

(B) THE MATERIAL CULTURE

The material culture is the product of man's efforts to adjust to and modify the physical environment. He makes houses, prepares food, - procures it by means of weapons and instruments. Defense, feeding, movement in space all physiological and spiritual needs are satisfied indirectly by means of artifacts. The material culture includes personal and domestic equipments, instruments, weapons and technical devices which man has invented to meet his needs for survival. This chapter VI describes in detail the structure of a Dangi village, the types of houses built by the Dangis, their dress and ornaments, food and drinks, instruments for fishing, hunting, and agriculture, weapons, domestic equipments and daily life.

Bose N. K. (1). observes that 'the material traits of any civilization are not merely simple and direct adaptations to the physical environment, there is something else which modifies the nature of direct adaptation! The material products and patterns are not culturally meaningful unless have become ceremonial. That is, the production and management of these articles is backed by some definite beliefs, sentiments and rituals. "Man's attitude towards them is a function of their reality as culturally defined, not in terms of their more physical existence. Thus, to treat the physical environment in which a people lives, independently of the meaning that its multiform objects have for that people, involves a fundamental psychological distortion". (2).

This material aspect of culture refers to the overt patterns which are subject to direct observation. Hence, from their observation and analysis conclusions can be drawn about the covert patterns. i.e. the thought systems.

(1) Bose N. K. - Cultural Anthropology. p. 12 - Bombay Asia . 1961.

(2) Hallowell A. I. - Psychological Leads for Ethnological Field workers in Brand H. (ed). The Study of - Personality p. 278. N.Y. John Wiley. 1954.

CHAPTER VI
THE DANGI SETTLEMENT
(The Material Culture)

I. THE SITE AND LOCATION
OF THE VILLAGE

A village in the Dangs is situated only in the protected forest area. There are no hard and fast considerations in choosing a village site. Water scarcity is the greatest trouble of a Dangi village. So most of the villages in the Dangs are built up on the banks of ^{the} rivers, the Purna, the Khapri, the Gira and the Ambika. In some of the villages built on plains, water facilities are provided by wells. A few villages are situated on small hills around which there are no proper facilities for water or enough plain land for cultivation. Silotmal, Kirli, Vaghmal, Iskhandi are such villages where the villagers have to go a long distance down to get water. Many of the wells get dried up for a month or so in summer.

Yet a Dangi would not think of changing the village simply for the reasons of ^{the} troubles of water. He says, 'I was born here, my father was born here. It is my village, my home'.

On all sides of the village are found pieces of land, not exactly plain but only very gentle in slope with a few trees here and there. They are owned by the villagers and used for cultivation. Even an empty piece of land behind the hut is also used for cultivation. Sometimes a man's fields are two or three miles away from the village.

On the approach to the village are found ^{the} ~~grass~~ ^{& grass} bundles tied to the trees on the road which show the boundary of the village. On the outskirts of the village there ~~will be~~ shrines of the Gods like Wagh, Sarap, Hanuman, Mavli, etc. In some places we find a commemoration in stones raised in memory of an illustrious forefather.

The villages are not very far from each other. ^{They are} ~~only~~ at a distance of a mile or two, or on the opposite sides of the river bank or on the two

sides of a small hill or one village^{is} on the top and the other in the valley.

II. THE STRUCTURE OF A VILLAGE

There is no systematic planning in building a village. The houses are spread over a small piece of land individually or in groups of three to four. A cluster of houses is, however, not infrequent. Around a big tree with a grand canopy three or four houses are built. It does not necessarily mean that the entrances of these houses are inward and facing the tree. The physical vicinity of the houses does not mean nor does lead to emotional affinity.

The number of ^{the} houses in a village varies from fifteen to seventy-five. Manchhubai of Kalibel said, "Generally the population in a village is mixed of all the tribes. But a Kunbi prefers a Kunbi as a neighbour. A Bhil family is not so much accepted as a Warli family, in the Kunbi group". The proportionate strength of the families of different tribes like the Kunbi, the Bhil and the Warli generally in a village is 6:2:1.

The Dangi has settled down as a permanent resident in a village only recently. Formerly, the Dangi was used to move from one place to another in search of a virgin land for cultivation. But now the land survey is being done, and hence one who cultivated a piece of land has become the owner of it.

I asked, "Is a Dangi now permanently settled in a particular village or leaves his home on one ground or the other"? My informant replied, "There are many reasons for leaving a village. Whenever an inhabitant feels that his cattle become a prey to a disease, or the member of the family has been a victim of an evil eye, or falling frequently ill, he decides to leave the moorings and settle on a new site. Sometimes a serious quarrel with the village people makes a man to migrate to another village. In case of death of both the parents the orphan seeks the help of his relatives and goes to his relative's village". For example, I do not know where I was born. I was brought up in one village and am settled here in Kirli".

III. THE STRUCTURE OF A HOUSE

No Dangi house is built of brick and mortar. It is prepared only from the local products like teak, bamboos, stones, leaves, etc. There are three kinds of house structures found in the Dangs, a hut, a kachha structure with a roof and a housing society building.

The nomadic Dangi does not take any care in the selection of ^{the} house-site, except that it is near a tree and the ground is not a steep slope. The middle pillar is ceremonially erected before erecting the other pillars. On the upper side of the entrance door kumkum marks are made and a betel nut, a red thread and a string of bamboo leaves are tied there. I saw a new structure in ^{the} village Kasad near Kalibel where a tail of an animal hunt was thus hung. The house owner said, it was for decoration and an object of divination.

A few of the houses structures are ^{the} huts of different sizes. A hut ~~of the house~~ is a rectangular or circular building raised a feet or a half off the ground. The roof is conical if the hut is

circular, it is triangular if the hut is rectangular. The sides are not very high and doors very short, such that while entering one has to bend low.

The central pillar is about eight feet high. The other pillars are erected at a distance of five to ten feet in the manner as the hut is of a circular or rectangular shape. The roof rises at an inclination of 45 degrees from the pillars. The walls of the hut are prepared separately on the ground. Two long bamboos are placed (horizontal and parallel) on the ground. Across these bamboos the thin sticks which are the stems of plants are spread. These sticks are tied to the bamboos with weeds and creepers, and plastered with cow dung. This wall is erected along side the pillars and tied to them. The roof is thatched with the bundles of sag leaves. Some weights like the logs of wood are put on the leaves, so that they are not drawn away with the wind.

The second type of structure is more common and popular also. It is a rectangular structure of a sufficiently big size, which varies from 15' X 25' to 15' X 45' square feet.

The central pillar is called Dhāran.

On both the sides of this pillar breadthwise two pillars of ^{the} same height are erected. They are called Dandās. On these three pillars rest a big horizontal teak trunk called Aād. On both the sides of sides of the Dhāran lengthwise are erected two or three pillars of proportionately decreasing height, making two parallel lines of a rectangle. On the two vertical sides of this rectangle are erected pillars at a proportionate distance. These are also pandās. The four sides of the house are covered with a mat prepared by knitting the bamboo strips. The mat is tied to the pillars and plastered with cow dung. Such bamboo walls are called Khapēdo.

Parallel to the Aād, at some distance from it on both the sides lowering at an inclination of 45 degrees is put one pillar on both the sides. It is called 'āvalvali'. Still at some distance from āvalvali on both the sides is put one pillar called 'kutwali'. For preparing a roof the bamboo strips are fixed lengthwise and breadthwise on the 'walis'. On this network of strips the earthen tiles are arranged, or it is covered with sag leaves.

The floor usually made of metal stones is covered with cow dung. Some more careful Dangis beat the ground to evenness. All the walls are blind. There are no windows or doors except a front door.

The inner structure of the house is not very intricate. More than one third of the space is occupied as a cattle shed. The remaining portion is divided into one or two rooms and a passage in the centre^e in line with the door. The room is the kitchen and separated from the passage by erecting a wall of khapedo. The cattle shed is separated from the passage by raising a fence.

The verandah is invariably a part of the house. It is generally open but can be converted into a three side closed room by covering it with khapedo. In front of every house there is a hollow skeleton called 'mālā' raised eight to ten feet above the ground. It is used for storing hay over it, and also is used as a shed for cattle and other things like cart etc.

In a Dangi house there are no separate apartments like a kitchen, a drawing room, a sleeping room etc. There is no separate apartment for women. In normal life the verandah is the resting place, a drawing room for the guests, and a sleeping room in summer. If there are two couples in the family, one sleeps in the kitchen and the other sleeps outside with their respective children.

IV. ARTICLES OF THE HOUSEHOLD

The kitchen is used as a store room as well. In one corner of the kitchen is found a three side structure of earth or stone used as a hearth. Because of constant use its colour is black with suit and some ash is always lying in it. Two or three feet over the hearth is a shelf on which necessary articles for cooking purposes are arranged. A few utensils are lying near, and a bottle of oil is hanging on a nail. Somewhat away from the hearth is a raised platform or a small tripod on which water vessels are put. The earthen pots as well as vessels made of brass, copper, alluminium are used for cooking and storage of water. The vessel for drinking water

is covered with a wooden disc. A small gourd is placed nearby which is used to take water from the vessel.

In the kitchen of an ordinary family are found two big cooking vessels, two metal dishes, three thin metal lids, one dish for kneading flour, two earthen dishes for baking cakes, one wooden spoon, one flat iron spoon, one brass pot of big size, one pot of small size. In the passage in one corner are lying one hand mill, one mortar stone. On the wall there are a flute and an oil container made of bamboo. In the cattle shed, one may find vessels like a bucket, a shallow iron vessel and implements of agriculture and fishing. In the verandah is lying one cot, on the wall is hanging an axe, and on the pillar one can find a 'dholak'.

A plough, an axe, a sickle, a weeder, a goad, a shovel, a crow bar, ropes etc. are the main agricultural implements. A pair of bullocks is required in using the traditional big plough. Some use a small hand drawn wooden plough also. Some families own a cart also.

V. WEAPONS

Their weapons are the arrows and a bow.

A bow is made of a bamboo strip and a string which is a thin bamboo strip is tied to its both ends, with threads or hide. An arrow is made of a small bamboo stick, at one end of which is tightly fixed up a flat thin pointed iron plate, and at the other end are tied some feathers. The purpose of this is to guide the flight of the arrow correctly. When shot from the bow, the arrow darts from the bow with the speed proportionate to how the length of the string of the bow is stretched, and deeply pierces through the body of the hunt. The arrow strips are sometimes specially prepared and made poisonous. To kill the small birds arrows with the iron plate are prepared by making the end of the bamboo sticks rounded.

Now-a-days some Dangis are given licence for the use of rifles. The rifles firing only catridges and not bullets are allowed to them. The Dangis are accurate bowmen and good shots.

A 'Galol' is a handy thing used by young boys in shooting the birds. It is made of two rubber strips joined to a small leather piece which are tied to a forked piece of wood. A pebble is put in the leather piece, and the rubber strips are stretched and released at once. The pebble is then flung far.

VI. INSTRUMENTS FOR FISHING

An iron hook tied with a string is a common implement used by the Dangis to catch the fish. They use another instrument called 'Darbhang'. It is a three feet long, pointed bambook stick. It is pierced through the fish and the fish is caught. 'Madi' is another bambook-made instrument. It is one and a half feet long and has circular base. The other end of it is like a funnel so that when it is put in the river the fish which go into it cannot come out. The fishes get caught into it.

The Dangis make a number of bamboo articles for their use. They prepare mats, baskets, walls, grain containers, jars, cages for preserving

chickens etc. They make baskets of numerous types, which vary in size, strength, shape and use. One woman from Bhujad prepared a cage of a parrot for me. I saw the indigenous chairs and cots. Instead of the cotton strips for the cot, they use a big thick bamboo mat. Every Dangli man and woman knows how to knit and prepare articles for household use.

VII. PRESERVATION OF CORN

The Dangis prepare a raised platform on which the jars prepared by twinning thin strips of bamboo are put or they fix the jars in the floor by applying earth and cow dung. The whole inner surface of the jar is covered with the sag leaves and then the jar is filled with corn to its maximum capacity. Then the mouth of the jar is covered tightly with the sag leaves and mixtures of cow dung, and earth is pasted over it. The principle in this method is that air should not be allowed to go inside.

VIII. DAILY LIFE

The day begins with the crowing of the cock in the early morning, but the life in the village

is still upto 5-30 or 6-00 A.M. The daily life of a Dangi is not so much full of variety and colour as that of a city dwelling individual. But it is a busy life. The whole day's work is tiresome and night brings an end to it. "What is our life?", said Kolgyabhai, "From morning to evening we have to work hard, in heat, cold or rains. And what is the return of our labour? Just a bare living. We live in the huts, eat Nagli and dal, put on a langoti and pass out days".

Both the man and the woman in the house get up at 6-00 hours. The first task of the woman is to grind some 'Nagli' or 'Banti' and ^{then she} prepare the bhakars for breakfast. The man first goes to the cattle shed, prepares the cattle for taking them out, performs morning duties, takes breakfast, carries his small axe and goes out to the fields at about 7-30 hrs. Meanwhile, the children get up. They perform the morning duties, take breakfast and are free to play. A grown up boy either helps the father or is asked to take away the cattle for grazing, if the village has no cow-herd boy. The

woman's next task is to clean the cattle shed, and the house, and go to fetch water. The morning scene of one woman following the other on a narrow footpath, with one pitcher on the head and the other in the hand, their fadakis moving to and fro with their movement is a pleasant sight. Preparation of the meals occupies some time in the morning hours. A grown up girl child helps the mother in household work and cooking. Sometimes the mother making her responsible for cooking and looking after young siblings, goes to the fields to help the husband.

There is an afternoon break of three hours from 12-30 to 15-30 hours. The family takes its meals and rest. The afternoon two hours are noiseless and hours of rest. Not a single child is seen moving outside. I had to be particular to see and meet the people between 13-00 and 15-00 hours. For the males are invariably out for work after that. The females are busy with household activities, cooking, fetching water and collecting fire woods. In summer and monsoon days the Dangi's main activities are felling of ^{the} branches of the trees

and agriculture. In winter, he is more confined to activities of labour.

In ^{the} evening about 19-00 hours men and cattle are seen coming back home. The men put their implements in their proper places, clean themselves and relax. The female of the house feeds the cattle, and they are closed in the cattle shed. The members of the family sit around the fire in the verandah and talk with each other till the meals are ready. After supper the neighbouring males gather together and talk and discuss about someone's family trouble, some village problem or a government order. Some enthusiastic youths take up a drum and a pipe and begin to play upon them. Within a few minutes the children and the youths gather, dancing and merry making begin. The village life generally ceases ^{by} ~~to~~ 22-00 hours and the whole village then is asleep.

Some nights in a month and festival nights are invariably dancing nights. On such days the whole village joins the dances, stages the performance, or play a Tamashah which continues till very late at night.

Once in a week the Dangis observe a 'no work day' a holiday from work. Generally it is Tuesday. It is called 'Kar pakadvo', 'to hold the hand'. On such a day people go out for devpunja, or have a programme of fishing and bathing. The villagers meet and discuss, and solve the problems of the village on such days. If a government officer is to visit the place, a holiday is observed.

IX. PERSONAL APPEARANCE

A Dangi can at once be differentiated from a non-Dangi by his appearance and dress. There are no prominent physical features by which a Bhil, or a Kunbi or a Warli can be distinguished from one another.

Most of the Dangis have a slim stature, 5 ft. 4 in. to 5 ft. 6 in. in height. The skin colour is from dark brown to nearly black. The Kunbis are generally fairer than others. Among the Bhils fair skin is not an exception. The Raja of Gharvi and his three months daughter were as fair as to be described as 'Ujla' (White). The Warlis

have a dark sunburnt skin. White or brown skin is very rare among them. Exposure to sun and rain makes many appear dark-skinned. The Dangis have a scanty growth of hair on the body especially on the chest. They have no hair on the hands and legs on account of constant hard work.

The Dangi has an attractive shining face, long head, nose broad with some tendency to flatness, but depressed at the foot, wavy hair, deep and small eyes, and fleshy averted lips. The Bhil face has a tendency of being oval and cheeks fleshy, while in the Kunbi the face is somewhat small and cheek bones are somewhat prominent. Dr. B.C. Guha puts the tribals of Western India in the proto-austroloid group.

The Dangi women are of moderate height and gracefully built. Some women I saw were quite fair in complexion, slim with attractive features and pleasant to talk to. The Dangi women are seldom fat or plump. Much of their grace and beauty is lost because of lack of proper care.

The Dangi children, boys and girls lose most of the charm of appearance because of their slovenly habits, indifference to make up and neglect of hygiene.

Yet a Dangi has a fairly well built body, slender, slim, and straight physique with proportionate limbs. His capacity for hard work and endurance are worth praising. Walking down a distance of twenty miles at a stretch or climbing up a steep hill are not unusual and difficult to him.

X. DRESS

The paraphernalia of a Dangi consists of three four articles and is practically the same in all seasons. It is not very costly or grand in appearance.

A Dangi male dress consists of a waist cloth, a shirt or a bandi (a sleeveless, collarless coat) and a turban. This is the poor man's minimum dress. The waist cloth called a 'langoti' just covers the genital organ, and is fixed by two ends to a string around the abdomen. Some use a

very big piece of cloth which is tied in a manner of a short [^]dhoti. The turban is a dress of dignity. It is an important part of the apparel. A man may not put on a shirt but he must have a headwear. The turban has many purposes to perform. While sitting on the ground it can be used as a seat. It serves the purpose of a towel, a kerchief, a cover for the body while sleeping, and a weight support on the head. Modern fashions are penetrating to these places also, hence shorts and payjamas are not uncommon. With many a people turban has been replaced by a cap, mainly white. A Dangi male child for a good many years goes without dress in his early childhood.

A Dangi woman's outfit consists of a loin cloth, a blouse and a head cover. The woman's loin cloth is a five yard saree. It is tied under the navel and stretched up to the knees. The Dangi woman's method of tying the saree is exactly similar to that of a Dubla woman. The difference is that for a Dubla woman a single piece serves the purpose of a loin cloth as well as a head cover, while the Dangi woman uses two pieces.

The blouse is quite 'modern' in fashion. Its cut is such that the portion of the waist and belly remains uncovered. Before a few years, the Dangi women used a piece of cloth instead of a blouse. A piece of cloth wrapped around the breasts was tied at the back with strings on two ends.

"The putting of a head dress by a girl", said Amsubai, the wife of my informant Kolgyabhai, "marks her transition from childhood to adolescence. Only the girls in maturity and women put on the head dress. It is a two yard piece of cloth kept over the head with one end hanging in front over the left shoulder. While working it is tied over the head along with the strings of hair from the centre. The young girls put on a frock or a skirt and a blouse".

The dhoti and the shirt are white in colour, the bandi is black. The turban is either white or red. Only the Bhils use red turban. Bright red and green, sometimes yellow and other colours also are popular with ^{the} ladies.

Chappals as a foot-wear are necessary in this hot and stony land. Chappals are the indigenous product made of leather. They are used only while going out.

XI. ORNAMENTS

The Dangis are fond of personal adornment. Both men and women invariably wear silver earrings and rings on the fingers of ^{the} hands and feet. As it is common everywhere here also women are fond of ornaments. There are different kinds of ornaments practically for all the parts of the body.

The ornament of the head consists of two strings made from alloy. It is put on in a triangular fashion, such as the two hooks are fixed together in hair in the centre of the head, and the two strings are taken sideways to the two ears. The hair coil over the neck is decorated with a leaf shape ornament. The ear ornaments are of two types, hanging ornament - earrings called 'Zalar' and simple earrings called 'Kap'. The nose ornament called 'Nath' is made of silver. On the neck they

put on a bunch of silver strings called 'Sari' or a necklace made of rupee coins. Only ^{the} married women put on a neck ornament called 'Ganthi'. 'Peli' and 'Kadu' made of alloy are respectively the upper arm and lower arm ornaments. The bracelets of silver are the ornaments for feet.

The male ornaments are very few. Every male puts on simple earrings called 'Kadi' or an earring with a string called 'Chokhadi'. It is made of silver. The buttons of the shirt when made of silver have also an ornamental value. 'Kadu' is an upper arm ornament of a Dangi man. The most costly ornament which a Dangi puts on is an abdomen string called 'Kandora'. It is made of silver or alloy weighing at least 25 tolas.

The children would be naked or only barely clad but invariably have the simple earrings.

The Dangi woman like other forest tribes women heavily decorates her neck. One reason for it can be this, that the ornaments act as a wall between the neck and the animal's paw when the tiger or the

panther jumps and attempts to catch her by the neck. The nails do not go so deep as they would in the naked neck.

XII. FOOD AND DRINKS

The Dangis being pre-eminently agricultural people their main diet is what they produce in their fields. Preparations of Nagli, Banti, Varai, Bhat (Rice), pulses like Tur, Adad, etc. are the items of their food. Nagli is the staple food of the Dangis. Rice and pulse are substitutes. The Dangis observe three meals a day. A breakfast in the morning consists of a piece of nagli bread and 'Bhujiya', a preparation like pickle. In the afternoon meal at 13-00 hours nagli bread and liquid preparation of tur are important items of the menu. The evening supper at 19-00 hours consists of rice and tur dal. The Dangis are poor and cannot afford a full dish. Daily use of rice is a luxury to them. In the days of scarcity many poor families subsist only on the liquid preparation of rice, called 'Rabz'. A spoonfull of salt added to rab makes it a tasteful dish.

Bhujiya is an 'adad' preparation. Adad is first fried and then ground. This floor can be preserved for a long time. For use, a fistful of floor is put in a small vessel with necessary quantity of water. It is kneaded, salt, red chillie powder are added according to one's taste. It serves the purpose of a substitute for dal or vegetable.

Use of oil is not unknown to them. Khurasani, a winter crop is a kind of oil-seed. Oil is produced by squeezing the oil-seeds in the cottage oil mills.

Every Dangi family maintains a poultry of a few chickens. A chicken or a fowl dish is prepared only on a festival day. Commonly it is cooked in salt-water. To make it more tasteful it is cooked in oil, and when available spices are added to it. Eggs are not their daily food.

The Dangis are meat eaters. ~~The~~ Goats and fowls are offered to the Gods on certain ceremonies. Hence, the days of ceremony or festivals are the

days of ^efasting. The Dangis are hunters, and kill and eat the animals like rabbit, bhekhar, sabar etc. Fish is also cooked when available. More popular is 'Bumla' fish. They never use milk or curds in any form.

The use of onions, potato^es, brinjal, is not unknown to them, but the use is only occasional. The fruits like mangoes, pumpum, mohura flowers are collected and utilised.

The days in the beginning of monsoon are the days of scarcity of corn. So the Dangis search out some vegetable roots like Alukand, Vajkand, Rajulu and Bender Kola and use them. Vajkand has sophoric qualities. The roots are poisonous and bitter in taste. They are made eatable by a special treatment. The root is cut into very small pieces, then tied into a piece of cloth ~~that~~ is put into the flowing water for about twenty four hours. Hence, the poisonous and bitter tastes are washed off. Some salt is added to it and it becomes eatable.

The Dangis used to drink liquor or taddy sold at the [in]censee's shop whenever available. After prohibition the use of liquor has decreased to a considerable extent. The majority of the people today observe prohibition laws. Of course, ^{the cases} of illicit distillation and violation of prohibition ^{are} ~~is~~ not very uncommon. From religious ceremonies the use of liquor is dropped out. Tea is taking place of liquor in some rich families. But it is not an everyday drink. It is served only to the guests and always taken without milk. Smoking tobacco is common to all ^{the} grown ups.

XIII. THE DANGI CALENDAR^A

The Dangi seasons are hiyalo (winter), Unalo (summer) and pahus (monsoon). There are twelve months in a year and seven days of a week. The names of ^{the} twelve months of ^{the} Dangi ^{calendar} are given on the next page.

Sr. No.	Dangi Name	Hindu Months	Christian Months
1.	Diwali	Kartik	October-November
2.	Magsar	Mrigshirsha	November-December
3.	Push-Sankrant	Posh	December-January
4.	Panchem-Satem	Maha	January-February
5.	Simgan (Holi)	Falgun	February-March
6.	Jatra	Chaitra	March-April
7.	Akhatij	Vaishakha	April-May
8.	Jeth	Jeth	May-June
9.	Akhad	Ashadha	June-July
10.	Savan	Shravan	July-August
11.	Bhadjyo	Bhadrapada	August-September
12.	Dashra	Ashwin	September-October

A common Dangi does not remember the names of all the months. It is significant that the month is known by an important festival or fair which falls in that particular month. The Dangi is not particular as to when a month begins or ends.

There are seven days of a week. They are as under.

Itwar	-	Sunday
Somwar	-	Monday
Mangalwar	-	Tuesday
Budhawar	-	Wednesday
Bhestarwar	-	Thursday
Shukarwar	-	Friday
Sanichar	-	Saturday

The Dangis have no knowledge of the movement of the earth and the moon, but they are aware of the phenomenon of day and night, and explain it in their own way.

From the position of the Sun and the Moon in the sky they can calculate the time and hour of the day or night. The judgment is more correct at day time than that at night. They have no knowledge of making use of the pole star in recognising the directions. They neither know of Nakshatras nor about Grahas (planets). They only know of Rohini nakshatra, that when Rohini sets in, the monsoon

season has set. In 'Rohini' the dark clouds full of water are seen floating in the sky.

XIV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter on the material culture of the Dangis describes the structure of a Dangi village, a Dangi house and the personal and domestic equipments of a Dangi family. As the Dangs is a hilly country the villages are scattered and scantily populated. A Dangi lives in a hut. His domestic equipments consist of a few vessels, implements for agriculture, for fishing and hunting. His dress is meagre. The Dangi man and woman both are fond of ornaments.

The Dangis' life is hard and have to work under odd conditions. Their field of experience and activities is limited and are in much less contact with other villages and the outside world. The Dangi calender is formed of three seasons and twelve months in a year, and seven days of a week.

This survey of the personal and domestic equipments, instruments, implements and weapons shows how a Dangi makes efforts to adjust to the physical environment. He has developed the technical skill, to produce and make use of the material objects like the fishing instruments, the preparations of bamboos etc. The use of the material objects is backed by certain beliefs and social values. For example, a grown up Dangi man should be a good bowman, should know how to plough a field, should be able to play on a Dholak and Kahalya. A grown up Dangi girl should be an expert in making articles of bamboo, should be an expert cook. This material culture, the habits of food and drink, dress, ornaments and mode of living leave a permanent and indelible mark on the personality of a Dangi. An individual whose mode of living is different is treated as a non-Dangi. One Dangi said to me, "A Dangi boy who does not eat meat, does not go for fishing, does not know dancing, does not live like us, is not a real Dangi man. I would not marry my daughter to him. Similarly a Dangi girl who does not put on

a dress of our fashion, who devotes much time in toileting and who does not work hard is not a real Dangi girl. I would not accept her as a wife for my son".