CHAPTER - I

I N T R O D U C T I O N

I

The high and densely wooded ranges of the Vindhya and Satpura mountains stretch across Central India as an effective natural barrier between the peninsular India and the continental India. The passes across these mountains have been few and far between and lie for the most part through dense fever-ridden jungles infested by wild beasts. The valleys are rendered the more inaccessible by the numerous deep and turbulent rivers and streams that cross them in all directions. So effective have been these barriers that it was possible for different systems of culture to develop on either side of the mountains, relatively uninfluenced by each other. Large scale movements of people have been very few and till recently, circumvented the mountains passing through the narrow marginal plains on either side. Thus in effect, there has existed a natural cul de sac comprising of the Central Indian highlands and the valleys of the Vindhya and Satpura mountains. Such a tract is not easily penetrable, and offers an excellent refuge for a people oppressed and threatened with extermination from a powerful enemy. Actually several times during the early history of India, tribes which had originally settled in the Indo-gangetic plain, were forced to seek refuge in these regions when beset by later and more powerful immigrant tribes from the north and north-west. In such a refuge area, they would be comparatively secure from

persuit on a large scale and even if persued, they would be able to defend themselves more effectively against a stronger enemy.

However, they would have found it as difficult to get out of this area as it was to get in. While safe from external aggression, they would find it also difficult to maintain contacts with the outer world or with their own scattered people. Cultural stagnation follows in most such cases and deterioration in the standards of living. In course of time, such refuge areas tend to develop indigenous institutions of great complexity.

Today in the central highlands, a large number of tribes are living in relative isolation from each other and from the outer world. The largest by far of them are the Bhils who exceeded two millions in 1941.[1] The other large tribes in these regions are the Mundas and Gonds. Our main concern, however, is with the Bhils.

Bhils live in these highlands along the eastern border of Gujarat*. They are scattered over a wide territory, stretching from the Arvallis in the north, to Dangs in the south, and extend upto the forests of Bhopal in the east - roughly the area lying between the lattitudes 20-25 N. and the longitudes 73-75 E. The larger part of this area is known traditionally as Rēwakantha. The rest form parts of Mahikāntha and Sabarkāntha.[2] Rewakantha is also traditionally referred to as Pāl signifying the land which is hilly and forest clad,

* Map
** foot notes & references appended to each chapter.

yielding little more than stones (pahān) water (pāni) and leaves (pan$). [3] In such a sense this description would apply to the entire Bhil country which is everywhere hilly and forested. Several ranges of hills run right across it in all directions. The craggy beds of the several rivers and hill streams cut up the land and render it practically impossible to traverse during the rainy months. Even during dry weather, travel in these regions is difficult and tedious.

The more noteworthy among the several ranges that cross this territory, are the Aravallis with their numerous foot hills in the north, a western /Pawagarh-Ratanmal/ spur of the Vindhyas and the several foot hills of the Satpura ranges in the centre, whilethe northern reaches of the Sahyadri hills just encroach upon the southern limits of this region.

Among them, the Aravallis are the only true instance of a true tectonic system. The rock system in these hills are related to the very old Dharwar rocks that once extended from Deccan right upto the Himalayas. [4] Others are of a circumdenudation origin. The Satpura system with their seven parallel ridges contain the archaean, crystalline granitoid and other metamorphosed rocks, overlaid unconformably by the loamy sandstones of the metazoic era. These in turn are covered by the Deccan trap lava of the cretacean age, extending from Rewa to the Rajpipla hills. [5]

The Sahyadri ranges, again a remnant of the Deccan trap lawa which have survived the denudation of the ages, tower high above the marginal belt of the west coast of India.

Across the central region lies the western spur of the Vindhya ranges - about forty miles in length with Pawagarh hills (2700 ft.) at one end and the Ratanmal at the other. This range has jagged and peaked tops in the west and broadens out into a series of table-lands in the east. The biggest of them is the Ratanmal from which a chain of table lands of varying heights (from 800 to 1500 ft.) stretches north towards the Aravallis. This chain of densely wooded table-lands form a water shed between the Anas and the Mahi river systems. In the pre-integration days, this chain also marked the boundaries of the Rewakantha Agency states of Santh, Sanjeli and Baria on one side and the Dohad and Jhalod talukas of the state of Bombay on the other.[6]

Between the table lands and the Pawagarh-Ratanmal spur, lie numerous wooded and irregularly branching spurs of the Vindhya system. These are high and steep with jagged peaks in the east, but loose height as one goes towards the east, and are finally lost to sight among the (sound) dunes in the Mahisagar basin. These spurs which are more regular in the north, are found in a series of north to south oriented parallel ridges separated by narrow valleys, and unbroken in in their contours. A traveller might go for miles along the foot of these ridges seeking an opening to cross over to the other side, without finding any. In terms of communications, this means long and tedious detours when passing from one village to another.[7]

II

There are three important watersheds in this area. The Pawagarh-Ratanmal spur separates the drainages of the Mahi river system in the north from the Narbada in the south. The long chain of teble lands that arise from it towards the Aravallis, separate the drainages of the Anas river system from that of Mahi and its tributaries. The Satpura hills themselves form an important watershed for the drainages of the rivers, Narmada and Tapti.

Narmada and Mahi are the more important of the numerous rivers that water this region. The latter, which takes its birth in the Malva hills at an altitude of 1850 ft. has a drainage area of about 17,000 sq.miles, and is 500 miles long. It flows through the Bhil country only for about 120 miles, passing through Kadana, Lunawada and Pandu Mewas. It flows swiftly in the upper reaches, between steep banks, 60-80 ft. high. It has but one important tributary Panam, which takes birth in the Ratanmal and after flowing for about ninety miles between high banks through the loamy soils of Bariya, joins Mahi near Lunawada. Neither Mahi nor Panam is of much use for irrigation, because of high banks and a languid stream. Ferry ply at several points along their course. There are practically no bridges over these rivers especially in the tribal region.

The Narbada is considered so sacred a river, that the very sight of it is deemed to purify the soul. This river which has a drainage area of about 36,400 sq.miles rises at

Vindhya Central ranges

Amarkantak (3,500 ft.) in the Satpura hills and winds its way through a rift in the Satpura and Vindhya mountains, before entering the plains of Gujarat. The right bank is very steep and seemed with ravines. The high ridges of the Satpura ranges tower high along the left bank. River Narmada flows deep and swift even during the dry season and rises 40 ft. above the fair weather level during the floods in monsoon. However the river contains numerous rocky and alluvial islands. The floods, rapids and currents in the river together with the numerous islands, render navigation on these rivers quite risky. Normally small boats ply on Narmada upto Chandod from the sea end, all round the year and depending upon the tides venture even upto Maheshwar during the floods. Broach, situated near its confluence with the Arabian sea, was renowned for ages as a good sea port. This river has a number of tributaries from either bank, of which the more notable are the Men, Ashwin and Orr on the right bank and Deo, Karjan, Kaveri and Amravati on the left. All these are perennial, but not very deep. They may be forded at several points by carts, in fair weather.

The other important rivers in the area are the Sabarmati in the north and the Tapti and Godavari in the south. But they drain comparatively a very small portion of the Bhil country and so need no special mention here.

There are no large reservoirs or lakes in the Bhil country or in Rewakantha. But recently under the first Five Year Plan, a number of small irrigation projects have

been undertaken, some of them being bunds and dams to be built along some of the minor rivers and streams of the area. Among them of special interest to us, are the dams and channel works started at Patadungari in Dohad taluka and the Suki and Tittodi tank works in Jhalod taluka which give a fair promise of considerable irrigation facilities to these areas where frequent famine conditions prevail. Within the Limkheda taluka with which we are more concerned, there are no major works worth mentioning. But a large number of desilting, deepening and extension works on tanks already existing are under way.

But even to this day, there are remarkably few wells, specially in the areas inhabited by the Bhils. The numerous streams and springs form the main sources of drinking water. Though most of them have water that looks fresh and clear, in a large number of cases it is really unwholesome due principally to the excessive vegetable matter contained in them.[9] For instance water from the springs of Ratanmal when drunk by plainsmen, immediately causes a swelling of the tonsils and fever. This water is referred to locally as <u>mulvani</u> i.e. heavily impregnated with the vegetable matter seeping through from the roots of numerous trees in the jungle and has a high iodine content. The springs at Dediapada in Rajpipla are so alkaline and brackish that drinking it bring on much effervescence and distension of the stomach. It is so difficult for people to acclimatise to this water that of the several officers and clerks stationed in and

around Dediapada (it is the headquarters of a taluka and of a forest range) only one had brought his family with him. The rest were maintaining an establishment at Rajpipla - 20 miles away, incurring thereby considerable extra expenditure.

Rewakantha soils vary considerably, according to the nature of the underlying rock formations. Among them, mention may be made of the soils formed out of the oldest crystalline metamorphosed rocks of the Dharwar system. These soils are light in colour, dry and considerably alkaline and very poor in nitrogen, phosphorous and in humus. These soils are characteristic of the Aravallis and also of regions to the south of Godhra and round about Pawagarh.[10]

A residual black soil, referred to popularly as the black cotton soil is found extensively in the Narmada valley, and in a narrow strip in the Tapti valley also. This soil is highly clayey, contains high percentages of lime, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ magnesia, alumina and iron, but is poor in nitrogen and phosphorous. It is deep and retains the same consistency even at the depths of 8-10 feet. Sticky and tenacious when wet, these soils are very fertile and do not require artificiel manuring for long periods.

Then there are the different soils originating in the recent sedimentary deposits. They are mainly of two kinds - the alluviums and the desert deposits. The former, which is a drift soil carried by most rivers from their upper levels, where the flow is rapid, is deposited in the plains, where the

flow is sluggish and where most rivers overflow their banks during floods. This drift soil is replenished every year all along the delta of the several rivers.

We may distinguish three varieties of alluviums bhata the reddish-brown or chocolate coloured soil deposited every year on either bank during the floods, goratu a lighter coloured old bhata soil found farther away from the river on either seasons; and finally the kyari deposits of the earlier found in the low lying areas, receiving the drainage from all round. These kyari lands are silted up every year due to the erosive effects of rain. Such patches are so fertile that no manuring is required at all. In addition to the above, a fourth variety of alluvium, black in colour is found in narrow patches - specially on the hills. This soil is very poor in fertility and easily gets waterlogged. It is however good for maize crops in regions where rainfall is just enough (30-40") and is very favourable for raising the several pulses particularly the gram.

The goratu and the inferior black soil are found in extensive patches in the Limkheda taluka with which we are specially concerned. The latter are found more on the hill tops and on the table lands of Ratanmal. There are also a few patches of kyari land to the south of Ratanmal range and in the villages below the Kotumbi hills.

The desert deposits, light, dry and sandy and incapable

of retaining much moisture are found in occasional patches in Bariya and Limkheda. But these soils are more characteristic of the northern regions adjoining Rajasthan.[11]

III

The annual range of temperature varies considerably in different parts of Rewakantha. In the northern parts of Sabarkantha and Panchmahals, the temperature goes upto 118 F. in the afternoons in May and June. The influences of the desert of Rajasthan are probably behind the extreme range of annual temperature in these parts. Further the soil is sandy, producing a terrible heat glare in the atmosphere during summer. Much the same conditions prevail in the Mahi basin also. But as one proceeds south towards the more fertile valleys and the forest clad spurs of the Vindhya and Satpura ranges, the heat though considerable, is without the glare in the atmosphere, and the nights tend to be cooler. A good forest cover, or the presence of numerous springs and rivers in a region have a definitely moderating influence on the climate. In the hills and on the table lands- the Ratanmal for instance, summers are quite pleasant and the nights are often chilly even in the months of May or June. But the plains are considerably hotter, ranging generally well above 100 F. during the shade, in the summer afternoons.

Winters are cold throughout the region. Here again, the northern regions tend to be extreme, while in the eastern highlands and in the southern riverine valleys, the cold is not so pronounced. In the plains and on the bare slopes of

hills cold is severe, mainly due to the cold winds that sweep through this area from the north and north-east, during the months of December and January. Where there is a good forest cover, the numerous trees act as a screen and thus neutralise the effect of the wind. But cold is very intense in such regions as are rich in streams and springs, and on the hilltops. The Bombay Gazetteer (1880) reports that in the eastern highlands of Rewakantha, often a thin ice forms on the pools and ponds, and heavy frosts occur, causing considerable damage to the winter crops of wheat and pulses.[12]

Normally the cold continues upto March and drags on almost to the middle of the month on the hills. But in such regions as are rich in springs and rivers, nights and mornings continue to be cold practically to the end of April. This protracted cold (locally known as Mahudino tad), when not accompanied by frosts is very favourable for the Mahua flowers, and for pulses, wheat and other winter crop.

Except in the semiarid regions in the north-east, the daily variation in temperature is not considerable during summer. The nights are generally hot and oppressive. But in winter, the daily variation may go as much as 35 F. in certain places.

The seasons are well-marked. The hot season (summer), is counted from about the middle of March to the end of June or July, and winter from November to the end of February. The rainy season starts in July and lasts upto the end of October.

Such transition from one season to another is marked by festivals such as the Holi marking the end of winter, Divali marking the end of the rainy season, and the Akhatrij which actually heralds the start of the agricultural season for the year.

Since a larger portion of the area under intensive survey had been cut up into a number of small estates which had not bothered to maintain a register of annual rainfall and averages, rainfall statistics for the region are not available. But the Gazetteer gives an over-all average of 35-40" annual rainfall for all the Rewakantha states. In the northern region, rainfall is less than 20" in a year indicating a semi arid condition, while in the Mahi and Narmada valleys, the rainfall is about 40-60 inches in a year. Coming to the area under consideration, the Baria Administration Report for 1921 gives a quinquennial average for the five years ending March 1921 of 40.89". In 1921, the rainfall in the region was 27.06" as as against 42.4" in 1920. This suggests a very variable rainfall. During the years 1952-53, there was an almost total failure of rainfall in most parts of Limkheda, Dohad and Jhalod talukas. And in 1954, there was such a heavy downpour in most parts of Panchmahals, that standing crops were greatly damaged and cattle died in large numbers due to exposure and lack of fodder.

Rainfall in this region occurs mostly during the south-west monsoons, during the months July-September. The onset of the monsoon varies from year to year in this area, sometimes

by as much as two or three weeks. The bulk of the precipitation is received in a series of heavy showers, over a fortnight or three weeks in the early phase. The remainder is distributed over the rest of the season in a number of sporadic light showers. Often heavy showers occur towards the end of September causing considerable damage to late crops such as maize.

Normally, it does not rain in winter. But some light showers with strong dew may occur towards the end of December, when the rain-bearing clouds pass over in a north-easterly direction. This unseasonal rain (mãhatu) is beneficial to some winter crops such as pulses, if it occurs before the crop begins to flower. But rains in early March or April, can very effectively ruin the mango crop.

Of late, rainfall shows a tendency to be more uncertain and is also on the decrease. The decrease is attributed to the rapid deforestation that has been going on in these regions specially during the period just before the integration of all the Agency States and estates into the States of Bombay and Madhya-Bharat in 1948. On the eve of the transfer, complete exploitation rights over huge blocks of forests were given away to the contractors on unconditional leases extending from seven to twelve years, as against the normal contracts for limited exploitation given for shorter periods. It is however well established now that a good green cover considerably influences the atmospheric conditions, in such a way as to attract the rain bearing clouds to precipitate in

such regions.[13] Rapid denudation of land of its vegetation cover in a region of marked variation of temperature, is bound to accelerate the rate of soil erosion. As pointed out earlier, rainfall is mal-distributed, the bulk of it being received in a few heavy showers and eroding the soil. And the seeds are washed away. Anderson remarks with reference to the Dohad and Jhalod talukas that out of every three years, one is a year of total failure, while the other two are years of semi-scarcity. This also applies to the Ratanmal area. Here as elsewhere in Panchmahals, the frequent scarcity conditions are due ironically enough, as much to heavy downpours as to total or partial failure of rain.

IV

In 1880, Rewakantha was mostly forest land.[14] Today, however, most of the forests are concentrated in the eastern highlands. Inspite of the systematic denudation that has been going on for years in these regions, nearly 60% of the total land area is forested.[15]

Forests in this area vary considerably in vegetation and density. In the north, a dry deciduous forest occurs dominated by a few species of Acacia and a few thorny mimosae - a type of forest that is in general consonance with the inferior, dry black soils of Panchmahals and Sabarkantha. A few deciduous varieties such as bassia latifolia, are also found in these forests, in association with the two varieties of Palm, borassus flabellifer (tad) and phoenix

sylvestris (tadi). In areas adjoining the deserts, the dry deciduous vegetation occurs in more and more stunted forms and gradually merges into thorny desert vegetation characterised by bawal (acacia) and zyzyphus jujuba (bor).

In the Panchamahals, Satpuras and in Kathiawar, we have a semi-deciduous forest, described by Champion as 'dry teak forests' formed of a dry mixture of trees practically all of which are deciduous, and bamboos, canes, epiphytes, and ferns in abundance. The dominent specie is the pole teak, found in association with lagerstromia lancelota, anogerassus latifolia and ptenocarpus marsupium.

Further, where the rainfall is fairly heavy, (50" or more) moist deciduous forests occur. "They are closed forests of a good height dominant species being mostly deciduous. Although intimate mixture of the species is the rule, a relatively smaller number of species together form the canopy. These forests also are dominated by teak. But the canopy is more luxuriant and grows to greater heights, than is the case with the semi-deciduous forests." (Champion, p.73)

These forests are rich in a variety of timber and other valuable trees. Among the former, we may mention, dalbergia latifolia (dindal), dalbergia sissoo (black wood), adina cordifolia (haldharvo), and dalbergia cojeinensis (tanach) and the Tamarind. Among the fruit trees, the more notable are the mangifera indica (mango), bassia latifolia

(mahua), carissa carandas (timru), feronia elephanticus (bela) zyzyphus jujuba (bor), mimusops indica (ravan) and the buchania latifolia (savra).

We may specially mention here the bassia latifolia (mahua) which is noted for its hard timber and for the heavily scented small and sweet white flowers it bears in abundance. These flowers are edible and the juice when fermented yields a very intoxicant liquor (daru). In one way or the other, these flowers play a very important role in the Bhil life. From its nut is extracted a valuable oil used in the manufacture of soap. Acacia Catechu (kherio) is yet another much valued tree. From the boughs of this tree is extracted a substance katha which is used with betal leaf all over upper India.

Generally the timber of Rewakantha is one of a poor grade. But the Panchmahals forests specially those of Baria, Limkheda and Alirajpur district talukas, are renowned for their excellent heavy timber of considerable girth and length. However due to certain vagaries of the local timber markets, the demand is more for the light timber of 15-20 years growth rather than the heavier and the more durable timber of 40-60 years growth. The Ratanmal forests are now being exploited to meet the government's demand for heavy timber for industrial purposes.[18]

These forests are also rich in fauna, the more notable among them being the panthar, bear, fox and deer. There also tigers, but these are very few and found only in the higher ridges of the hills.

Tadavi Royala of Alindra.

A Group of Bhil Children.

V

A semi-official publication of the Central Ministry of Information and Broadcasting states that in 1941[19] Bhils numbered over two and a quarter millions, as against slightly under two lakhs in 1931. The difference in the two figures is no doubt due to more efficient census operations of 1941 and 1951. But it also shows a steady increase in population. In 1941, the state-wise distribution of the Bhils was as follows:-

Bombay	8,20,508
Madhya Bharat	6,20,175
Rajasthan	7,89,748
Madhya Pradesh	29,570
Hyderabad	18,021
Ajmer-Mewar	8,572
Saurastra	1,558
Total:	22,88,152

The bulk of the population is concentrated in the contiguous areas of Rajasthan, Bombay, Madhya Bharat and Madhya Pradesh, which together account for more than 85% of the total. They are found scattered in small groups over a vast territory stretching across the four distinct linguistic regions of Gujarati, Rajasthani, Marathi and Hindi. When it is recalled that these people are so widely scattered in a territory which is isolated by mountains and forests, it is reasonable to expect considerable variation between the Bhils of different regions.

With this expectation in view and in order to get at a fair cross-section of the Bhil people in different parts of the country, a preliminary survey of over two and a half months duration was undertaken by me in the summer of 1952. During the course of this tour, I visited tribal regions of Panchamahals, Sabarkantha, Broach and Surat districts and much later the Dangs. In each case, trips were made as far into the interior as possible to ensure that my observation of the Bhils might be free as far as possible from extraneous ethnic or cultural influences that might be operative among the Bhils in the border lands.

Bhils are generally a short to medium statured people with a slim body build. Stature varies from 5 ft. to 5ft.6" for men and 4 ft.4" to 4 ft.9" for women. They are generally a round-headed people with a sprinkling of both long and broad-headed types. Features are pleasant, exhibiting more the Indo-mediterranean physiognomy. The so-called Australoid features (the low and broad nose in a broad face with a heavy ridging of the eyebrows, and wavy to curly hair), is also found, but only sporadically. Generally of a darkish brown complexion, they are often lighter complexioned, specially in the eastern Panchamahals and Jhabua where they are quite fair and handsome.

Bhil physiognomy varies considerably in the same locality as well as in different regions, probably indicating a considerable local admixture in different places. This hypothesis is well supportedby some Bhil traditions mentioned by the previous investigators in the field. C.S.Venkatachar

traces a considerable Rajput admixture in the Bhil stock. He writes that "forced by circumstances, Rajputs did not hesitate to take wives from among the tribal women", and this, he alleges, is one of the several reasons, why the tribe has disintegrated into so many disjoint sections today.[21] Sorley speaks of the tadavi Bhils as having arisen from "the union of Muslim invaders and the tribal women whom they were forced to take as wives for lack of their own women". However, the tadavi Bhils who live on the northern slopes of the Satpura ranges are all Hindus and do not seem to be the tadavi Bhils referred to by Sorley.[22]

Considerable genealogical and anthropometric data is available for Bhils of different regions. D.N.Majumder who conducted in 1945 a detailed racial and serological survey of the castes of Gujarat, measured Bhils from Khandesh, Panchamahals and from Rajpipla for both definite and indefinite characters, and also tested them for the blood groups A.B.O.series. 675 Bhils were tested in all, 369 from Panchamahals, 156 from Mal-samot plateau in Rajpipla, and 150 from Khandesh.

It is interesting to note that in respect of the several measurements, the Bhils of Panchamahals showed a significant divergence from the Rajpipla and Khandeshi Bhils who inter-alia exhibited considerable homogeneity. Another feature that emerges from the above investigations is the racial distance shown by the Bhil groups from the Australoid and Proto-Australoid tribes of Bihar and peninsular India, with whom

they have all along been identified. The Bhils show a high incidence of both the agglutinogens A (28.09%) and B (28.09%) an incidence commonly characteristic of the Mundari and Mon-khmer peoples. But this is offset by a very high incidence of O (38.4%) and a very low[24] A B (about 8%). As Mcfarlane and Majumdar[23] have pointed out, the Mundari and Mon-khmer peoples have a fairly high value for A B.

However Mcfarlane's blood group data on 140 Bhils of Nimar region, diverges considerably from the data of Majumdar and also from that of Uma Bose on 534 Bhils of Dhar, Mandu and Bagh States. Mcfarlane finds a very low value for O (18.57%) and the highest value for B (41.43%) so far found among Bhils. The value of A B too is high (16.43%) indicating a considerable heterogeneity in the population. Uma Bose concluded after a comparison of Mcfarlane's findings on Bhils with the data available on the Korkus and Santals, that Bhils of Nimar exhibit considerable infiltration of Mundari blood.[26] Majumdar himself regards the Bhils as a "hybrid group absorbing on the one hand Rajput blood and representing a tribal substratum on the other. Its position with regard to the other castes of Gujarat while indicating a tribal origin, is not significantly distinct from some of the stabler communities of advanced culture."[27]

Bhils show considerable divergence in other respects too. Culturally, Bhils represent different levels of achievement. This however, is related to the environmental conditions and the scope that is available for maintaining contacts with

other peoples. Since these opportunities exist to a greater extent in the plains than in the hill-bound valleys, naturally the Bhils of the plains are more progressive in material culture than the Bhils of the hills. In dress, manners and habits too, Bhils exhibit regional variations. For instance, Bhils are broadly classified into the Potiavala and the langotia (lit. those who wear a dhoti, and those who wear a loin cloth.) Under the former variety come the Bhils of Sabarkantha, Rajasthan and of northern Panchamahals. There, the dress of a man usually consists of a long piece of white cloth (8-9 ft. long and about 50" in breadth) worn knee length in the traditional Indian peasant style (referred to locally as Potida), a shirt with half sleeves (in western style) and another length of white or light-coloured material generally used as a turban, but often also as a covering for the body. Bhil women wear an ankle-length (ghāgra) skirt of a Marwari pattern, and a short open backed bodice with short sleeves and a deep neckline made from a coarse, durable and coloured material. They often dispense with the bodice when indoors or at work in the fields, but always keep on a long veil worn on the head with its drapes coming down below the knee. The langotia are the highland or hill Bhils of Eastern Panchamahals, Madhyabharat and Khandesh. Men wear a piece of cloth about 12" in breadth and 36-40" in length suspending it from a waist-string, with loose flaps hanging at the front and behind, "for decency's sake (laj rakhwa)." The Bhilala and the Rathwa who do not let these flaps hang out, but allow the lines of their genitals be

apparent are mocked at as shameless. The Bhilala, Rathwa and the Naikda who are also langotias, wear multi-coloured loin cloths, and tasselled waist-strings. But the Bhils wear generally only white material. The rest of their dress consists of a turban, and another length of cloth used to protect the body from cold, or as a covering when asleep. Contrary to the popular misconceptions regarding these Bhils, they have the greatest objections to any indecent exhibition of the genitals.

The langotia women, wear practically the same dress as the Potida women, but in a different style. The skirt is passed between the legs and tucked up behind in such a way that a greater amount of free play is given to the limbs, while adequately covering the buttocks and the genitals. They generally use coarse material of a dark blue or red colour with a flowery pattern for the skirt and the veil. This material and the ready-made blouses (open back and tied at the back with a string) are generally bought from the traders from the plains at the several weekly bazaars. The blouses (more like brassiers) are often misfits and are not generally worn, except when going out to the market town, a fair or while on a visit.

Kanchali

Both men and women are found to be fond of wearing ornaments and other items of personal decoration. Silver or white metal ornaments are worn by women profusely on the arms, and legs, ~~and~~ on the neck and bosom. In Jhalod, where they love to dress in finery, ornaments weighing as much as

14-15 lbs. are often worn. Tattooing is often resorted to by women, while men daub their face and their turbans with bright colours before going to a fair or a festival.

Bhils speak a variety of dialects referred to generally as the Bhili. Whatever might have been the original form of these dialects, it is now superimposed and obscured by the locally dominant languages. The influence of Gujarati is most extensively felt, while Rajasthani influences are discernible towards the north. Marathi influences may also be seen in the speech of the Bhils of Khandesh, Dangs and the Satpuras.

At one time, it was the fashion among linguists to trace dravidian affinities in the Bhil dialects. But Sir George Greirson[28] made a careful study of the Bhil samples from different parts. He was of the opinion that Bhili shows "definite traces of a non-Aryan basis which are too few to be identified. The basis may have been Munda or it may have been Dravadian, perhaps more probably the former but has been completely overlaid by an Aryan superstructure, and assumed early Dardic influences on the Bhil languages.[29] The general concensus of linguists since his day, has been that Bhili dialects owe their present form to a fusion of Gujarati and Rajasthani influences. Dave thinks that the Gujarati has influenced Bhili dialects more, as Gujarati influences have been much stronger in the regions than Rajasthani. The same authority tends to group Khandeshi (also known as Ahirani) dialects also as derived from Gujarati and the resemblances in the structure of these dialects to Marathi are dismissed

lightly as purely superficial. He argues that inspite of being under Marathi cultural influences for a long period, the dialects still reveal deep structural affinities to Gujarati, Kulkarni also advances equally convincing arguments in support of his view that Khandeshi has a very close resemblance to Marathi both in the structure and vocabulary.[31] However Greirson himself was of the opinion that while Bhili dialects gradually merge into Khandeshi, Khandeshi itself was not a Marathi dialect. He admits that several suffixes are identical in form and usage with those used in Marathi, but the inner form of the language itself is with Gujarati and Rajasthani. In Khandeshi, Gujarati and Rajasthani have produced a baffling mixture. However, we are not concerned with ~~the problem of~~ unravelling the problem here. It may more safely be left to the several linguists.

What concerns us as social Anthropologists is that Bhili dialects vary considerably. There is an old Gujarati saying "language changes for every twelve miles". This is particularly so in the eastern highlands, where there is not much scope for extensive communications and local variations have a tendency to be exaggerated. A Bhil is generally at home within a 20-30 miles radius, but beyond that he feels that these people though calling themselves Bhils are different from him. The Bhils of Dhanpur have often been heard jeering at the Bhils, Bhilala and Rathia beyond the Ratanmal as speaking "a language that is funny". The distance involved is at the most 25 or 30 miles.

VI

The wide divergence that was noticed so far among the Bhils in respect of their physical features, ethnic affinities, language, dress and several other aspects of their life, is but to be expected to an extent, in any people as widely dispersed as the Bhils, especially since there is little scope for extensive communications. It may be noted here that the differences do not stop here but extend even to the more fundamental aspects of their kinship organisation and social structure.

By a kinship system, we refer to a mode of ordering of relationships between people who are mutually related by bonds of common descent or affinity, and to the effective organisation of these relationships for all social purposes, over a definite range. There are several ways of achieving this end. By the simple cognative principle, the kin of any given person are reckoned by tracing backwards a certain number of generations, (i.e. his four grand parents, eight great grand parents, etc.), and all the descendants from these recognised ancestors - both male and female, are his cognates. However, since the number of ancestors go on doubling with each generation as we go back, there is a limit to tracing kinship this way. This limit in most communities is merely the inability to trace genealogical links, or as among the Bhils of Satpuras, a theoretically fixed limit beyond which even genealogical connections do not count for social purposes.[32]

But in another type of organisation, certain unilineal kindred are distinguished from and given weightage over the other cognates, for purposes of determining succession, status and cooperation in the several spheres of activity. All those who claim descent from an ancestor through male links only, are agnates; while, when the descent is traced from a female ancestor through the female links only, the kindred group are known to form a matrilineal kin group. Generally in such communities, one set of relatives are given prominence over the other set of relatives, who while almost always given social recognition, have only limited rights and functions. Wherever unilineal descent groups such as lineages and clans whether patrilineal or matrilineal, have a tendency to develop as an important feature of their social structure, the entire community is aligned into a complex ramification of branches and sub-branches, maintained generally through the principle of exogamy.

The principles of unilineal descent and exogamy are made use of in cognative systems also, but only for a limited purpose such as succession to property and even then not very rigidly. Further these principles have a limited extension, say six or seven generations, or whatever be the genealogical limit set by each community to reckon kinship.

The structural differences between the organisation by the lineage and the cognative principle are very significant and stable. A large segment of a community is likely to retain the distinctive character of their kinship structure,

even in the face of external influences and stresses over relatively long periods.

Thus it is the more significant, that both the types of social systems mentioned above should be found among these vast people, who are known as Bhils. Bhils to the north of Narmada have a poly-segmentary social system, where the principle of unilineal descent is highly developed. There are numerous clans each divided into sub-clans and lineages and into patrilineal families. The lineage with a depth of about 6-7 generations is generally a corporate entity. It is the vicinage group and also the group which co-operates in the economic, social and ritual activities. It has also residual rights over the landed and other property of its members. Each lineage consists of several joint families, three to four generations deep. The Bhil joint family is a closely knit and corporate unit, presided over by the eldest male member. The residential and the commensal group is normally the elementary family. But for all significant social and economic relations, joint family is the operative unit. Local community generally consists of a dominant lineage and one or more other lineages grafted on to it.

As distinguished from this, the Bhils of the Satpuras have a cognatic system, with cross-cousin marriage. Genealogies of unilineal descent are reckoned upto about seven generations and exogamy is observed within these limits. Unlike the Bhils of the Aravalli-Vindhya tract, who extend the exogamic principles to cover even those lineages with

which a previous affinity is known to have occured,[33] those Bhils actually consider the cross cousins of either type as a preferred spouse. There are also a few instances of the mother's brother himself marrying his sister's daughter but such links across generations do not seem to be commonly practiced.

The effective unit of person-to-person relations among these Bhils is the extended family or the tad with a depth of five to six generations, consisting often of cognatic relatives such as sister's children also. Further, where a man or a woman has been brought up by his or her mother's brother, they have a right to claim an equal share with the direct heirs. Within the kutumb or the family, agnates have a weightage over the others. Relatively far greater importance is accorded to the mother's brother and the father's sisters. Further, as a consequence of cross cousin marriages (involving cross cousins of either type) the ties between the siblings are renewed and strengthened in successive generations.[34]

The local community is the village, consisting of two or more tad. The exogamous injunction prohibiting marriage with any one from the same village is probably a tacit recognition of the village itself as a large unilineal descent group, specially since recent settlers in the village (even where a generation or two has lapsed) do not come under this rule, while it extends even to those persons who have migrated to other villages within living memory.

In Khandesh Dhanka and Tadvi are not called Bhils by the Bhils themselves.

Another feature of the Bhils of Satpuras is that they are split up into a number of large endogamous units called *int* such as the Vasava, Dhanka, Tadvi and so on, each of which is connected ~~in~~ with a particular territory.

Each one of the Jats exhibit an internal structure of the type we just now discussed. But inspite of the fact of their all referring themselves to as Bhils, there seems to be no inter-group relations at all in any sphere of activity. They share a common way of life, material and cultural. But there ends any claims they might have to be called a people.

In retrospect, there is plenty of evidence to believe that not all the people known to day as the Bhils constitute a single tribe. On the contrary, one is inclined to believe that a congeries of tribes living in adjacent areas and bearing only a superficial resemblance in their general way of life to the eyes of plainsmen, were probably lumped together under a blanket term. The why and wherefore of such blanket terms being employed is at the present beyond one's comprehension and at best a matter of conjecture. But we do know that such terms have been used in this country often and is being used even today. The terms Gondi, Koli and today, Raniparaj are well-known instances. It has been suggested by many previous writers on Bhils, that probably 'Bhil' is derived from the term 'billu' which in most Dravidian languages signifies the bow.[35] Incidentally, the bow is even today a principal weapon of offence and hunt among all the Bhils, and indeed, most other tribes of Central

India. It is plausible that this term initially applied to these people to indicate their expert skill in archery. In course of time, it is possible that the term was adopted as a name by the people themselves. However, all this is purely speculative.

Similar views, regarding the wide differences between the Bhils have been expressed often by previous writers. Majumdar,[36] commenting on the considerable heterogeneity exhibited by the Bhils, also inclines to the view that probably the term 'Bhil', is a generic term used to cover a number of tribes living in adjacent tribes and bearing a superficial resemblance. There is enough evidence to believe that a comparative sociological study of the Bhils in different regions may be exceedingly interesting and fruitful. The present study however, is based on fieldwork among the Bhils living around the Ratanmal hills, on the south-eastern border of Panchamahals District. These Bhils though speaking Bhili dialect with distinct Gujarati affinities, form more a part of the Bhils of Malwa, of Alirajpur and Kathiwara, with whom they have most of their economic and social relations. Historically too, they were under the general administrative control of the Indore Political Agent of the British Indian Government.

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A HISTORICAL NOTE ON THE BHILS

Such little data as is available to us regarding the early history of the Bhils is largely conjectural. The Cambridge historians mention certain ancient Tamil poets who refer to some savage aborigines in the north, as Villuvar (lit. archer) and go on to suggest that the reference is probably to the precursors of modern Bhils.[37] The term villu or billu means a bow in most Dravidian languages; and the bow is almost invariably a weapon of the Bhils even to this day. It is argued that probably the term Bhil is derived from a corrupted form of the term Villuvar, a name conferred on these people by the Dravidians who seems to have dominated this area even before the X'ian era.

References are also found in the Vedic literature, to Nishada, a savage people inhabiting the Central Indian forests. A description of their home as given in the Vedic Index, makes it probable that the people referred to are the progenitors of the Bhils.[38] However the tribes inhabiting Central India are so many, and again there has been such continuous migrations in these parts even during the historic period, that these speculations seem to be of little account. The earliest references to the Bhils as such seem to occur for the first time in the Sanskrit work, Kathasarithsagara of Gunadhya, wherein mention is made of a Bhil chief who opposed the passage of another king through

Malwa (A.D. 600).[39]

There are numerous traditions relating to the origin of the Bhil tribe, which appear to be rationalisations of the position of Bhils till some time ago. Sri C.S.Venkatachar mentions one which relates, how a dhobi was enabled to save himself and his sister from the great deluge (pralaya) through the timely warning of a fish. When the God Rama came to know of these so survivors from the deluge, he sent for them and asked them what their mutual relationship was. At first, the dhobi told him the truth. But when asked again and again, his tongue slipped once and he said that she was his wife. Immediately, Rama sent them to repopulate the world. From their incestuous union, came forth seven sons and seven daughters who again intermarried amongst themselves. The eldest boy was a favourite of Rama and was given the gift of a horse, but left it to go into the forest to gather berries and to cut wood. From this woodsman, were descended the modern Bhils who are predominantly foresters even to this day.

Another tale from the same source associates them with the Goddess Parvati, consort of Mahadev, and relates how these foresters once went to visit their kinswoman at the abode of Mahadev. On their return, Mahadev gave them gifts of a silver stool, which they did not see, and his bull Nandi, with an injunction not to miss the wealth in its hump meaning thereby, that it should be put to the plough. But the greedy foresters took him literally and the moment they reached their place, killed the bull to get at the wealth and found only blood and bones. The irate Goddess cursed

them that they and their descendants would never be good cultivators and would always remain poor.[40]

There are numerous traditions indicating their migration from the north-west into Malwa. The Bhils however, never appeared to have had any effective power in the plains, because Malwa was colonised in very early times and in spite of internal political convulsions, the Bhils seem to have been pushed along by the colonising Rajputs and others. According to a tradition of the Jhabua Bhils, there were originally only two clans - Damors and Markryas, which were constantly feuding with each other. A section of the Damors was driven to migrate to Dolka in Kushalgarh (Rajasthan). From these Damors seem to have sprung all the other Bhils. Significantly enough, many other tribes such as the Koli and Ravals also claim to have descended from a scion of what appears to be the same Damor clan with a similar story of migration. Most of the powerful ancestral spirits supplicated by the Bhils, Kolis and most other tribes in the highlands of Central India are traditionally Damors. Hadarjo Kumar is regarded as the greatest of them all and mentioned in songs as a 'great robber (lutero) who looted Malwa six times' to avenge the murder of his father Sidemi by a king of Dhar.[41] It is significant that all the great Bhil heroes are referred to and extolled as robbers. Being a robber, probably means to a Bhil who has ever been fighting against odds with his rapacious neighbours, as being a great hero.

Much of their early history is lost. But we do get occasional references to Bhils in the accounts of the

several chroniclers of Rajasthan and Central India. In the works of the historians Cols.Tod and Malcolm and a host of other writers, incidental references to these people crop up. Some of them are significant. From them it appears that the Bhils have been fighting for their very existence since early times with the land-greedy Rajputs and against the successive waves of Muslim invaders, who swept across Rajasthan from time to time. One of the main consequences of their unequal wars with these peoples, was that they Bhils were driven into the refuge areas of the Central Indian highlands and into the Aravalli belt, where the bulk of them remain to this day. Even there, they have been persued by the Rajputs, who themselves were oppressed by the Muslim invaders, and their wars continued. There were periods of occasional truce however when the Bhils and Rajputs combined against their common ~~an~~ enemy, the Muslims. Again and again they were beaten by the better armed and trained armies of their foes, ruthlessly punished for their temerity and dispossessed of their land sometimes by the Muslims, sometimes by their erstwhile allies the Rajputs, and in later times, by the Mahrattas and the British.

Col.Tod. mentions how the Sisodia dynasty was founded by the boy Goha, later to be famous in history as Bapa Raval. This orphan boy was adopted by the Bhil chief of Idar, who brought him up, got him married and settled him as the head of one of his villages. Later Goha is reported to have treacherously slain his foster-parent and established

himself as the chief of Idar. The same authority cites several instances of Rajput chiefs, flying before the onslaught of the Muslim armies, being received hospitably by the local Bhil chiefs, and then often repaying that hospitality by treachery. Quite a few Rajput houses seem to have been established in this area, in such circumstances.[42]

However these Rajput houses seem to recognise Bhils as the original owners of the land as and as such possessing some mystical rights over it. Each time a new ruler succeeds to the gadi or the throne his ascension is not regarded as valid, until and unless it is ratified by the representatives of the Bhils in the land in this area. This recognition of the prior rights of the Bhils in the land was practiced till very recently, on the occasion of each succession of a Sisodia chief. Tod says "The Bhil land-holders of Oguna and Undri still claim the privilege of performing the tika or anointing ceremony of the new chief. The chief of Oguna makes the mark of sovereignty (rajtilak) -on the ruler's ~~forehead~~ forehead with blood drawn from his own thumb, and then takes him by the arm and seats him on the throne, while the chief of Undri holds the salver of spices and sacred grains of rice used in making the badge."[43] Even the rulers of the Bariya, Lunawada and other Rewakantha states subscribed to this ceremonial of tika from the heads of certain Bhil families supposed to be directly descended from the former Bhil rulers of the area. The Gazetteer mentions one such family of Bhils who lived in Bariya and took a leading part in the triennial festival to the Devgadh Gods.[44]

Towards the end of the 10th century, practically the whole of Rewakantha with the exception of Champaner, was being ruled by a number of Bhil and Koli chieftains. During the eleventh century, infiltration of Rajputs into Rewakantha started as they were driven south under the pressure of Muslim invaders. This infiltration continued right through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By early 14th century, the Rajputs seem to have succeeded in supplanting the local Bhil chiefs by fair means or four, and most part of Rewakantha was being ruled over by chiefs of Rajput or mixed descent. There were only a few powerful Bhil and Bhilala houses at Jambughoda, Mandhata, Silani, etc.

At first the relation between the Bhils and the Rajputs seem to have been friendly enough. Each respected the other and regarded him as of an equal status. Intermarriage was frequent, especially with the Bhil chieftains. When Col. Tod wrote in the Thirties of the last century, the Rajputs were freely taking water from the Bhils. They seem to be continuing to do the same even now. Bhils however, do not seem to interdine with the Rajput, probably because of the latter's custom of eating wild pork.

In any case, there are many legends testifying to the Bhils having been absorbed into the Rajput fold during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the latter were mobilising under the onsalught of the Muslim invaders. Rewakantha came under Muslim domination round about 1480, when Champaner feel fell to Mohammad Begada, and their influence seemed to have persisted till about the middle of

the seventeenth century. About this period, there were some large-scale conversions of Bhils to Islam, especially to the south of Narmada. But the conversion of these Tadvi Bhils seem to have been very largely in name only as in their customs, traditions and general religious attitudes, they hav remained true to the general Tadvi Bhil traditions.

About this time, Bhils seemed to have been restless under the tyrannical rule of numerous rapacious chieftains, and many petty rebellions involving looting and arson occured all over the Bhil country. Armed bands of Bhils were roaming about in the country, looking and pillaging, and came into direct conflict with the local rulers on the one hand and the Marhatta invaders who by 1730 A.D. were in full force in Rewakantha. Major Hendley writing of this period says "that the Bhils specially in the disturbed areas were treated like savage beasts without pity."[45] They seemed to have been wiped out in hundreds in the most ruthless fashion. The result was to make the Bhils get deep into the hills. And from their strongholds, they issued out periodically in large numbers to loot and lay waste the plain country, holding villages and towns to ransom, and driving off their cattle; nor did any travellers pass with impunity through the hills, except in convoys too large to be attacked. By 1800 A.D., during the disturbed period of the wars between Holkar and Sindhia, they became so bold all over the country as to terrorise even the several local chiefteins and extract large indemnities from them.[46]

This disrest and unruliness of the Bhils seem to have

been caused primarily by the weak and misrule of several Rajput chiefs and of the Gaikvads of Baroda, and was perpetuated by the tyranny which was let loose on the Bhils to stem it. The period between 1780 to 1800, saw numerous Bhil uprisings all over the country. The more notable among them was that of M Umed Vasava, a Bhil chief of Sagbara, against the misrule of the imbecilic prince Ajabsing of Rajpipla (1786-1803) in 1793 A.D. Umed Vasava held complete sway over five hills districts of the State, with a strong mercenary force of Bhils and Sindhi Muslims. In the meantime, the British realised the necessity to intervene and took over the administration through an Agent Mr. Willoughby stationed at Baroda. He set about restoring order, by stationing strong forces at several points in the Rewakantha territory. Attempts were made to reclaim the Bhils all over the country, by strong but just government. Amenities were granted to a large number of wandering Bhil bands, provided they undertook to give up their antisocial ways and settled down to cultivation. In 1822, Mr. Willoughby came to terms with the powerful Bhil chiefs Kumar Vasava of Sagbara, who ~~will~~ still controlled a large part of the territory annexed by his father Umed Vasava, and his father-in-law Raising of Rocha both of whom were in open rebellion. By this agreement, the Rajpipla government was to be recognised as the rightful rulers in the area, but the claims of the Bhil chiefs to continue in their own rights under them, was to be conceded. Further Bhils

were to be given grants of land for cultivation, rights in the forest produce and loans for buying seeds and bullocks.

In Khandesh, much was done towards the reclamation of the Bhils who had been driven under similar conditions into living as highway robbers, by Lt.(later Sir James) Outram, who went about persuading the Khandesh Bhils of the undesirability of their ways, granting free pardon to those who were willing to surrender and giving them grants of land for cultivation and advances of seed and bullocks. Further he recruited with great difficulty, a small band of young Bhils to maintain law and order among their people. Gradually, Bhils seemed to have settled down under his persuasive methods. The small band of fighting men developed under him into the famous Khandeshi Bhil corps, which functioned as a very efficient and disciplined fighting body for over sixty years. With the restoration of peace and order in Khandesh, Bhils lost their enthusiasm in being the members of a non-fighting corps, and the corps was finally converted into a Police force in 1891.[47]

In recent times, there have been very few major upraisings of Bhils. During the Mutiny of 1857, when General Tatiatopi's forces were marching towards the Narmada, there were a few small uprisings which were easily put down. More notable among them were the revolts of the Malivads in 1858, remembered and commemorated in the folk songs of the Bhils all over the country for their glorious exploits, and the Naikda uprising of 1868 - a more general uprising in which Bhils from all over the country had taken

part. But they were all put down with great firmness, however tempered by justic. More recently in the 1920 S. there was an attempt at a rebellion by a Bhil regious mendicant Guru Gobind who tried to organise Bhils in open revolt ageinst the Rajput rulers of Santh and Lunawada States. But the rebels were trapped near Kadana, by the combined forces of Alirajpur, Bariya, Santh and Lunawada. The ring leaders were either shot dead or were hanged later. The rest of the rebels were granted a general ~~ee~~ amnesty and dispersed.

Now-a-days, Bhils are a fairly settled people. Under the liberal and sympathetic administration of the late British political agents and under the present national administration, they are settling down in larger numbers to cultivation. They still have the reputation of 'robbers' and 'violent' people among their neighbours - particularly the Bhils of the hills. But it is largely undeserved today.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

(Chapter - I)

1. Figures as given in Ajkal (A Publication of the Central Ministry of Information, New Delhi), June,1952; p.70.

2. Kanta (Gujarati) lit. a bank of a river, but here refers to the area drained by a river. Rewakantha means the drainage of Rewa or Narmada.

3. Bombay Gazetteer (1880),II,p.2.

4. Dharwar rocks represent the earliest sedimentary rocks in India and are represented by slates, marbles with intrusive granites and quarzites. These rocks also known as metamorphosed rocks, are valuable for the precious metal often found sealed in them. The Pavagadh and the Abu rocks belong to this system. cf. Sukheswala, R.N., "Geological evolution of Maha Gujarat", J.G.R.S., X,1.

5. Loc.cit.

6.) & 7.) Bombay Gazetteer, IV; p.1-3

8. Op.cit. p.5-6 cf. also Sukheshwala, p.s.

9. Op.cit. p.7.

10. Sukheswala, p.4.

11. Loc.cit. cf. also M.B.Desai, "Rural Economy of Gujarat" (Bombay), p.5.

12. Op.cit. p.20.

13. Desai H.R., "Forests of Gujarat" Souvenir of the 42nd Session (Baroda) of the Indian Science Congress (1955) pp.166-180.

14. Bombay Gazetteer, IV, p.12.

15. Deshpande, C.D., Western India, p.20.

16. Champion H.G., A Preliminary Survey of Forest Types of Gujarat, p.136.

17. Champion H.G., p.73.

18. Desai, H.R., p. 175-6.

19. Ajkal (New Delhi), p. 105.
State-wise distribution of Bhils for 1951 is not available.

20. For more details, cf. Majumdar D.N., Racial affinities of the Bhils of Gujarat", J.G.R.S., VI, pp.172-86.

21. Venkatachar, C.S., "Notes on Bhils of Central India." Census of India, 1931 (New Delhi), I,Pt.III, p. 278.

22. Sorley, A.J., "Bhils of Central India", (J.As.Soc.Bom.) 1890 (?)

23. Majumder, D.N. & Sen A.R.; Anthropometric Status of the Tribes and Castes of Gujarat, J.G.R.S., XI,3,p.120.

24. Mcfarlane, E.W., "Blood groups among Balahis Bhils, Korkus and Munda Types", J.A.S.B. 7 (1941).

25.)
26) Bose, U., "M Blood groups of the Bhils", Bul.Dept.of
&) Anthropology, I,Pt.1,1952.,pp.14-18.
27)

28. Greirson, "Linguistic Survey of India", I,p.178-9.

29. Dave, T.N.,"A Linguistic Survey of the Borderlands of Gujarat", J.G.R.S., IX,3.

30 & 31) Dave, T.N., "Ahirs of Khandesh and their language", by K.P.Kulkarni (A review), Loc.cit.

32. Radcliffe-Brown,A.R., "Introduction to African systems of Kinship and Marriage,"(Oxford), p.13.

33. This exogamous restriction is applicable only where genealogical evidences are available. Even then it is not operative beyond seven generations.

34. Professor M.N.Srinivas suggests that this might well be a bilateral descent system as among the Yako of C. Africa. But sufficient data is not available to test this hypothesis here. It will be kept in view during the next fieldwork among them.

35. Russel, R.V. and Hiralal, "Tribes and Castes of Central India", IV, p.278.

36. Venkatachar, C.S., "Ethnographic Notes on Bhils of Central India", Census of India,1931, XX,Pt.1,p.239. also Majmundar, D.N.,p.2.

37. Cambridge History of India, I, p.595.

38. Vedic Index,ii Nishada, (cf.also the footnote to the word)

39. Enthoven, R.E., Tribes and Castes of Bombay, I, article on Bhils.

40. Venkatachar, C.S. op.cit., p.239.

41. Op.cit., p.239, 257. The song of the Damors. There are several variants of this account, which however, agree on main points. Properly collected and compiled, these songs should provide valuable source material for historians of the area.

42. Tod,J. Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, (Crooke's edition, Oxford, 1920) I, pp.184-86.

43. Op.cit., p.186.

44. Bombay Gazetteer (1880),VI,p.117 (foot note)

45. Hendley, Major R.S., 'An Account of the Bhils', J.A.S.B.,1875,p.369.

46. Simcox, Col.A.H.A., The History of the Khandeshi Bhil Corps, p.36.

47. Op.cit., p.71.