* (*Panicum miliare*), or *chapati* or *roti nagli* (*eleusine corocana*). *Ambil* is prepared as follows: *Nagli* flour mixed with water is cooked after keeping till next day. On the following day, after mixing with butter-milk, then some salt is added to the mixture. After some time the preparation of *ambil* is over. Some people eat *chapati* or *roti* of *nagli* in the morning if possible. With *nagli chapati* or *roti* they eat *chatani* prepared from a mixture of chillies and salt (See, Fg. 33-3 & 33-4, Vol. II).

At lunch-time and at night they eat *chapati* or *roti* of *nagli* and *dal* of *udid* (*Phaseolus mungo*) or *val* (*Dolichos lablab*) or *tur* (*Cajanus indicus*). *Dal* is prepared by cooking the pulses mixed with water and adding some salt and chillies. Sometimes they cook, flour of *udid*, instead of *dal* and mix it with some salt and chillies. If pulses are not available then *chatani* of *asola* (a kind of green plant) or at least of chillies is eaten with *chapati* or *roti*. In some huts in the high hill, *ghatu* of *maki* (corn) is prepared for lunch in the noon. At night also, they eat *chapati* or *roti* of *nagli* with same things as described above (See, Fg. 33-7, Vol. II).

If they receive a guest, they give him a good hospitality; Firstly they serve him a cup of water, then they serve him sweet food, milk or tea which are available in the host house (See, Fg. 33-8, Vol. II). In case of a wealthy house, they serve him dinner with non-vegetarian food such as chicken, meat and fish. On the day of communal festival, they enjoy taking non-vegetarian food and drinking liquor (See, Fg. 33-5, 33-6, 38-9 & 43-8, Vol. II). Occasionally, they distill *mahuwa* or *thonbi* liquor in their house (See, Fg. 33-1, Vol. II). Most of the Dangis very much like to drink liquor when they are working in the field or performing any ceremony of festival.



An adult eats three pieces of *chapati* or two pieces of *roti* each time. A child eats two pieces of *chapati* or one piece of *roti* each time. They may eat food with both hands. Generally, *chapati* or *roti* is not served in dishes. Many Dangis take *chapati* in one hand and eat them by using the other hand. After taking food they rub their hands with a cloth which is available. Instead of *nagli*, *chapati* or *roti* of *bhadala* (*Panicum pilosum*) are also prepared. Rice used to be occasionally eaten weekly or every fortnight in the past, but nowadays many Dangis prefer to eat rice and pulse daily (See, Pg. 32-1, Vol. II).

When possible, they eat *chapati* or *roti* of *nagli* with vegetables of *brinjal* (small egg plant), *bhopala* or *dangar* (*Cucurbita melopepo*), *devadangar* (a kind of *bhopals*) *math* (*Phaseolus aconitifolius*), *kardai* (*Carthamus tinctorius*), *ambadi* (*Hibiscus cannabinus*), *chavali* (*Dolichos sinensis*), *valpapadi* (green pods of *val*) and *buruthad* (a jungle plant). They also prepare *bhaji* (vegetable) of green leaves of *sisam* (*Dalbergia latifolia*), *moha* (*Bassia latifolia*) and *bhokar* (*Cordia myxa*).

These vegetables are prepared in the following way: leaves of green vegetables, or pods of pod vegetables or pieces of fruit vegetables are washed two or three times with water. Then they boil the leaves or pods with water enough. While boiling the vegetables, a little of oil and some pieces of onion are dropped in another vessel. When the oil is hot, the cooked vegetable is dropped in the vessel. Some salt and chillies are added. The vegetable is put for some time on fire, then it is taken down for eating.

Poor people cook green vegetables and add some salt while it is being cooked, and then eat it. The people living in the hilly tracts do not use milk or *ghee* in their dinner. In summer when the grain store becomes empty, the Dangis reside in the fields with their families and gather whatever ears of corn are found in the fields and thrash them and eat the grain. In *Jyeshtha* (May - June) they go into jungles to find wild *sava* (*Panicum miliaceum*) grains. They beat the grass with *zodani* prepared of bamboo and gather *sava* (*Panicum miliaceum*) found in it. When the poor are short of food, they maintain themselves by eating *bora* fruits (*Zizyphus jujuba*), fruits of *payar* (*Ficus cardifolia*) and *umbar* (*Ficus glomerata*). Generally the Dangis eat *kanda* (poisonous roots), *kands* (*Tacca pinnatifida*) are of three kinds, *kadu kand*, *mohar kand* and *vacha kanda*. As *kand* is poisonous, it is first cut into circular pieces and placed in a basket. The basket is kept into flowing water for one or three days to remove poisonous juice. Next day or after three days they collect it then it is cooked with water in the vessel. If available a little of milk is added. And further some salt is added then the food is ready for serving to the family.

On the day of fast, they do not eat anything in the morning except *vari* (*Panicum miliare*) cooked without salt. In the villages, situated in the plains, where rice is ample, the Dangi women prepare for rice gruel in the morning. Some Dangis eat *chapati* or *roti* of *jowar* (*Sorghum vulgare*) in the morning and rice gruel or *khichadi* prepared of rice and *tur* (*Cajanus indicus*) cooked together with a little of salt at noon. At night they eat *chapati* or *roti* with cooked vegetable.

## E. Various Tools

### (1) Fishing Tools

The Dangis very much like fishing when they are free. They are non-vegetarians, so they are very fond of fish. Commonly many Dangi women, in particular, Warli women, very much like to catch fish in the river or streams. In various ways, the Dangis catch the following species of fish in the rivers, and in the catchments: *bode*, *chikan*, *dakadu*, *dandavan*, *juti*, *huli*, *keng*, *kjarava*, *kokali*, *malha*, *muri*, *palvan*, *seg*, *sondh*, *vadhio* etc.

Sometimes they use *ubsula* which is to catch fish after bailing water out of the pond or catchment. In many cases they use *ubsula* with *zapidaula* (catching fish with hands). In order to catch fish they also use *dahar majulla* which is to spread poisonous materials into water of the pond or catchment. The well-known poisonous material is *maj* (intoxication) which is pulp of *kinhai* (See, Fg. 34-1, Vol. II) bark or *gehela* nut (*Randia dumetorum*). The other is the juice of *sher* (*Euphorbia tirucalli*). Besides, they use *chururula* (torch) to catch crab and small fish at night.

Moreover, they use *dota* which is a kind of shock therapy to catch fish (See, Fg. 34-2, Vol. II). By means of a rope to which a bundle of millet-stalks are tied, one person holds it and moves it up here and there, while others beat the water with the bundle behind the rope by wooden stick. As a result, fish get frightened by the noise, make for holes in the bank and are caught in hands, by persons awaiting them.

*Chimti* (bow) and *danus* (arrows) are also used to catch fish. Instead of common arrow-head, a flowery needle arrow-head or an arrow fixed with iron hook are used for catching fish (See, Fg. 34-7 & 34-8, Vol. II). An arrow is shot a target of fish into the water when fish stopped swimming or slowly moved. Similarly the Dangis use *garula* (spear) to catch fish.

Various kinds of fishing traps are also available (See, Fg. 34-3 to 34-6, Vol. II). Among them, the *mali* is a popular fishing trap. It is made of bamboo and has shape like a funnel. It is usually installed on the nearby riverside or in the current and fish enter the mouth of the funnel and fall down into

the *mali*. It is generally used for catching crabs and small fish. The other bigger one is called *mala* or *katava*. It is made of bamboo contains two funnels, one after the other. It is used to catch crab and big fish. If the current of the water is strong then *sat* or *sadli* is used in addition to *mali*. *Sat* or *sadli* is made of bamboo and it is set in a semi-circle shape before the mouth of *mali*. As a result, water flows into *mali*. The another bamboo basket trap is called *chap*. By throwing it at a target of fish into the water, fishes are kept into the basket.

Besides, various kinds of fishing nets are available. One is called *achu* or *sokia* which has a circular piece of wood at the mouth to which the net is attached (See, Fg. 34-9, Vol. II). *Achu* is dipped in water and raised, catching fish in the net. The other bigger *achu* is called *sokia orshokiyu*. The other type of net is called *supalu* or *surpari* (net with handles). It consists of two bamboo sticks with a net, forming the triangle in shape. Like *achu* this is dipped into water and raised by the wide end. Another type of fishing net is *mandia mandula*. To catch fish a person throws a large net called *mandia mandula* on the water (See, Fg. 34-10 & 34-11, Vol. II). Before monsoon, the Dangis usually repair their fishing nets and prepare for a new fishing net (See, Fg. 34-11 & 34-12, Vol. II).

In monsoon, while the rivers are swollen, they use another device for catching fish. To catch fish a *vana* (bamboo dam) is installed on the river-bed. The dam contains holes, for the fish to pass. Near the holes a person holds a *zola* (bamboo mat) by closing one side of the mat and forming it in a tunnel. Fishes are caught in this tunnel. In other case, gravel and sand mounds are erected in the river-bed. On these mounds a bamboo mat containing big holes is spread on the water. They sit on these mats and catch fish by passing their hands into the water through the holes. At that time, they use a bamboo rod called *temaka* to beat and catch the fish.

In case of the Dangi women's fishing, they use *radula* (catching fish with sari). To catch fish, they spread their clothes (sari) under water then from both side two women hold the ends of clothes and rapidly raise it above water. In this way they can catch fish in shallow water. Besides, nowadays to catch fish the Dangis use *Gari* (angling; fishing rod) which contains fish-hooks and fish-lines (See, Fg. 34-14, Vol. II). Fishing rods are produced by the Kotwalias and Kathoidis before monsoon. And further fish-hooks and fish-lines are purchased from the *bazaar*.

## (2) Hunting Tools

The Dangis, especially, the Bhils are very fond of hunting in the forest. Only a few persons can afford to possess *banduks* (rifles) or match-locks due to the Gujarat Wild Animals and Wild

Birds Protection Act (1951). Many Dangis use the *chimti* (bows) and *danus* (arrows). The bow and its cord are made of bamboo (See. Pl. 2-32 & Fg. 35-2, Vol. II). The cord has two loops at the ends. One end of the cord is firmly tied to the end of the bow, the other end has a loop with small eye. When using the bow, it is bent with left foot and the loop is fixed at the other end of the bow (See, Fg. 35-1, Vol. II). Both the ends have notches for the purpose. When using the bow for shooting, it is raised high up to the shoulder. The arrow is placed in the middle of the cord and above the bow. The cord is drawn with second and third finger and the arrow is shot. Even tigers are shot by the means of bow and arrow. Arrow consists of *sar* (bamboo rod) and *kand* (arrow-head of iron). The tail part of arrows are commonly decorated by colourful feathers of birds.

Besides, they use *bala* (spear) to kill big animals. Sometimes to catch small animals they use *wagru* (noose) or *pas* (snare). Rarely they use *kodjauladaula* (hunting dog) to hunt small animals or birds.

To catch small birds, they use *kubhit* instead of arrows. It has a knob of wood, in the place of arrow-head. *Chikati* is another tool for catching a small bird, which consists of group of rods immersed with gum of *mahuwa* (See, Pl. 2-32, Fg. 35-3 & 35-4, Vol. II). These sticky rods are placed on branches of trees or shrubs near water. The birds sit on the branches and their wings or claws stick to the rods. One who is hiding nearby, fast approaches and catches the bird. The Dangis use *galwal* (slingshot) to catch small birds (See, Fg. 35-5 & 35-6, Vol. II).

The other device to catch birds is *zapali* (trap-net). Near a ditch of water the *zapali* is installed. It is fastened to a stick loosely fixed in the ground. The person holds one end of the string attached to *zapali* and hides in the bushes. When the bird arrives near *zapali* the string is pulled and the *zapali* falls on the bird.

Another trap for catching birds consists of a small bow. The cord of the bow is made of hair from horse-tail. It has a loop in the middle of the cord. It is placed hidden in bushes. When the bird, by accident, walks over the cord, his claw or wing or neck is caught by the loop and when it struggles to free itself it is wounded by the hair.

A third device is to put rods immersed with gum of *bibalya* (*Pterocarpus marsupium*) in a circle for catching birds. In the midst of the circle a hen or a chicken is placed. When a bird of prey sees the chicken or hen, it swoops down and its wings stick to these rods. The Dangi runs immediately and catches the struggling bird. They also catch hares by means of a net and *gholavu* which is tunnel-shaped and is made of Bombay hemp. For

catching a hare it is hidden in bushes. The hare runs into it and is entangled in the net of hemp. Besides, various hunting tools and methods are available according to the field situation.

### (3) Farming Tools

In Dangs, only a few kinds of farming tools are available due to natural environment, viz., by and large cultivators have small size of the agricultural field and they cultivate patches on the slope and further they do not use irrigation farming skill. Except a few Konkanas, most of the Dangi cultivators are not full-time farmers. They work in the field as peasants and sometimes work as forest labourers. They, therefore, could not develop advanced farming tools and skill. Most of their implements are made by Dangi themselves. Only few farming tools are bought from the *bazaar* (See, Fg. 38-2 & 38-10, Vol. II). It goes without saying that their crude farming tools correspond with the agricultural environment, viz., size of agricultural field and type of cultivation methods. They practise slash and burn cultivation, and use dibble for sowing seeds (See, Fg. 37-1, Vol. II). They do not use chemical fertilizer and irrigation method. Their cultivation depends on the heaven, viz., natural weather condition.

The Dangi farmers use the following tools in hilly patches as: *nagar* or *autha* (cattle-plough), made of the *sag* or *tiwas* wood and fitted with a *phal* (steel share), *pondya* (man-driven-plough), *jusa* or *juwar* (T-shaped harrow), *akri* or *kadel* (bamboo hook), *jarni* (bamboo rake), *datal* (rake) with wooden teeth for spreading grass, *kudal* or *tikham* (pickaxe), *gira*, *ira* or *villa* (sickles), *kotytas* (bill-hooks), *kurada* (big axe), *kuradi* (small axe), *bata* or *pavda* (big spade), *pavdi* (small spade), *kodari* (hoe), *pahar* (iron crowbar), *khurapi* (scalping knife), *dalki* (bamboo basket), *topli* (big bamboo basket), *mushika* (bamboo grain container), *shidi* (ladder), *datt* (a log ladder) and *suli* with an iron semi-circle at end of a bamboo of wood for carrying carrying lopping (See, Pl. 2-32 & 2-33, Fg. 37-16 to 37-23, Vol. II).

The farming tools in the plain areas consist of *orani* (seed drill), *fadako* (three coultered drill), *bhanjeti* (rake with wooden teeth), *kalapi* (small hoe with several T-shaped iron shares), used for weeding, *dharis* (scythe), *autha* or *hal* (cattle-plough), *pondya* (man-driven-plough), *juhar* (yoke), *paniu* (hollow of wood) for levelling of the ground, *pahar* (iron crow-bar), *kudal* (pickaxe), *kurada* (big axe), *kuradi* (small axe), *pavda* (big spade), *pavdi* (small spade), *datardu* (sickle), *ubsideula* (scooper), *chachavo* (shovel), *dalki* (bamboo basket), *topli* (big bamboo basket), *mushka* (bamboo grain container), and *suli* with an iron semi-circle at end of a bamboo for carrying lopping. Nowadays many Dangis preferably use manufactured farming tools because of convenience and durability.

#### (4) Logging and Planting Tools

The Dangis carry out the forest work, they need the following tools. For the purpose of felling trees, they use *kurada* (big axe), *kuradi* (small ax), *karwat* (saw), *daria* (round shaped knife). For the purpose of planting trees, they use *pahar* (iron crow-bar), *pahl* (pick), *tikam* (pickaxe), *pavda* (big spade), *pavdi* (small spade), *tagar* (big bowl), *watkha* (small bowl) for digging out soil from the hole. For instance, they plant seedlings of teak, kher, tiwas, and bamboo by these tools in the Dangis forest. In particular, for the fire-extinguishing, they use *tikham* (pickaxe), *takhara* (big bowl), *pavda* (big spade), *janu* (broom) etc. Although there are fire-line in the forest, they make firstly fire-line to protect spreading of fire to the other compartment.

In case of forest work, a skilled person could earn Rs. 34.40 daily at the standard of 9 hours work from 8 am. to 5 pm. with his own lunch and drinking water in the year 1993. In the same way, a semi-skilled person could get Rs. 33.35 and an un-skilled person obtain Rs. 32.30. Regarding labourer wage, there is no difference between male and female in the forest work. They can earn the same wage from the employer.

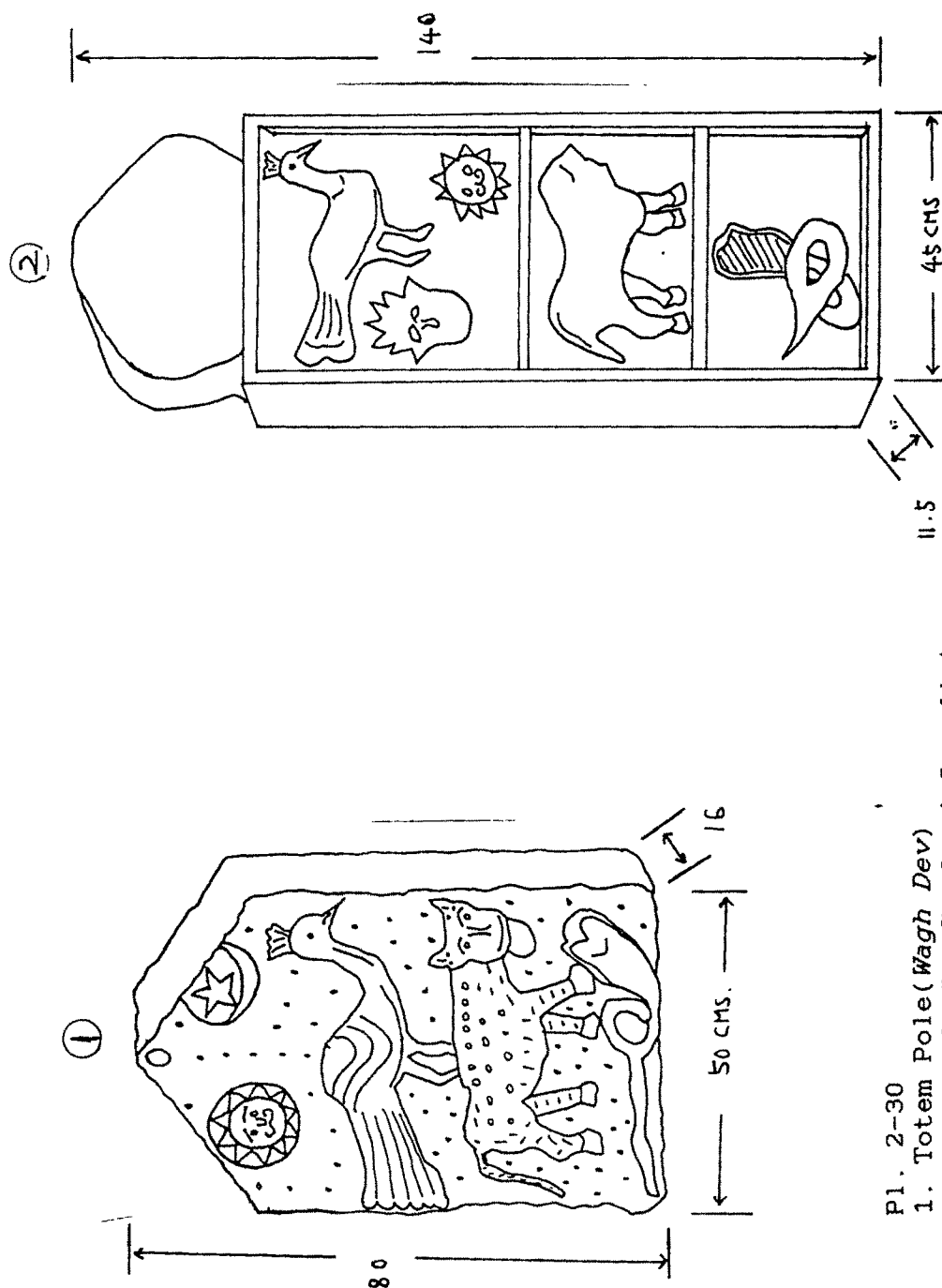
#### (5) Measuring Tools

In the Dangis the local measurement for grains are typical. The traditional measurements are a bamboo scale baskets which are made of bamboo. They are as follows *Nithia*, *Athia*, and *Chopa*. *Nithia* is the smallest measure in the area which is approximate to local seer or 500 grams. The *Athia* is about one kg. and *Chopa* is according to them around four kgs. But nowadays this type of measures are not in use.

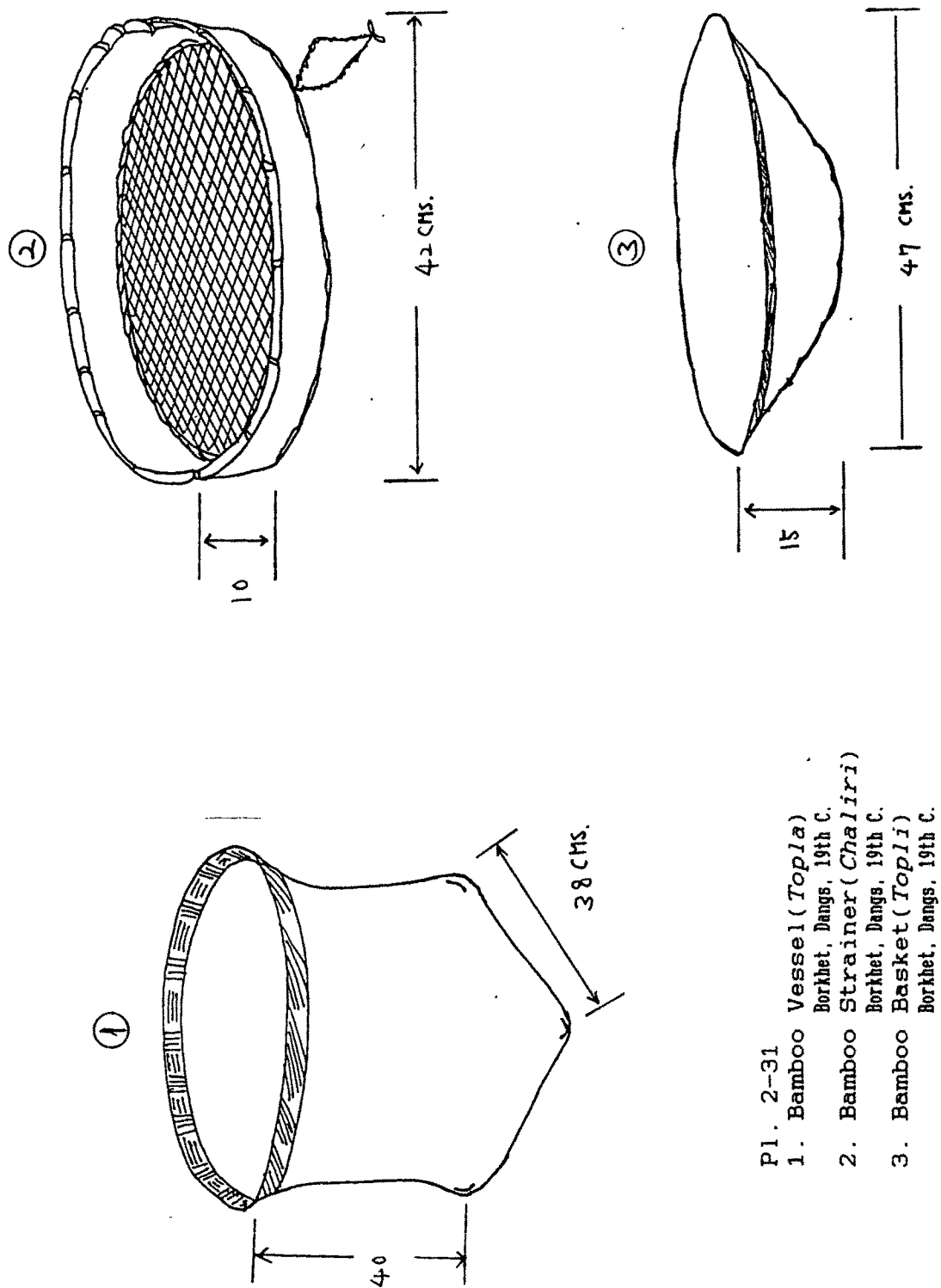
In the *bazaar* (market place), most of traders use a balance, a steelyard, one various metal scale bowls. For the weighing of grains, they use mainly a balance and various scale bowls (See, Fg. 38-5 & 38-6, Vol. II). In case of weights of vegetables they use mainly a steelyard. For the measurement of oil they use various scale bowls.

#### (6) Carpenter Tools

Most of the Dangis are poor carpenters but there are only a few expert in carpentry. The Dangis, therefore, usually invite carpenters from outsidies such as Nasik, Navapur and Bansda when they construct a new house. Generally the Dangis paid about three thousand Rupees as to the carpenter weight for a house construction (two rooms, one kitchen and one cowshed) in 1993. They use the following tools ; *Kurara* ( big axe), *kurari* (small axe), *hata* (plane), *wkas* (adze), *girmit* (awl), *tikra* (big chisel), *patasa* (small chisel), *randa* (round knife), *karwat* (saw), *kanas* (rasp), etc. (See, Fg. 39-1 to 39-4, Vol. II).



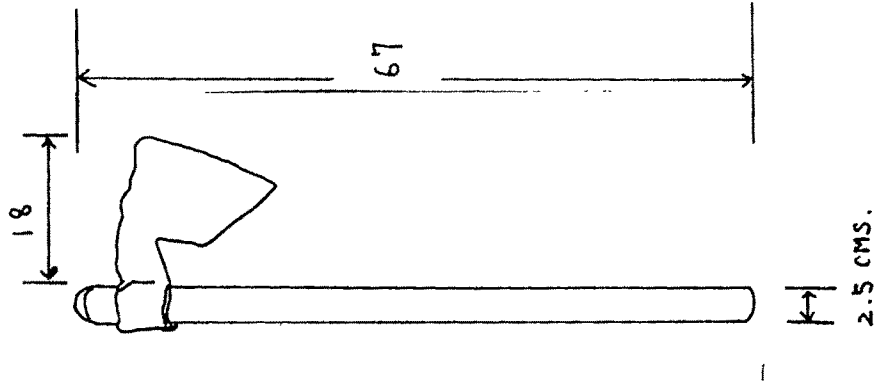
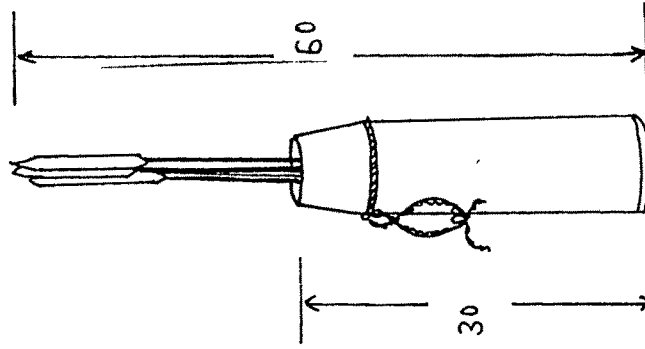
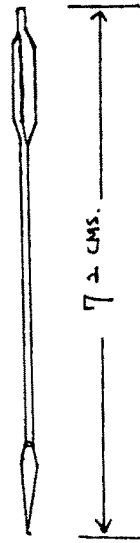
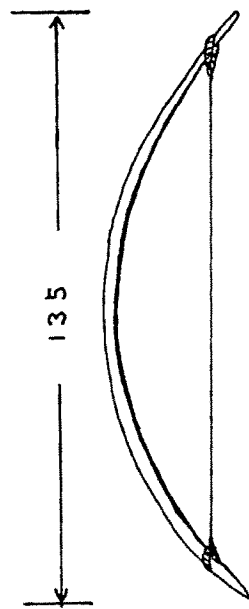
- P1. 2-30
1. Totem Pole (*Wagh Dev*)  
(Sun, Moon, Star, Peacock, Tiger, Cobra)  
Sangahan, Dangs, 19th C.
2. Totem Pole (*Wagh Dev*)  
(Peacock, Moon, Sun, Tiger, Cobra)  
Borkhet, Dangs, 19th C.



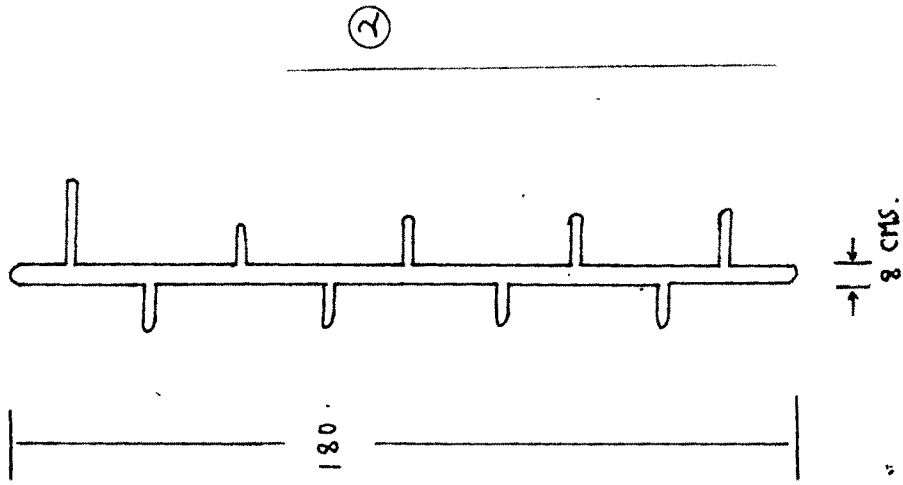
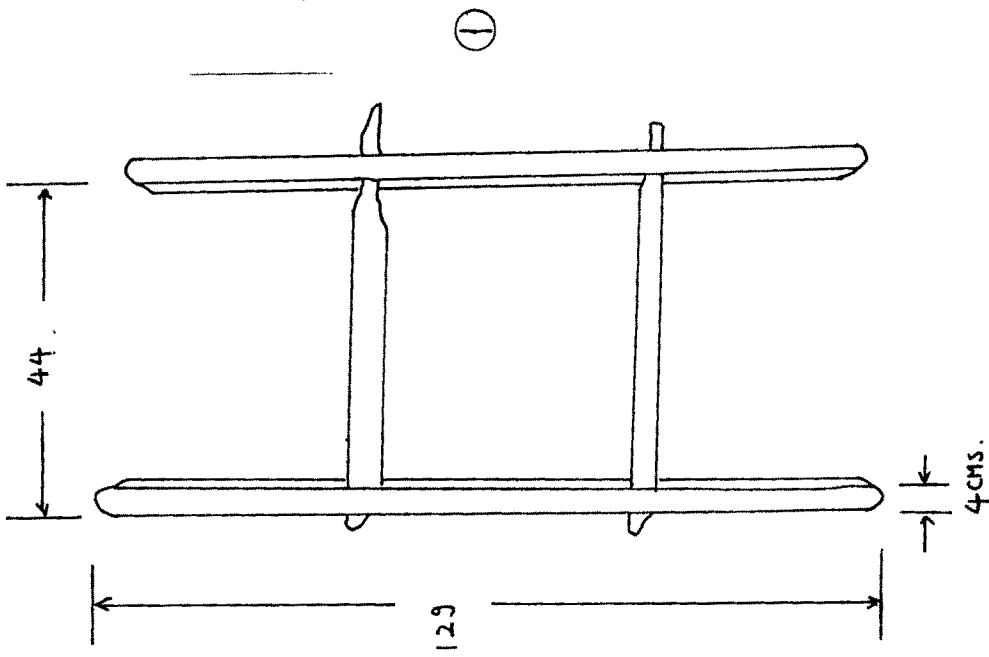
Pl. 2-31

1. Bamboo	Vessel ( <i>Topla</i> )
	Borkhet, Dangs, 19th C.
2. Bamboo	Strainer ( <i>Chaliri</i> )
	Borkhet, Dangs, 19th C.
3. Bamboo	Basket ( <i>Topli</i> )
	Borkhet, Dangs, 19th C.





- Pl. 2-32
1. Bow & Arrow (*Danu & Chintti*)  
Borkhet, Bangs, 19th C.
  2. Bird Trap (*Chikaty*)  
Borkhet, Bangs, 19th C.
  3. Axe (*Kurada*)  
Borkhet, Bangs, 19th C.



Pl. 2-33  
 1. Ladder (*Shidi*)  
 Borkhet, Dangs, 19th C.  
 2. A Log Ladder (*Datt*)  
 Borkhet, Dangs, 19th C.

## F. Rites of Passage

The Dangis perform rites of passage, viz., rites of life-crisis at birth, marriage and death. In India, these are called *sanskars*. According to the Hindu *Dharmasastra* the individual has to pass through many *sanskars-sharira sanskar* as Manu and others have called them; for these are intended to sanctify the body (*sharira*) from its beginning to end, from the moment the fetus is laid (*Garbhadhan*) to the death (*Antyeshthi*) of a person.<sup>1</sup> Each of these *sanskars* is preceded by a symbolic sacrifice (*homa*). The number of these *sanskars* differ according to different authorities. The *Ghriha-sutras* enumerate 40, while the *Gautam Dharmasutra* names 48.<sup>2</sup> The more important of these, however, are 16.<sup>3</sup>

The tribals observe different *sanskars* mainly on three

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1. op cit., Vidyarthi, L.P., and Rai, B.K., 1985, p. 272.

2. Pandharinath, Prabhu, *Hindu Social Organisation*, Bombay, Popular Book Depot, 1954, p. 222.

3. The 16 Hindus *sanskars* are: (i) *Garbhadhan*; foetus laying ceremony at the consummation of marriage, (ii) *Pumsavan*: male-making rite during the third month of pregnancy, (iii) *Sirr intonnayan*; during forth, sixth or eight months of first pregnancy, (iv) *Jatkarma*; at the birth of child, father utters *mantras* expressing his wish for long life (*Ayu*) and intelligence (*Medha*), (v) *Namkaran*; name-giving ceremony on the tenth or twelfth day after birth, (vi) *Nishkramana*; in the fourth month after the child's birth, the child is ritually taken out in the sun as if presented to the Sun, (vii) *Annaprashana*; in the sixth month the child is given cooked food for the first time, (viii) *Churakarma*; the first tonsure of the hair in first, third or fifth year or at any age according to family tradition, (ix) *Karnabheda*; ear boring ceremony at the age of five, (x) *Akhshararambha*; learning alphabet, (xi) *Upanayana*; sacred thread ceremony when the boy is initiated into the study of the Vedas. The boy enters *Brahmacharyashrama*, i.e., the first *ashram* of a life of dharma. It heralds the second birth (*dwija*), (xii) *Vedarambha* or *Vidyarambha*; starting studying the Vedas, (xiii) *Keshanta:Churakaran* at the age of 15 or 16 year, ceremonial clean shaving, (xiv) *Samavaratana*; ceremonial return of a person after studying, (xv) *Vivah*; marriage ceremony, entering *Grihasthashrama*, and (xvi) *Antyesthi*; funeral rites performed at death., cited in Vidyarthi, L.P. and Rai, B.K., 1985, p.p. 272-273.

occasions, viz., at birth, marriage and death. A few other sanskars like the ceremony to approve socially a man as father of a child (without taking note of the biological factors), name giving ceremony, etc., are also observed. Each of these tribal *sanskar's* is preceded or followed by a sacrifice of either an egg, fowl or animal. Like Hindus the tribals also worship and invoke their *kul* or *Gotra devta* (god of clan or lineage), family deities, *sthan-devta* (god of the place) and *gam devta* (god of the village) during different ceremonies of the sanskars.

#### (1) Birth and Childhood

##### (i) Prenatal Precautionary Taboo

The Dangis know of the physiological origin of paternity. And they also believe that "though the fetus is completely human in shape, life does not enter it till after three months according to some, and till after five months according to others."<sup>1</sup> By the fifth month, parents may observe various prenatal precautions. The important prenatal precautionary taboos are as: The parents cease sexual relationship from the sixth month till after a new-born baby is three months old. They do not cut anything growing in the field. They do not dig out the earth in the court-yard. They do not tie a knot on the wall. They do not accuse others. In particular, the mother does not eat anything joint like a double banana, a double egg, a double tomato etc. Besides, there are many restrictions.

After exactly nine months, they expect to receive a baby. They believe that a girl baby is born exactly after nine months, and a boy baby after nine days past nine months from the date of pregnancy. To prepare for receiving a new baby, the family arranges a room for the expectant mother. As much as possible, they keep the required herbal medicines or hospital medicines for emergency. Nowadays, some expectant mothers are cared by maternity nurses from near by health centres.

##### (ii) Delivery

For easy delivery *Sati* (goddess of child-birth and care), *Baram* (god of protection) or *Mavli* (mother goddess) are worshipped and propitiated by the family or the midwife. The delivery generally takes place at *koli* (bedroom) 'except *rasodu* (kitchen), and open-air space like *watha*'.<sup>2</sup> As soon as the baby is born, the midwife cuts the umbilical cord with an arrow-head. Rarely a few midwives in the Dangs cut the

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1. See, op cit., Naik, T.B., 1956, p. 105.

2. See, Patel, G.D.(ed), 1971, p. 182.

umbilical cord with a bamboo chip.<sup>1</sup> Except in Dhodias' house, she cuts the umbilical cord with *juwar* stalk. Nowadays, in many cases the maternity nurse cuts it with a pair of scissors. Then the baby is washed in lukewarm water, and is wrapped in a new cloth, finally is put by the mother's side.

The portion of the cord is taken in the basket and then it is buried in the *gotha* (cattle-shed) or in the *rasoda* (kitchen). Sometimes it is buried outside of the house.<sup>2</sup> After digging a hole, on which a mixture with five grains namely rice (*Oryza sativa*), wheat (*Triticum aestivum*), *nagli* (*Eleusine corocana*), *udid* (*Phaseolous mungo*), and *vari* (*Panicum miliare*) is spread and the cord is placed then the hole is filled with earth. On the spot, a stone is placed. Then the midwife offers *sak* (drops) of liquor in front of the stone.

For five days, viz., till *Pachora*, the mother and the baby are bathed on the stone by the midwife. But the Warlis and the Kolis are bathed near the stone and not on it. Dots of *kunku* (vermilion) are applied to the stone as well as to the place where the baby is born. *Sak* of liquor are dropped on the two spots.

(iii) *Pachora*

On the fifth day after the birth, *Pachora* is performed. Till *Pachora* day "the mother is called *vali balantina* (just delivered)."<sup>3</sup> After *Pachora*, she is not allowed to bathe on the stone placed over the cord. In some villages, on this day, three impressions on the palm dipped in *haldi* (turmeric powder) are impressed on the east bamboo wall in cattle-shed or near the *chulla* (hearth). These three dots are represented *Sati*, *Barma* and the baby. While in some villages five heaps of rice (*Oryza sativa*) and *nagli* (*Eleusine corocana*) are put in a winnowing pan and five coins of one Rupee are placed on the heaps. The five heaps of rice represent *Sati*, the *nagli* represent *Barma* and the coins represent dead ancestors. The Kolis believe that the rice represent *Mavli*. *Kunku* (vermilion) is also put over these heaps. In most of houses, five dots of *kunku* are applied to the stone placed on the cord. *Sak* of liquor is also dropped in front of the stone and the heaps or on the palm impressions.

Among Kolis, Konkanas and Warlis, the midwife brings the branches of *timri* (*Carrissa carandas*) and inserts two branches to the both sides of the front door and further, slightly burn one

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1. *ibid.*, p. 107. and 182.

2. See, *ibid.*

3. *op cit.*, Khanapurkar, D.P., 1944, p. 143.

branch in the *chulla* (hearth). It is believed that by this means, the Dangis prevent evil spirits or diseases to come into the house. In case of the Konkanas and the Warlis, the midwife goes to a river bank or nearby well to sow grains near the water and further, applies dots of *kunku* on a stone. The purpose of sowing grains is to foresee the future of the baby whether it will be wealthy and prosperous.

For rendering assistance, the midwife receives twenty five Rupees from the house if a boy-baby, otherwise twenty Rupees a girl-baby. In the past 50 years if the child is a son one Rupee was given, for a daughter eight Annas.<sup>1</sup> In the past, additionally she may get a head of fish and a bottle of liquor and further, "two earthen pots, one big and one small, from which warm water was taken to bathe the mother and the child".<sup>2</sup> Two earthen pots are filled with grain, which are offered to the midwife.

On *Pachora* day, rice and liquor is served to the guests who are mostly close to the family and intimate neighbourhood. Then the midwife places the baby in a *hindi* (cradle) and swings it, and furthermore, gives the baby the following instructions: "Come at the bidding of the mother (if a girl) or father (if a boy), but run away if called by mother (if a boy) or father (if a girl). Be happy and wise. Go in bazar, drink liquor. Don't be afraid of Government".<sup>3</sup> These instructions may foster the development of negative human nature and provocative act against the Government. As a result, especially, the Bhils are passive and quite negative in terms of social participation in the Government Projects such as the socio-educational development programmes for the illiterate.

(iv) On the Twelfth Day

On the twelfth day the mother goes to the riverbank or nearby well to perform the twelfth day ceremony. After taking bath, she applies five dots of *kunku* (vermilion) to the stone, placed there on *Pachora* day by the midwife. Then she throws the sowed grains of *sava* (*Panicum miliaceum*), *banti* (*Panicum crusgalli*), *vari* (*Panicum miliare*) on the water and then returns with a pot of water.

There is no naming ceremony among the Dangis. The baby is given a name according to the will of the parents. In connection with this matter, T.B. Naik (1956) mentioned that "the

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1. See, *ibid.*

2. *ibid.*

3. *ibid.*, p.p. 143-144.

*hirarpi* (midwife) gives a name to the baby."<sup>1</sup> However, nowadays the Dangis give a name to the baby when they register the name of the baby to the gram panchayat office within three days after the birth. "If the parents' previous children have all died the children is given a bad name, for instance, *Kutro* (Dog)."<sup>2</sup> In south Korea, the custom of giving a humble name is similar to that of the Dangis. The Korean believe that one who has a humble name like *tthu-kkheobi* (toad) which does not attract the evil spirits, and symbolizes a wealthy life.

## (2) Marriage

The Dangis have their own marriage customs, viz, a member of each tribal community can select his spouse or her spouse who belong to the same tribal community. From the this aspect of marriage system, the Dangis generally follow endogamy but in terms of selection of the spouse, they do not choose their spouse within the member of their *kul* (clan). It is said that a member of each community follows *kul* exogamy marriage system, which is strictly practised between the members of the paternal family.

However, nowadays a young generation does not hesitate to get excommunicated so as to marry his or her lover. Previously, one who had been excommunicated from his own *kul*, he will be taken back only, on payment of a fine to the his *kul panch*<sup>3</sup> and/or undergoing purification ceremony under his *kul panch*.<sup>4</sup> But nowadays this kind of *kul panch* is hardly held at the villages. At this stage, among the Dangis, the endogamy system is not appropriately applied due to changing social recognition about social hierarchy and to the principle of equality.

In particular, the Bhil allow to marry between cross-cousin, vice versa. A boy can marry his paternal aunt's daughter who is younger than the boy. After a Bhil's or a Konkana's wife died, he is able to be married to the deceased wife's younger sister. Though this is not compulsory, sororate marriage system is preferred.<sup>5</sup> And levirate marriage system is also allowed among them. The Dangi widow can remarry, and as matter of fact, she is allowed to marry her younger brother in-law.

Generally a match-maker marriage is popular among the

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1. op cit., Naik, T.B., 1956, p. 109.

2. *ibid*.

3. See, op cit., Patel, C.D.(ed), 1971, p. 183.

4. See, op cit. Khanapurkar, D.P., 1944, p. 165., and p. 165.

5. op cit., Naik, T.B., 1956, p. 128.

Dangis. Besides, there are various kinds of marriage cases such as love marriage, marriages by abduction, capture, elopement, etc. However, the latter cases receive sanction after the couple begins to cohabit. The case of marriage by capture does receive sanction by the community though somewhat later. But in such cases the boy has to pay more expense *dej* (bride price).

The entire marriage procedure is divisible into three stages : (i) *bol pen* (ii) *moti pen* and (iii) *langan*. *Bol pen* is equally associated with an engagement or betrothal. *Motipen* corresponds with marriage ceremony. *Langan* is a formality of marriage, but it is not compulsory among the Dangis. However, the Konkanas and the Bhil chiefs preferably perform *langan* which shows their prestige and socio-economic power.

(i) Bol Pen

When a Dangi boy grows up about 20 years old, his parents are searching for an appropriate qualified 17 or 18 years old girl in the village in the neighbourhood, through relatives and acquaintances. Most of the Dangis generally believe that the two or three years age-gap between the spouse is appropriate. Prior to India's Independence there were many cases of so-called child marriages<sup>1</sup>, but nowadays to be a bride and a groom, she must be, at least, over 17 years old and he must be of 20 years old. During my fieldwork, I could attend the wedding four times of which three cases were of 17 years old bride and 20 years old groom.

The rich family preferably search for their children's spouse who is living even far away from their village. To select a good partner, the family considers her beauty, obedience, industriousness, etc. vis-a-vis his physical complexion, economic capacity, qualification of education and social status of the family. They believe that marriage is not a personal occasion but inter-families' occasion which promotes to make better relationship between two families.

The marriage proposal generally comes from the boy's side and if the parties agree with *bol pen* (engagement), they fix the date for *bol pen* without undergoing any ceremony. On the fixed date, the boy's parents with their close relatives come to the girl's house, and they present her a *cholli* (bodice), a *lugde* (loin cloth) and a red-bead necklace. On this day they fix *dej* (bride price; See, Fg. 40-1, Vol. II). Then lumps of powdered sugar-cane presented by the boy's parents are distributed by the girl's parents to the guests (See, Fg. 40-2, Vol. II). Nowadays *dej* is paid by the boy's parents between 250 and 300 Rupees. In

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1. op cit., Patel, G.D.(ed), 1971, p. 182.



the past, 50 years ago, *dej* varied from five to twenty Rupees.<sup>1</sup> In 1970 the girl's parents were given a sum between 70 and 100 Rupees.<sup>2</sup> Then both parties are served with liquor for celebrating *bol pen*. All expenses are paid by the boy's parents. Next day early morning, the boy's parents with their close relatives return to their house with fixed date of *moti pen*.

(ii) Moti Pen

On this day *dej* is handed over to the girl's father, in the cattle-shed or court-yard then he promises to pay the rest in the near future. Among Konkanas and Warlis, *dej* is placed on the *garthi* (mortar) filled with grains. On *moti pen* day the groom's party, including his parents and close relatives come in procession to the bride's house. In the past, on this day, the presence of the groom was not compulsory.<sup>3</sup> But nowadays the groom should attend the *moti pen*. In case of the poor Dangis, the *moti pen* is almost on a par with a marriage. When the groom's procession arrives at the entrance of the *pandal* (ceremonial place) at which two young virgins of the bride stand with water-pots on their heads. The father of the groom drops coins in them.

At the time of *moti pen*, in some villages, the ancestors and the gods of the bride's family represented by rice-heaps in a winning fan are worshipped with *kunku* (vermilion). Then one or three bottles of liquor are bought by the groom's father. The brother of the bride opens the cask and sak of liquor on the earth, in the honour of gods and deceased ancestors. Then all the guests are served with liquor. The bride's father and the groom's father announce their new relationship and celebrate the *moti pen* through drinking liquor.

The bride is presented a *cholli* (bodice), *shalu* (white sari) and a *phadaki* (to wear over head). After the bride wears this new dress, five *suvasinis* (married women) tie black-bead necklace round her neck. Then the hems of the bride and the groom garments are tied into a knot. But if the groom is absent, this tying of the knot does not take place. The bride, accompanied by her mother, or elder sister salutes to the elders, by whom coins or Rupees are presented.

After serving dinner by the bride's party, the guests participate in dancing at night. Next day in the morning, the groom's party with the bride return to the groom's house. If

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1. op cit., Khanapurkar, D.P., 1944, p. 781.

2. op cit., Patel, G.D.(ed), 1971, p. 184.

3. ibid., p. 146.

there is a river, on the way, the bride and the groom are lifted on shoulder by some persons and carried to the other bank.

At the groom's house, the bride stands near the threshold and strangles a small chicken under her feet. Then she enters and takes her place near the groom. While standing near a *garthi* (mortar) in *wasli* (living room cum storage), they hold a dish containing rice, salt, coins and lighted *ghee*-lamp. Their hands are placed in each other's hands, by some elderly person and they are advised to lead a happy matrimonial life.

Again the hems of their garments are tied into a knot by some elderly person. Then they are offered liquor to drink. The groom pours *sak* of liquor from his leaf-cup into the bride's leaf-cup, vis-a-vis then they drink it. This is the essential part of the *moti pen*. In other case, after the bride and the groom sitting on the *wasli* side by side, the village *Patel* or *Jaglia* presides the *moti pen*. According to the marriage procedure (See, Fg. 40-3 to 40-6, Vol. II), the bride firstly puts a dot of *kunku* on the forehead of the groom. Then the groom puts a dot of *kunku* on the forehead of the bride. After that the bride offer a cup of liquor to the groom. Next, the groom offer a cup of liquor to the bride. Sometimes a cup of tea on behalf of liquor is served by each other. By undergoing this ceremony they are recognized as married. Then the knot is untied, the bride accompanied the groom bows to the elders, family gods, *chulla* (hearth), *mushki* (grains container), parts of the house. Then dinner and liquor are served to the guest.

Next day the bride goes back to her parents' house, with five *nagli roti* (breads). After five days the groom with a few his relatives go to the father-in-law's house. The bride accompanies the groom with five breads from her father's house. At this time her mother instructs her as : "Oh, girl, keep the house happy. Act cordially. Let no blame be cast on your parents. Don't listen to an outsider's advice. Be content with your affairs. Eat and be merry. Be nice with husband. If any relative arrives, love him and offer him something to eat. And give him a hearty send-off".<sup>1</sup>

In many cases, by performing two *pens* a new couple are recognized as married. The third stage of marriage procedure remains but performing it is not compulsory.

(iii) Langan

The last marriage procedure is so-called *langan* which incurs a heavy expenditure, a few wealthy Dangis can afford to perform. The *langan* is not compulsory. If they have sufficient

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1. op cit. Khanapurkar, D.P., 1944, p. 148.

funds, they perform the ceremony, even after birth of children, at any time. The only stigma is that a person who has not performed *langan*, is not allowed to dine in line with the persons who have performed *langan*. By performing the *langan* they attain and keep their prestige. Therefore, the Bhils chiefs and the wealthy Konkanas prefer to perform *langan*. In that case the following procedure is observed.

Prior to the day fixed for *langan*, rice-heaps are put in a winnowing fan representing the deceased ancestors which are worshipped with *kunku* (vermilion). Then a *pandal* (ceremonial place) is constructed in the court-yard. Five *suvasinis* go into forest and cut a branch of a *mango* tree (*Mangifera indica*) and fig tree (*Ficus glomerata*) after applying *kunku* to the trees and tying their trunks with tread. These branches or leaves are tied to the middle post of the *pandal* in auspicious. Among Konkanas and Warlis, they are placed in *mushki* of grains with pestle.

Then *telvana* (applying oil and turmeric) ceremony is performed. A few drops of oil are dropped on the earth, near *garthi* (mortar) with an arrow-head and leaves of mango. Then *suvasinis* touch the body of the bride and the groom with arrow head dipped in oil. Then *haldi* (turmeric powder) is applied to the body. Dots of *haldi* are applied to faces of the assembled guests. "Two *bashings* (coronet) of *rui* (*Calotropis gigantea*) are tied to the groom's forehead."<sup>1</sup> In the past, "a black-bead necklace is also tied round the groom's neck and also a betel-nut is tied to the his wrist among Warlis and Konkanas."<sup>2</sup>

In the evening the groom goes to the bride's house. Among Konkanas, Warlis and Kolis either the bride goes to the groom's house or vice versa. But in case of the Dhodias, the bride goes to the groom's house. Among Konkanas, Warlis and Kolis, *korada bhat* (dried rice) is sent to the groom's party, in case the groom arrives to the bride house when he return to his house. The women from the groom's party meet the bride to comb her hair with oil. Then the procession arrives at the *pandal*. Two young virgins stand near the entrance of the *pandal* with pots of water on their heads. The visiting party drops a few coins in the pots and enter the *pandal*. Among Konkanas and Warlis a bamboo pole is placed on the way of the groom to the *pandal*. After receiving a few coins the bamboo is removed by the bride's party. Among Dhodias and Konkanas the feet of the new couple are washed by the groom's mother.

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1. *ibid.*, p. 787.

2. *ibid.*

Before the bride and the groom sit on the *pandal* after going round the *pat* (wedding mat or seat) five times. It consists of a white cloth of *umbar* (*Ficus glomerata*). A half of the cloth is for the bride and grooms' seat. Four heaps of rice or *nagli* are placed on the four corners and additionally one is placed in the middle. Five betel-nuts and five dots of *kunku* are also applied on the same places. Among Konkanas a pot containing water and mango leaves is placed before *pat*, while the Warlis a pot containing liquor is placed.

Among Bhils and Konkanas the groom's left thigh placed on the bride's left thigh.<sup>1</sup> Among Bhils and Kolis, the hems of their garments are tied into a knot. "The bride unties the *bashings* of *rui* (*Calotropis gigantea*) tied to the groom's forehead. Then the bride ties *bashing* (coronet to the groom's forehead, after calling his name, and further, vice versa. Among Konkans, Warlis and Kolis, the groom ties black-bead necklace round the Bride's neck. Among Dhodias the groom's mother ties the black-bead necklace.

But, among Dhodias and Konkanas *karavalis* (bride's and groom's maids) drop rice-grains or *vari* over the heads of the couple. Among Warlis *suvasinis* drop the rice-grains. Among Konkanas and Warlis the hems of the bride's and the groom's garments are tied in a knot by a *madalvala* (*madal* ; drum player; See, Fg. 47-8, Vol. II) or *nagaravala* (drum player). Among Dhodias *handavarias* (brothers-in-law) tied the knot. Among Konkanas and Kolis, *pavita* (yellow thread) is tied round the necks of the bride and the bridegroom. Among Dhodias and Warlis the bride, as well as the groom are lifted by their *handavarias*. The new couple sits on *pat* throughout the night.

In the case of the Dhodias and the Warlis the couple pounds rice at *ukhara* (pounding hole) together. The groom holds the upper part of *musala* (pestle) standing and the bride holds its lower part sitting. Among Konkanas and Kolis the bride hides betel-nuts in her fist and the groom tries to open it. Then the groom hides the betel-nuts and she tries to open his fist.

Next day *haldi* (turmeric powder) is applied to the bride and the groom among Konkanas and Kolis. Then the groom leaves the *pandal* in sham anger, among Konkanas, Kolis and Warlis. The bride goes to the groom after a while and brings him to the *pandal*, throwing an end of *saree* round his neck. In midway the groom lifts the bride and brings her to the *pandal*. Among Konkanas and Kolis, the couple utters each other's names.

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1. On the contrary of author's observation, Khanapurkar, D.P. (1944 : 788) reported that "the bridegroom's right thigh rests on the bride's left thigh."

In the evening the *haldi* (turmeric powder) is washed at the groom's house, among Konkanas, Kolis and Warlis. Among Konkanas and Warlis, during the bath the bride throws water on the groom with her hands and the groom throws water on her with his mouth. The younger brother of the groom unties the *bashings* of the bride and the groom. Then he asks the bride, "Will you arrange for my marriage or not?" She replies in the affirmative. Then he ties the *bashings* to *dharan* (middle pillar). Among Kolis, *turavala* (kettle drum player) unties the *bashings* and ties them to *dharan*. Then the couple pounds betel-nuts together. The pieces of the betel-nuts are distributed to the guests.

Among Bhils and Konkanas the couple holds a dish containing rice, salt and ghee-lamp. They are advised to lead a happy life. Then they bow to ancestors, family gods, grain-store and cattle. Among Dhodias they go to salute village gods.

Next day *undas* (powered rice balls) are prepared. Among Dhodias, the bride's or the groom's mother lifts the basket, while among Konkanas the bride lifts. Among Dhodias and Konkanas some *undas* are thrown over the *pandal*. Among Konkanas, Kolis and Warlis five *undas* are inserted on a thorny shrub on the village border. The groom leaps over the branches four times, and takes away the *undas*. The fifth *unda* is shared equally by the bride and the groom. They eat their portion.

Next morning *anu* (receiving the bride or the groom) takes place. The bride goes to her parents if she is at the groom's house or vice versa. She leaves her residence with four, five or twenty-one *roti* (breads), and goes to her parents' house or to her husband's house, as the case may be.

After third day her parents or her husband goes to invite her and she leaves the place, with equal number of *roti* (breads) as taken last time. Among Konkanas and Warlis the couple unties the fig and mango branches tied to the *dharan* (middle pillar) of the *pandal*. Among Konkanas the branches are thrown into river. While among Warlis, the couple throws the branches on the *pandal*.

Among the Dangis the system of *gharatani* or *khandadia* prevails. According to it a youth serves a man for a fixed number of years in lieu of *dej* (bride price) for his daughter. At the end of the term the youth is married to the girl.

### (3) Divorce

Similarly the Dangis have the system of divorce and re-marriage current among them. Among Dhodias, konkanas and Warlis if a man is fed up with his wife, or if she is dissatisfied with him, the man or the woman call *panch* and ask for divorce. The *panch* consist of *Patel* and other elders of the village. When the *Panch* grants the divorce, the husband breaks

the black-bead necklace tied round the woman's neck. This legalises the divorce. The woman asks the young babies with her. Among Konkanas and Warlis, in addition to above, the husband and the woman hold a straw of grass and break it together. Among Bhils and Kolis, *Panch* are not invited for divorce. When a husband dislikes his wife, he marries another lady. The former wife either lives with him or leaves him and marries another man. Similarly if a woman is displeased with her husband, she leaves him and marries another man.

In these cases and among Konkanas and Warlis when a woman elopes with another man, the husband goes to the new husband's house and claims *dava* (compensation). The village *Panch* of the new husband's village, as well as the ex-husband's village sit in conference and decide the sum to be paid by the new husband to the ex-husband, for the marriage expenses incurred by the latter. Then the exhusband and the new husband sit opposite each other, holding leaf-cup and drink it. The elders advise them not to have enmity any longer. After agreeing with each other, a blade of grass is broken by them.

A widow can marry her husband's younger brother. In this case no *dej* is paid. But if she marries another person, then *dej* is paid to her parents. In case of re-marriage there are no ceremonies.

#### (4) Funeral

##### (i) Preparation and Procedures

Many Dangis nowadays cremate the dead at *masan* (See, Fg. 41-1, Vol. II). A wealthy family practises cremation, but a poor family buries the dead. If a person dies due to cholera, he is buried. If a person is killed by a tiger, his remains are cremated and not buried.

After death the corpse is bathed with water and *kunku* (vermilion) dots are applied to the body. All ornaments belonging to the dead were placed near it in the past. But nowadays no one puts valuable ornaments near the dead. If the dead has performed *langan*, *haldi* (turmeric powder) is applied to the body. The dead, if a male, is covered with a new white cloth and with a red cloth if a woman. Coins like one Rupee or 25 Paise are placed in the hands and put into the mouth of the dead. Then it is tied on *tiradi* (bier cum carrier). A *tiradi* is made of two bamboo poles (L. 180-200, D. 4-8 cms.) and 6 or 8 bamboo bars (W. 65-80, D. 4-8 cms.) according to the dead. Then the *tirani* is covered with a piece of cloth. The shape and function of a *tirani* is similar to a stretcher or litter. Among Dhodias, Konkanas and Warlis half-cooked rice is placed and tied near the feet of the corpse. In case of Dhodias one more leaf-cup containing rice is placed at the head of the dead.

Then the body is carried out of the village and all halt at a place, called *visawa* or *isamanu* (outskirt of a village). There the corpse is placed on the ground. *Davali* (dried bottle-gourd), torn clothes and garments of the dead are thrown over the corpse and left there. A stone is moved over the corpse and placed near its feet, on the ground. From this *isamanu*, the females who had accompanied the dead, return to the village.

The pall-bearers then lift the body and turning its head in the opposite direction, carry it to the burial ground, or *masan* (cremation place). The spot where the pyre is to be arranged, or a grave is to be dug, is bought by throwing a coin on the spot. When the grave is dug or half the size of the pyre is arranged, the cloth over the mouth of the corpse is torn and a few grains of cooked rice are placed in the mouth of the dead. Some water is poured in the mouth by *jambodi* (*Eugenia jamuna* or *jambul*) leaves. A coin is placed in the mouth of the dead. Sometimes mourners put *gullar* flower and coins on the body. Then the chief mourner places a stump of *sag* (*Tectona grandis*) on the chest of the corpse and says "It is not placed on you, but on your enemy".<sup>1</sup> Later *Jaglia* collects coins from the spot. Then pyre is arranged.

#### (ii) Cremation

By two persons, pyre is arranged, one standing at the side of the feet and other at the side of the head. After lighting the pyre, they exchange their positions. Among Bhils, Dhodias and some Konkanas the pyre is fanned with *jambodi* leaves. While among Warlis and some Konkanas, it is fanned with *palas* (*Butea frondosa*) leaves.

Then one person goes round the pyre five times in anti-clock direction, with a holed earthen pot on his shoulder. The chief mourner allows him to throw the dripping water over the pyre over his back. Then the pot is crashed at the feet of the pyre. Among Dhodias it is crashed at the head of the pyre. Among Bhils, Konkanas, Kolis and Warlis and *kuradi* (axe-blade) is thrown across the middle of the pyre, five times, from one side to the other side. Then *tiradi* (bier cum carrier) is thrown on the pyre and all go to take bath.

Then they chew tooth sticks of *kalamb* (*Nauclea parvigolia*) and apply chewed or pounded bark of *kalamb* to their arms and exposed bodies to purify themselves. Among Dhodias they chew *vansali* (*Eugenia jambolana*). Among Dhodias and Konkanas the *kuradi* (axe-blade) is placed on the bank of the river and on it mouthfuls of water is dropped, so also water by hands is dropped

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1. *ibid.*, p. 794.

by pall-bearers. Then all return to the house of the dead. Then they make fire with cowdung cakes from which they expose their feet to the smoke. Afterwards they go back to their own houses.

Among Dhodias and Warlis, a person holds the *kuradi* (axe-blade) and other persons touch it with their fingers. Then milk is sprinkled on the assembled persons. Some dinner and liquor is offered to the spirit of the dead. Among Bhils Konkanas and Warlis, on the spot, where the person has died a ghee-lamp is placed on rice or *nagli* flour. The lamp is covered with a basket. Next day the basket is lifted to see the signs on the flour predicting the new birth of the dead.

(iii) Burial

In case of a burial the first clod of earth is placed on the chest by the chief-mourner. He says "It is not placed on you but on your enemy".<sup>1</sup> Then the grave is filled. The chief mourner goes round the grave five times throwing water over his back. Then the earthen vessel is crashed at the feet of the grave. Among Bhils it is crashed at the head. Then an *kurari* (axe-blade) is thrown five times across the grave, from one side to another. Then thorns and stones are placed over the grave. One stone is placed on the head. On *diwas* day the stone on the head of the grave is removed.

Then they go to take bath. Among Bhils and Konkanas, the pall-bearers, after returning to the house of the dead, comb their, holding the knot on the left shoulder. One person asks then five times "Has the burden disappeared?" And they reply in the affirmative. Then all persons hold their hands over an ignited cow-dung ball, on which *nagli* flour is dropped, among Bhils. Among Konkanas, instead of *nagli* flour, salt and bark of *sadad* (*Terminalia tomentosa*) or hair of dead are dropped. This is supposed to purify them. Then all return to their houses after drinking liquor.

There are no rites in case of a leper. His body is dragged and thrown in jungle to be devoured by animals and vultures. If a pregnant woman dies, then her womb is cut open on the burial ground and the child is taken out and buried near her.

(iv) Diwas

*Diwas* or *dahado* is not compulsory among Bhils. *Diwas* is observed on the fifth day (the Bhils) or on the seventh day (the others) when it suits the chief mourner. Among Dhodias, Konkanas and Warlis two tubes of bamboo and two tubes of *eranda* (*Ricinus communis*) are taken. Two tubes are filled with rice gruel and

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1. *ibid.*, p. 795.



two tubes are filled with milk. Among Konkanas, instead of rice gruel, cow's urine is filled in the tubes. Among Dhodias and some Konkanas four *hapalis* (small bamboo chips) are also taken. Cooked rice, *bombil* (*Bommelow*) fish and hen's flesh are also taken in *palas* (*Butea frondosa*) leaves. Then the chief mourner with a few persons goes to *isava* or *isamanu*. There he worships the stone with *kunku* (vermilion) and places one tube of *eranda* (*ricinus communis*) and one of bamboo. Among Dhodias and Konkanas two *hapalis* are placed. Part of dinner is also placed near the stone, and *sak* (drops) of liquor is dropped before it.

The tubes are broken and the party leaves for the cremation ground. Among Dhodias and Bhils water-pots are placed at *isava*. Among the former it is an earthen-pot ; while among the latter it is *davali* (dried gourd).

On the cremation ground they gather the ashes of the dead. Among Dhodias and Warlis an earthen pot is placed on the heap and is worshipped with *kunku*. There the remaining tubes and the remaining part of the dinner are placed before the heap. *Sak* of liquor is dropped. Among Dhodias and Konkanas the remaining two *hapalis* are placed. Then the tubes are broken and the water-pot is holed. Among Dhodias and Konkanas the ash is immersed in river. In case of burial, the tubes, dinner and liquor *sak* are placed near the head of the grave. And the stone on the head of the grave is rolled down. Then they go to take bath in the river.

Among Dhodias, a vessel containing rice gruel is placed in river water. Among Konkanas *undas* (powered rice balls) are placed in *palas* (*Butea frondosa*) leaf-cups, which are dropped in water. Among Warlis cooked *undas* are thrown in river water. This is done in the name of the dead. Then they return to the house of the dead. Among Dhodias water mixed with rice-grains and *ghee* is sprinkled over their bodies. Among Konkanas the pall-bearers apply rice and ghee to each other. Among Warlis a blade or rice-corn is moved from head to feet of the pall-bearers by a *Bhagat* (priest).

At the house of the dead one or three girls (virgins) and one or two boys are invited for dinner. Among Dhodias and Konkanas the chief mourner washed their feet. Among Dhodias rice-gruel is poured in a circle of cow-dung and the boys as well as girls fingers of the right hand are dipped in the gruel. Among Konkanas three *palas* (*Butea frondosa*) leaf-cups containing milk, rice-gruel and water are placed. The boys and the girls taste the contents. Then they are served with dinner and liquor in the name of the dead on *palas* leaf plates.

Among Dhodias and Warlis the chief mourner places lumps of dinner from their leaf plates, on one *palas* leaf-plate. This leaf-plate is placed on the roof and a crow's attention in

invited to eat it. Then the boys and girls take their dinner. Among Dhodias and Konkanas, leaf-plates and other things are collected and placed near *isava* (border of the village).

All assembled people gather in cattle-shed or court-yard. One of the elderly persons ties a turban to the chief mourner. A coin is tied to the hems of the turban. Among Konkanas and Warlis the chief mourner drops *sak* of liquor and a few rice grains on a *palas* leaf. All people bow to these grains. Among Dhodias, Konkanas and Warlis, the chief mourner then says "*Ramram*" and drinks liquor. Then the assembled people reply "*Ramram*" and drink liquor. Then all tie their turbans properly.

In case of a child *diwas* is not practised. Only grams and gul are distributed to the village children. In some case of cremation, Bhils and Konkanas prepare on *diwas* a figure of *gunda* grass, with a betel-nut serving as the head. They burn it on the river bank.

(v) *Chira* or *Murti*

After a year, on the day when death has taken place, and on festivals, including *Akhatij* (third day in the bright half of *Vaisakh* ; April-May) dinner is placed on roof or is dropped in fire, in the name of the dead. *Sak* of liquor is also dropped in the name of the dead. Among the Dangs *Rajas'* and *Naiks'* families and the rich Konkanas and some Koli families, they establish *chira* or *kamba* ( memorial stone or wooded pillars) for the dead at the their own *devta* (ancestral pantheon) in the past (See, Fg. 42-2, 44-3, 44-6, Vol. II). Nowadays only a few Dangis establish the memorial stone or wooden pillar, and many others such Konkanas and Kolis families prepare the *taks* or *murti* (ancestral silver or copper tablet) for the dead (See, Fg. 42-1, Vol. II). *Murutis* (See, Fg. 42-6, Vol. II) are installed in the *pidi* (wooden chest; See, Fg. 42-5), *wasni* (bamboo basket; See, Fg. 42-3 & 42-4, Vol. II).

Among the Konkanas, especially one who is the eldest and rich has *muruti*. Through *muruti* their family relationship can trace back as long as on the basis for how many generations' *murutis* they have. For instance, a Konkana family residing in the Malegaon has five generations' *murutis* which presented the members of their ancestors. The *murutis* tell us that some of their ancestors had two wives because the total number of *murutis* was 11 even if two *murutis* were not prepared. They perform ancestor worship every year on the days of *Holy*, *Tera*, *Pitra* and *Jathra* (before 20 days of Diwali), etc. Generally *murutis* are purchased from the jewelry shop. The size of a common *muruti* is 8 x 10 cms. There is one taboo that women never touch *pidi*, or *wasni*. Only men serve it with coconut, nagli, flower, *kunku* (vermilion), etc. on the occasion or the above-mentioned festivals. In general, *murutis* should be washed or cleaned by male member of the family weekly.

(vi) Parjan

The ceremony of *parjan* (the final rite after death) among Dhodias and some Warli families corresponds of *kaja* or *devakarya* of Konkanas. Among Dhodias only persons who belonging to one *kul* (clan) may participate with the *parjan*. Among Konkanas, relatives of the householder, though belonging to different *kuls* (clans) may take part. Among Dhodias small twelve earthen pots are brought for each dead. While among Konkanas and Warlis, each family brings one pot for the dead. Among the Warlis and the Konkanas, as soon as the name of the dead is uttered by *Bhagat*, the members of the dead person's family offer a piece of *roti* (bread) and liquor and water to *Ghumara* (medium).

## G. Seasonal Customs and Festivals

### (1) Seasonal Customs

The Dangis have their own calendar but nowadays they follow the Vikram Samvat calendar and the Christian calendar. There are some differences among the Dangi, Hindu, and Christian calendar. According to the Dangi calendar, in a year there are three seasons, namely *Hiyalo* (winter), *Unalo* (summer), and *Pahuo* (monsoon). There are twelve months in a year and seven days in week. They traditionally calculate years as the standard of blooming *hindan* which approximately flowers almost every 60 years. And they have remembered special occasions such as the World War II, India's Independence, etc. which may be the standard year. They have no scientific time table and calendar system. Without Hindu calendar they cannot accurately calculate the beginning or the ending of the month. A month is generally distinguished by an important festival or fair which falls in that particular month.

The Dangis know *Rohini nakshatra* that when the *Rohini* sets in, the monsoon season starts. They also believe *Nakshatras*<sup>1</sup> in farming and seasonal life. According to *nakshatras*, one should plough the land in *Rajkuvar* (*Rohini*) *nakshatra*; sow the seed in *Mrig*; variety of rice, called *Khadashi* should be sown in *Navikukur* (*Punarvasu*); *Nagli* (*eleusine corocana*) should be transplanted in *Ashlesha* and *Magha*; *Sava* (*Panicum miliaceum*),

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1. There are twenty-eight Nakshatras in a year, viz. Ashvini, Bharani, Krutika, Rohini, Mrig, Aradra, Punarvasu, Pushya, Ashlesha, Magha, Purva, Uttara, Hasta, Chitra, Swati, Vishakha, Anuradha, Jyeshtha, Mul, Purva-ashdha, Uttara-ashadha, Shravana, Dhanishtha, Shatataraka, Purvabhadrapada, Uttarabhadrapada, Revati and Abhijita.

*banti* (*Panicum spicatum*) and *Kharasani* (*Guizotia abyssinica*) in Purva and Uttara and according to them if rain falls in *Hasta* and *Chitra Nakshatras*, the crop grows luxuriantly. But if there are showers in *Fuldhavali* (*Swati*) then the crop may be ruined.

The Dangis have their own calendar which is not scientific but they customarily follow it. The names of the months given by the Dangis corresponding with the Hindu and Christian calendar are as:

Table 2-19 Dangis Calendar Corresponding Months in the Hindu and Christian

Sl.No	Dangis Calendar	Hindu	Christian
1	Diwali	Kartik	October-November
2	Magsar	Margasirsh	November-December
3	Push-Sankrant	Paush	December-January
4	Panchem-Satem	Magh	January-February
5	Simga-Holi	Phalgun	February-March
6	Jatra	Chaitra	March-April
7	Akhatij	Vaishakh	April-May
8	Jeth	Jyeshtha	May-June
9	Akhad	Ashadh	June-July
10	Savan	Shravan	July-August
11	Bhadjyo	Bhadrapad	August-September
12	Dashra	Ashvin	September-October

Source : op cit., Patel, G.D.(ed), 1971, p. 197.

Table 2-20 The Seven Days of the Week, the Dangis

English	Gujarati	Dangis
Sunday	Raviwar	Itwar
Monday	Somwar	Somwar
Tuesday	Mangalwar	Mangalwar
Wednesday	Budhwar	Budhwar
Thursday	Guruwar	Bhesharwar
Friday	Shukrawar	Shukarwar
Saturday	Shaniwar	Shanichar

Source : op cit., Patel, G.D.(ed), 1971, p. 198.

## (2) Festivals

In every month the Dangis enjoy festivals, which are mostly associated with their agricultural life style based on the lunar calendar (See, Appendix 2-7). The great holiday is Holi which is celebrated on the fifteenth day of *Simga-Holi*, viz., February-March in Christian calendar, which all Dangis enjoy it for five days. Next in importance comes Diwali and Wagha Baras.

Below it stands Tera, then Dashra. Besides, there are other minor holidays.

(i) *Simga* is known as *Holi* is celebrated on the fifteenth day of Phalgun. Among all the festivals the day of *Holi* has the greatest significance to the Dangis. All villagers put on new clothes, decorate their bodies and their houses, sing their favourite songs and enjoy dancing for five days (See, Fg. 26-23, 26-24, 43-13 to 43-15 & 45-11, Vol. II).

On these important holidays, almost gods and goddesses are worshipped by the *Bhagat* with villagers in the morning. The villagers after taking a bath assemble before the deities accompanied by the *Bhagat*. He applies a dot of *kunku* (vermilion) mixed with oil to the gods. The village music band sound various musical implements such as *pavri*, *pava*, *dholak*, *madal*, *ghangari*, *kirchia*, etc. (See, Fg. 43-11, 47-1 to 47-3, 47-7 to 47-10, Vol. II). At times a *Bhagat* chants his hymns in his monotonous and weird voice, to the accompany of musical instrument *ghangari* or *dholak* (See, Fg. 46-7 & 47-9, Vol. II). Then he sacrifices a hen or a goat to the gods. In case of a hen, he pulls her feathers and throws them in the god's direction. And in case of a goat he throws some hair of the goat in the god's direction.

After lighting a ghee lamp or after dropping some drops of *ghee* on burning cow-dung ball, he invokes the deities' blessings on the villagers and to propitiate the deities sacrifices the hen or the goat. The main purpose is to have good prosperity and good health. Then *Bhagat* tries to please the god, by putting the sacrificed animal's liver before the god and by dropping a few drops of liquor. Then all the assembled villagers are served with liquor and bits of flesh of sacrificed animal. At times the flesh is cooled and along with rice cooked there, everybody is served with some rice and a piece of cooked meat. Then all villagers enjoy chatting, dancing and drinking for five days.

In daytime, the young boys and children collect firewood. A long piece of a trunk of a tree is erected in a pit and a heap of firewood is made around it. At night of the festival, *holi* is burnt in the communal fireplace of a village (See, Fg. 43-3, Vol. II). The *Patel*, *Jaglia* and a few important persons of the village worship the goddess *Holika*. All villagers participate in worship of *Holika*, and the bonfire is lit ceremoniously by the *Jaglia*. The children and the elders shout with joy, throw corn, coconuts, and dried coconut chips into the fire and take five ceremonial rounds of the fire. People greet and offer good wishes to each other. The person in whose family a death has occurred, as a mark of grief and sorrow do not attend this function. In this case, intimate friends visit to such bereaved families so as to console. Some people observe a fast on this day and break the fast after worship of the goddess

*Holika*. The bonfire is kept burning for five days and young villagers sleep near the bonfire.

Dancing and singing are the main pastime of the villagers during this festival. They put on new dresses, visit to other villages and dance. Some people put on funny dresses and masks (See, Fg. 45-11, Vol. II). A man may put on a female's dress or a mask of an animal, disfigure his face and dance. They move in group from house to house, and also visit nearby villages for collecting *goth* (donation) of contribution. At the time smearing their faces with ash and soot, they dance and dance. Recently in some roadside villages, a group of the youth or women collect *goth* from the passengers to buy funny colour powder (See, Fg. 43-1, Vol. II).

The festival of the *Holi* marks the end of the spring and the beginning of the agricultural season. Like the *Diwali*, the *Holi* is also an occasion for making major purchases particularly clothes for the family. Dangs Darbar is held during the *Holi* festival.

(ii) *Akhatij* is performed on the third day of the first fortnight of *Vaishakh* (April-May). The day falls on after passing of four Sundays and four Tuesdays after *Holi*. On this day the Dangis completely take rest and down tools and do not undertake any work in the field. On that day, they go to the river or stream and enjoy catching fish with family or friends. On the spot, they cook fish and enjoy lunch in the nearby shade.

Before a week of *Akhatij*, all kinds of seeds, i.e. *nagli*, *vari*, *bhat*, etc. are sown in a basket. They are watered for all these days. Within these seven days, the seeds germinate. Their growth is observed sincerely with wishing the abundant harvest. The luxuriant growth is indicative of the richness of crops in coming season. The basket is worshipped on *Akhatij* and ceremoniously thrown into the water. They also worship the god of *Bhutiya Dev* (wind) on the day.

(iii) *Tera* falls in the month of *Ashadh* (June-July) after the rains have fallen and the earth is covered with green grass. This festival marks the beginning of eating of the produce of the rains. All the members of the family go out and search for *tera* leaves. These leaves are washed, boiled and some salt is added to it. Eating green vegetation before this day is prohibited. Around this time each village arrange communal worship of *Gam Dev*. On the day all villagers assemble in the *devta* in which *Gam Dev* is installed. Except women all villagers enjoy taking food and liquor after they sacrificed their offering to the *Gam Dev* (See, Fg. 43-3 to 43-8, Vol. II).

(iv) *Pola* falls in *Bhadrapad* (August-September). By this time, the new crops of the season have grown up sufficiently in the

fields. This day marks the beginning of the production of the new crops. When the crops ripen in the fields, by all the villagers, a day is fixed for the celebration. The members of the family go to their fields, cut a few stalks of *makai* (corn) or *nagli* and cook at home. This new produce is served to the cattle in the house also. No Dangis do not afford to cut and eat the new crop, before celebrating the *Pola* which is a community festival.

(v) *Wagh Baras* falls on the twelfth day of the second fortnight of *Ashvin* (September-October). The name indicates that it is a day of worship of *Wagh* (tiger). The Dangis offer a sacrifice of a cock to the *Wagh Dev* for the purpose of security of their life as well as the cattle (See, Pl. 2-30, Fg. 43-9, 43-10, 47-7 & 47-8, Vol. II).

In some villages on this day, in the evening when the cattle return from the forest, they are collected on the outskirts of the village. All the passages except one to the village are closed. In this one passage, an egg is put and the cows are made to run over this egg. If at the end, the egg remains unbroken, it is believed that the next year would be good for cattle health and abundant harvest (See, Fg. 43-9 to 43-12, Vol. II).

Besides, there are many festivals according to the group of people. *Dashera*, *Diwali*, *Pachavi* (*Nagpanchmi*) and *Pitra* (Muslim festival) are also celebrated. Incidents of persons observing other auspicious days like *Gokul Ashtami*, *Makar Sankranti*, *Divaso*, *Moharrum* and *Id* by the Muslims are few.<sup>1</sup>

There are a few persons who observe fast regularly on one day or the other. Some observe fast on Saturdays or Mondays, Tuesdays or Sundays. Very few observe fast on Wednesdays or Fridays. Muslims practise *Roza* (self-purification) in the month of *Ramzan*.

### (3) Fairs

Fairs, apart from satisfying the social and religious sentiments of the people, serve as market-places for the people in general and tribals in particular and provide opportunity to purchase various kinds of goods and necessities such as utensils, toys, ornaments, gods and goddesses pictures, cutlery, bamboo crafts, foodgrains, oil, vegetables, herbal medicine, *pan-bidi*, tobacco, and household articles (See, Fg. 38-1 to 38-9, Vol. II).

Fairs also provide various kinds of cultural activities such as *garba*, songs, religious discourses, which attract a large number of people. Many villagers come to see the *Dang Darbar* at

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1. op cit., Patel, G.D. (ed), 1971, p. 200.

Ahwa by bullock-carts (See, Fg. 48-5 & 48-6, Vol. II). Many families camp nearby the *Dang Jilla Panchayat* Office to enjoy the *Darbar*. A list of fairs showing details about the occasions, venues of the fairs, congregation, activities, communication and transport facilities and castes and communities participating in them (See, Appendix 2-7). Of the 7 fairs held at different places and at different times of the year in the district, one is dedicated to Lord *Rama* and the other to a Muslim *Pir* (saint).<sup>1</sup>

The following three fairs deserve special mention on account of the number of persons participating. The *Dang Darbar*; Ahwa, the *Badshah Bava Pir Urs*; Waghai and Rama Fair; Kalibel. Besides, the Dangis preferably go to weekly *bazaar* which are held at Galkund, Chinchli, Singana, Pipaldahad, etc.

The *Dang Darbar*, a colourful pageant organised on the occasion of spring festival, *Holi* has historical, cultural and administrative importance. The Dangs Darbar is yearly held at Ahwa from on the eve of the *Holi* to next five or six days. Previously, due to inconvenient transportation facilities, some villagers residing in remote villages faced some difficulties to purchase needful goods from the local *bazaar*. Therefore, most of the Dangis wait for the *Darbar* which can provide the villagers with an opportunity to purchase their necessities.

The fair has thus come to be associated with the holding of the *Darbar* of *Rajas* and *Naiks* and is held since the British regime on the eve of *Holi* for distribution of political pensions by the Political Agent during the Pre-Independence days and by the Collector, Dangs after the Independence. The tradition is maintained continually even today. Every year about 100 to 150 stalls of ready-made garments, brass and copper vessels and ornaments of brass and silver utensils, toys, cutlery, forest products and household goods are opened. Merchants from the neighbouring districts of Surat, Valsad, Bansada, Nasik, and Navapur bring various kinds of daily necessities for sale.

The Dangs *Darbar* has a special attraction for the villager, as this is the annual fair which provide them an opportunity for shopping necessities of life. Nowadays the Dangis wear mostly ready-made clothes, such as trousers, knee pants, shirts, blouses, *dhotis*, *saris*, and nowadays many Dangi women wear even brassieres and briefs. These are the main items of their dress. Besides, they enjoy shopping, and taking delicious food on the street cafe and further enjoy riding amusement facilities such as the great wheel, merry-go-round, and horror house.

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1. *ibid.*



## H. Religious Beliefs and Ritual

### (1) Dangi Pantheon

The Dangi pantheon has many gods and goddesses. It is said that they do not follow orthodox Hinduism. But nowadays many Dangis, especially, Konkanas worship some of Hindu gods and goddesses and celebrate a few Hindu festivals also, though in their own way. Among the Konkanas, there is a general awareness in that "We are Hindu peasants". This phenomena represents a new trend of their ways of life and belief system when they are asked to which religion they belong. However, still many Dangis follow their own pantheon.

According to S.S. Solanki (1980), the Dangi pantheon consists of High Gods, God, *Bai*, *Bir*, and *Chella*.<sup>1</sup> High God is a remote a figure who rarely interferes with human life. High God is followed by a host of lower gods and spirits such as *Bai*, *Bir* and *Chella*, who are more closely concerned with human fate.

#### (i) God :

*Marvati/Maruti/Hanvat/Manumoon, Khanderav, Bheram, Bhavani Mata, Manjia, Mahar Dev,*

#### (ii) Other Gods :

*Gam Dev, Kansari Mata, Ihimay, Hirva Dev, Naran Dev, Simaria Dev, Lagadia Bhut, Masania Bhut, Sati, Asari, Dongar, Mavli, Bhauvari Bhut, Bhasia Dev, Ehu, Nag Dev, Wagh Dev, Mesko Dev, Samva Dev, Bai Dev, Baram Dev, Ganapati, Ishwarpind, Pandan Dev, Bhutia Dev*

#### (iii) Bai :

*Eahra bai, Jahri bai, Hagari bai, Vakari bai, Moki bai, Vaki bai, Tapi bai, Girtha bai, Chakri bai, Funjari bai, Dami bai*

#### (iv) Bir

*Monia bir, Bakia bir, Jamiya bir, Lahria bir, Bhauria bir, Khajariya bir, Majariya bir, Fugaria bir, Damiya bir, Fulia bir, Daila bir, Pangiya bir, Agania bir*

#### (v) Chela

*Laharia chela, Kahariya chela, Chakriya chela, Chhanidiya chela, Masania chela, Usania chela, Chakri chela, Bhauvariya chela, Funganiya chela, Kothadiya chela and Chotadia chela.*

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1. Solanki, S.S., *Area Study of Dangs*, Ahmedabad, Tribal Research and Training Institute, Gujarat Vidyapith, 1980, p.p. 115-116.

The pantheon can be divisible into two categories ; "clean and unclean, perhaps under Hindu influence of vegetarianism."<sup>1</sup> They offer only fruits, flowers, coconuts, etc to the Gods who are considered as the clean such as *Hanuman, Mahe Dev, Munjia, Baram Dev, Khanderav, Ganapati, Ishwarpind and Samva Dev.*

The Dangis also perform ancestor worship every year on the days of *Holy, Tera, Jathra* (before 20 days of Diwali), etc.. *Murutis* represent their ancestors, which they prepare it from the jewelry shop after one year of the day or which the death has occurred. Generally ancestors with various gods and goddesses are together placed in a *pidi* (wooden chest) or a *wasni* (bamboo basket). In case of the Konkana family residing in Malegaon, they serve together their ancestors, *Maharani (Mother Goddess), Bawani, Munjia, Khandera, Iru, and Hidhari* yearly three times. On the of festival they put five pieces of *undas* (powdered rice ball) into holy fire by the name of their ancestors.

*Bhagat* is an important person who is a holy man, priest, diviner, conductor of rituals in a village. He is a medium between the supernatural beings and human. Moreover, he is an enemy of witches and he can search and treat witches. He is, therefore, respected by all villagers. Every magico-religious duties are performed by him (See, Fg. 43-6, Vol. II).

In the Dangs the following types of *Bhagats* are found<sup>2</sup>. *Dungar Dev, Mavlima*, grain looker, serpent/scorpion bite curer, witchcraft remover, cattle disease curer, epidemic curer, *Maruti, Wagh Dev, Hirva Dev, Kansari Mata*, etc.

All Dangis believe in witchcraft. A witch is a female sorcerer. There are no apparent characteristics to identify a woman who has turned a witch. All witches of a village form a secret association and select one of them as their leader.<sup>3</sup> After completion of the training, a witch has to pay fees in the form of a human life among his intimate such her husband or her child. A witch can be caught by the *Bhagat* while practising witchcraft. On the other hand, they believe male sorceries has no destructive activities. There are two types of magic ; one is eating charcoal and throwing them on his own body, the other is finding out a coin hidden in the earth.

The Dangis believe that while working in the forest or in the dark, if one sees a ghost or witch, one should take lump of

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1. See, *ibid.*

2. *ibid.*, p.p. 117-118.

3. *op cit.*, Patel, G.D. (ed), 1971, p. 180.

earth in two fists and stand within a marked circle, so the person may be safe from the attack of ghost or witch.

(2) Popular Gods and Goddesses

The Dangi pantheon is characterized by the natural objects made of stones and wood which a Dangi devotee can see and touch it, and he may lay his offerings on it. The sanctity of these wood and stone is not in their shape, size or appearance, but in the supernatural force or power contained them which is called the *Sat*. To an outsider, all gods and goddesses seem to be the same shapeless pieces of stones, carved wooden posts or lumber itself applied with *kunku* (vermilion) and sometimes tied with yellowish threads. One has to be told which deity is symbolised by a particular stone or wooden image. The same piece of stone is used sometimes as *Mata* and sometimes as *Dev*. Sometimes even villagers also may not properly know their pantheon. It means that the *Bhagat* has certain knowledge about his pantheon but many others follow only his saying. There is no uniformity on the matter of the pantheon. From one village to another, there are some difference in terms of the procedures and orientation.

*Kanasari* is a goddess of corn. The name *Kanasari* is derived from the Sanskrit term, *kana* meaning corn. Any stone lying in the field is established as *Kanasari Mata* and worshipped before reaping the new crops. A handful of corn is ceremoniously placed in front of the image of the goddess as and a chicken is also sacrificed when they reap for the first time in the field. The offering is performed for the abundant harvest. While the Dangis shift to a newly built house, this goddess is firstly established and then the house is used for residence. The Dangis smear a mixture cowdung with clay to the mouth of *mushki* (grain container) by the name of *Kanasari Mata*. It is said that if *Kanasari Mata* is propitiated, foodgrains do not get damaged by pests.

*Kotharin Devi* is installed in the storage. *Kotharin* is a goddess of *Kothar* (storage). She looks after and protects the storage of corn in the house.

*Pan Dev* is the god of rains while the god of wind is called *Bhutiya Dev*. *Pan Dev* is worshipped sometime after a few showers of rain, and the seeds have germinated (See, Fg. 44-9 & 44-10, Vol. II). If the rain is delayed or rains are scanty, people in the western Dangs go to the hill of Kuwathia, enter one of the caves and worship there.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes the wind causes great damage by blowing away roofs and uprooting trees. *Bhutiya Dev* has power to control wind. So the *Bhutiya Dev* is feared and worshipped.

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1. op cit., Patel, G.D.(ed), 1971, p. 176.

*Dungar Dev* is the god of the mountain, residing on the peak. Not all mountains and hills are abodes of the *Dungar Dev*, but only a few chosen hills are thought to be the abode of this god. The *Dungar Dev* is said to grant relief against all troubles and miseries. When anyone is sick, a vow is taken by the family. The family offers coconuts, fowls and/or goats to the *Dungar Dev*. The shrine of the *Dungar Dev* has a circular stone wall or a fortress with a gate for entrance (See, Fg. 44-4, Vol. II). *Dungar Dev* is supposed to be a source of power to the *Bhagats*.

*Gam Dev*, *Simaria Dev* and *Mavlima* are the village deities. A human form carved out on a wooden block or stone is worshipped as *Gam Dev* (See, Fg. Fg. 43-5 & 43-6, Vol. II). He is believed to be the protector of the village. People offer fowls and coconuts to this god amidst great rejoicing and dancing. This god is believed to look after the villagers and protects them against the natural calamities. This god is installed on the outskirts of the village and enshrined under a tree. *Sim* means outskirts of the village. *Simaria Dev* is the god which guards the village land and boundaries.

*Mavlima* is a mother goddess. Her favours are solicited on all occasions in life and utmost care is taken that she is not displeased. Any unexpected calamity or accident like untimely death, epidemic or failure of crops is first attributed to the wrath of this goddess. Vows are taken when the disease is incurable or the woman has difficulty during delivery. Once in a year, the whole village collectively worships and offers sacrifices to her.

Among the animals, the tiger and the cow are worshipped. The tiger is called *Wagh Dev*. The Cobra is called *Nag Dev*. The peacock is called *Mor Dev*. Besides, the *Chandra Dev* (moon), *Surya Dev* (sun) and *Thara* (star) are also worshipped. On the outskirts of every village is found a wooden pillar 140 x 45 x 23 cms<sup>1</sup> or stone slab 70 x 50 x 16 cms.<sup>2</sup> on which the images of the moon, sun, star, peacock, tiger, serpent are carved from upside (See, Pl. 2-30, Fg. 44-7 & 44-8, Vol. II). All the narrow passes and the places which the tiger seems to visit are believed to be the abodes of the *Wagh Dev*. The tiger is more feared than loved. This god is worshipped so that the tiger may not kill cattle or men. They believe that *Wagh Dev* protects them

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1. On the outskirts of Borkhet, there is a wooden pillar known as *Wag Dev* (16th February 1992).

2. On the T cross-road of Samgahan among the directions of Samgahan, Malegaon and Chichipada, there is a painted stone *Wagh Dev* (10th June 1993).

against tiger, leopard, panther and other wild animals. *Wag Dev* is held in reverence, yet a tiger is killed. This attitude is similar to the primitive concept of god. *Nag Dev* (serpent god) is worshipped with much awe and reverence especially on the *Nagpanchami* day, the fifth day in the first fortnight of *Shravan*.

Among other goddesses are *Ihmai* and *Dehar Mata*. *Ihmai* is said to have abode in the houses and huts. But the Dangis believe that this goddess dwells in the houses of a few fortunate persons only. She is said to be the goddess of animals and live-stock and protects them from becoming the prey of epidemic. This goddess is wrapped up in a cloth and put up in the middle of a barn or a cattle-shed.

*Hanuman Dev* is the ape god, devotee of *Ram* is worshipped all over India and among all types of tribals, and so also in the Dangs. In the Dangs, the image of *Hanuman* is carved from the trunk of the tree and worshipped by the Dangis.<sup>1</sup> In the Dangs a number of *Hanuman mandirs* are spread.

Some of the Hindu deities like *Ram*, *Sita*, *Mahadev*, *Parvati*, etc., are honoured and worshipped by the Dangis (See, Fg. 44-11 & 44-12, Vol. II). These deities are referred to in their mythology, folk tales and songs. Recently many Hindu missionaries come to the Dangs to establish the Hindu *mandirs* and try to spread Hinduism all over the Dangs.

Besides, a few Dangis believe in *Pir Sanger*. In the Dangs, only a few *Pir Sanger* are spread near Ahwa, Waghai, Gadhvi, etc. (See, Fg. 44-13 & 44-14, Vol. II).

### (3) Agricultural Practise and Ritual

The agricultural time-table can be divided into seven stages. First comes *Khandani* (cutting of tree's branches to burn the fields) in the hilly tracts (See, Fg. 37-1, Vol. II). The villagers spend *Magh* and *Phalgun* (February-April) in this labourious task. The villagers utilise these days for building *pal* (dams) round their fields. The months of *Chaitra* and *Vaishakh* (April-June) are spent in burning the land with dried branches and grass. This is called *Adar* or *Bhuj*. In *Akhatiji* of 1993, it fell on 18th May. Before ploughing operation, unmarried girls cultivate *gaury* which contains five seeds such as *paddy*, *nagli*, *warai*, *karsano* and *tur* to predict coming years crops. After sowing them in the *topli* (big bamboo basket) filled with river mud, they look carefully after it near a well or riverside. On the 8th day, so-called *Gauri* day, after they observed the *gaury topli*, they offer it to the *pidi* or *wasni*.

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1. There are *sagi hanumans* on the outskirts of the villages, Borkhet and Hindla.

then they throw out it to the river water. The degree of growth of various seeds, namely, *warai*, *paddy*, *nagli*, *karsano* and *tur* predicts measure of coming year harvest. In *Jyeshtha* (June-July) the long awaited rain arrives and the agriculturists busy themselves with sowing seeds, called *vavani* (See, Fg. 37-2, Vol. II). *Ashadh* and *Shravan* (July-September) are spent to perform *Ropani* (Planting; See, Fg. 37-3 to 37-8, Vol. II). The month of *Bhadrapad* provides some rest to hard-worked agriculturists and the only task during this month is of rooting out the weeds (*Nidani*; See, Fg. 37-9, Vol. II). Then again comes hard work of reaping the corn and it goes on in *Ashvin* and *Kartik* (October-December). The last two months of *Margashirsha* and *Pousha* (December-February) are spent in threshing the corn and storing it (See, Fg. 37-11 to 37-15, Vol. II).

This agricultural time-table which engages the Dangis throughout the whole year, is not without its religious rites. Each stage, except that of rooting out the weeds and *Adar* (burning the land) requires a religious sanction and the Dangis before beginning *Khandani* (reclamation cum manuring), *Vavani* (sowing), *Ropani* (reaping) and *Molani* (threshing), sacrifice a hen, in consultation with the *Bhagat* to *Kanasari Devi* and worship her, in order to guarantee success to their operations. Each month has its own holidays, big or small and they are observed faithfully, affording relief from daily routine. Beginning with *Chaitra* (April-May) one finds the above-mentioned agricultural rituals observed by the Dangis for the whole year.

## I. Recreation and Games

### (1) Recreation

Dancing provides a great pastime and entertainment to the Dangis. Their dancing has an irresistible appeal to the males as well as females. Sometimes dances secure partners for life-time to the bachelors and virgins. On the moon-lit nights it is a grand and lovely sight to see males and females keeping time to the music, bending their bodies backwards and forwards and wheeling round in an irregular circle.

The persons who play musical instruments stand in the middle and the dancers form an irregular circle round them. Keeping time to the music, the dancers bend backward and forward, clap their hands, move their legs and hips and sometimes wheel round themselves. Sometimes the dancers join hand in hand and take backwards and forwards keeping time to the music with a double shuffle or jiggling movements of feet. Sometimes the dancers dance round in anticlockwise direction round the music players, till somebody cries, somewhat later the dancers dance round the players in clockwise direction till second cries is heard.

Sometimes the dancers approach and recede in pairs from the music-players during dancing. There are about 27 different *chalos*<sup>1</sup> (kinds of dances). Some of them are called, *bahino chalo*, *malono chalo*, *thakarya chalo*, *bhacha chalo*, *figad chalo* (dancers stand and sit clapping their hands), *pavri chalo*, *madal chalo*, etc. (See, Fg. 45-8, 45-9, 47-1 & 47-2, Vol. II).<sup>2</sup>

Most of the Dangi dances accompanies a *dholak* but a few dances are required musical instruments such as *madal*, *pavri*, etc. *Thakarya* dance are specially required by a *daba* (rectangular shape of tin; See, Fg. 45-1 & 45-2, Vol. II). This dance is performed only certain days of the monsoon. In this dance the dancers move in a circular form. In the beginning of this dance they dance in standing position then they dance in bending position and later they dance in various positions like showing tumbling and acrobatics (See, Fg. 45-3, Vol. II).

*Madal* dances are generally performed by Konkanas on the marriage night (See, Fg. 45-5, Vol. II). The dance especially requires musical instruments *madal* and brass cymbals. Similarly *pavri* dance also requires a musical instrument *pavri*. Besides, the Dangis play solo dance, mask dance, bamboo dance and tribal drama (See, Fg. 45-2, 45-3, 45-6, 45-7, 45-10 & 45-11, Vol. II). All Dangi dances are usually performed at night. Through dancing they refresh themselves and remove their tiresome.

## (2) Games

The Dangis enjoy various games from the childhood. Among them, *iti-dandu* is performed by boys. In the game a boys stands in a row and he at the first place moves round with the row intact, trying to touch the boy at the end of the row. The other game is *iti-danda*. In the game a boy stands with a bamboo rod called *danda* in his hand. Another boy throws a small bamboo piece, called *iti* towards him. The first boy tries to hit it. If he fails to hit, he gives his place to the thrower of *iti*.

They also play a game called *gharbharya*. One boy acts as a keeper of a herd. Behind him stand boys and girls representing the herd. Another boy acts as a tiger and moves round and round trying to touch the herd. The keeper moves round the herd, preventing the tiger from touching it. The tiger-boy says : "Tiger will eat a goat". The keeper replies : "I will prevent".

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1. *ibid.*, p. 452.

2. *op cit.*, Patel, G.D.(ed.), 1971, p.p. 452-453.

The Dangi children also enjoy swinging. They construct crude swings. Three pieces of wood are fixed in a triangular form on a branch of a tree. Two bamboo poles the ends of the triangle. One rod is fixed to the poles lengthwise. Boys stand or sit on the rod and take swings, saying at times: Take one seer of gold and give me a wife" (*Sherbhar Sona Lev, Amachi Vahu Dev*). Girls also take part with boys in this game.

Small children prepare for various kinds of toy-carts and drag them through the lanes (See, Fg. 46-1 & 46-2, Vol. II). A little bigger boys play archery (See, Fg. 46-3 & 46-4, Vol. II). They also sometime play with stone or glass balls. Small girls enjoy making various utensils and houses and further cooking food also. All these games are common to the Dangi children.

### J. Musical Instruments

On the day of occasion or festival the Dangis play various kinds of musical instruments such as: The *pavri* is a peculiar musical instrument of the Dangis (See, Fg. 47-1 & 47-2, Vol. II). It is about L. 110 cms. D1. 15, D2 3 cms. which is made of 3 parts. At the top is a dry gourd *tumbadi* hollowed from inside, on the top of which on one side is fixed the small mouth piece made from bamboo. The broad bottom end is joined with a couple of bamboo pipes of about L. 30 cms. D. 3 cms. At the bottom of the pipes is fixed a horn hollowed from inside. The bamboo pipes in the middle have holes like the *murli* or *mahuwar* of the snake charmer. The joints are made leak-proof by fixing wax over them. The instrument is often by fixing peacock feathers on the top.

The *thali* is also a peculiar musical instrument (See, Fg. 47-5, Vol. II). It is a simple reed played with the help of a bronze dish called *thali*. This is used by the *Kathakars* (*thali* player) or persons giving religious discourses. This is played as an accompaniment to their discourses which is given in singing a song. The reed is selected by the player himself from the jungle. The reed is about a meter in length and for the sake of protection it is carried in a hollow bamboo stick. The *Kathakar* (*thali* player) squats on the ground keeping a bronze *thali* (dish) in his lap. In the middle of this dish, he keeps the reed upright, fixing it to the *thali* with a little wax. He rubs the reed from top to bottom with his thumb and index finger to produce a musical sound. This is done by both the hands one after the other, and the tune necessarily is played on one pitch like a monotonous drone. It is very interesting to see the performance of the *kathakar* (*thali* player). Most of the rites of passage such as birth and funeral, he is invited by the respective family.



The *dholak* is a popular drum among the Dangis (See, Fg. 45-2 & 47-7, Vol. II). The *dholak* is made of a whole piece of a tree trunk and the skin of an animal. Both sides of the *dholak* are fitted over the skin and it is played with the help of small sticks. Joyful dancing depends on the rhythmic beats of the *dholak*. The Dangis bring the *dholak* from Nasik or Valsad.

The *madal* seems to be *mridang* (a type of south Indian drum). It is either made of *sag* or *kalam* (types of wood). The leather which is put on the both mouths of *madal* which is sometimes called *ghod*. The diameter of the *madal* is of about 30-40 cms. On this *ghod* the wax of *koti* is put. The Dangis play this instrument by tying it on the waist (See, Fg. 45-5 & 47-8, Vol. II). On the day of *Holi*, *madal* is worshipped by putting a dot of *haldi* (turmeric powder) on it. The *madal* is not always played on every occasion. It is used while performing *madal chalo* and singing songs at the time of wedding.

The *sur* is also a popular musical instrument which consists of a hollow bamboo pipe with a funnel of *Palmyra Palm* at the end. The *sur* is played at the time of wedding parade. In wedding ceremony, the other important musical instrument is *nagara*, which is commonly played at the time of announcement of marriage ceremony or other ceremonial occasions. Besides, there are some musical instruments such as *ghangari* and *kirchia* (See, Fg. 47-9 & 47-10, Vol. II).

## K. Communication and Transportation

### (1) Traditional Communication

Among the Dangis, to announce the human death to the villagers, a *nagaravala* (kettle drum player) or *dholkivala* (drum player) beats his drum moving around the village. When any emergency takes place, the drum player beats his drum till everybody notice the accident. In the same way, for the purpose of quick announcement of fire-occurrence to the villagers. The Forest Guard also uses the same method. And further the Forest Department uses different colour flags which is hoisted on the peak to inform quickly about the accident to the neighbouring watch tower. The black and the red colour flags are used; the black colour flag means normal, while the red colour flag means fire-occurrence. Recently wireless radio facilities are introduced by the Forest Department for the quick communication.

Besides, the Dangis use the symbol as well as the function of the bamboo bar when they go out from the house they put it on the posts of the gate or insert it into the holes of the gate or door. The custom and manner are similar to that of south Korea (See, Fg. 25-1, Vol. II). Generally, the wooden bar function to protect animals from entering inside.

## (2) Transportation Facilities

Previously the Dangs territory had a short mileage of road except foot-path and *kacha* road. The Dangis usually did not mind to walk a long distance, say as about 4-5 kms. They prefer riding on the bullock-cart or motor vehicle to walking (See, Fg. 48-1 to 48-3 & 48-5 to 48-6, Vol. II). Previously, there were not many bullock-carts available in the Dangs. Many traders, in particular, retail merchants commute by horses or donkeys from outside to the remote area so as to sell out their goods. In such remote villages, there was no cart-road as well as no bullock-carts, therefore, villagers should walk and burden bundles on their heads.

After execution of the Forest lease, there are many bullock-carts available for the transportation of timber from the field to the saw-mill or forest timber depot. Besides, by horses or donkeys some of the Dangis commute to the *bazaar* (marketplace) or the Government office. Nowadays, many Dangis utilize the motor cycles, and public State Buses or private transportation facilities such as jeeps, omnibuses between Ahwa and Waghai or certain places at a nominal price.

## L. Sickness and Cure

### (1) Sickness

If anyone falls ill without definite cause, the *Bhagat* is called to exorcise out of the evil influence at work and discover the origin of the illness. It is suspected that the patient is attacked by the evil spirit. The Dangis believe in the existence of ghosts, spirits and witches. The ghost is the spirit of the dead who were in this world unsatisfied. It harasses those with whom he had a dispute in his life. It is invisible and enters the body of the animals like a dog, or a tiger and haunts people in certain places like *masan* (cremation place) or shrub on the outskirts of the villages. It makes peculiar noises and cries. And it has a tendency to visit his former house. They, therefore, suddenly shift one place to another after consulting the *Bhagat*. In case of the present Linga Raja's house it was newly built at a new site, because his 17 years old son suddenly expired because unknown disease.

The Dangis are so afraid of *dakan* (witch) who is a living woman among the neighbourhoods. The sudden death of several animals at a time is also considered to be caused by a witch. On such occasions, the *Bhagat* is called to treat the witches. He gets possessed, finds out from where the ghost or the witch has come and how it could be got rid of. A *badha* (vow) is taken and a fowl is offered to the ghost. Sometimes he declares that such and such a woman is the *dakan* (witch) and is

responsible for the death. In the past, if she could be apprehended, the popular superstition became so strong that she would often be tied to a tree upside down and fire lighted below her. Cases of a witch being beaten to death were also often reported in the Indian newspapers. As a result, Government was constrained to put restrictions on the *Bhagatai*.<sup>1</sup>

The Dangis believe that the children are easily susceptible to the evil eye of others. They apply dots of black suit on the ears and forehead of the child for the purpose of protection from the evil spirits.

Besides there are number of dreadful diseases in the Dangis. Due to fearful malaria and snake-bite, the death are frequently occur. And further, common diseases are small-pox, dysentery, fever, and diarrhea. Nowadays many Dangis go to the hospital or health centre to consult a doctor in the nearby their villages. But it is not an easy job for the villagers due to lack of awareness about scientific treatment. Usually they depend on *Bhagat's* treatment or consultation and further, apply the herbal medicine for the ingest or diseases.

## (2) Herbal Medicine

Traditional folk remedies are passed down from generation to generation. "Herbs that were thought to give them special curative ability were gathered from woodland and field"<sup>2</sup>, in the certain season or certain days of the festival. Herbs are the source of the materials which are the natural healers. Minerals and animals substances are frequently and widely applied, including such things as clay, mud, animal organs, and even human urine and excrement. In many cases herbs and other rational cures were overlaid with magico-ritual either in the

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1. An extract about the Administrative Rule prohibiting Bhagatai in the Dangis is reproduced from the Dangis Political Standing Order file of Deputy Political Agent (1st May, 1940) : "No. 25-Bhagats-Any person who receives or demands from anyone in Dangis money or goods for performing any divinations is a rogue and a swindler and will be sentenced to be expelled from the Dangis or to imprisonment for cheating. There is no such thing as witchcraft and anyone who beats or hurts any woman or causes others to do so by saying she is a witch is liable to be expelled from the Dangis.", op cit., Patel G.D.(ed), 1971, p. 179.

2. Yoder, Don, "Folk Medicine" in Dorson, R.M. (ed) *Folklore and Folklife* (3rd), Chicago, the University of Chicago Press, 1973.

preparation or in the healing technique. Rational medicine may be "strengthened" by a magic spell and thus be drawn into the irrational zone. Example of this process are found all over the world. Sympathetic prescriptions are followed in gathering herbs, bark, and roots.

In the Dangs forest, there are a number of medicinal herbs and other vegetation which can be utilised for curing physical ailments and diseases. Out of about 500 ayurvedic herbs growing in the Gujarat State, nearly 350 are available in the Dangs only. No special attempts were made for plantation and preservation of these vegetation, herbs and creepers. Ecology of the Dangs is very suitable for the growth of the ayurvedic herbs. Few people may be conversant with these herbs, but many Dangis use them for preventive and curative purpose of various physical complaints (See, Fg. 38-7 & 38-8, Vol. II).

The following herbs are found all over the Dangs and used by the Dangis.<sup>1</sup> (1) *Phanerogams*, i.e., vegetation bearing fruits after getting flowered, such as *Cassia fistula*, *Mimusops elengi*, *Albizzia lebbek*, etc., (2) *Cryptogams*, i.e., vegetation bearing fruits without getting flowered, like *Adiantum lanulatum*, (3) medicinal creepers like different types of *Tinospora cordifolia*, (4) tubers of various types like *Ipomoea paniculata* weighing one to two maunds are found at many places, (5) seasonal vegetations such as *Cissampelos Pereira chiro*, *Asparagus recemosus*, (6) quite ordinary but effective Aryurvedic medicines like *Aegle marmelos*, *premna integrefolia* (shevan), *Cissanpelos pereira*, *Droxylum indicum*, *Alysicarpus longifolius* (gandhi-samekho). (7) thickly-grown trees of *Semicarpus anacardium* (locally known as Biblo) a very important medicine in Ayurved, were found near Kalibel Ashram, very effective in the complaints of cough and gout. The Committee felt that if it was planted on a large scale, it could have a wide market in India, (8) the three *mayrobalons*, viz., *Terminalia chebula*, *Terminalia belerica* and *Emblica officinalis* (Harda, Beda and Amala) were available in plenty and were lying littered on the ground almost unused. If they were put to use, they would be beneficial not only to the Dangs but also to the State and the society at large. Saputara and the Don hill near the fort Salher were suitable places for growing *Terminalia chebula*, (9) Other useful medicines available in large quantities were *Holarrhena antidysenterica*, *Wrightia tinctoria*, *Cassia fistula*, *Anthocephalus indicus*, *Acacia catechu*, *Terminalia arjuna*, *Adansonia digitata*, *Bauhinia purpurea*, etc., (10)

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1. Government of Gujarat, Report of the Committee for Gardens of Medical Plants, Ahmedabad, Government of Gujarat, 1969, p.p. 17-23., op cit., Patel, G.D.(ed), 1971, p.p. 63-65.

*Amorphophallus* was being used in the treatment of piles. People administered it orally with curds after getting it boiled with the *tamarind* leaf, (11) medicines containing volatiles such as *Cymbopogon scheonanthus*, *Eucalyptus*, etc., (12) Vegetations useful for preparing gum-plasters for skin diseases, such as *Datura alba*, *Lippia nodiflora*, *Cassia tora* *Cassia sophera* and wax were found in large quantities (13) Innumerable trees of *Gugal* (*Bauhinia purpurea*), which cure rheumatism and swelling of throat, (14) *Boswellia serrata* very useful in the disease of leucorrhoea, *Salmelia*, *malabarica*, *Tinospora cordifolia*, sealing wax, etc., (15) *Berberis aristata* useful in preparing a valuable medicine like *Rasvanti* for curing swelling, (16) *Shvetapunarnava* and *Butea monosperma* meant for eye diseases, (17) *Vansna Jay* for treating diabetes were available almost in tons and local people also used it to a large extent. Side by side, small quantities of Bitumen are also available, (18) Of the 600 medicinal purges indicated by Charak, some are for small intestine, some for *Grahani* and some are for big intestine. It appears that most of these medicines could be had from the Dangs, (19) for inducing vomiting, many items have been mentioned in *Ayurved*, of which *Randia dumetorum*, *Caphalandra indica*, bitter turia, *Legenaria vulgoris*, *Britsly buffa*, *Holarrhena antidysentericer*, etc., were found in large quantities, (20) Herbs out of which Kshar were prepared. e.g. *Chitra*, *Calotropis gigantea*, *Achyranthes aspera*, *Butea monosperma*, etc., (21) for prevention of diseases like small-pox, etc., these people use the seeds of wild plantains which are found here in large quantities, (22) for healing of wounds, *Nagbala* (*Thespesia populnea*), *Ficus religiosa*, banyan tree, *Ficus glomerata*, etc., (23) here, all the eight types of honey are found scattered in jungles. Four to five types of sealing wax and four to five types of *Gugal* were also found, (24) for diseases of the mouth, *Cassia auriculata*, *babul* trees and *jujuba* trees were also found scattered, (25) Medicines useful for purification of Dhaatus and as an antidote which could contain mercury such as *Krishna Bhringrai*, *Shakhavali*, (*Aegle marmelos*) etc., were available in adequate quantity, and (26) for asav and arisht and for leaven, flowers of *Woodfordia flouribunda* and those of *mahuwa* trees are plentiful.

## M. Kin and Family System

### (1) Kin

Among the Dangis, a number of individuals who form the smallest group like family or household, families in *saga* (lineage)<sup>1</sup>, lineages in sub-clans or sub-local groups, sub-clans

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1. op cit., Lal, R.B., 1978, p. 20.

in *kul* (clan)<sup>1</sup>, *kuls* or village, and further local groups, clans in territorial groups making up the Dangri tribal community. Considering writings by S.C. Dube (1971)<sup>2</sup>, L.P. Vidyarthi and B.K. Rai (1985)<sup>3</sup>, the Dangri tribal communities do not either a simplest type or the complex-whole. But, in my opinion the members of tribal communities of the Dangs belong to "Individuals-Families-Lineages-Sub Clans-Clans-Tribe", although D.P. Khanapurkar (1944) and S.S. Solanki (1980) presented the Bhils as the type of "Individuals-Families -Clan-Tribe".

*Kul* (clan) is politically more significant. The living groups of clansmen claim to know with some certainty the genealogical links between themselves and the founding ancestor. It has a systematic genealogical structure with numerous branches called "lineages". The so-called *saga* (lineage) stands in known genealogical relationship to one another. According to S.S. Solanki (1980)<sup>4</sup>, there are 32 clans (Bhansya, chauhan, Vagheva, Jirwad, Bakal, Hadas, Palra, Mahala, Sakar, Kamthi Sahare, Bhusuna, Jinzar, Mahale, Vagh, Garathi, Bhandar, Jevle, Mola, Dadvi, Markva, Davadia, Padhar, Ganud, Dhum, Ravan, Mura, Balgadh, Chhapra, Kanasia, Bhabhala, and Kovale) among Kunbis, 23 clans (Vande, Savera, Tumda, Kupwar, Dhanpur, Masla, Dhulia Pavagadh, Gaud, Mokasi, Decdu, Vakshal, Hillap, Darshwada, Kokli, Bamania, Mahure, Pithia, Sevu, Kamude, Chaharia, and Barde, among the Bhils and 18 clans among Warlis (Posaria, Kharpatia, Baguar, Kherak, Vaharia, Bhaver, Dhulave, Kasaria, Dhadka, Machhi, Bhatar, Talware, Vazir, Pasi, Lakhadia, Tapsukh, Kuna, Bhujada) are such, which do not found in the rest of the two.

"There are 9 clans which are common among the Bhils Kunbis, and Warlis, spatially as well as numerically, a few class (clans) are more prevalent in one group or the other i.e. Pawar among the Bhils, Gavit, Bhoys among the Kunbis." Among the main three tribal communities, the common 9 clans are Pawar, Gavit, Jadav, Borse, Rathod, Bagul, Kunwar, Bhoys, and Tadvi. There are 9

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1. See, op cit., Khanapurkar, D.P., 1944, p. 142., and op cit., Solanki, S.S., 1980, p.p. 75-90.

2. S.C. Dube (1971) opines "tribal design consists of family, then, clan, phratry and finally tribe." in India., cited in Vidyarthi, L.P. and Rai, B.K., 1985, p. 148.

3. (i) "Individuals-Families-Clans- Tribe"  
(ii) "Individual --Family or Household--Lineage--Sub-Clan or Sub-Local Group --Clan or Local Group or Village-- Phratry or Territorial Group--Moiety--Sub Tribe--Tribe."

4. op cit., Solanki, S.S., 1980, p. 83.

clans which are common among the Bhils and Kunbis. In this matter, Vaghmare is more prevalent among the Bhils. Gaikwad, Thakre, Deshmukh and Maurya are found in more number among the Kunbis. There are 8 clans which are common among Kunbis and Warlis, making the total number of clans which are common among any two tribal groups. Among the Bhils and Warlis, 12 Chauadhari and 7 Raut are found more among the Bhils.<sup>1</sup>

There is no hierarchy among the various clans, all the clan names among all the three major tribal groups of Dangas are of equal status.<sup>2</sup> No totemistic belief is attached to any of the clan.<sup>3</sup> But there are some names of clans have resemblance with animals and plants, e.g., a *wagh* (tiger); Waghmare, a creeper; Dhadka. More often a person is known and addressed by the villages and his relatives especially instead of his clan name. "It seems that many of the clans especially with greater number of families and villages, and which are common among all the three tribal groups have been scattered throughout the area. These common clans names perhaps show the cultural affinities of these different tribal groups of the area."<sup>4</sup>

## (2) Family

Family is the basic unit of the Dangis tribal communities. Dangis family is unilocal patrilocal<sup>5</sup>, unilineal patrilineal. in case of patrilineal, the father's property is inherited to his son but in the absense of a son the property goes to his daughter. In some cases the father may hand down his legacy to his daughter and his son-in-law even when he has sons to inherit his legacy. This kind of succession to property take place in case of so-called *Khandariyo* or *Ghar Jamai* (matrilocal-like).

The family life of the Dangis begin usually with marriage when he gets the status of a family member. Generally the Dangis family comprises of a man, his wife and his unmarried children the so-called nuclear family. There are many extended families which comprises parents, the second son's families and their unmarried siblings. In terms of anthropology, the extended family is the prevailing form of family in more than half of the known societies in the world.

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1. See, *ibid.*

2. *ibid.*, p. 90.

3. *ibid.*

4. *ibid.*

5. Note: The couple lives with the family of the groom, e.g. the Tallensi.

Under patrilineal and patrilocal family system, the husband usually has superior power to his wife regarding family life. In the Dangs also the same phenomena commonly occur, therefore, when the parents search for their son's spouse they take into consideration obedience of the girl. In daily life the relationship between husband and wife is of partners in all social, economic, domestic and emotional activities, and it does not require that she always follows her husband's saying.

Generally the Dangi married woman carries out various work such as cooking food, fetching water, cleaning the house including cattle-shed, making cowdung-cake, collecting firewood, vegetable, fruits and forest products and pounding and grinding grains, stitching clothes, etc. The Dangi man is relatively lazy. He generally works in the fields cultivation and forest labourer's work. In off-season or on holiday, the Dangis go to hunt or fish. The husband and wife may sit on the same mat and eat something together on that, and further, sleep on that in the presence of other elderly persons of the village. The children herd cattle and gather various forest products such as vegetables, *mola*, *tera*, *chai*, *chuchuchi*, *tandalaja*, *landai*, *mata*, *tea*, *kava*, *goichi*, *sevala*, *loti*, etc.<sup>1</sup>

#### N. Social Stratification

"As in the known tribal societies, the hierarchy of political power in the Dangs also was rooted in the mystical relationship of the *Rajas* and *Naiks* to the land and ancestral spirits."<sup>2</sup> Before the British came to the Dangs, the *Rajas* and *Naiks* had a considerable degree of absolute power but after leasing the Dangs Forest they enjoyed a limited power, at the level of chiefdom. In this connection, although R.B. Lal mentioned that "Rajas and Naiks had a considerable degree of absolute power"<sup>3</sup>, in fact during the British time they had a limited power.<sup>4</sup> From anthropological view points, there are 4 types of political leaders of which kings and dictators had absolute power while chiefs and headmen had limited power.<sup>5</sup>

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1. See, op cit., Solanki, S.S., 1980, p.p. 136-137.

2. See, op cit., Lal, R.B., 1978, p. 23.

3. *ibid.*

4. See, op cit., Patel, G.D.(ed), 1971, p.p. 120-124.

5. See, op cit., Otterbein, K.F., 1977, p.p. 130-131.



The Gadhvi Raja once acted as an overlord to a number of territorial chiefs with the approval of the British India. Actually there was no political relationship among the *Rajas* and *Naiks* who were all independent. There is no historical evidence that the Gadhvi Raja is higher than other *Rajas*. Although the British India approved the Gadhvi Raja as the first seat of Raja, he never affected any political influence over other chiefs. According to the party of the Linga Raja, they were the first rank of Raja before the British India came to the Dangs. In terms of clanship, an ancestral brother-relationship is found in between the Wasurna and the Linga *kuls* (clans).<sup>1</sup>

Among the Dangis there were many different status such as *Raja*, *Naik*, *Prahdan*, *Kunwar*, *Siphais* (family of Raja), *Patel*, *Karibari* and common Dangis in the past, everyone lived much the same standard of living. "If the Chiefs amassed large herds of cattle through his successful raids on the Kunbis or neighbouring non-aboriginal population, he did not use them to raise his own standard of living. He gave most of it to his subjects to use."<sup>2</sup> As in all the known tribal societies, an important responsibility of chiefs is to serve as redistributing agents. The goods and services produced are often accumulated by the chief, who then reallocates them to the people. In the past, the *Raja*, *Naiks*, *Pradhan*, *Kunwar* and *Siaphas* also lived in bamboo huts like his subjects. Although they lived on the same egalitarian standards, their difference in status was constantly affirmed.

The formal etiquette and ritual behaviour which accompanied status emphasized the social distance between those with power and those without it. Social distance meant the boundaries beyond which persons with particular status relationship could not go. The Dangis, in particular, the Bhils and Konkanas were continuously concerned with the proper behaviour among the different status and different ranks which was implicit and explicit in every relationship.

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1. The Linga Rajas' ancestor (Powar *kul*) is the elder brother of the Wasurna. The elder brother shifted from Wasurna to Borkhet after quarreling with his younger brother who is the ancestor of the Wasurna. They originally came from Sakari nearby Muller 22 generations ago, their first settlement is known as Billia Hill nearby Waghai, then Wasurna, next Borkhal, later Vihir Amba and present Linga., Information from the Linga Raja and his cousins on 23rd June 1993.

2. op cit., Lal, R.B., 1978, p. 25.

At present, among the Dangis, the M.L.A. of the Dangis and President of *Jilla Panchayat* are of top rank status, then *Rajās* and *Naiks* (the second rank), *Panchs* and *Patels* (the third rank), and common Dangis (fourth rank). Of course, these are apparent social stratification.

Many Dangis who belong to certain tribal community may think of his community higher than a certain tribal community. In the past, many Bhils who were rulers and landlord in the Dangis believe that they are lords of the Dangis forest. But nowadays many Konkans think of themselves higher than others because, at this stage, they are ruling group over the Dangis. The Mangs who are a scheduled caste group believe that they are superior to the Kotwalias and the Kathodis in terms of socio-economic and social status.

Other tribes also think of them in a similar way. In terms of socio-economic and social status, many Dangis recognize social rank of tribal communities of the Dangis as; the first is the Dhodias, next the Konkans, the Gamits, the Warlis, the Bhils, the Kolis, the Mangs, the Kotwalias, etc.

#### O. Social Control

In the Dangis, there is *Panch* which is a strong social control institution. Generally the *Patel*, the *Karbhari*, one or two *assamis* (rich person) and one or two old persons, wise by age and experience, sit as the member of *Panch*.<sup>1</sup> Recently *Panchayat* systems were introduced by the Dangis, therefore, each tribal community has its own *Panch* system.

In the Dangis, the head of a village is called *Patel* while other Bhils community has *Vasawo* in western India.<sup>2</sup> When the *Patel* (village headman) died, generally his son gets the *Patel* status even if he is a minor. In a Dubla community, the headman is also called *Patel* and is elected from among the elders living in a village. The selection is based not only on the consideration of age and experience, but also on the status and influence of a person. A person who holds the responsibility of a headman is highly respected; and the function at which he is honoured is known as *Paghadibandhavi*.<sup>3</sup> The Gamits have the *Patel* as village headman and the *Karbhari* and the *Pradhan* help him in performing his duties.

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1. op cit., Patel, G.D.(ed), 1971, p. 191.

2. See, Naik, T.B., 1956, p.p. 46-47.

3. op cit., Vidyarthi, L.P. and Rai, B.K., 1985, p. 216.

Traditionally, village *Panchayat* is a body of which all villagers who reach the age of about 20 or so are members. They sit together to discuss village affairs of diverse nature though they do not practice any election or formal voting. Anyone who is a representative of a household may announce his opinion. In practical, the dominant attitude is immediately apparent. During many communal ceremonies the village acts as a corporate body. What is conceived of by the villagers as the concerted action of the village, is in reality a decision-making process based on a network of communication among the elders of the village. The common will of the village community is expressed through the medium of the *Panchayat* which practically includes all the villagers.

Nevertheless, the *Panchayat* is an inevitable part of their social organization. All the elder villagers meet for all important matters and confer among themselves. The matters for which they meet are diverse such as, divorce of a married woman, a cattle disease, a visit of the Government officer or some other matter of public importance. They sit on the floor in a semicircle or a circle and the oldest or the wisest or the *Patel* takes the initiative and starts the discussion. They try to persuade the dissenting or the half-willing and take a unanimous decision. Once the decision is reached, all obey it. Hence, the *Panch* is an important social institution among the Bhils.

In a small village of the Gamits, the *Panch* is usually constituted of five or seven members selected from the elder and experienced men who know all details about their traditional customs; but nowadays educated young persons with a sense of social work also get themselves appointed. There is no special system of voting but people meet at a certain place and appoint members of the *Panch*. The duties and powers of the Gamit *Panch* are determined more by custom and practice than by the government rule and act.

#### P. Oral Literature

Dangi myth is characterised by an aptness to accord individual existence to heavenly bodies such as the sun, the moon, etc. as the stories pertaining to them show. It is also likely that their ritual practices may have inspired their myths. The Dangi myths bear a close relation to their environment. In particular, "the Bhils have a very interesting mythology wherein the exploits of their chief gods and their ideas about the original social conditions in the world

are described in details.<sup>1</sup>

The characters in their stories and songs may be human or supernatural being. The stories may be based on human experience or they may be a play of imagination. But it is their philosophic content that helps to preserve the morality, character and integrity of tribal community.

The Dangi folk-songs are reflected of their customs, traditions and their life itself. Among them, marriage songs occupy the pride of place, as marriage substantially affects their lives as in any other communities. They depict mal-adjustment, in married life, a bride's sadness on separation, liquor ruining married life, etc.<sup>2</sup>

One of the assembled women sings a line and then other women take it up and repeat it. Many songs may be sung in duets. One part is sung by the bride's party and the other by the groom's party, in reply to it. It is interesting to note that the most popular tree in the text of songs is *pipal* (*Ficus religiosa*). However, no marriage songs contain *pipal* tree.

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1. op cit., Naik, T.B., 1956, p. 202.

2. op cit., Khanapurkar, D.P., 1944, p. 944.

Appendix 2-1 Who is a Dangi ?

No. D. H. 2F  
Revenue Department  
Gandhinagar dt.3-2-79

The Collector  
Dangs District,  
Ahwa

Sub: Definition regarding Dangi and Non-Dangi

With reference to your letter dt. 22-12-78 No. Vahat-Dangi-3662-78 the following is clarification as per the letter dt. 4-12-79 by the Administrator of the Dangs, Swaraj Sanstra, Ahwa, with regard to the point raised in the letter dt. 4-12-79.

Points of the letter from Ashram Clarification

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>1. Who is a Dangi ?<br/>What is the definition<br/>Dangi ?</p>   | <p>The one who is a tribesman residing permanently in the Dangs from of generation to generation he should be identified as a Dangi.<br/>In order to identify one as a Dangi the following three main requirements should be fulfilled.<br/>1) One should belong to the scheduled tribe which are recognized by the Government.<br/>2) One should be domiciled of the Dangs.<br/>3) One should be a permanent resident of the Dangs.</p> |
| <p>2. One who is born in the Dangs.<br/>Is he a Dangi ?</p>   | <p>No, only because he was born in the Dangs, he can not be called a Dangi.</p>  |
| <p>3. One who is born out of the Dangs. Is he a non-Dangi ?</p>   | <p>No, birth in the Dangs does not qualify one to identify himself as a Dangi.</p>   |
| <p>4. Any outsider residing in the Dangs for many years.<br/>Is he a Dangi ?</p>  | <p>No, by residing permanently he does not become a Dangi.</p>   |
| <p>5. Any outsider residing in the Dangs since long and one who has adopted the dress and ways of life.<br/>Can he be identified as a Dangi ?</p> |  |

Points of the letter from Ashram      Clarification

---

6. Any outsider who is residing in the Dangs since long but who wears Dhoti and Sari as a non-tribesman. Can he be identified as a non-Dangi ?
7. If a Dangi starts wearing Dhoti and Sari and has improved way of life, can he be considered as a non-Dangi ?
8. If a Dangi man marries a non-Dangi woman, does he become a non-Dangi ? Can his children be considered as non-Dangis ?
9. If a Dangi woman marries a non-Dangi, does she become a non-Dangi ? Can her children become non-Dangis ?
10. If a tribesman of other region settled down in the Dangs permanently, Can he be considered as a Dangi ?
11. If a Dangi changes his religion and becomes other Christian, Muslim, Parsi or Sikh, will he remain as a Dangi or cease to be a Dangi ?
12. If somebody has been given the right of Dangi illegally, can this right be withdrawn ? Can they retroactive effect ? Can they be abolished retroactive effect ? Should they be withdrawn ?
- No. he can be considered as a Dangi even if he has adopted improved way of life.
- No, other requirement of the Dangi such as permanent resident etc., if a Dangi marries a non-Dangi woman still he remains a Dangi and his children shall be considered as Dangis.
- In spite of marrying a non-Dangi a Dangi woman remains a Dangi till she remains her residency. But her children will not be considered as Dangis.
- No.
- Change of religion does not affect him as a Dangi. And he does not cease to be a Dangi.
- If the right are given illegally, they can be withdrawn. The benefit can be withdrawn retroactive effect depending on the merit of the case.

Points of the letter from Ashram	Clarification
13. Will it be proper if Dhodia such other tribes from the nearby region of Gujarat, and who have settled permanently and getting the benefit of the right of Dangi ?	No.
14. Will it be proper if tribes from Maharashtra who have settled in the Dangs and getting the benefit of the right of Dangi?	No.
15. If non-tribes from Maharashtra, Gujarat or any other region of India who have settled and demand the right provided the Dangi ? Can these rights be given ?	No, they can not be given.
16. Kunbis in Maharashtra are not tribes. But Kunbis in the Dangs are considered as tribes. So Maharashtraian Kunbis permanently settled in the Dangs can not become Dangis or tribes. This should be made clear by the different Department of the Government. Illegally enjoying the benefit should be recovered.	

The above clarification are for the general guidance. Every case should be settled on merits.

Section officer  
Revenue Department  
Government of Gujarat

Copy to the D.D.O. the Dangs, Ahwa

## Appendix 2-2 Cultural Material Survey List

- (1) Settlement pattern; i) Types of settlement ii) cultural landscape of a tribal village regarding human needs
- (2) Houses and huts; i) types of house and hut ii) lay-out of house and hut iii) structure of house and hut iii) a basic residential space iv) storage v) cowshed vi) mandov vii) temporary shelter viii) household goods
- (3) Clothes and adornments; i) formal dress, ornaments, head-gear and foot-wear ii) everyday dress and ornament iii) children dress and ornaments iv) ceremonial adornment and tattoo
- (4) Food and drink; i) daily food and water ii) ceremonial food and liquor iii) condiments iv) grain-storages v) water jar stands vi) drawing water vii) distilling implement viii) hearths ix) kitchen utensils x) instant utensils
- (5) Occupation and implements; i) cultivators ii) agricultural and forestry labourers iii) scheduled castes iv) servants v) merchants vi) farming tools and agricultural products vii) forestry tools and forest products viii) hunting tools ix) fishing tools x) carpenters' tools xi) blacksmiths' tools xii) measuring tools
- (6) Rites of passage; i) birth ii) panchora iii) ball pen iv) implements
- (7) Seasonal customs and festivals; i) seasonal ii) monthly iii) weekly iv) Dangs Darbar v) Simga vi) Akhatiji vii) Tera viii) Pachavi ix) Pola x) Dashera xi) Baya xii) Diwali
- (8) Religious beliefs and rituals; i) Dungar Dev ii) Gam Dev iii) Simaria Dev iv) Wagh Dev v) Nag Dev vi) Kartikeya Dev vii) Suraj Dev viii) Chandra Dev ix) Hanuman Dev x) Ram Dev xi) Maha Dev xii) Kansari Mata xiii) Bhawani xiv) Ihmai xv) Pan Dev xvi) Witches
- (9) Recreation and games; i) music and musical instruments ii) dance and dancing equipments iii) tumbling, wrestling and sommersault iv) juggling v) drama vi) colour throwing vii) kit flying viii) archery ix) wheel rounding x) carts driving and riding xi) beads playing xii) swinging xiii) smoking xiiii) chewing
- (10) Arts and crafts; i) painting ii) carving iii) engraving iv) relief v) making
- (11) Communication and transportation; i) well ii) resting place iii) market place iv) gestures v) sign and symbol vi) oral message vii) drum language viii) flags ix) whistling x) trails xi) paths xii) road xiii) railroad xiv) river xv) burden carrying xvi) animal transport xvii) vehicles xviii) boat and rafts
- (12) Sickness and Cure; i) diseases ii) witchcraft and sorcery iii) herbal and medicinal plants.
- (13) Kin and family life; i) Clan system ii) family system ii) division of family's labour iii) property transaction iv) routine life
- (14) Social stratification; i) Status differentiation ii) ethnic stratification iii) castes iv) class v) social hierarchy
- (15) Law and social control; i) customary and legal norms ii) crime and punishment iii) Panch
- (16) Oral literature; i) myth ii) legend iii) folk tale iv) folksong v) oral history



Appendix 2-3 Material Culture-Traits Selected by  
the Anthropological Survey of India for  
Culture Zone Survey, 1959-1961

1. Settlement Pattern

(a) A rough lay-out of the village allocating settlement areas, water resources, drainage, agricultural fields, pastures, village jungles, if any, graveyards, burning ghat, etc. (The field worker may try to obtain the cadastral map of the village from the District land Record Office).

2. House Types

(a) Plan of a dwelling with distribution of huts in the family compound; significant variations, if any, in terms of caste or class.

(b) Details of construction-plan, plinth, wall, roof (number of slopes in the roof), arrangements for ventilation. Materials used for construction. Sources of the materials-local or outside. Who builds the house? Specialists or others?

3. Diet

(a) Staple food-cereal or otherwise (yam etc.).

(b) Other items of food commonly taken-pulses, vegetables, protein diet-meat, beef, chicken, lamb, goat etc. milk and milk products, sweets, spices, oil-animal and vegetable, salt.

(c) Meals (Courses: average, festive and ceremonial occasions and seasonal variation).

Note also the mode of cooking and serving meals and the observance of ritual cleanliness with regard to taking food such as bathing, washing hands, putting on special types of dress, offering to gods, etc.

(d) Fat or oil most commonly used for cooking in average as well as ceremonial meals.

(e) Cooking utensils (Baking, boiling and frying) hearth and fuel.

4. Dress and Ornaments and Footwear

For adult men and women for different major economic classes and castes-ordinary, festive and ceremonial occasions. Note also whether the dress is prepared in the village or procured from outside.

5. Common Means of Transport of Goods and Passengers

Human borne, pack animals, carts, boats, etc.

How does the bride or bridegroom ride to the marriage booth?

6. Domesticated Animals and Birds, etc. in the Villages

7. Crops Grown

(a) Cereals

(b) Pulses

(c) Horticultural produce

(d) Perennial crops such as betel nut, coconut, etc.

(e) Oil seeds.

How many crops are grown in a plot during the year?

8. Agricultural Tools for Rice Cultivation and for Cultivation of Other Cereals, Pulses and Horticulture in General. This would

include digging, levelling, sowing, transplanting, weeding, reaping, threshing, husking, sorting implements. Whether the implements are made in the villages or procured from outside? Technique of cultivation: whether dry or wet farming is practised?

9. Common Oil Press

Description of oil press—showing details of parts. How is it drawn: men, bullocks—single or double, eyes closed or open. How is the oil extracted?

10. Common Basketry

Types (form and technique) and their common use.

Who are the basket makers? Caste.

11. Pottery (Earthen)

Types and their common use—Caste.

12. Village Census

Number of households (Hearthwise) belonging to different ethnic groups in the village, and its hamlets.

13. Occupation

A quick survey of occupation may be made under the following 3 columns:

---

Contemporary

Traditional occupation

Major

Subsidiary

---

The above data is to be collected in the presence of a good number of adult villagers. 'Hearth' as the unit is to be repeatedly emphasised. The field worker may directly place the question as to why a particular caste is giving up the traditional occupation and record the response.

14. Markets Attended

Which markets are most commonly visited, for what purpose? (mileage).

Other markets occasionally visited; why visited?

Any special articles available there? (mileage)

### Gods and Festivals

1. Village Gods

Shrines in the villages, names of the deities in the shrines, description of the emblems, purpose of worshipping the deities. Priests (caste) —whether maintained communally or individually; what articles are offered to the deity—animal sacrifice, if any (names of animals).

2. Annual Festivals in the village

Month by month—within the village or outside, if visited by the villagers (mileage). The central themes of these festivals are to be noted briefly in one two lines.

Village Sanitation and Hygienic Practices

1. Places for deposition of ordinary refuse.

2. Process of evacuation and subsequent cleanliness. Ablution.

3. Other observations on general sanitation of the village.

### Heading for Cards

1. Settlement pattern

2. House type

3. Diet: staple

4. Diet: other items

5. Diet: meals

6. Diet: fats or oil used
7. Cooking utensils
8. Dress: male
9. Dress: female
10. Ornaments
11. Footwear: male and female
12. Bullock-carts
13. Other means of transport
14. Domesticated animals and birds
15. Crops: cereals
16. Crops: pulses
17. Crops: horticultural products and cash crop
18. Crops: perennial
19. Crops: oil-seeds
20. Agricultural tools: digging
21. Agricultural tools: levelling
22. Agricultural tools: sowing
23. Agricultural tools: transplanting
24. Agricultural tools: weeding
25. Agricultural tools: reaping
26. Agricultural tools: threshing
27. Agricultural tools: husking
28. Agricultural tools: miscellaneous
29. Agricultural tools: miscellaneous
30. Techniques of cultivation
31. Oil-press
32. Basketry
33. Pottery
34. Population & Occupation
35. Markets
36. Shrines
37. Festivals
38. Village sanitation: deposition of miscellaneous refuse
39. Village sanitation: other observations
41. Language

#### Sub-Heading Under Main Items

1. Settlements
  1. Arrangement of houses
  2. Sources of water
  3. Drainage
  4. Agricultural fields
  5. Graveyard and burning ghat
  6. Miscellaneous
2. House type
  1. Plan of houses in a domicile
  2. Plan of a particular house
  3. Plinth
  4. Wall
  5. Roof
  6. Ventilation

7. Materials used and sources
8. How the different portions of the house are utilized
9. Variation
10. Builder

---

5. Diet: Meals: Here as regards mode of cooking emphasis is to be laid only on:

1. Preparation of the staple food
2. Dal or lentil soup

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8&9. Dress of men and women

Data should cover those of the head, upper and the lower part.

Note: In describing the dress of females in item 9, the typical signs of marriage in regard to dress, decoration and ornaments and also the typical sign of a widow should be noted.

10. Ornaments
  1. Ear
  2. Nose
  3. Neck
  4. Wrist
  5. Arms
  6. Feet
  7. Miscellaneous

---

12. Bullock carts

Adequate information should be presented on the nature of the wheel, attachment of the wheel to body of the cart, the body, cover and the yoke.

---

36. Shrines

Data may be presented under the following heads.

1. Shrines
2. Deity
3. Priest (caste)
4. Offerings
5. Purpose of worship

37. Festival

1. Name of the festival
2. Month, fortnight and day
3. Time
4. Central theme
5. Remarks

---

40. Village sanitation and the observations  
Population and Occupation

Appendix 2-4 Maximum and Minimum Temperature, the Dangs (°C.)

Sr.No.	District	Year	Janu.		Feb.		March		April	
			Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.
1	Dangs	1988	31.4	11.6	33.4	14.3	32.4	15.1	34.1	14.1
			May		June		July		Aug.	
			Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.
1	Dangs	1988	36.0	24.1	36.4	23.1	31.7	23.6	32.4	23.9
			Sept.		Oct.		Nov.		Dec.	
			Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.
1	Dangs	1988	32.4	22.5	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Agriculture Division, District Panchayat, Ahwa, 1988.

Appendix 2-5 Rainfalls, the Dangs (mm.)

Sr.No.	District/Taluka Name	Year Rains Days	Monsoon	Normal	
1	January	Dangs	1990-91	-	-
2	February	"	"	-	-
3	March	"	"	-	-
4	April	"	"	-	-
5	May	"	"	66.2	6
6	June	"	"	307.0	15
7	July	"	"	313.8	31
8	August	"	"	650.6	31
9	September	"	"	405.6	30
10	October	"	"	85.0	20
11	November	"	"	31.8	6
12	December	"	"	-	-
Total:			1553.0	139	

Source: Agriculture Division, District Panchayat, Ahwa, 1991.

## Appendix 2-6 Vegetation of the Dangas Forests

### (1) Overwood or Top Canopy ;

Sag (Teak: *Tectona grandis*), Sadad (*Terminalia tomentosa*), Kakad (*Garuga pinnata*), Modad (*Lannea Coromandelica*), Tiwas (*Ougeinia Dalbergioides*), Shisham (*Dalbergia latifolia*), Kalam (*Mitragyna Parviflora*), Khair (*Acacia catechu*), Haldu (*Adina cordifolia*), Sawar (*Salmalia malabarica*), Kada, Karai, Kalauri (*Sterculia urens*), Bio (*Pterocarpus marsupium*), Mahuda (*Madhuk indica*), Baheda (*Terminalia belerica*), Kakria, Bondaro (*Lagerstroemia parviflora*), Patriali (*Dalbergia paniculata*), Dandoshi, Gengri (*Dalbergia lanceolaria*), Dhaman (*Grewia tiliacifolia*), Umbh (*Saccopetalum tomentosum*), Nanobondaro (*Lagerstroemia lanceolata*), Kelai (*Albizzia procera*), Kalo Siris, Pilao Siris (*Albizzia lebbek*), Pongaro (*Erythrina indica*), Gararo (*Erythrina suberosa*), Asan, Ekal-kanto (*Briidelia retusa*), Kanti, Khaiger (*Acacia Ferruginea*), Dhamodo, Dhavda (*Anogeissus latifolia*), Waras (*Heterophragma quadriloculare*), Papda (*Holoptelea interifolia*), Chamoli (*Bauhinia vahlii*), Petar (*Trewia nudiflora*), Shiwan, Sawan (*Gamelina arborea*), Nimbaro (*Melia dubia*), etc.

### (2) Underwood or Middle Canopy ;

Ambada (*Spodias mangifera*), Kumbhip (*Careya arborea*) Kossama (*Schleichera oleosa*), Kudi, Indrajav (*Orightia tinctoria*), Timru, Tamruj (*Diospyros melanoxlon*), Avla, Ambla, Amla, (*Embllica officinalis*), Ashitro (*Bauhinia racemosa*), Aledi, Alladi, (*Morinda tinctoria*), Bahwa, Garmala (*Cassia fistula*), Ghatbor (*Zizyphus sylopyra*), Kuda (*Holarrhena antidysenterica*), Mokha, Popti, Ghant (*Kydia calycina*), Bhui-umber, Khorat-umber, Kal-umber (*Ficus asperrima*), Kirmiro (*Casearia tomentosa*), Palas, Khakro (*Butea monosperma*), Gol (*Trema orientalis*), UMBER (*Ficus rumbhii*), Adu (*Vangueria spinosa*), Khadsing (*Stereospermum xylocarpum*), Charoli (*Buchania lanzan*), Rohin (*Soymida febrifuga*), Karmal (*Dillenia pentagyna*), Bivlo, Bhilamo (*Samecarpus anacardium*), Tetu, Podbal (*Oroxylum indicum*), Kadwai, Amarachala, Brahmarasalya Daondra (*Hymenodityon excelsum*), Bor (*Zizyphus mauritiana*), Aritha (*Sapindus indica*), Hardan (*Terminalia chebula*), Jambu (*Syzygium cumini*), Kovidar (*Bauhinia variegata*), Kanku (*Mallotus philippinensis*), Katas-vans, Tonear, Wang (*Bambusa bambos*), Manvel-vans (*Dendrocalamus strictus*), etc.

(3) Undergrowth ;

Antedi, Mardasing (*Helicteres isora*), Karivi (*Strobilanthus callosus*), Dhayati (*Woodfordia floribunda*), Karvand (*Carissa carandus*), Nigodi (*Vitex negundo*), Ukshi (*Calycopteris floribunda*), Gal or Mindhal (*Randia dumetorum*), Galgughar (*Falcourtia indica*), Pevta (*Cosus speciosus*), Liptyo (*Urvia picta*), Ranbhendi (*Thespesia macrophylla*), Tarota (*Cassia tora*), Ranmabadi (*Hibiscus furcatus*), Rantulsi (*Ocimum basilicum*), Poptyo (*Flemingia strobilifera*), Chiktyo (*Desmodium parviflorum*), Darnoli (*Argemone mexicana*), Borthado (*Eriolaena candollei*), Boga (*Tephrosia candida*), Ketki (*Agave sisilana*), Rankeli (*Musa superba*), Morisi (*Nyctanthus arborescens*), etc.

(4) Ground Cover ;

Pular (*Leea aspera*), Fulari (*Leucas biflora*), Serva (*Asystasia coromandeliana*), Sonaro, Zinzudo (*Achyranthes aspera*), Nani-Madri (*Desmodium trifolium*), Ran-haldar (*Carcuma aromatica*), Sarvat (*Vicicia auriculata*), Ikharo (*Asteracantha longifolia*), Ghoghdo or Ghoghdi (*Randia uliginosa*), Gokhru (*Pedaliumpureum*), Dini (*Leea sambucina*), etc.

(5) Grasses ;

Polado (*Spodiopogon rhizophous*), Tokarbund (*Panicum montanum*), Bhatdo (*Themeda ciliata*), Dab Dhurvo (*Cynodon dactylon*), Kasur, Sukli, Dabhsuli (*Heteropogon contortus*), Rosha (*Cymbopogon kmartinii*), Walchond (*Vetiveria zizynoides*), Dhokro, Dhokri (*Eleusine aegyptica*), Gundan, Gandhei (*Chloris incompleta*), Dabdiya, Dobdu (*Polytoca cookei*), etc.

(6) Climbers ;

Velabivala (*Millettia racemosa*), Palasvel (*Butea superba*), Nandanvel, Panivel (*Vitis repanda*), Kangvel (*Ventilago madraspatana*), Mendhvel (*Cryptolepis buchanani*), Vaghatvel (*Wagatea spicata*), Gharvel (*Tinospora cordifolia*), Asaivel (*Ventilago calyculata*), Amarvel (*Cuscuta reflexa*), Kavich (*Mucuna pruriens*), Chilar (*Acaciaintsia*), Toranvel (*Ziziphus rugosa*), Tanvel (*Cocculus villosus*), Gunj, Chakoti (*Abrus precatorius*), Digad (*Dioscorea bulbifera*), Kaduvel, Majrakand, Kuvel (*Dioscorea pentaphylla*), Bokadvel, Dhumasvel (*Combretum ovalifolium*), Ranudid (*pentaphylla*), Ranudid (*Teramus labialis*), Shikakai (*Acacia concinna*), Koharvel (*Ipomea digitata*), etc.

Source: op.cit., Patel, G.D.(ed.), 1971, p.p. 24-26.

# Appendix 2-7 Fairs, Festivals and Market Places, Dangs

Sl. No.	Name/occasion	Place where held	Date of fair	Estimated congregation	Activities	(1) Railway		Remarks
						Station	Castes/communities participating	
1	Dang Darbar	Ahwa	7 days preceding Holi	20,000-25,000	Folk-dances, songs, ras, garbas, dramas, organised by Education Department. Documentary films. M.E.S. Block and Education Department arrange lectures, etc. agricultural and cattle shows. Sale of crops such as nagli, oil-seeds by barter system. Stalls of household articles, utensils, toys, cutlery, bamboo articles, forest products	(11) Bus service	Dangi, Adivasi, Bhal, Kunbi, Vanjara, non-Hindus	The origin of the fair was in practice during the British regime of calling the Dang Darbar and awarding of Privy Purse amounts to the five Dangi (Adivasi) Rulers and nine Naiks at the hands of the Political Agent. The occasion, coinciding with the only major festival of Holi of the tribal people of the Dangs, came to be celebrated by vast numbers who came from all corners to the district headquarters. Organised by the District Mandal Dangs. Attended by people from the whole district, and merchants and tourists from outside
2	Badshah Bava Pir Urs	Waghari	Zilhija	4,000-5,000	Qawwali songs, religious preachings, shramdan. 25-30 stalls of household industry products, miscellaneous articles	Railway Station Bus.	All communities	Worship of Badshah Bava Pir and Sayad Mohammed Shakir (Zariwala Pir). Held for the past four years Organised by Muslim Jamat. Attended by people from outside.



Sl. No.	Name/ occasion	Place where held	Date of fair	Estimated congregation	Activities	Estimated		Remarks
						(i) Railway Station	(ii) Bus service	
						Castes/communities participating		
3	Weekly Bazar	Galkund	Every Tuesday	1,200	60 stalls of foodgrains,household articles	Waghaj, 36 ms. Bus	Kokani, Naik, Mang, Charan, a few non-Hindus	Commercial. Attended by people from 35 surrounding villages. Health centre, mobile dispensary van visits the village on this day.
4	Weekly Bazar	Chinchli	Every Tuesday after monsoon	700- 1,000	10-15 stalls of household articles	Waghaj, 40 ms. Bus	Adivasis	Commercial. Attended by people from 10-15 surrounding villages.
5	Weekly Bazar	Singana	Every Monday	600- 700	8-10 stalls of cutlery, household articles	Navapur, 16 ms. Bus	Adivasis	Commercial. Attended by people from 10-15 surrounding villages.
6	Weekly Bazar	Pipaldahad	Every Sunday	450- 500	40 stalls of cutlery, house-hold articles, Bus foodgrains,vegetables	Navapur, 28 ms. Bus	Adivasis	Commercial. Attended by businessmen from Pipalneir and West Khandesh area.
7	Rama fair	Kalibel	Paush Sud 15	300	..	Waghaj, 21 ms. Bus	Hindus, 10-15 non-Hindus	At Rama Mandir. Attended by people from neighbouring villages

Source : Trivedi, R.K., *Census of India 1961*, Vol. V, Gujarat, Part VII-B, Fairs and Festivals, (Part II Tables), p. 190.