The Bhils, one of the three largest scheduled tribes in India were (and still are) scattered over a wide area from Aravalli range of hills in north to Danga in the south and in the east upto the forests of Bhopal in Madhya Pradesh, the whole region lying between the latitude of 20° - 25° north and the longitude of 75° - 75°.1 Thus Bhil population was spread over the central uplands of Indian peninsula, the bulk of it being in the region covered by forest clad mountain trinity of the Vindhyas, the Sahyadris and the Satpudas.2

The original home of the Bhils according to Erthoven is the hilly country between Abu and Asirgarh, from which they have spread westward and southward into plains of Gujarat and Northern Deccan, and lately under pressure of famine, even to Sind.3 The Bhils, according to Erskine are among the oldest inhabitants of the country and are said to have entered India from the north and north-east several hundred years before the Christian era, and to have been driven to their present fastness at the time of Hindu invasion.4 Sir John Malcolm is of the opinion that the country northwest of Malwa was the original stronghold of the Bhils from which they were gradually ousted and pushed towards the hilly tracts and the country where they are found at the present day.5 His theory as to the original stronghold of Bhils is found in the yearly visits of Charans and Bhats of Udaipur to South.6 They are the priests of the leading Bhilala
families and besides performing their ceremonies, prepare for them their genealogical trees.\(^7\)

According to Colonel Tod the earliest people of Mewar were Bhils.\(^9\) In Gujrat, according to local legend, the Bhils held Abu, Dholka, and Champaner.\(^9\) As late as the close of the 11th century Asaval, the site of the modern Ahmedabad, was in the Bhils’ hands, and it was only when forced south by the Musalmans (1000-1400 AD) that the Rajputs drove the Bhils out of Idar, Rajpipla, Mandir, Bansda and Dharampur.\(^10\)

Prior to the conquest of Rajputana by the Rajputs, the Bhils held the greater part of the southern half of the province. Many of the princely states, such as Jodhpur, Udaipur, Banswara, Dungarpur, Kota and Deolia are all believed to have been named after the Bhil Chieftains who formerly ruled over them. The Rajputs met stiff opposition before they wrested these states from the Bhil Chiefs.\(^11\) T B Naik also shares the view that the Bhils seem to be the oldest inhabitants of Rajputana and Gujrat.\(^12\) The 1872 census returns show that chief strength of the Bhils was in South-west Rajputana. In Kusalgad the people were almost exclusively Bhils. In Banswara the bulk of the people were Bhils. In Mewar there were 2000,000 Bhils and in Dungarpur their number was 10,000.\(^13\) Bhils were also in
considerable strength in Ajmer and Jaisalmer. In Bereli and Banda of the then North west provinces there were some Bhils.\footnote{14}

In many of the Rajputana, Malwa and Gujrat states, when a Rajput chief succeeded, his brow was marked by blood taken from the thumb or the toe of a Bhil. This was known as 'Tika'.\footnote{15} Thus the Rajputs had much more connections with the Bhils than any other Hindu castes.\footnote{16} Enthoven states that many Rajputs intermarried with the Bhils. Thus both by amalgamation and conquest the Rajputs gained a great ascendancy over the Bhils.\footnote{17} From this connection rose the Bhilalas tracing their descent from the marriage of a Rajput with a Bhil woman.\footnote{18} He further remarks that there is no doubt that there was much admixture between these two races, but the leading families of Rajputs were careful to keep their descent - at least nominally - pure by means of genealogical trees which were kept for them by the Charans and Bhots.\footnote{19}

According to Colonel Tod around 6th century AD the state of Vallabhi in Kathiawar in Western India fell before the Barbarian Hun invaders, and the King Siladitya of the dynasty of Ram of the famous Sunclan was killed in the course of battle. His queen, who was pregnant at that time, managed to escape, and after some time
gave birth to a son. She handed over her son to a Brahman woman and killed herself by voluntarily jumping into fire in Rajput tradition. The child Goha (born in a Goha - cave) grew in the state of Idur, in southern Rajputana, which was being ruled at that time by a Bhil chief, Mandalica. Goha's childhood was spent in playing with the Bhil children. Colonel Tod further relates how Goha, the aponymous ancestor of the Sisodia Rajput took the State of Idar in Gujrat from a Bhil. The young Goha frequented the forests in company with the Bhils whose habits were better assimilated with his daring nature than those of the Brahmins. He became a favourite with these Vana - putras, or forest sons, who assigned him Idar with its woods and mountains. The Bhils determined in sport to elect a king, their choice fell on Goha and one of the young savages cutting his finger applied the blood as the mark of sovereignty to his forehead. What was done in sport was confirmed by the old forest chief. The sequent fixed on Goha the stain of ingratitude for he slew his benefactor and no motive is assigned in the legend for the deed.

The legend is of course a euphemism for the fact that the Rajputs conquered and dispossessed the Bhils of Idar (as of other places). But it is interesting as an
indicator that they did not consider themselves to derive proper title to the land merely from the conquest but wished also to show that it passed to them by the free consent of the Bhils. The reason may be that the Rajputs considered the gods of Bhils to be the tutelary guardians and owners of the land whom they must consult before they could hope to enjoy it in quiet and prosperity. This token of devotion of land from its previous holders, the Bhils, was till recently repeated on the occasion of each succession of a Sisodia Chief. The Bhil land holders of Oguna and Undri claimed the privilege of performing tika for them. The former used to make the mark of sovereignty on the Chief's head with blood drawn from his own thumb and then take the chief by the arm and put him on the throne, the later held the salver of spices and sacred grains of rice used in making the mark.

James M Campbell commented on the Tika ceremony in 1880 that 'The Rajputs say that this blood mark is a sign of Bhil allegiance; but it seems to be a relic of Bhil power. The Bhils are always keen to keep the practice alive. The right of giving the blood is claimed by certain families, and the belief that man from whose veins it flows dies within a year fails to damp their zeal for the usage. The Rajputs on the other hand, would gladly let the
practice die. This they say is due to their shrinking from impure Bhil blood. But the true ground of this dislike is that the ceremony reminds them of the shortness of their rule and of the need of sanction by their lowest subjects. The descendants of Goha according to Colonel Tod reigned for eight generations in the mountainous southern region. The Bhils, tired of the alien rule, assassinated the eighth prince, Nagaditya, when he was out for hunting. Infant Bappa, son of Nagaditya, then only three years old was conveyed to the fortress by a Bhil. He was later on coronated by Bab Dewa Bhil by the tika ceremony. This practice was continued by descendants of Bab Dewa for generations and was abandoned finally only when the cost of the ceremony became prohibitive.

There is no recording of events relating to the Bhils for a long time, till Rana Pratap's emergence on the scene of Mewar in 1572. There was a long drawn battle against Akbar and Rana Pratap could not have fought it but for the support of the Bhils who displayed excellent skill in Guerilla warfare. This association proved the decisive factor in his struggle against the superior foe. The Bhils were rewarded and honoured by Rana Pratap for their services with grants of many free holdings of land
and their association was symbolized in the royal crest of Mewar which showed a Bhil and a Rajput standing on either side of a sun. A systematic history of the Bhil tribe is not available, and only stray references are found here and there about these people. By putting bits and parts together J K Doshi traces the following historical development of the Bhills of Rajasthan:

1. Presence of the Bhil kingdoms particularly in the southern half of the province of Rajputana about 1300 to 1500 years ago.
2. Unseating of the Bhils and annexation of the Bhil kingdoms by the Rajputs.
3. The Bhil's removal to deeper gorges of Aravalli hills and the casual unpredictable relationship between the Rajputs and the Bhils.
4. Oppression of the Bhils by the Rajput kings by way of high taxation, by the imposition, forced labour and so on.
5. The Bhils as plunderers, thieves and lawbreakers; the problem of lawlessness caused by inefficient, weak and the corrupt administration of the Rajput kings; the arrival of the British on the scene.
6. The Bhils as settled agriculturists.
The position of the Bhils as the oldest inhabitants of the country was also recognised by their employment in the capacity of village watchman. A watchman must know the village boundaries and keep watch and ward over them and it was supposed that the oldest class of resident would know them best. They worked in the office of Manker, the superior village watchman in Nimar and also in Berar. Grant Duff states that the Ramosi and Bhil people were employed as village guards by the Marathas.

The Rajputs at first seem to have treated the Bhils leniently. Inter-marriages were frequent, specially with the families of Bhil chiefs. A new caste called Bhilala had thus arisen composed of the descendants of mixed Rajputs and Bhil marriages. Children of a Rajput by a Bhil wife were recognised as Rajputs. When Colonel Tod wrote, Rajputs would still take food with the Ujala Bhils or those of pure oboriginal descent and all other castes also would take water from them. But as Hinduism became more orthodox in Rajsthan, the Bhils sank to the position of outcastes. The term 'Bhil' according to Wilson is derived from 'Billee' the Dravidian word for a bow, which is the characteristic weapon of the tribe. Sanskrit lexicographers derive it from the root 'bhil' which means to cut. They take it to mean Mlechha, that is, one who has fallen or become degraded. The ancient Tamil poets term a certain
savages of the pre-Dravidian blood as Villawar (Bow men) who may be identified with the modern Munda tribes such as the Kols, the Santhals etc. The tribal name is not used by the members of the Bhil tribe among themselves; they employ the usual title of relationship or position such as bap (father), Tarwi (headman) or nahal or Naik, a person of honorific a title. This is important because this gives us an idea of the antiquity of the Bhils. The oldest tribes who lived in Tamilakam were the Villawar and Minawar. The two tribes were evidently a primitive race which was spread over the whole of India as they are still found in large numbers in Rajputana and Gujrat where they are known as Bhils and Menas and in Kanares country where they are called Villawar and Minawar.

J K Doshi states that there are some other terms with which the members of Bhil tribe are identified in Rajasthan. Three terms, Palvi, Mina and Gameti are often used in addressing or referring to the Bhils. The word Palvi is derived from Pal which is often used by the Bhils in certain parts of Rajasthan and Gujrat to refer to a village. The Bhil villages are referred to at many places as Pal. Palvi would be one who lives in a Pal i.e., a village. Though Pal is used to refer to a Bhil village, its close similarity to a sanskrit word Pallava, meaning leaf, indicates that it
could have been derived from Pallava. Perhaps due to their association with forest and jungles, Pallava was made into Pallvi or Palvi, meaning leaf-clad. The third term Gameti is used more frequently as a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address and is frequently a term of address  

The tribal meaning of gameti is the village-dweller, but in general usages, Gameti is the chief of the village or a section of it. In Bil vilages, only the Bhil chiefs are addressed as Gameti but in non-Bhil areas any one of them may be addressed as gameti, though in their absence they are invariably referred to as the Bail or the Mina.

H.H. Wilson is of the view that in the Mahabharat list of tribes they seem to be included under Pulindas, a general term for wild tribes. In the Panch Tantra mentions is made of the Phullis or villagers of the Bhils. In the Jatimala Bhils are classed with Medhs as one of the seven lowest tribes.

Captain D.C. Graham and Sir John Malcolm state that the Bhils are mentioned in Mahabarat. But the word used in original is Nishada, and there seems to be no more reason for identifying the Nishada's with the Bhils than with many of the rude hill races.

For the first time Nishadas are referred to in the later Samhitas and the Brahmanas. Nishada is a word referred to therein 'which seems to denote not so much a particular
tribe but to the general term for the non-Aryan tribes who were not under Aryan control as the Shudras were. The word 'Nishadas' of the Vaisaneya Samhita, according to B.C. Law is explained by the commentator Mahinda to mean a Bhil or Bhilla. According to Macdonell and Keith a village of Nishadas is mentioned in Latyana Sranta Sutra and a Nishada Sthapati is referred to in the Katyayana Sranta Sutra. Manu, the famous legislist, explains the origin of the Nishada as the offspring of a Brahmin father and a Shudra mother. The social duty enjoined on the Nishadas was to kill and provide fish for consumption by the people. According to Entoven the earliest mention of the word Bhil in Sanskrit literature occurs in the Katha Sarit Sagar of Gunadhyaya. The Bhils according to Dr. Weber flourished about the sixth century AD. Entoven further comments that 'the passage in which the word occurs is highly interesting since it makes mention of a Bhil Chief mounted on an elephant and opposing in great force the progress of another king through the Vindhyas. This would show that the Bhils in those times were very powerful.

Secondly, the passage gives 'Dasyu' as another name for Bhil. Now the Dasya is as old as the Rig-veda, and if the Bhils are the modern descendants of the Dasyus of the Rig-veda, there is no doubt that Bhils represent those people who opposed the advancing tide of Aryan conquest in primitive times,
and who are described under all sorts of opprobrious names such as Kirata, Pulinda, Chandala, Sabara etc., in the earliest Sanskrit literature."

During the period represented by the Puranic Traditions, the Nishadas seem to have their habitat among the mountains that form the boundaries between Jhalwa and Khandesh - the Vindhya and Satpura ranges. This is proved by the reference to a Nishada rastra in the Mahabharata in the region of the Saraswati and the Western Vindhyas, not far from Paripatra.

The puranic account of the Bhils traces their descent from the thigh of Vena, son of Asga, a descendant of Manu Swayambhu. Vena was childless and, therefore, the sage rubbed his thigh and produced a 'man like a charred log with a flat nose and extremely short.' He was told to sit down (Nishad) and was known as 'Nishada', from whom sprang the Nishada dwelling on the Vindhya Mountains, distinguished by their wicked deeds.

Another version of the Vena episode specially narrates the descent of the Bhils. Vena was tainted with sin and so the rishis went to him, but he signalled them to depart with a wave of his hand. At this, one of them named Angira cursed him. Because of this curse, the offending hand was turned into a churning stick, from which sprang Nishada.
When he began to churn with the left hand, three men emerged, Mushaharas, Kols and Bhils.  

A tradition ascribes the origin of the Bhils to Mahadeva who was said to have fallen in love with a forest girl. He had numerous progeny by her. One of them was ugly and vicious, and he distinguished himself by finally slaying his father's favourite bull, and for this he was expelled from the habitation of men. From this son descended the Bhils.  

The Mahabharat also refers to God Shankara, who was bewitched by the beauty of Parvati - perhaps a Bhil girl. At another place, there is a very long description of the fight between the renowned Arjuna and the same God Shankara who was disguised as a Bhil or Kirata. The Sanskrit poem 'Kiratarjunum, was written by Bharvi on this fight. Lord Krishna was said to have been killed by a Bhil's arrow. It was on account of this that it was ordained that the Bhil should never again be able to draw the bow with the right hand. Major Hindlay further states that 'times have changed since then, but I have noticed in examining their hands that few could move the forefinger without second finger; indeed fingers appeared useless as independent members of the hands.  

The story about Eklavya and Dronacharya of Mahabharat is quite famous. Some consider Eklavya as son of a Bhil King
Hirnyadhanu. Since Eklavya cut his right thumb, as desired by Dronacharya, and offered it as gurudakshina, Gurudakshina to him, the Bhils have totally discarded the use of the thumb while shooting arrows. S.C. Varma mentions that even to this day, the Bhils pull the arrow with the help of the fore and the middle fingers, but their skill in archery is undoubtedly of the highest order.\(^5\)

Valmiki, author of the Ramayana is considered by some as a Bhil. There again is reference in Ramayana to king Guhaka of the Nishadas, who are described as a wild band. This king Guhaka, who ferried Ram across the Saryu is considered as a Bhil King by some authors. Shabari, the famous devotee of Ram is also considered by some as a Bhil woman.

Bana Bhatta in his Kadambari refers to a Shafara lieutenant who is described as being very strong, wide shouldered and black soot. According to Pali texts the Shabaras were wild hunters and fishermen.\(^5\)

The references to the Bhils in Sanskrit literature, according to Enthoven show that the Bhils were a race both feared and hated, gradually pushed back by the invading Aryan race to the fastness of mountains and forests which they eventually occupied.\(^5\) He further states that the
Hindus troubled little about them until some retaliation on the part of the Bhils caused them to mention them with abhorrence; no attempt was made to enquire into their origin, but later when they had been pushed back into the tracts of the country where they are now found, and no doubt after the Rajput ascendancy, it was felt necessary to account for the Bhils, and they were allowed to be "an illegitimate race descended from the four original classes", in other words, admitted to some of the privileges of Hinduism, and instructed as to their origin by a myth which they were proud to repeat as connecting them with the dominant race. In the Smritis the Bhil is spoken of as the issue of the union of a Brahman mother and a Tiwara father - a Tiwara being a hunter, who is himself variously described as a son of Kshatriya by a Rajput woman or of a Pundraka by a Chunari woman. In the Jatimala Bhils are classed with Medhs as one of the seven lowest tribes.

The origin of the Bhils, as per a legend is that of several sons sprung from Mahadev and his human bride, one, ugly and vicious, killed his father's bull. For this he was banished to the hills and he became the founder of Bhils.

There are various Bhil legends of obviously Hindu origin, which though interesting historically as
showing a desire on the part of the Bhils to connect themselves with the dominant race, throw no light on the origin of the Bhil race.

Two of such legends told by the Bhils about their origin, have been recorded by Captain C.E. Luard.57

According to one legend a washerman who used to wash his clothes in river was one day warned by a fish of an approaching deluge. The fish informed him that as he had always fed those of his species, he had come to give him warning and to urge him to prepare a large box which would enable him to escape. The washerman prepared the box and got into it with his sister and a cock. After the deluge, Lord Rama sent out his messenger to inquire into the state of affairs. The messenger heard the crowing of the cock and so discovered the box. Rama then had the box brought before him and asked the man who he was and how he had escaped. The washerman narrated the story. Rama then made him face in turn north, east and west, and swear that the woman with him was his sister. The washerman remained firm in asserting that she was his sister. Rama then turned him towards the south, upon which the washerman contradicted his statement and said she was his wife. Rama then enquired as to who had told him how to escape and,
on hearing, at once had the fish's tongue cut off, and since then that kind of fish has been tongueless. Rama then told the washerman to set about repopulating the world, and he, therefore, married his sister by whom he had seven sons and seven daughters. Rama presented the first-born son with a horse, but the recipient of this gift, being unable to ride, left the horse on the plains and went into the forest to cut wood, he and his descendants becoming foresters and starting the Bhil tribe.

Another tale relates how on the creation of the Bhil, five men went to Mahadev. Parvati, seeing them approaching said to her spouse, 'Here come my brothers' to ask daji and dapa (bride-price) of you consequent to my marriage with you. Mahadev gave them a feast and then explained that except for his bull Nandi and his Kamandalu he had nothing to give. They, therefore, went home. In order to give them something, however, Mahadev placed a silver pat (stool) in their way, but they were incapable of seeing this. Parvati noticed that they had missed the gift sent for them and told them what had happened, pointing out that as they were not able to see the stool, there was little hope of their prospering, but that she would do what she could, and so informed them that they must be very careful.
of the Nandi whose hump was full of untold wealth. On reaching home, one of the five suggested slaying the Nandi and obtaining the wealth - the others demurred, but he prevailed. No wealth was found in the hump and the five were dismayed. Parvati now appeared and told them that they should have yoked the bull to the plough and thus gained wealth from mother-earth, but since they had been so foolish as to slay the sacred animal, she would never look on their faces again. For thus killing the sacred animal, the Bhil has ever lived a miserable existence, and been of no caste.

Dr. T.B. Naik also mentions one such traditional account of the Bhils narrated to him by the Patel of Toranmal. According to this account when Dhar was ruled by the Solanki Kings, once it so happened that the three princes of a ruling king sat down to supper. Times were not good and food was scarce in the country. Even then, as they were princes, they got something to eat. While they were taking their food, a hungry dog came into the room. The two elder brothers did not mind it but the youngest ordered it in angry words to get out. The hungry dog would not go without a crumb of bread. The prince lost his temper, took a stick and began to hit the dog; at the third stroke, the dog fell down dead.

The elder brothers did not like it. They upbraided him and said they could not live with him, a
Either il should go away or he would be dealt with severely. He went out of the royal house and joined the services of the Barwani State as its Diwan. He prospered there.

Mulgam, a place near Barwani, was the stronghold of the Mawchis whose only profession was burglary and thieving. They heard of the prosperity and goodness of the Barwani Diwan and invited him to their place. The leader of the Mawchis had a beautiful daughter. The Diwan was placed in charge of this girl when they went out on their business. Love was the result of these two young persons' association. This went on for days and Mawchi girl conceived. As soon as the people came to know of it, they asked her about the man. She would not tell at first, but at the point of sword, she held the hand of the Diwan. The people married them both and the Diwan remained with the Mawchis. From this couple descended the Bhils, who still like to call themselves Bhil Naiks.

Dr. T. B. Naik also mentions a story (not of origin but Bhil history) told about King Ahmed Shah of Gujrat, who fell in love with the daughter of a Asha Bhil of Ashwal near Ahmedabad. After her death he built a beautiful tomb over her which can be seen even to-day on Astodia Road of that city.

Racialology

The Bhils are supposed by some scholars to be the 'Pygmies' of Ctesias (400 B.C.) and the Poulindai and Phyllitae of Ptolemy (150 A.D.). Enthoven suggested that 'they seem to represent an
invasion earlier than that of the Aryans either by the north-west or by the north-east routes into India. This invasion no doubt confined the Dravidian race to the South of India. The further states that the Bhils have been assigned to the Kolarian race. Sir G. Grierson has given good reasons why the race should be called Munda, the term given to it by professor Max Muller.

The Bhils are usually spoken of in conjunction with Kolis, who inhabit the adjoining tracts of Gujrat. According to Dr. T.B. Naik the most probable hypothesis of the origin of the Kolis is that they are a western branch of the Kol or Munda tribe who have spread from Chhota Nagpur through Mandla and Jabalpur in central India to Rajputana and further on to Gujrat as far as the sea. If this is correct, the Kolis would be a Kolarian tribe. The Bhils have lost their language so that it cannot be ascertained whether it was Kolarian or Dravidian. But there is nothing against the Bhils being Kolarian in the opinion of Grierson. Dr. T.B. Naik further states that the tribes speaking Dravidian languages have not penetrated so far west as central India and Gujrat in any appreciable number.

Herbert Risley measured 200 Bhils of Rajputana and classified them as belonging to the Dravidian type. His findings revealed that the average cephalic index of the Bhils was 76.5, the maximum being 84 and the minimum 68; the nasal index was 84.1, the maximum being 105 and the minimum 63; and the average height was 162.9 cms. Dr. T.B. Naik accepts the suitability of
the size of the sample selected by Risley, but does not accept his findings without assigning any reasons for it. Dr. T.B. Naik states, though Risley's sample is big enough to give statistically significant results, his classification of the Bhils as "Dravidian" cannot be accepted. W. Crooke has also identified Bhils with the Dravidians.

Dr. Guha visited several Bhil villages in the western Vindhyas during 1931 and took measurements of 50 adults belonging to the Tarvi sub-tribe of the Bhils, who were, as far as could be ascertained of pure blood and came to the conclusion that: "The aboriginal population of India shows a short, long and moderately high headed strain with often strongly marked brow-ridges, broad short faces, the mouth slightly inclined forward and small flat nose with the alac extended. The hair varies from wavy to curliness and the skin colour is a shade of dark chocolate-brown approaching black. This type is predominant among the aboriginal tribes of central and southern India. The Bhils of the Vindhyas and the Cenchus of the Farahabad hills may be regarded as representatives of this type."

Dr. T.B. Naik does not accept the view of Dr. Guha also because of the statistically insignificant size of the sample. The comments that 'Apart from other reasons than the unsatisfactory value of this coefficient, the number measured by Dr. Guha must be considered statistically insignificant. Just 50 individuals of a particular sub-section of tribe cannot tell what it has been made to.' Dr. Naik further adds that: 'we have
to accept Dr. Guha's findings with caution. Another unsatisfactory characteristic of his data is that the Tarvis are not a pureblood group of the Bhils. Because there are Hindu Tarvis and Muslim Tarvis; and we don't know which group he measured.

Stephen Fuchs measured 86 Bhils from the then Jhabua State of Madhya Pradesh in 1944 and found them to be one of the most primitive groups of the whole Bhil tribe. He observed that 'The average Bhil is of medium height. Of 86 Bhils measured, only 7 were above 167 cms, in stature, while 27 were below 160 cms. Of them 36% were found to be dolichocephalic, 59.3% mesocephalic, 3.5% brachycephalic and 1.2% hyperbrachycephalic. As for the face, most of them have round or oval faces. The chin is usually round or oval and slightly receding. The forehead is straight or somewhat retreating; super orbital ridges are generally well-developed. As for the nose: 1.2% were leptorrhine, 39.5% mesorrhine, 53.5% platyrhine and 5.8% hyper-platyrrhine. The nasal root is often depressed. The complexion of the Bhil is of dark brown colour generally, while black or pale individuals are rare. The eye colour is brown or dark-brown, a few also have light-brown eyes. They have no epicanthic fold. No body had wavy or curly hair and most of them had sparse beard and no or little body hair.'

Dr. D.N. Majumdar also measured 187 Bhils of Panch Mahal district of Gujarat State in the same year i.e., 1944. The mean measurements of the Bhils given by him are given below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characters</th>
<th>Mean value</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stature</td>
<td>152.67 ± .499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum Head breadth</td>
<td>137.48 ± .339</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maximum Head length</td>
<td>181.87 ± .430</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bizygomatic breadth</td>
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<td>Nasal length</td>
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<td>Nasal breadth</td>
<td>37.49 ± .176</td>
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<td>Total facial length</td>
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<td>N.I.</td>
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<td>T.F.I.</td>
<td>85.64 ± .362</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Besides this, Dr. Majumdar also worked out the significant ratios for the Bhils of the Panch Mahals and other groups like the Korwas, the Majhis, the Oraons and the U.P. Brahmins. He came to the conclusion that the Bhils have longer noses than the Pre-Dravidian tribes; because the ratio with regard to this characteristic is very high between the Bhils and the Pre-Dravidian tribes, i.e. above 10.0, while it is 3.75 between the Bhils and the Chhatris. The Bhils are significantly different from the high caste people of North India, the Brahmins of the eastern districts of U.P. (and those of the western districts as well) and also from the Chhatris of U.P. who are long headed and leptorrhine.

While comparing the Bhils and the Korwas of the Kaimur
range of U.P., Dr. Majumdar found that of the eleven absolute characters, in only three, viz., bizygomatic breadth, bigonial breadth, and total facial length, do the Bhils show no significant differences. In the remaining eight, the ratio is six, showing real divergences. Similarly they are also proved different from the Majhis and the Khairwars, two other tribal groups. Dr. Majumdar finally concluded that: 'The more we analyse the data, the more it transpires that the Bhils are racially more distant from the so-called pre-Dravidian groups, while they approach nearer to the higher castes.'

Conducting a similar anthropometric survey of the West Khandesh Bhils, Dr. Majumdar found them to be somatologically different from the Bhils of Panch Mahal. 'It seems', he says, 'Bhil is a generic name given to the various older and simpler peoples of the land by other invading peoples.' The same is true of the Rajputs who do not represent a racially homogeneous type. According to Dr. T.B. Naik 'this seems to be a balanced view.'

Blood Groups

44 blood samples from Bhils of both the sexes from the Kaninad Taluk of Aurangabad District were tested by Macfarlane who found in them 31.8% O, 13.6% A, 52.3% B and 2.3% AB. From this she concluded that in Bhils we have the reservoir of group B in India, which has percolated from them to the higher social castes.
Dr. D.N. Majumdar blood-grouped 369 Bhils of the Panch Mahal District and it gave him the following percentage distribution - 37.5% A, 26.5% B and 9% AB. The blood groups of 150 Rajpipla Bhils according to him were 38.4% O, 24.3% A, 28.8% B and 8.5% AB.74

According to Dr. T.B. Naik Macfarlane's Bhil blood-groups show a very high incidence of "B" which Majumdar's samples do not corroborate. It may be that the number tested by her was relatively small and the Bhils she measured belonged to a closed kinship group. Dr. Naik further comments that as the Bhils of Panch Mahal and Rajpipla surveyed by Majumdar agree with respect to their blood groups, it is doubtful if the Bhils can be taken, as suggested by Majumdar, to be a source of 'B' Mutation. Majumdar does not find much affinity between the Bhils and the other aboriginal people either in anthropometric characters or in blood-groups; and he thinks that the Bhils do not probably belong to the same aboriginal strains as the Chenchus or the Munda tribes do. Even if the Bhils were originally of the same racial stock, the indications are that they have been thoroughly hybridised by contacts with alien races.75
Khandesh Bhils

The earlier mention of this tribe, according to Captain D.C. Graham, the second commandant of the Khandesh Bhil Corps, is made in the Mahabharat, 'where the Bheels are minutely described, and a long and fabulous account is given of their origin'. He further states that although 'frequently noticed in the Mahomean histories of Malwa and Guzarat as a powerful nation, inhabiting the mountains and forests of Meywar and Oodeypoore, having independent Chiefs and Rajas, and holding their own Courts and Darbars, yet the most ancient records of Khandesh merely allude to the residence of the tribe in small numbers on the northern boundary of the province, which may, indeed, be considered as a spur from the vast mountainous tract then possessed by the nation.' Graham's view regarding mention of the Bhils in the Mahabharat cannot be accepted with certainty because the word used in original is 'Nishada' which is a general term used for various types of hill-tribes. These appears to be no more reason for identifying the Nishada with the Bhils than with many of the hill tribes.

As early Khandesh records contain no mention of Bhils except as a Satpuda hill tribe, it has been thought that they were forced within Khandesh limits by the pressure of Rajputs and Musalmans conquest in Gujarat and Malwa. Being driven by other tribes from Mewar and Jodhpur, the Bhils settled amongst the rocky ranges of the Satpuda, the Vindhya, and the Satmala, and amidst the woody
banks of the Mahi, the Narmada, and the Tapi. The Bhils were found in every part of Khandesh in small number, the bulk of the Bhil population which is estimated at one eighth of the total inhabitants of the Province is chiefly settled in Baglan and to the north and north-west.

The total population of Khandesh under Briggs in 1821 was estimated at 418021 or 31.26 to the square mile. In 1837 it was still miserably populated. Large tracts were held by the Bhils. The population was estimated at 478,457 about 60,000 more than 1821 and it was calculated that 'out of the whole number Brahmins represented 5.40%, Rajputs 3.47%, Shuaras and Marathas 69.58, Low and depressed tribes 14.72% and Musalmans 6.38%'. In 1833 the population of Bhils in Khandesh was estimated to be 55,000 — one eigth of the total population. As per 1847 census there were 63,748 Bhils in Khandesh.

The 1872 census showed the Khandesh population as 1028,642 of which 120026 were Bhils, mainly found in the western regions. The details are as under:

Taloda - 27,256; Pimpalner - 24,686; Nandurbar - 17,548;
Shahada - 11,852; Dhulia - 7,122; Virdal - 7,091; Amalner - 5,003; Shirpur - 4,530; Erandol - 3500; Pachora - 3,050;
Chopda - 2,547; Chalisgoon - 1,858; Nasirabad - 1,097;
Bhusaval - 907; Jamner -691 and Savda - 628.

The Bhils of the plain were scarcely to be distinguished in appearance from the other classes of society though they 'differed widely in character'. Graham observed that 'exposure,
fatigue, and poverty have left their accustomed marks on the
diminutive figure and deep-lined countenance of the hardy
denizen of the hill, but all are patient under privation, and, able to
endure great bodily fatigue'. He considers them reckless of
life, active and intelligent, and peculiarly adapted for the
daring foray and night attack. In Graham's opinion their habits
and ideas however, are 'totally opposed to agricultural labour;
the motives which lead to the gradual accumulation of property
are faint and insufficient; and honest mechanical craft is
despised with the most thorough contempt'. Very few of the
Bhil Naiks could produce any proof of the antiquity of their
authority before the Government officials. But this may be also
due to the fact that practice of maintaining written documents
was not considered a must during that period and particularly
amongst the illiterate Bhils.

The Bhil chiefs' most ancient recorded deeds refer only to
the time of the Emperor Aurungzeb. During that period many of
the leading men were seized after a long struggle, and 'released
on their professing the Mohamedan faith, and their usurped
authority over the districts was partially recognised, on the
condition of the protection of the passes and fortresses and the
superintendence of the village Jaglas'. Most of the Bhils later
on during the Maratha Government relapsed into idoltry, and every
fresh change and commotion proved the signal for encamping among
the mountains, where, joined by their own adherents, and other
vagrant adventurers, they plundered far and near.
The common or plain Bhils and most of the 'wilder' hill and forest Bhils were subdivided into many clans. Some of these clans such as Pavras, Mali, Barda, Sarene, Mori Gaikwad, Shindi, Jadav, Thakur and Ahir, associated with a claim to non-Bhil blood. Second set of clans derived their names from the animals such as Vaghia and Ghania. A third set, as Pipalsa, arose from the names of trees and a fourth set of miscellaneous origin from a forefather's name, a favourite settlement or some private signal. The members of a particular clan were not allowed to intermarry as was the case with the Rajput clans.

Out of all the clan names, the following are more interesting as they indicate an original totemistic organization and thus support the view that the Bhils are of primitive origin:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of clan</th>
<th>Its devak or totem</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ahir</td>
<td>A snake-like fish called 'ahir'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bhavare</td>
<td>A bird called 'Gangudhi'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bijari</td>
<td>'Biju' or Polecat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bongade</td>
<td>A bird called 'gaugudhi'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Borshe</td>
<td>A bird called 'Dore'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Magar</td>
<td>Magar (crocodile).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Mali</td>
<td>Any kind of flower.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. More</td>
<td>Mor (peacock).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Pipalsa</td>
<td>Pipal tree.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Name of clan | Its devak or totem
---|---
14. Shakere | Sparrow.
15. Shinde | Shindi (wild date palm)
16. Sonone | Balde (a kind of bird)
17. Wagh | Vagh (tiger)

All these clans showed their reverence for the objects of their devaks by not cutting the trees and by abstaining from eating the flesh of the animals or birds representing the devaks.

The Khandesh Bhils have been traditionally classified into three groups as under:
1. Plain Bhils,
2. Hill and forest Bhils,
3. Mixed Tribes.

Plain Bhils
The plain Bhils, the 'largest and most civilised' class, were found in small numbers in almost all the villages of the Central and Southern Khandesh. They were simply known as Bhils.

Forest and Hill Tribes
The forest and hill tribes were the Bardas, Dhankas, Dhorespis, Gavits, Khotils, Mathvadis, Navchis, Nahals, Varlis, Pavras and Wavasvas in the Satpudas and the Dangchis in the Sahyadris.

Mixed Tribes
The mixed Bhil Tribes were as under:

The Bhilalas - Half-Bhil Half-Rajput or Kunbi found in the eastern Satpudas.
The Tadvis - half-Muslim half-Bhil found in the villages at the foot of the Satpuda hills from Asirgad to Chopda.

The Nirdhis - Like Tadvis, the Nirdhis were also half-Muslim half-Bhils. They were found in the Satmalla range in the south.

The above classification of the Khandesh-Bhils has been accepted by most of the scholars including Enthoven. However, this traditional classification of the Bhils appears to be more superficial than real. The first political Agent of Khandesh, Captain John Briggs observed in 1818 that 'the Hill Bhils and the Bhils of the plain are entirely similar to each other, and they become residents of the hill or plains, according to circumstances.' Dr. Arvind Deshpande has also supported the superficial nature of this classification.

Hence, another classification of Khandesh-Bhils pertaining to the relevant period, based on the functional aspects, is hereby suggested as under -

1. The Jagla Bhils or the Village Watchman,
2. The cultivating Bhils,
3. The Guardians of the hilly roads and passes,
4. The Forest Bhils living in the hills/forests and mainly dependent on the forest products.

The Jagla Bhils or the Village Watchmen

Majority of the Bhils found in small numbers in almost all the villages of Khandesh and particularly in the Central
and Southern Khandesh may be put under this category. Throughout the greater portion of Khandesh (excluding Baglan and the Western and North-west parts) with few exceptions 'the Bheel forms a member of the village community and the duty attached to his office is that of the Jagla or Village watchman'. His duty was to watch the village lands and protect them against the depredations both of stray cattle and plunderers, to escort travellers and also to trace the footsteps of the thieves. The village watchmen or Jaglas in Khandesh held large grants of rent-free lands for the services they rendered to the society. The total land so held by the Jaglas amounted to 32,520 bights. In addition to rent-free land the Jagla also received 'certain ascertained due in grain from the villagers besides special rewards', which he occasionally obtained for special services. There were hereditary District Bhil Chiefs or naiks to supervise the functions of the Jaglas in the districts adjoining to the hills. But in 'those Purgunnah not immediately adjoining one or other of the range of hills by which the Province is bounded on the North and South, these village Bhils have among themselves no superiors.....' In their capacity of Jaglas, which was 'Wattanny or Hereditary office', they were 'entirely subject to the authority of the Patells of their villages.....' In villages in which the numbers of the Jaglas had increased and the wattanny dues were not sufficient for the support of all, a portion of the family discharged the Wattanny duties. The other family members obtained livelihood by selling grass and wood. They also engaged themselves as watchmen to individual cultivators or labourers in weeding. When a village could not afford
their employment, they temporarily went to nearby towns or settled in other villages, Jaglas of which might have become extinct. 

**Cultivating Bhils**

Under this category may be placed the Bhils of Baglan, Kukarmundha and the other north-west parts of Khandesh where they formed a majority of the population and were 'generally the proprietors and the cultivators of the soil'. According to Captain DC Graham, 'the bulk of the Bheel population in Khandesh, which is estimated at one-eighth of the entire inhabitants of the province, is chiefly settled in Baglan and to the north and north-west, where they in general reside peaceably as Patels, cultivators, and proprietors of the soil'. They also filled the office of Patels instead of only discharging the duties of Jaglas as in the plains of Khandesh. 'Many of them are hereditary chiefs of villages and even of more extensive tracts'. They enjoyed, besides the rent of their own lands, 'long established dues as girass from some of the Government villages, as well as right to sundry exactions on merchandise carried through or near these districts.'

**The Guardians of the Road and Passes**

The Mountain Bhil Chiefs were not only the supervisors of the adjoining village Jaglas but they were also entrusted with the task of guarding the passes and protecting the roads falling under their jurisdiction. About the Arruddy Bhil-nails Major Briggs observed that 'they appear to have been made the guardians
of the passes and the country rather than watchmen... The Bhil Chiefs living in the hills were expected not only to protect the roads, but to guard the passes, and it became necessary that each should have a few retainers, and they accordingly received a sum of money and grain annually from the Districts over which their authority extended. The protection of the famous Sindva Ghat, in the Satpudas was entrusted to Goomani Naik and his Bhils.

**The Forest Bhils dependent on the forest products —**

Under this category we can place all those Bhils who lived mostly in mountainous tracts and in deep forests almost in the state of nature. They were mainly dependent upon the forest products for their survival, though a few of them cultivated lands in very primitive style. They very much preferred 'savage freedom'. Their life style was extremely simple and to a great extent they were nature worshippers. The Nahals Khotis, Varlis, Gavits, etc of the Satpuda range and the Langchis of the Sahyadri range can be included under this category.

There can not be a rigid classification as the Bhils did not form a well-knit society and there had been occasional changes in their modes of livelihood due to the changing political and economic conditions in Khandesh. For example most of the Bhil Jaglas had taken resort in the hills and were engaged in robbery and plunder when the villages got deserted due to the natural calamity and political disturbances after 1798 AD.

**Character**

'Thriftless, fond of spirits, and loathing steady work,
the Bhils were simple, faithful and honest. Captain J. Rose, the Officiating Commandant of the Khandesh Bhil Corps observed in 1856 that the Bhils 'display affectionate esteem for gentlemen who have dwelt long among them, and whose character meets their approbation... They are kind and affectionate parents, and great faith may be place on their word'. Most Bhils (excepting those who worshipped the tiger deity) had 'delight in field sports' and their enthusiastic zeal was 'truly refreshing to witness'. Considerable poetic feeling was also 'not wanting among them'. They were 'not totally devoid of political acumen'.

A.H.A. Simcox, ICS, the Collector of East Khandesh remarked in 1911 that 'improvident and inconsequent, they (bhils) possess a strong sense of humour'. Captain L.C. Graham, Commandant, Khandesh Bhil Corps observed in 1843 that 'the Bhil was attached to his village and to his Chief'. He was a kind and affectionate parent and 'great faith may be placed on his word'. His 'simplicity is extraordinary'. They deemed 'their lives of small value' and felt 'little scruple in trampling with those of others'. Graham observed that 'Origin of their conduct may be traced considerably to their persecution, and to the belief of their ancient tradition that they were created to live by the sword alone'. He further states that 'it was no startling change when driven starving to the hills, that the master spirits should lead the multitude 'to evil, and that necessity should enforce the appropriation by violence of whatever came within reach'.

'Reckless of life, active and intelligent, the race is peculiarly
adopted for the daring foray and the night attack. Their 'habits and ideas are totally opposed to agricultural labour; the motive which lead to the gradual accumulation of property are faint and insufficient; and honest mechanical craft is despised with most thorough contempt'.

The Bhils were fond of amusement, and excitement, hunting and fishing, playing games of chance, telling stories, singing and dancing. Their wives were 'generally very faithful' and cheerfully shared in the 'hardship of their husbands...'. Major A. Robertson, the Collector of Khandesh remarked in March 1825 that the Bhils though averse to regular employment, 'will undergo great hardship in an irregular way, in plundering expeditions, and in evading the search of the officers of Justice'. He also remarks that they are 'very revengeful' and as the Bhils themselves indeed compare, their enemy to the bite of a snake. The Bhils were very much fond of liquor. 'When in liquor, they often quarrel and have recourse to their swords' but such affrays did not create 'lasting feuds'. Robertson further observed that the marriage feast of a Bania derives celebrity from the quantity of Ghee and sugar which is consumed but that of a Bheel owes all its edat to the quantity of liquor provided.

Appearance

Bhils differed much in appearance. The Typical Khandesh Bhil, 'the wild woodman' of the Satpudas was dark, well made, active and hardy, with high cheek bones, wide nostrils, and in some cases coarse, almost African features. They were undoub-
tedly stunted and degraded by want and ill health, and perhaps by intermarriage with older and lower tribes. Among the southern and western tribes, who probably more nearly represented the original type of Bhil, were many well-built and even some tall handsome men with regular features and wavy hair. The plain Bhils were scarcely to be distinguished from local low class Hindus. However in Robertson's opinion 'both men and women of the Bhel race are very hard featured and markedly distinct and different from any other race'. Alphinstone found them 'small and black' and always carrying bows and arrows.

**Occupation**

They worked as village watchmen, husbandmen and field labourers, sold grass and fuel, helped ordinary Kumbi land-holder and gathered wax and honey. Wives helped their husbands. At harvest time, whole family leaving their homes for three or four weeks worked as reapers for which they were paid in kind. This earning was generally enough to last them for one to two months. Bhils never left Khandesh in search of work. They sometimes changed their villages, but for the most part lived for long in the same place. Their average monthly wages varied from £4/- to £8/-. In spite of their good wages all were very poor and usually in debt. All Bhils were good hunters, killing with their bows and arrows pigeons, partridges, wild cats and hares. They reared fowls in large numbers, especially for sale.

Ignorance, carelessness, and love of liquor, had especially in western Khandesh, sunk many of them in debt to the astute Gujar Kumbis. The whole machinery of the law courts was worked by the Gujar to keep his debtors in his power. In spite of the
great rise in the value of their labour, the Bhils worked on except that they were fed between seed-time and harvest and were given an occasional turban or robe, little less poor and degraded than they were in former times of trouble and disorder. Even where he had not sunk to be a servant, as a small landholder, the Bhil's carelessness and want of skill prevented his success, and as a labourer, though if he pleased he was a most efficient worker, his idleness and fitfulness stood in the way of his earning any considerable wage.¹⁰⁰a

**Settling of disputes**

Among the plain Bhils's disputes were generally settled by reference to the 'panch' (a council). Each of the wilder mountain tribes and an naik (hereditary chief), some of whom were formerly men of great power, and were served by the Bhils with wonderful faithfulness. Each Chief had an hereditary minister, 'Pradhan' or 'Chaudhri', also a Bhil. As was the case with Mahars and Mangs, Bhil organisation was by districts not by single villages. The district or 'pargana', consisted of a given area or group of ten to twenty villages. Its headman (the naik) received through his minister all requests for arbitration. All Bhils obeyed or were supposed to obey, the naik of their particular pargana. Difference of clan, which was a social rather than a political distinction, mattered but little.¹⁰⁰b

The customs, traditions and other aspects of social, cultural and religions life of Bhils are described below. These descriptions primarily pertain to the Jagla or plain Bhils and cultivating Bhils. The life style of the forest Bhils (living in deep forests and depending mainly on the forest products, differs in certain aspects, and the same is described separately.
Dress and Ornaments

The hill Bhil had seldom any clothing but a piece of cloth round his loins and women a coarse tattered robe. The Basant Bhil wore a turban, a coat and waistcloth, and their women a robe with or without a bodice. Both men and women liked to wear brass or silver earrings, and when they could afford them, anklets.101

Language

Except among some of the wilder hill tribes, who perhaps were improperly ranked among Bhils, the Bhils had no trace of a language different from that of the country where they were settled.102 According to the geographical position, Bhil spoke the cognate dialects of Marathi, Gujarati, Rangdi, Mevadi, Narmadi, and Rajputani. They had many peculiar terms, and with some Prakrit, use many Skythian words. There is no trace of any connection with the tribes of South India.103 According to Sir G. Grierson the dialects classed as Bhile are dialects of Gujarati. Whether, as was the opinion of Sir James Malcolm’s Bhil informant, there was an original language which has been displaced by dialects of the people of the plain, is still an open question. The difficulty of collecting reliable specimens of the dialect is very great, both from the fluctuating nature of the dialects themselves and from the difficulty of getting their users to speak them to order. It is only with great care, and occasionally even by accident, that some strange form of speech is come across that seems to point to an original language, now lost.104
In Khandesh, dialect of the Bhils was a mixture of Hindustani and Marathi with Gujrati endings. It varied considerably in different parts of the district and among different tribes. The language of the plain Bhil's differed little except in pronunciation from Marathi spoken by the other peasantry, while the Akrani Pavras and western Bhil's spoke among themselves a dialect of Gujrati unintelligible to the plain Bhil of central and south Khandesh.\textsuperscript{105}

Habitation

Bhils lived in hive-like huts. Graham observed that 'their hivelike habitations formerly crested the top of each isolated hill, where approach from every side was easily defended or immediately discovered, and these hovels, not reared for permanent occupation, but hastily put together, to be crept into for a few months or weeks, were without great regret abandoned on any occasion that induced the occupants to shift their quarters.'\textsuperscript{106} The author of the article on Bhils in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, 1880 also mentions that 'most of them still live in thatched huts, Jopdas, leaving them at once if disease breaks out, or if the hamlet is thought haunted or unlucky'. A few had one-storied dwellings, the walls of unburnt bricks and the roof of mud with a small verandah in front, and divided inside into two or more rooms. Each household had as many cups as it had members, one or more earthen, wooden, or metal platters, a large earthen or metal water jug, and cooking utensils, and a wood or metal ladle, a stone slab with roller and handmill, and a large knife for cutting vegetables. It also contained a cot or two with bedding, a blanket, and a quilt made of pieces of clothes stiched
one upon another; a cow or buffalo, a few fowls, a small fishing net, and now and then a sword or matchlock with a bow and a good stock of arrows. 107

Food Habits

Graham states that every Bheel *prefers* his scanty fare to a more luxurious diet gained by the sweat of his brow; and eating all sorts of flesh, that of the cow not excepted, and possessing great knowledge of roots and herbs, he is seldom in fear of starvation. But 'during the excitement of plunder and spoliation, few personal exertions are too great to be undergone, and every hardship and privation are willingly and cheerfully endured'. 108 Peasant Bhils used to drink and eat bread, curry, curds, vegetables, fish, and when they could afford it, goat's flesh or mutton. Mountain Bhils were much less particular. They ate carrion, animals that had died a natural death, and probably in out-of-the-way places, the flesh of the cow. 109 Akrani and Taloda Bhils used onions and vegetables, ground fruits (nachni, kodra), rice, millet, and Indian millet. Mehvas Bhils ate hens, goats, hares, sheep eggs, buffaloes, and fish, but not of horses, cows or bullocks, nor did they kill sparrows or crows. 110 According to Malcolm the Central India Bhils ate not only the flesh of buffaloes but of cows. 111 One animal the Bhils never ate was the monkey. 112 The Bhils fed on wild roots and fruits, and on all sorts of vermin and garbage.

The Bhils were excessively fond of liquor, generally mahua, Bassia latifolia. The plain Bhils gave caste dinners at birth,
betrothals, marriages, and deaths. These dinners were generally cooked by the women. These caste dinners consisted of rice, wheat bread, split peas, and grain, a few vegetables, and a dish of sugared milk. The men did not, like the higher castes, take off their upper garments when they dined. The food was served in bell-metal dishes, four or five persons eating from the same dish. Children dined with the men, and women and grown up girls after the men had dined. At these feasts they neither ate flesh nor drank liquor, and except at a death feast, they always ended with singing. The monthly food expenses of a Bhil, his wife, and two children, varied from about Rs 4 to 8.

Amusements

The Bhils were fond of amusement and excitement, hunting and fishing, playing games of chance, telling stories, singing to the accompaniment of a six-stringed fiddle, 'chikar' and dancing. In a Bhil dance men and women, keeping time to the music with a double shuffle, bent backwards and forwards wheeling round the players in an irregular circle. At these dances men with much gesticulation and whooping, often dressed themselves as women, as Gosavis, or as wild animals. Occasionally some of the dancers rolled along the ground, joined hands, and bent backwards and forwards keeping time to the music with a double shuffle or jiggling movement of the feet. The musical instruments were, in the east of Satpudas, a dhol (drum) and a bagpipe (Pavri). The dhol was made of goat skin stretched over a hollow black of Pterocarpus marsupium (bijarsal) wood. The bagpipe (Pavri) was a hollow
pumpkin fixed on two hollow bamboos with lute-like holes, three in one and five in the other. To the end of the pipes was fastened a hollow bison or cow horn, and a hole was made in the neck of the pumpkin down which the Bhil blew, moving his fingers up and down over the lute-holes and making a sound curiously like bag-pipes. In the west Satpudas they used a kettledrum (Tur) beaten with sticks and a tambourine (daf).

Religion

It is not easy according to Enthoven, to describe the religion of the Bhils as they are in all stages of civilization from the wild fetish and nature worshippers having no idea of a divine being to the peaceful peasant who observed most of the details of popular Hinduism. However, the religious beliefs of the wilder sections of the tribe are described below.

Except the Nirdhis and Tadvis, who were half Hindus and half Musalman's, the original religion of the Bhils was perhaps a form of nature worship. They worshipped the Vagh-deva or tiger god, Sivariyadeva or boundary god, Nimaji-deva or the God of the 'Apta' plant, Dungarya-deva or the mountain god, Barabij or Barbij the moon etc. Their other minor deities were Kali, Hatipava, Vaghacha Kunver, Hal-Kamate, Khodiyarmata, Devikanai, Behyee, Baji, Ghora Raja, Hallam, Gaukondamata, Hanivanamata, Bhandribaimata, Gona, Ghona Deva, Shalu Pandar, Pachchhya, Mata Panda and Kaksat, etc. The Bhils were extremely superstitious. They believed greatly in demoniacal influence, witch-craft and omens. Captain Prescott says that they were superstitious beyond
all belief. Mr Willoughby mentions that their religion was one of fear. Sir J. Malcolm is of opinion that the original worship was that of ancestors. They also worshipped Mahadev, whose fiercer aspects would appeal to original nature worshippers.

Bhils did not have temples. Over some of their most sacred images they raised open sheds; but, in general, for a place of worship they chose some tree consecrated by a few large stones set on a mud terrace built round its root. They also respected Musalman Shrines and made offerings to Musalman saints.

The Bhils, although, worshipped the above mentioned deities, their chief objects of worship were spirits and ghosts. In the forest near an old tree or well, but often apparently at some chance spot, they offered to ghosts and spirits, earthen horses, Jars and beehive-shaped vessels. In honour of the spirits they also raised beams of timber up to twelve feet long, poised on two uprights in the form of a rough seat in these God-yards or devasthans. They also used to offer a goat and a cock, and eat the sacrifice and drink together.

The horse and dog were the animals held in veneration by the Bhils. They used to make small mud horses and promise to give one of them to the shrine if their petition was heard. In many of their stories the chief event hangs on the help given by an enchanted horse. Unlike other Bhils, the Khandesh Bhils mostly did not kill cow and blue bull (Fortax pictus). Except in some parts of Khandesh, they did not worship snakes, and killed them when they had chance. Except a few who had reverence for the Pipal or apta they had no holy trees or plants.
Festivals

With Bhils the chief festivals were those in favour of the dead.\textsuperscript{132} The only regular Hindu festivals they specially observed were Shimga or Holi, the Dasara and Divali. Holi (March-April) was always celebrated with drunken orgies, and during Dasara (October) they used to go to the chief towns and in their outskirts, sacrificed to Durga a goddess who they always respected.\textsuperscript{133} The Taloda and Akrani Bhils celebrated three main festivals in the year in a year, Vaghdev, Divali and Holi.\textsuperscript{134} The first was celebrated in the rainy season, when the god Vaghdev, who has no form or stone image, was worshipped at the headman's house. In honour of the god the headman used to offer a hen and distribute liquor. At Divali (October) they worshipped the village god, and the celebrations continued for three days. The headman used to distribute liquor. Except some who pretended to be inspired by the god, they did not dance. A buffalo was sacrificed, no work was allowed, and all were busy themselves with playing on the small drum (dholki). At Holi time the headman distributed liquor and merrymaking lasted for five days.\textsuperscript{135}

\textsuperscript{Th.7652.}

The Khandesh Bhils also used to go to the caves of the hills, in which the Dungarya Deva was supposed to reside,\textsuperscript{136} in the month of Kartik and Margashirsha. They used to practise a sort of penance for a fortnight before they approached the shrine. This penance consisted in bathing morning and evening each day and living on gram and maize. They kept puffing and blowing and shivering and chattering as if they were possessed, and at intervals blew aloud and beat their mouth, shouting the name of Dungarya Deva. On the
Purnima or full-moon they used to ascend the hill. It was believed that a fissure or passage was made in the hill by their prayers, and a goat or hen was first driven through, the passage; and if the animal returned with a red mark on its forehead, the god was supposed to be pleased. The chief Bhagat or devotee then entered the cave followed by others who had also taken the vow. Then they worshipped the god and stood with outstretched hands and offered prayers. Then it was said that some cowdung dropped into the hands of some, once grains of maize into those of others. Some did not get anything. Those who got cowdung were considered to be blessed with cattle; those who got grains of maize felt assured of a good harvest. After this ceremony they offered sheep and having fulfilled their vow, returned home also puffing and blowing and shouting the name of Dungarya Deva.137

The Khandesh Bhils held Varanasi sacred, and visited other regular Hindu shrines including Nasik and Jejuri. Their special place of pilgrimage was Hanmant Naik's Wadi, a few km south of Sangamner on the Pune road.138

Except some of the 'civilized' sections of the Khandesh Bhils who employed Brahmans as priests, Brahmans were not held in special respect by the Bhils, and did not, on any occasion, took part in Bhil ceremonies. Instead of Brahmans, they held three classes of men in special reverence. These were 'Bhagats' or 'Badvas' devotees or exorcists, 'Rewals' or priests, and 'Bhats' or 'Dholis'.139 Badvas were Bhils by caste, Rewals and Dholis were of separate caste.
Any Bhil who could learn to recite incantations could become a Badva. He conducted the 'Satara' or sacrifices and was consulted on all occasions like natural calamity, individual sickness and particularly when planning some plunder raid. His advice they almost always followed. Sickness of all kinds was attributed to the displeasure of some deity or to the evil eye of a witch. In the former case vows were made to the deity; in the latter, the witch was found out, and demands were made for offering of a he-buffalo, a goat or cock to cure the sick person. If the sick man recovered, the animal named by the witch was sacrificed by having it's throat cut, and the witch was made to drink its blood. If the sick person died, the witch was tortured and driven into the forest.

The Badvas or Barvas were supposed to have the hereditary gift of inspiration. Their powers were dormant till roused by music and for this reason they had a class of musicians connected with them. These musicians were proficient in numerous songs in praise of the hill deities. When the recitation of these songs had excited them the Bavras began to dance with frantic gestures, and losing their top knot, tossed and whirled their heads with strong convulsions of the whole frame. In this state of frenzy they uttered oracles to which those who consulted them carefully listened. The Bavras were of various castes, Brahmans, Dobbis, Hajams, and other Hindus, and admitted disciples. Besides as oracles they acted as physicians and tried to cure trifling complaints by herbs and other forest remedies. When the disease was beyond the reach of their skill, they attributed it to the evil influence of some witch or Dakin. In such cases it was their
duty to find out the witch, and this they did by performing various ceremonies, sometimes by music and at other times by waving a bunch of peacock's feather round the patient's head. In some cases an old woman was fixed on as the witch, and by beating, twisting, and other means of torture, forced to declare her name. They must know her name, her reason for troubling her victim, and the terms on which she would be pleased. Some times they did not require music to excite them beyond the dashing of the stones. Novices were required to perform daily ablutions in warm water for nine days, and to allow their hair to grow as long as possible. They then underwent a probation. If music did not stimulate them to a state of frenzy, they were rejected as not being favoured by the gods with enough spiritual grace.\textsuperscript{143}

The Dholis were the Bhatas or genealogists of Bhils, and they also supplied music at weddings and funerals. Each clan of the Bhils had a rawal attached to it. His chief duty was to officiate at a funeral feast called 'Kaita'.

When an epidemic broke out, heads of the villages would go to the Badva with offerings and ask him to tell them the cause of their misfortune. He would always be ready, after a due amount of mummery to point out some old woman responsible for the epidemic. Small mercy was shown to the luckless woman after she was named. She was seized by a crowd of fanatics, swung by the hair, and otherwise ill-treated and ultimately her life was in great danger.\textsuperscript{145}

The Bhils, thus, were strong believers in witchcraft.
Very great attention was paid to omens. If a man lets fall his bread by accident, if a bird screams on the left, if a snake crosses the path and escapes, or if any one meets them and asks where they are going there would be no luck; on the other hand, a bird screaming on the right, a dead snake, or a stranger passing without speaking, promised a successful day. If bad luck persisted the Bhils, saying 'nat laga', often made in the sand or dust of the road, on image of a man or sometimes two images, one of a man the other of a woman, and throwing straw or grass over them set fire to the heap, and beat the images with sticks amidst much abuse and uproar. This they called killing bad luck.

Customs

The different classes of Bhils differed widely in customs. Among the wilder mountain Bhils the only observances were at marriage and death, and they were of the simplest. With the assent of the girl's father marriages were generally arranged off hand by the Naik's prime minister, 'pradhan', and the caste-committee, 'panch'. The aid of a Brahman or Bhat was not wanted. A feast with plenty of drink completed the ceremony. The chief and his minister get Re 1 as 4 each, and about Rs 12 as 8 were spent on drinking and feasting. At death wild Bhils had no special ceremonies. They took the dead body, and buried or burnt it as per convenience. They used to raise cairns or rude piles of stones over the chiefs and some times smeared the top with oil, red lead, and vermillion.
The more civilised Bhils of the plains had very complete birth, marriage, and death ceremonies, differing little in detail from those practised by the higher classes of Hindus.

Birth Ceremony

At birth a midwife was employed and besides a bottle of liquor, was paid Re 1 if the child was a boy, and 8 annas if it was a girl. For four days no one except the midwife was allowed to touch the mother. On the morning of the fifth day a party of women were called, and both mother and child were bathed in warm water. Just outside the threshold of the hut, the mother was required to cowdung the ground and trace turmeric liner. In the middle of the drawing she placed a lighted lamp, setting round it five flint stones corresponding to the number of days since the child was born. Round these pebbles she used to lay pieces of cocoa kernel, and over the whole sprinkle turmeric, millet, red powder, and liquor. The guests dropped a few grains of millet over the mother and child, and they came back into the house. After this the guests were given feast with wheat and rice, bread, mutton and liquor, and the whole night was spent in singing, smoking and drinking. The lamp was allowed to burn for twenty four hours. During these festivities men and women remained separate - the men smoking and drinking in one place and the women singing and beating a small drum, 'dhol' and drinking in another.

On the twelfth day a dish of boiled millet and split pulse was made ready. Some of it was laid on a brass platter in which were also placed twelve wheaten cakes and lighted
lamps, corresponding with the number of days since the child's birth. In another dish a lamp 'arti' was set and along with the mother, women went in procession, singing and beating the drum, towards the nearest running water, where the mother arranged the twelve lamps. The cakes were placed in a line between the lamps and a little of the boiled food was laid on each cake. The mother worshipped the water goddess 'Jaldevta', threw a little red lead, red powder, and some grains mixed with turmeric into the water and on the twelve lamps, and lighting a fire before the lamps, fed it with oil. They then went home and had feast on mixed rice and pulse and oil.\textsuperscript{152}

Marriage

Marriage was prohibited between members belonging to the same clan.\textsuperscript{153} A Bhil might marry his maternal's uncle's daughter, but not his father's sister's or mother's sister's daughter. In some places marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter was also prohibited. Marriage with a wife's sister was allowed. Sexual license before marriage was connived at, if it did not result in pregnancy. In the latter case a fine was levied by the panch and the parties were sometimes compelled to marry. Polygamy, widow marriage and divorce were allowed and practised.\textsuperscript{154} Polyandry was unknown.\textsuperscript{155}

The girls were generally married between twelve and sixteen and boys between sixteen and twenty.\textsuperscript{156} But due to their parents' poverty both boys and girls often remained unmarried till they were over twenty. When a father could afford to marry his son
he started looking about for a suitable match. Suggestion for marriage came from the boy's house and were taken by the boy's relations to the girl's father. When it was known that a favourable reply would be given, a formal proposal was made when the affair was so far settled, the nearest relations both men and women went to the girl's house and asked that the girl should be given in marriage to their boy. If her father agreed, the girl was brought out and seated among the guests and the boy's father or the nearest relation offered her a packet of sweetmeats. After this they dined together and the guests before leaving talked over the betrothal. After one or two days the boy's father used to fix the betrothal day with the help of a Brahman astrologer.

On the betrothal day the astrologer, the boy, his father and other relations were went to the girl's house taking with them a robe, a bodice and sweetmeats. Further proceedings were as follows: 'After resting for a short time, the girl's father calls a council, 'Panch' and in their presence agrees to give his daughter in marriage. The boy's father now presents the girl with a robe and bodice. A married woman couches the girl's brow with red powder and gives her some sweetmeats, blessing her and hoping that, like them, her life may be sweet. The whole party then drinks from fumia, supplied by a present of 1½ rupees each from the girl's and boy's fathers. The girl's father gives a dinner to the guests that evening. The boy and his party go home next morning.'

There was no fixed interval between the betrothal and the
marriage. When the boy's father was in position to meet the marriage expenses, he sent word to the girl's father that he would be bringing the dowry, ('Ghum' or Dej'). On arrival he and his companions are given refreshments and a council is called. The dowry, from Rs 10 to Rs 20, was settled and the amount laid before the council in a metal plate. An unmarried woman of the girl's family touches, with red powder, one of the rupees in the plate, and the brows of the boy and his party. The girl is brought out and seated on the boy's father's lap. Then the boy's father taking a rupee, places it inside the top of the folds of her robe. The council then tell her to go into the house, and take two rupees from the plate, to buy liquor for evening's entertainment. The rest of the dowry is handed over to the girl's father. After a feast the evening ends with music and dancing. Next day the father, with a few friends, goes to the family priest, 'bhat' and fixes the marriage day.

Next comes the turmeric, 'haldi' ceremony. Turmeric mixed with water is rubbed on the boy's body, and part of it is taken, by a group of relations to the girl's house, and there rubbed over the girl. After this both boy and girl are rubbed with turmeric morning and evening for about a fortnight. At both their houses booths (at boy's house of nine and of girl's twelve posts) are built and at the girl's house an altar, 'bahule' is raised.

On the marriage day, an hour or two before the time fixed for the ceremony, the boy, riding on horseback with a marriage ornament, 'basing', tied to his turban, starts with a group of relations and friends. On the way he is taken to the temple of
Maruti, closely followed by his sister. She walks behind him with a jar, 'Kara' in her hands in which five copper coins have been dropped. Halting at the temple all drink from a jar (ghada) of water, and their leader, (Vardhava) is seated on a pony, or on a man's shoulders, and taken to the girl's house. Here the boy is feasted and his face rubbed with soot. 'Kajal'. Going back to his friends he washed his face, and about sunset the party goes to the girl's house. As they draw near, the boy is pelted with onions and fruit, and when he arrives a cocoanut or a piece of bread is waved round him and either dashed on the ground or thrown away. When he dismounts, seven women stand before the booth with full water pots (lotas), into each of which the boy drops a copper coin. After this, one of the women waves a lighted lamp round his face, receiving from him the present of a piece of cloth (cholkhan). The boy then sits facing the east. The priest sends for the girl (in some cases the bridegroom himself goes), and seating her face to face with the boy, passes a thread round them both. A coloured cloth is held between them high enough to prevent their seeing each other. The girl, joining her hands together, touches the cloth, and the boy from other side clasps her hands with both of his. One of each party holds the boy and the girl round the waist, while the priest, standing on a raised platform, repeats marriage verses, and the guests throw grains of rice or millet over the heads of the couple. After a short time the priest claps his hands, the boy and girl throw garlands round each other's necks, the cloth is pulled aside, guns are fired (if one could afford), music played, and the guests move about congratulating each other.
Betalnut and leaves are distributed among the men, and turmeric and red powder among the women. The boy and the girl are seated on the altar; the laps of five married women are filled with wheat, rice, dates, and betelnuts; and round the boy's and girl's right wrists, yellow strings with a piece of turmeric are tied.

The boy and girl then feed one another and the guests are feasted. After supper, sitting in small groups in and about the booth, the boy's party on one side and the girl's on the other, they pass their time in singing and drinking.

Next morning the boy and girl bathe, standing on low wooden stools, the women of the party all the time throwing water over them. Then comes the lap-filling (Phalbharne) and the parents and relations exchange presents of clothes and money. Then with music, the boy's mother and her relations and friends go in procession to the girl's house, walking on clothes spread on the ground. At the house they are rubbed with oil and bathed in warm water, and if the girl's father can afford it, glass bangles are put round the women's wrists. Both boy and girl are then presented with clothes. During this time, till the return procession, the boy and girl amuse themselves, biting pieces of betel leaf or of cocoa kernel out of each other's mouths, or searching for a betelnut hid in the others clothes. While the boy is at his house the girl's father gives two dinners to his castefellows and relations. After two or three days, a party from both families taking the girl on horseback, go to the boy's house, and on the following day boy's father gives a dinner. After this the yellow thread are taken off the wrists and necks of both
the boy and the girl, and they are bathed to remove all traces of turmeric. In a poor family, the ordinary marriage expenses amount, in the case of the bridegroom to Rs 25 and in the case of the bride Rs 15.160

Widow - remarriage Ceremony

Widow - remarriage ceremony used to be as under.161

When a man wishes to marry a widow he sends some of his friends to urge his suit with the woman or with her parents and relations. If his proposals are accepted, the suitor takes to the woman's house a robe and bodice, a bead necklace, two liquor jars, and some boiled peas, and sugar. The match is then settled. The man takes with him a few friends and the materials for a feast, and they share the food with a party of the woman's relations. The woman dresses herself in the clothes brought to her, and after the guests leave, she and her husband pass the night together. Next morning, they start from the house before daybreak, and spend the whole of the day in the field, in some lonely place three or four Kms from the village. Their friends send them food. These widow marriages were often preceded by an elopement, which after the payment of a fee to the head of the community was condoned by the parents and relations.162

Divorce

Divorce was permitted when the wife and husband did not agree or when there was cruelty and ill-treatment on the part of the husband or adultery on the part of the wife. Procedure used to be as under.163 If the husband divorces the wife, he
tears off the end of his turban and gives it to her, and she is then quit of him. If the wife deserts the husband, she tears off the end of her sari and gives it to the husband. He is then quit of her. A woman so divorced may marry again, but the man who marries her has to pay a fine to the panch. Part of this fine is spent on drinks. Sometimes a woman deserts her first husband and goes to another man's house and lives with him as his wife. She is then called 'Ghar-ghusi' or 'one who has entered the house', and the man who permits her to enter his house is made to pay all the marriage expenses of the first husband. The payment of these expenses was known as 'Zagada'. Half of this fine was paid to the first husband and the other half was appropriated by the panch for drink. The first husband was made to strike a 'Nim' tree twice or thrice, and the divorce was complete.

Death Ceremonies

When a Bhil was on the point of death, his relations distributed money among the poor in his name. When he died the body was laid on a blanket or on a piece of cloth spread over a blanket. An earthen pot full of cold water was placed near the door of the house, and the body was brought out, held in sitting position outside the door, and water poured over it. The old clothes were taken off, and tying a new piece of cloth round the loins, the body was laid on the bier and covered with a new white sheet leaving the face bare, and the head covered with a turban. Red powder, 'gulal' was sprinkled over the face, and some bread and cooked rice were tied together in a piece of
cloth and placed on the bier. The body was then tied with a string to the bier, and carried to the burying ground on the shoulder of four near male relations. In front of them went the sons of the deceased, the chief mourner carrying fire in an earthen jar, and one of the others carrying an earthen jug full of water. Halfway to the grave the bier was lowered, and some of the cooked food was laid near a bush. The bearers changed places, and without further halt the body was carried to the burying ground. Here the bier was lowered and the mourners helped in digging a grave, long enough for the body, and to prevent it being opened by wild animals, about five or six feet deep. In this the body was laid, the head to the south and the arms stretched along either side. Cooked rice and bread were placed in the mouth, and the body was sprinkled with water. Before leaving the grave, the man who last arranged the body, tore a small hole in the winding sheet. Then the whole party sat round the grave, so far off that they could not see the body, and the chief mourner threw a handful of earth on the corpse, and, all joining, covered the corpse with earth. When the body was covered they got up and filled the grave cutting a small trench round it. In this trench, beginning from the north, they poured water out of an earthen jug, and when the circuit of the grave was complete, dropped the jug and broke it to pieces. Then the bier was turned upside down and burnt, and the funeral party, going to the nearest water, bathed and accompanied the chief mourner to his house. In front of his house a fire was lit, and into it some woman's hair was dropped, and each of the funeral party taking some 'nim' (Melia azadirachta)
leaves, threw them on the fire, and passing his open palms through the smoke, rubbed them over his face. The mourners were, now pure, and after taking a draught of liquor, went to their homes. Further procedure used to be as under:

On the third day one of the women of the mourning household rubs the right shoulders of the pall-bearers with oil, milk and cowdung, and washes them with nim twigs steeped in cow's urine. Then the four men bathe and are treated to the dinner. In the house the only sign of mourning is that every morning for five days the women wail for about a quarter of an hour.

On the eleventh day the chief mourner goes to a river, and there has his head, beard, and face shaved, and then takes bath. Next he makes a dough cow, sprinkles it with red powder, and setting it on a leaf plate bows to it, and throws it into the water. He then bathes and goes home.

Either on the twelfth or the forty-fifth day, a potter (Kumbhar) is called and a seven-step hemp ladder, (Chodhvan) is set against the wall of the house that the soul of the dead may climb by it to heaven. The priest sits at the foot of the ladder and chants a verse from the Purans, and the string by which the ladder is fastened to the ground is burnt, and the ladder pulled down and thrown away. The spot where the ladder was tied is then spread with flour, and a small plate with a piece of bread and cooked rice is laid over it. In the plate is set a small water pot, and along side of the water pot a
lighted lamp covered by an empty bamboo basket with a cloth drawn over it. This day a grand dinner is prepared, and before beginning, five mouthful are burnt under the basket. The burial rites for a woman were the same as those of men.  

When a child died the father carried the body in his arms and burnt it, and on the seventh day a small dinner was given. In some rare cases the Bhils burnt instead of burying their dead.

The plain and Satmala Bhils used to invariably bury and never burn their dead. But the Akrane and Dang Bhils, except in cases of small pox, cholera and leprosy, burnt their dead. They had the curious custom of carrying the deceased's wife on his bier, and after going a little distance or after reaching the burning ground, of setting her down. The wife used to break her necklace, and every one near laid a copper coin in the deceased's mouth. The widow's ornaments, if any, and the deceased's clothes were burnt with him. His shoes and water pots were given to his sister's son. Generally the son used to be the first to light the funeral pyre. These 'wild' Bhils had no fixed days for performing the after death ceremonies. When they could afford it, the chief mourner purchased a hen, and putting it in a basket took it to the spot where the Mhar had thrown away the deceased's ashes. The party then used to bath, bring the hen back with them, and drink. The widow's hair were cut off, and the hen was cooked by her. The proceedings ended by the gift of a turban to the deceased's son or his sister's son.
The following are short sketches of some of the clans which mainly reside in the hills and who differ in many respects from the more orderly plain Bhils.

**Nahals**

Living chiefly on the north side of the Satpudas, bordering on Holkar's Nimar and the towns of Balvadi, Palasner, and Sindva, and in smaller numbers in Chirmira and Virvade, resided the Nahals. They were the most primitive amongs the Bhils. Very dark, small and harsh featured, they wore brass earring, and as shoes, pieces of 'nilgai' hide tied with strings. Graham described the Nahals in the following words - 'Immediately in the neighbourhood of the Turvees are a savage set of being termed Nahals, who exist perfectly wild among the mountains, subsisting chiefly on roots, fruits, and berries: they court no intercourse with others, and dwell in absolute freedom and hardship of an utter savage existence. Marriage contracts, as well as all other religious ceremonies, are entirely dispensed with, and the assorted pair are free to live together whilst they choose, or separate at pleasure and convenience; the infant accompanies its mother to next abode, but the grown up children remain with the father. Nahals are dark and diminutive in stature, and their features are exceedingly ill-favoured. A few of this tribe cultivate a little grain among the ashes of the burnt boughs of the forest or barter the produce of their jungles for cloth; but they are very seldom to be met with beyond the immediate bounds of their unhealthy locations. Some of them were Musalmans, but most had no noticeable religion, neither worshipping Hindu idols nor following the Musalman creed. They had hereditary
headman, naik. In 1825 the Nahals were in a disturbed state, and caused very great trouble. Common surnames among Nahals were Kalamba, Vadia, Pipria and Chavania.

**Khotils**

Khotils, numbering 223 as per 1872 census, dwelt side by side with the Nahals along the south face of the Satpudas, and were found at Dhanli, Vaijapur, and in many of the Chopda and Shirpur villages. The Tadvis and people of Sarda called all Bhils Khotils. But Khotils and Nahals were distinct classes. The Khotils were regarded by the pure Bhil as degraded because they indulged in carrion, and did not hesitate to touch the dead body of the cow. The Khotils bartered gums and wax for the produce of the plains. In their habits and customs the Nahals and Khotils were much alike. They were great huntsmen and very fond of liquor, drinking to excess especially at Holi (March - April) time. Many of them worshipped the tiger god and refused to join in a tiger hunt. Their religious ceremonies were very simple requiring no Brahman. The child was named by its parent or tribesmen, and as it grew up followed in its parent's footsteps. If a boy, he joined his father in chase, helped to catch fish and in gathering leaves, lac, honey, wild berries, and other forest produce, which were bartered with some shopkeepers in the plain for cash or credit. If a girl, she helped her mother in cooking and corn grinding. When the time for marriage comes, if old enough the lad himself or if he was too young, his father, arranged with the girl's father for a certain price. The caste committee, 'Panch' and the headman, 'naik' were asked to witness the agreement, and a day was fixed
for the ceremony. The officiating priest, a Bhil by caste, known as Mankar or Chaudhri, was the Naik's minister, 'Pradan'. For his services he used to get a turban or some other present or a money fee of Rs 1 and annas 4. If the headman was present he also was paid 1½ to 2½ rupees. Further procedure used to be as follows. After the bride and bridegroom are rubbed with turmeric, in the auspicious evening, the pradhan begins the ceremony by asking the bridegroom the name of his bride. He tells her name and ties his waistcloth to her 'liคงa' (gown). Then she is asked the bridegroom's name, and after saying it, ties her robe to him. Thus tied together they turn seven times round, and the ceremony is complete. A feast costing from Rs 5 to Rs 30 follows and the bridegroom goes to his father-in-law's hut where he lives from a week to three months or a year, and then takes the bride to his own dwelling. 'Among the Khotils the marriage ties were loose, and a woman could leave her husband and marry another for comparatively trivial reason.'

The Khotils used to bury their dead without form or ceremony, piling a few stones to mark the grave. Common surnames among the Khotils were Ghartia, Takria, and Shania.

**Pavras**

The Pavras, Vorlis, and Dhankas or Dhankauras lived in the Akrani sub-division and parts of Taloda and Shahada. Pavras, numbering 3938 (as per 1872 census) were said to be Rajputs who were driven by the Udaipur chiefs from their homes near the hill fort Palagad. They were called Pavra Bhils,
Parva Naiks, and Povra Kolis indifferently. The Pavras were usually short and slightly built. Their features, flatter than those of ordinary Hindu, showed intelligence and good nature. They had low round foreheads, wide nostrils, and thick lips, and used to keep long hair and moustaches though they shaved the beard. The women were stout and buxom, and when young, very comely, fair, and with expressive features. Their language was irregular, governed by few rules. Full of vowels and diphthongs, it was more like Gujarati than Marathi. It was never written, and they were always examined in court by interpreters. Their verb had no infinitive and only two tenses, past and present.

A Pavra's house was better built and more comfortable than a Varli's. He had usually two thatched huts of interlaced bamboos, one for his family the other for his cattle. Generally scattered about in small groups, each forming a small farming establishment the houses were enclosed by a courtyard and a shed for earthen water vessels. In the courtyard were arranged a number of circular stone houses for grain. In the shed water vessels were always set on a raised bamboo frame. Underneath this water-pot frame was normally a wooden trough with water for the goats and fowls.

The Pavras ate only goats, sheep and fowls. All used to smoke tobacco, but they never used opium, and very seldom hemp. Though they drank a great quantity of Mahua liquor at their feasts and marriages, in ordinary life they were very temperate.
The Pavras used to wear a red and white striped loin-cloth, 'langoti', generally made at Roshmal in Akrahi and costing from 2 annas to 4 annas, and a shoulder-cloth.\textsuperscript{192} The women had generally more clothes than Valis, but they did not think it any harm to go naked to the waist. Like the Valis they used to wear brass rings on their legs, and massive necklaces of brass and pewter beads, silver armlets, and massive earrings two or three inches round. The men also used to wear a pair of large silver earrings, with a spare drop heavy enough to draw down the lobes. No children of either sex, however young, were allowed to go about without some clothes.\textsuperscript{193}

Distinguished from the Valis and the lowland Bhils by their better condition, their agricultural habits and their language, the Pavras used to deny that they were Bhils and considered the name a reproach.\textsuperscript{194}

Though shy of strangers, when their confidence was gained, they were cheerful, frank, and talkative. They were very honest and hard working 'full trust may be placed on their word'. They were very fond of their 'country' and seldom left it,\textsuperscript{195} but robbery was almost unknown. They were very hospitable among themselves, their women and children constantly visiting from house to house, and some of their headmen spending their whole store of grain in entertaining guest.' They were passionately fond of music and dancing.\textsuperscript{196} Their chief musical instruments were a two-stringed fiddle,
'runthi', an instrument like the bagpipe without bag, 'pavlu', a bamboo pipe, 'pavi', a large drum, 'mandal', and a small drum, 'dhol'. 'Their music is neither harsh nor untuneful, and is superior to any heard in the plain. In their dances, about fifty men and women passed in a large circle round the musicians, gradually becoming more excited as the music grew louder and quicker. Some of the men flourished drawn swords, and, at intervals, all raise a loud shout and turn sharply round facing outward.

Marriage

Writing in 1849 Lieutenant Bigby observed that the marriage ceremony was never performed till both the bride and bridegroom were of age and the young men were generally allowed to choose for themselves. But later on James M. Campbell observed in 1876 that the rich married their sons at ten or twelve. The accounts of this period also show that relations looked out for a bride. Though she was generally younger, cases were not rare when the wife was older than the husband. The youth or his father used to give the bride about Rs 45. Later on the amount was increased and the bride's father was given a bride price of Rs 110 or more, but if the boy's father was unable to pay this amount, he used to give his bullocks to the bride's father. If still poorer, marriage by serving the father-in-law was common, the period of serving being eight to ten years. During this period the youth lived with the girl's family and was generally married to her...
when half the term agreed was over. Marriages were held only during 'Phalgun' and Vaishakh. On the day before marriage, all the bridegroom's relations went dancing to the bride's village and stayed there for the night, performed religious ceremonies next morning, and then one of them carrying the bride on his waist, they came to the bridegroom's village to perform the marriage ceremonies, which generally used to take place in the afternoon. They first worshipped Khandoba, who was represented by a heap of rice with two pieces on it. The couple was then seated on a stool, the ends of their garments were tied together, and they threw rice on each other. When this was done, it was a custom with some families to take the pair on their shoulders and dance.

Simple fornication between unmarried couple was punished by a small fine, and it was not uncommon for a girl to be the mother of one or two children before her marriage. No marriage ceremony was performed in such cases. She was merely given to the father of her children after he had paid the regular caste fine. Though the girl was not fined, she used to forego all the privileges of a regularly married woman.

Widow marriage was allowed. Polygamy was common, and those who could afford to, had three or four wives.

Religion

Their religion was simple. They had neither priests, temples nor idols. They worshipped a supreme creator, 'bhagvan', and strived to please him with sacrifices and
offerings.\(^{209}\) In the forest near each village was a sacred tree, round which, before harvest, the villagers met and prostrated themselves before the rising sun, offered corn and sacrificed goats and fowls. The deity to whom these offerings were made was called Bava Kumba.\(^{210}\) His wife, Rani Kajhal, had also a sacred tree near her husband's tree to which offerings were made.\(^{211}\) They worshipped the tiger god, (Vaghdev) but only to propitiate it and prevent it attacking their cattle, or when it had carried off any of their people.\(^{212}\) Though they acknowledged no household or village deities and had no reverence for river or fire they were very superstitious, believing in witchcraft and sorcery.\(^{213}\) Before the British rule, many an old woman had her nose slit under the suspicion of being a witch, 'dakini', the idea being that the loss of nose destroys all power to work evil.\(^{214}\) A belief in omens was common.\(^{215}\) Odd numbers were lucky, but to see a blackbird called 'pichi', was most ill-omened. At the beginning of any undertaking they cast omens with a bow and arrows. They saluted friends by taking the two hands of the person saluted, and saying 'bhaj-bhaj', that is, worship.

Pavras had three chief festivals - Indraja, Divali and Shimga or Holi.\(^{216}\) Indraja was held in honour of Indra. It was only held when year was good or when a vow had to be discharged. It was celebrated on Sunday, Wednesday or other lucky day between Dasara and Divali. It's chief ceremony consisted in planting a 'kadamb' (Nauclea parvifolia) branch in front of a landlord's (Jamindar's) house, so as to
remain one cubit underground and man's height above. The branch was rubbed with vermilion and worship began at midnight. A goat and hen were killed and offered, and dancing was kept up till day break. Next morning at about ten they pulled up the branch and threw it into some neighboring river or pond. On returning they drank and danced, and ate the goat and hen offered overnight.\textsuperscript{217}

Divali, sometimes called 'Nagdivali', was a yearly festival celebrated in the month of Posh (January) on different dates in different villages, so as to last on for nearly a month.\textsuperscript{218} Four or five stones were brought from a neighboring river and placed outside the village but within the limits of the village land. They were then painted red, and next day at noon worship began. Liquor was sprinkled on the ground and freely drunk, and goats and hens were killed. Dancing began at night fall. Two men, holding two lighted bamboo sticks, went from house to house followed by the villagers. Every housewife came out with a lighted lamp in her hand, waved it before them, marked their foreheads with lamp oil, and gave them drink. After dancing for a few minutes, the procession passed to another house and there went through the same routine. Next day they fed their bullocks with Indian millet, rice, 'banti' and 'paral', and gave them drink.\textsuperscript{219}

The Shimga or Holi took place, as elsewhere, on the fifteenth of the bright half of Phalgun (March).\textsuperscript{220} Immense crowds met at Dhedgaon, the central village and police headquarters of the Akrani territory. A pit was dug, and a wooden
rod thrust into it and lighted about ten or eleven at night. Everyone present brought a piece of bread, some rice and a cock. Portions of these were thrown into the fire and the rest was handed round among friends. Then, with the help of an occasional draught, they danced till dawn.

The Pavras used to burn or bury their dead. The lepers, persons who died of cholera and small-pox, woman dying in child-birth and children under two or three months, were buried. So great was their aversion to a leper that, when living, he was kept in a distant cottage, and when dead, was buried by a Mohar untouched by a Pavra. In ordinary funerals a party of them used to carry the corpse. A rupee, or, if the family be poor, an ounce was placed in the deceased's mouth, a little rice, turmeric and red powder 'gulal' were rubbed on the forehead, and his sword and bows and arrows were placed on the bier by his side. To the sound of drums and music, the body was carried to the burying ground. The widow wore good clothes on the day of her husband's death, cooked rice in an earthen pot, and after the corpse was carried away, broke the pot outside the house door, and followed the burial party dressed in new clothes. On her returns, she put on her old clothes, and unless she wished to marry, never again wore gay clothes or ornaments. All the furniture of the deceased, dishes, cots and pots, except drinking pots, were buried or burnt with him. If the dead did not own these articles, they were bought and laid by his side. His silver ornaments were also sometimes burnt. But shoes, cows and money were given to his sister's son 'bhacha'. On the return
of the funeral party, some drank, and all bathed. On the eighth day after death, friends and relations met at the house of the deceased and drank a jar of liquor. Though death was not considered to have made the family impure, they performed ceremonies on the twelfth day after death. The ground was smeared with cowdung, leaf plates were spread, straws were laid to represent the deadman's forefather, liquor was sprinkled on the ground, and a dinner of rice or mixed rice and pulse, was given to the caste fellows. On that day they used to drink, but did not dance. It was not obligatory to perform these ceremonies on the twelfth day, if that day did not suit they could be performed on any day within the month. Till these ceremonies were over, the nearest relations did not wear turbans. Like other Bhils, Pavras used to leave a house in which two or three deaths had taken place.

**Occupation**

Most of the Pavras were husbandmen, many of them very skilled. They are much attached to their land and fond of adorning their homesteads with groves of mangoes and charoli trees. Some were carpenters and blacksmiths, but none barbers or shoe makers. Each man was his own barber, and each family made its own field tools and basketwork. Except for their shoes which they purchased from Kukkmunda, and their silver and brass ornaments which were made by Hindu workmen of Rishnud, they had little need of craftsmen from outside. The women never worked in the fields. Their only outdoor work was to gather mahua flowers and charolinuts.
were honest and hardworking and robbery was almost unknown to them.\textsuperscript{229}

Food habits

Pavras ate only goats, sheep and fowls. Though they drank a great quantity of 'maju' liquor at their feasts and marriages, in ordinary life they were very temperate.\textsuperscript{220}

In each village the oldest man was looked up to as the chief of the community and invested with a sort of patriarchal.

\textbf{Varlis}

Varlis like Pavras, found only in the mountainous tract that stretched about 50 Kms west of Akrani, differed greatly from them in appearance. They were tall and dark, very slim but well built, with 'somewhat negro in type'.\textsuperscript{232} They wore no head dress, but parting their hair in the middle let it flow loosely over their shoulders. Their women usually went naked to the waist.\textsuperscript{233} On both legs from the ankle half way up the calf, they used to wear tiers of massive brass rings, fitted so tight as to cause the flesh to shrink. These rings were never taken off, and were buried with the wearers.\textsuperscript{234} Though many of their words were the same as those used by Pavras, there was much difference both in pronunciation and grammar. Their language was more like Gujarati.\textsuperscript{235}

The houses of the Varlis used to be much nearer and less comfortable than the Pavras. They ate all kinds of animals except dogs, cats and tigers.\textsuperscript{236} They used to lead a pastoral life growing little corn and having large herds of cattle.\textsuperscript{237}
Milking of cows was the chief occupation of women. They were very unwilling to part with their cows. But they freely disposed of their bullocks as they seldom used the plough. They used to do most of the tillage with hand tools.\(^2\)

The birth and death customs were the same as those of the Pavras. The only difference in their marriage customs was that among them marriage used to take place during any month of the year.\(^3\)

The Yarlis had no distinction of caste or sect, nor they had any priest.\(^4\) As among the Pavras, the oldest man of each village used to act as chief of the community and was invested with a sort of patriarchal authority.\(^5\)

**Mathvadis**

Mathvadis were also called Panaris. They were found in the north of Taloda, in the Satpuda Bhil villages and in the trans - Narmada State of Kathwad.\(^6\) They take their name from Mathvad and they are said to have come to the Satpudas before the British conquest of Khandesn.\(^7\) The Mathvadis were of ordinary size and generally dark with round faces. They allowed their hair to grow but shaved their beard.\(^8\) Though at home they spoke Mathvadi, a mixture of Gujarati and Rangdi Nemadi, with outsiders they used to talk in a language which seems to be a mixture of Gujarati, Nemadi and Urdu.\(^9\)

They used to wear loincloth (langoti), a turban or rumal (headkerchief), and a piece of linen covering the chest. At marriages they used to wear silk - bordered waistcloths. Their
women used to wear the robe (sari). The men's ornament used to be small silver earrings and the women's tin rings and silver bracelets. Brass noserings and round silver anklets were used only by the rich. Their food was rice, millet (nagli) and bhadli, the flesh of sheep, deer and hens. They never ate bullocks or buffaloes.  

Husbandry was their chief occupation. They were very good in basket-weaving also. The few non-cultivators used to graze cattle and sell grass and fuel. Their women used to gather Charoli (Buchanania latifolia) nuts. Their houses were generally grass huts with bamboo partitions. They used to share their houses with their cattle. They changed their houses once every three years. The well-to-do used brass vessels, but most of them had only earthen pots. They kept cows, buffaloes, sheep, hens and bullocks for sale.

They used to worship Vaghdev and the river Narmada. They had no priests. Their chief festivals were the thirtieth (amavasya) of Ashadh (July-August), Shimga or Holi (March-April), and Divali (October). On these occasions they used to eat and drink freely and always ended with dance.

After the formal demand (magni) the betrothal of a girl used to take place generally at the age of twelve, and she was married about a year later. The bride's father used to get an amount of Rs 60/- besides clothes and ornaments for the bride. They had normal Kunbi marriage ceremonies, tying knot, and joining hands and walking round (chavri bhavri).
They used to burn their dead except young children whom they buried. With the deceased, his ornaments and clothes were carried to the burning ground where the khar took them away. The deceased's widow used to follow her husband's corpse as far as the village limits. As on marriage occasions, caste people were invited for meals and drinks.

Though they had special headman (Mahajans) disputes were generally settled by some old men. If the accused was found guilty, the punishment used to be generally a fine in form of a compulsory caste entertainment.

Bardas and Dorepis

Bardas and Dorepis lived in the hills to the north-west about Akrani and Dhedgaon. They were despised on account of their skill in basket weaving and cultivation. Though they were generally so classed, the Dorepis did not call themselves Bhils. 'A poor timid race, they are scantily clothed, and avoiding other people, generally build a nest of huts on a rising ground about two miles from the main village'. They held in point of respectability a position between the Kunbi and the ordinary Bhil. With no attachment to any particular place they used move from one village to another, but seldom left the district. 'Such skilful cultivators are they that the village headmen (Patils) are always anxious to encourage them to settle.'

Dangchis or Dang Bhils

Living below the Sahyadris, the Dangchis were the most 'uncivilized' of all the wild tribes. They were stunted in
body by their dissolute life and dulled in mind by hardship and bitter poverty. They were dirty feeders, eating monkeys, rats and all small vermin, not to mention cattle killed by tigers or by themselves. Even on grand occasions their dress was only a loincloth, 'langoti' and a wisp of rag round the head. They always used to carry materials for producing fire, flint and steel and some silk cotton in a small gourd hung round the waist by a strong thin cord. They had a very high idea of their dignity as Rajas and Raja's kith and kin. The Konkans and Varlis were not above helping about camp and carrying loads. But the Bhil Rajas never condescended to such work fit only for their subjects, and when they were not resting or idling wandered about with bows and arrows in search of small games such as peacocks and hares. Throughly 'unwilling to work', they did very little cultivation, and lived on share they took of the harvest from their subjects - the Konkanas and Varlis. They held tiger sacred and worshipped Vaghdev.

Mavchi or Gavit Bhils

Mavchi, Mauchi or Gavit Bhils, numbering 154, dwelt here and there around Turanmal, and along the hills towards Shahada and Shirpur. Though numerous in Nandurbar and Navpaur, they were chiefly found in the high western Fimpulner plateaus.

Rather tall and fair, they were perhaps from the unhealthiness of the country, weaker in body than the Akrali Pavras. They constantly changed their huts and moved about.
They were considered a timid, inoffensive, quiet and well-behaved and truthful people. The commonest form of marriage among them was the winning of the bride by serving her father for a term of year. Five years was the usual period but credit was often given and the girl allowed to live with her husband before the full term was over. Among the Mavchis, as among the Mahals and Khotiles, the marriage tie was loose, and a woman might leave her husband and marry another for comparatively trivial reasons. The caste committee 'panch', usually awarded the compensation, but cases were not rare when the husband did not think it worth while to apply to the committee, and comforted with another wife.

Mavchis were very ignorant and superstitious, tracing all disaster to the influence of witches. They worshipped Astamba, Gavli, Vaghdev and Parameshvar. They buried their dead, and often laid the deceased's personal property in the grave with him.

Mainly cultivators, some had taken to carting. They ate beef and were excessively fond of liquor. They seldom entered government service.

The Mixed classes of Bhils

Besides the classes of Bhils, mentioned above, which in spite of their differences, are generally included under the term Bhil, there are three mixed classes as under -

1. The Bhila±- half Bhils and half Rajputs or Kunbis.
2. The Tarvees - half Musalmans and half Bhil
3. The Nirdinis - Half Muselman and half Bhil.

Bhilalas

The Bhilalas were found at Dhauli, Vaijapur, Chirmira and north and east of Khandesh in Nimar and the Satpuda hills. They claimed to be Tilote Kunbis but as their names show, they are generally supposed to be partly of Bhil descent. There were many Bhilalas in the central India. The Raja of Mandinhata an island in the Narmada about 102 Kms north of Bhussaval, was a Bhiala chief claiming descent from a Chohan Rajput, Bharatsingh who was said to have taken the island from a Bhil chief in 1165. The central provinces Bhilalas were all descended from alliances of Rajputs with Bhils and took the name of the Rajput clan to which they trace their origin.

Bhilalas were small, sturdy and well featured. They used to wear a langoti and a waistcloth or trousers. They always carried a long white sheet worn as another robe.

In religion they were Hindus, but were not particular about the presence or service of a Brahman. They used to name their own children and had no particular birth ceremonies. They used to celebrate their marriages at sun-set, one of the caste being set to watch. As the sun disappeared the watchman used to clap his hands and the young women of both brides and bridegroom's families used to fasten the bridegroom's waistcloth to the bride's 'lunga' robe. Presents were made am
feast followed. Wedding used to cost Rs 20 to 50.

Bhilalas were chiefly husbandmen, being the principal cultivators in the native states on the north-west boundary of Khandesh.278

They had no headman. They spoke Nimar Bat, a mixture of Hindi and Marathi. They were hardworking, but judging from their poverty, unskilled husbandmen.279

Tarvees

The Tarvees were half Musalman - half Bhils. They chiefly lived in the village at the foot of the Satpuda hills in Savda, Adivad Chopda and Raver.280 The Tarvees are said to be the descendant of a Bhil woman and Musalman Man. They embraced Islam during the reign of Aurangzeb.281 Though the disliked the idea of leaving their homes, in the time of disorder they frequently accompanied the Pindharis during plundering excursions. They gained a name for licentiousness fully to that of their allies.282 The fairer complexion and finer feature of the Tarvees may be traced to the Mahomedan colonists whom the Mogul policy had located among the hills.283

Though they accepted that they were formerly Hindus, they did not acknowledge that they are or ever were Bhils. Many of them dressed like ordinary Khandesh cultivators and the better-to-do inclined to the dress of the Musalman Sipahis.284

Their religious beliefs as well as manners and customs were like those of other Khandesh Musalmans. At the same time, like other Hindu converts, they had a deep regard for certain
Hindu deities. They employed the Kasis at their weddings costing Rs 15 to Rs 150. They made good soldiers and constables but were very poor cultivators, generally living by wood and grass cutting. To the fault of laziness they added the vices of a quarrelsome and vindictive temper and great fondness for liquor.

The village moneylender freely advanced them funds taking payment in wood or money. The Tarvees were only in name, subordinate to hereditary chiefs. These chiefs, called khan sahebs (not naiks or Chandhris), received from Government certain allowances as hereditary rakhiwaldars (hill keepers). They settled social disputes and were appealed to in all matters of difficulty by the Tarvees of their own sub-divisions. Though little more, civilized than the other Bhils, the Tarvee's knowledge of Islam may be judged from the fact that most of them did not know the prayer used when an animal was slaughtered.

Nirdhis

Like the Tarvees, the Nirdhis were also half Musalman, half Bhils. They resided about the Ajanta range in the parganas of Jamner, Pachora and Burgaon. In their ideas and creed they were similar to the Tarvees, but the intervening distance alone prevented their intermarriage with the Tarvees. 'They were of a discontented and quarrelsome disposition difficult to manage and still more ferocious than their brethren to the eastward, and during seasons of disturbance, the most atrocious acts were invariably ascribed to their proovess.
SECTION - III

PETTY ESTATES WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE KHANDESH COLLECTORATE

In the west and north west of Khandesh, the Collector as Political Agent and the Superintendent of Police as Assistant Political Agent had charge of three groups of petty half-independent states - the Dangs, the Mehwasis and Surgana. A few of the heads of these states were Kuncis or Kolis but almost all were Bhils who claimed a part - Rajput origin. The country was so difficult to get at and during the greater part of the year so unhealthy, that it was seldom visited by the British Officers. The people were 'poor, unskilled, averse from regular work and excessively fond of spirits'.

The Dang

The Dang Country contained an area of about one thousand square miles. It was bounded on the north by the Khendesh district of Navapur, and by the Gaikwar's district of Songir; on the south by the Petty State of Surgana; on the east by the Sahyadree range of mountains; on the west partly by the British district of Chiklo, and the Gaikwar's district of Untapar.

The Dang country was divided into five principal and two smaller Dangs as under:

1. Dang Garvi
2. Dang Wassurna
3. Dang Amalli
Dang Dherbowti
5. Dang Pimpri
6. Dang Owchar and
7. Dang Chinchli

The Chiefs of Garvi, Dherbowti, Amali, Pimpri and Vasurna claimed the title of Raja and rest were called naiks.

Each Dang had its own Bhil Chief or Naja. They were quite independent of each other, except in warfare, when all used to join the Garvee standard with their quota of armed men.

The Dang Chieftains were Bhils who claimed a strain of Rajput blood. These Chiefs formerly owed obedience to the Garvi Chief, who in common with the rest paid tribute to the Deshmukh of Mulher. In the beginning of British rule these chiefs were almost independent, and as in other parts of Khandesh, had been treated as outlaws and punished with merciless cruelty. Under the British rule, strong detachments were posted at Mulher, Dhivel, Pimpalner and Varsa. Forced to keep peace in these parts the Bhils took to plundering in the Gaikwad's territory on which they had certain revenue claims. To repress the disorder which the Gaikwad was unable to check the British in 1825 guaranteed the Bhils claim on the Gaikwad's country and three years later, settled a dispute demand from certain Baglan and Pimpalner villages. In 1842, the British paying a yearly sum of Rs. 11,230 entered into an arrangement with the Chiefs for a 16 years lease of
the teak forests of 446 villages. Some years later, the oppression of the Deshmukh of Mulher caused a serious disturbance. To prevent another outbreak the British Government arranged to deduct the tribute due to Deshmukh from the sum yearly paid for the lease of the forests and pay the amount to the Diwan, the Deshmukh's representative. Except their dues to the Deshmukh the Dang chiefs paid no tribute either to the British Government or to any other ruler. The Collector of Khandesh in capacity of Political Agent was required to visit the country once a year, hold a Darbar at which Chiefs received their yearly stipends and other presents.

The Dang country was a forest tract. The soil and climate only admitted one kind of grain called Nagli, which was the principal food of the inhabitants. All other grains and supplies were procured from Khandesh villages. Mohwa trees grew luxuriantly all over the Dang. Parseis from Surat used to buy the fruit from the Bhils, and there were many Parsei distilleries on the frontier of this tract, where it was distilled into the spirit called Mowra and taken off to Surat and the coast for sale. The Bhils generally bartered bamboos and timber in exchange for the necessaries of life. There was little or no circulation of money.

Mr S. Mansfield, the Collector and Magistrate of Khandesh in his report of 21st June 1854 submitted Bombay Government stated that before 1818 "the Rajas of the Dang appear, from their ferocity and the strength of their fastness, to have preserved their independence during the rule of the Native Governments;
but every change in those Governments and every internal
commotion proved a signal for the Bheels to quit their
strongholds and sally forth for plunder. On the other hand
it was deemed perfectly lawful by the Native Governments to
use every stratagem and subterfuge to entice these people
into their power and to put them to death, although they
had previously guaranteed them from all such dangers under
the most solemn promises. The Dang Bheels, similar to those
of Khandesh, were considered by the Native Government as
outcasts from society, and any mode was considered justifi­
able to exterminate them. This state of things naturally
caused the Dang Bheels to distrust the Native Government,
and for some years retarded our (the British) relations with
them”.304

Besides certain revenue claims in the Gaikwar's territory,
the Bhils had also Geeras claims on several Khandesh village.
These were recognised in 1828. By this measure they were kept
quiet for some time, but occasionally they broke out, and
attacked the Khandesh villages.305

There was no local custom with respect to the successor
to the different Gaddies. In the past it was scarcely ever
settled without bloodshed but this system was put down in 1818
onwards.306 There were four rivers in the Dang - the Kapri,
Purna, Ambeka and Koods. There were rapid mountain streams,
running from east to west. They became dry in the summer.
There was not a single house with a tiled roof and there was no masonry well in the whole Dang country till 1855. The Chiefs and the people used to dwell in huts made of bamboos and grass, on the banks of rivers and nullas, the sites of which they were constantly changing. There were no made roads. The travelling was along the timber tracks.

The hills of the Dang are of primitive rock and basalt. Besides the finest teak for ship-building, the forest afforded many trees adapted not only for building but for many other useful and ornamental purposes. Several types of gum were found. The Rajas appear to have held their country by force of arms and were the dread of the neighbouring States before the British rule began. The population of Dang was estimated at 7,251 in 1854. The number of villages in the whole Dang country was 473. Out of these a certain portion of the revenue of 53 villages was alienated to the Gaikwad Forests of 446 villages were leased to the British Government. Out of these the forest rights of 35 villages were partly alienated to the Gaikwad.

There was no local corps in the Dang, nor any organised Native force. Every Bhil was called on to carry arms in cases of emergency. Nor was any police in the country, each Bhil being his own policeman. No sum was contributed for maintenance of the general peace of the country, as the regular payment of Geeras to the Bhils secured peace to the borders of contiguous states.
Besides the Bhils, there was in the Dang a class of people called Konkunis. They were the cultivators of the soil and resided in villages entirely subject to the Bhil Rajas.\(^3\)\(^{13}\)

The Dangs collectively were enclosed and separated from the neighbouring country by ranges of high rocky mountains except on the west, which is open.

The Bhils of the Dang were the least civilized people in Khandesh. They lived in a state of nature.\(^3\)\(^{14}\) Their colour was of the darkest, their stature generally small and their aspect most forbidding.\(^3\)\(^{15}\) They lived in huts built of bamboo, wattie and dab. They were very fond of liquor and tobacco.

The climate of Dang had deadly effect on the Europeans. The only months in which it could be visited with comparative safety were April and May.\(^3\)\(^{16}\) The features of the country consisted of a succession of hills and dale, covered with dense forests. The productions were the finest teak for ship building and other timber. The revenues of the Chiefs were (before the forests were farmed) principally derived from fees on timber and on all produce passing through their country.\(^3\)\(^{17}\) The land revenue was very small and it was collected in kind. Rainfall was very heavy. The prevailing soils were black and red earth in the villages and stony, with moorum, under the hills. There were no means of irrigation.\(^3\)\(^{18}\)

The natural resources were fruits, gums, lac, Khat, roots of trees, and "remarkable Dang potatoes (called Boeckkund by the
natives) each one weighing eight to ten pounds.\textsuperscript{319}

The Rajas investigated all offences and disputes according to ancient customs, punishing principally by fines, and without any regular system of procedure of organised laws.\textsuperscript{320} They were in the habit of disposing of 'even the most serious crimes in a most summary manner'. If the punishment of death was awarded, the victim was shot to death with arrows.\textsuperscript{321}

The belief in witchcraft was very prevalent. The Bhils were in habit of burning witches alive. Robbery was not very prevalent, as the Bhils scarcely ever stole from each other.\textsuperscript{322}

Education was wholly unknown. Its attempted introduction by the British Government was initially met with opposition and attended with extreme difficulties.\textsuperscript{323}

The prevalent diseases were fever and disorder of the spleen both of an aggravated kind and if caught by Europeans, the former was generally fatal to them.\textsuperscript{324} Vaccination was thoroughly dreaded by the population. Various attempts to introduce it met with very little success.

**SURGANA**

The Petty state of Surgana was situated in the southwest corner of Khandesh. It contained an area of about 360 Square miles. It was bounded on the north by the Dang country, on the South by the Peinth country, on the west by the territories of the Rajas of Dharumpur and Bansda, and on the east by the Sahyadree range of mountains.\textsuperscript{325}
The general features of this small tract of country resembled those of the Dang. It consisted of a succession of hilly, undulating grounds which were covered with dense forests. There was one river running through this country—a mountain stream which flew from west to east. It always dried up in the hot months. A great scarcity of water prevailed in every village during the summer months.

The State of Surgana was under the family of the Deshmukh. Their family appears to have been of Koli origin, and in all probability originally resided somewhere in the fastnesses surrounding Hatgad. During the Mahomedan region members of this family were entrusted with the responsible duty of restraining the predatory incursions of the Bhils and Kolis above the Ghats, and assist the Government on any occasion when their military services might be required.

The fort of Hutgud, only eight miles from Surgana was once of great importance and one of its gateways was placed in permanent charge of the Deshmukh with a body of armed men.

The ancestors of the Deshmukh, for their good services, were entrusted with the protection of the line of Ghats from Rowra to Serbone. Several villages below, were also granted to them as a remuneration for service, and for the support of their body of Shibandis. The family was also granted the title of Deshmukh, with permission to use a seal in matters connected with the Dang inhabitants and with those on the other frontiers of Surgana.
Before the Marathas took over from the Mæomedan or probably some time before, the Deshmukh of Surgana had asserted his independence and refused to pay any revenue to the existing Government. For this his country was included with that of the Dang in the "Bundee Mooluk" (Country in rebellion). Efforts were made to conciliate the Deshmukh.

Surgana was styled in the old records of the Peshwa as a Turuf of Hutgad and the Jageer villages as Turuf Surgana Prant Hutgud. The Deshmooks had thirty one villages with a population of about 1539. The revenue was raised on the number of ploughs, called outbundee. The land revenue of the Deshmukh amounted only to ₹1,401 and annas 4, custom house taxes to ₹5,469 and annas 3; yielding a revenue of ₹6,870 and annas 7 only.

The prevailing soils were black and red earth in the valley and strong with moorum under the hills. There were no irrigation facilities except from wells which were very few.

One of the principal routes from the Deccan to Surat and the coast lay through Surgana, which it was of consequence to keep open. The Surgana Deshmukh, therefore, was allowed to collect the revenue of the Government villages in Surgana and to pay it to the Government authorities at Hutgud at his option.

The climate was notoriously unhealthy. The rainfall was generally very heavy.
The natural resources were fruits, honey, gums, lac, Khat and roots of trees. The industrial resources were the cultivation and sale of rice, sawa, turi, uagii, Kodru, Khurasni, Wurai and burti.\(^3\)\(^4\)

The population consisted of mainly Bhils and Konkani Kunois.\(^3\)\(^5\)

The Deshmukh investigated all offences and disputes according to ancient customs punishing principally by fines, and without much system of procedure or organised law.\(^3\)\(^6\)

Education was wholly unknown. It was introduced after the Political Agency was established.\(^3\)\(^7\)

The prevalent diseases were fever and disorder of the spleen.\(^3\)\(^8\)

The Deshmukhs were independent of the British Government, except in their relation to it as the paramount power. They were also the hereditary Kulkarni over all the villages in Surgana Suwasthan.\(^3\)\(^9\)

The British political relations with Surgana began in 1818 when military operations were undertaken against Mulharji Deshmukh, for having attacked a party of the British Shibandis stationed at Surgana. The ostensible reason for this attack was a claim the Deshmukh made on some villages in Hutgud Purgana. Malharji was eventually seized and hanged in 1819.\(^3\)\(^4\)\(^0\)

The British Government, after disaffection of Malharji Deshmukh, placed the principal authority in the family of Bhikaji Deshmukh who had assisted in seizing Mulharji and he was recognised the head of the Suwasthan. Bhikaji was murdered by
Pillaji Deshmukh, the brother-in-law of the mother of Mulharji. The British Government was compelled to send a military force and as a result Pillaji was seized and executed in 1820.341

A treaty entered into with Surgana remained unaltered till 1854. There was no local or contingent corps in Surgana. The Deshmukhs kept 25 Shibandis and 5 horsemen to guard their treasury and to aid in any military operations undertaken by the British Government in their neighbourhood.342

The Mehwasi (Bhil) Chiefs

Mehwasas Chiefs' estates were situated in the Talukas of Sultanpur and Nandurbar. The people were generally Bhils who 'having some Rajput blood are most turbulent and warlike than the Dang Bhils and much superior to them in strength and intelligence'. 348 There were seven Mehwasi Chiefs as under:-

(1) The Wasawa of Chikli
(2) The Rana of Budawal
(3) The Gowhalikur
(4) The Katikur
(5) The Singpurkur
(6) Nal
(7) Rylia Farvee

The Wasawa of Chikli

The Wasawa of Chicklie was the principal Mehwasi Chief. Capt Briggs states that Wasawa's ancestors held originally lands of the Rajas of the hilly and woody country of Rajpipla
lying north of the Tapti and south of Narmada and (the then
Wasawa) Jawa had like other Bhil Chieftains in this part,
taken advantage of the times to establish his powers and
rights over the neighbouring fertile districts. His
family land consisted of 34 villages in the Rajapipla country.
Taking advantage of the condition of the Government he became
the dread of the surrounding country. He levied tribute from
several Jemindars and made passengers and merchants pay toll
for their transit through the country. Such was the status of
the Wasawa when the British Government took possession of
Khandesh. Capt Briggs was induced to permit his son and
his principal man - an active Rajput to enter the service of
the British Government and protect the country. Capt Briggs
also agreed to maintain 11 horses and 40 foot for him and to
collect tolls he had been accustomed to levy, and to pay them
to him. He was also assigned an annual pension of Rs. 3,000.
This arrangement continued till the year 1846, when his son
Kunwar Wasawa, broke out into rebellion against the British
Government. Kunwar Wasawa was apprehended, tried and condemned
to 10 years imprisonment. The estate was then attached and
administered by the Collector of Khandesh. A small allowance
was made to the Kunwar's son. The estate was released in the
beginning of 1854 and made over to Kunwar's son Ramsing
Wasawa. However, he was not found suitable to superintend
the police. Hence the allowance made to his grandfather for
horse and foot was taken away. He was allowed to enjoy land
revenue of his estate and the Government pension granted to
his ancestor.
This family's position was determined by the court of Directors despatch No 34 dated 10th November 1852, to be nominally and ceremonially a feudatory of Najppla, but treated with the British Government as an independent Chief.

The annual revenue of the estate was Rs.127 and annas 14 and received montly Kunti allowance from the British Government of Rs.250/-.

Chickli Suwasthan was bounded on north by Gowhali, on the south by the Tapti on the east by Kukurmuuda Purguna; and on the West by Sagharra.

The soil in the immediate vicinity of Tapti was good, climate of this State was extremely bad. This estate was overrun with jungle. Irrigation did not exist.

The livelihood of the inhabitants was confined to the rude cultivation of nagli, burti, bajri, and Jowari, which grains they consumed as food; and collection of mahua flowers, wax, honey and charuli nuts.

The population in 1854 was about 363 males and 338 females.

Religion was Hindu, Language was a mixture of Gujerati, Marathi and Hindi. The tribes inhabiting chickli were the wasawa, Gawit and Parvee Bhils.

The prevalent diseases were small-pox, fever, jungle fever and Cholera.

KAKA OF BUDAVAL

The small estate of Budawai was situated in the Sultanpur Taluka, between the Tapti and Satpuda, by which mountain, it was
bounded on the north. On the south and east by the Kulurumunda Purgana; and on the west by the States of Singpur and Nal.  

That part of the soil which was cleared of jungle was of middling description. Irrigation did not exist. The estate was mostly covered with a stunted jungle.

Means of livelihood were confined to cultivation of the grains consumed by the Bhils, and to the collection of mohwa flowers, wax and honey etc.

The climate was unhealthy during the greater part of the year, when either jungle fever or small-pox prevailed.

There were 17 inhabited and 15 uninhabited Bhil villages. The population of Budawal consisted of 492 males and 418 females, total of 910 souls. The inhabitants were Bhils of Parvee, Gawit and Walvi clans.

The annual revenue of this Estate was approximately Rs. 2,000/- . The revenues for the official year 1852-53 were Rs. 2,727 - 11 - 0, and its disbursements Rs. 627 - 11 - 3, leaving a balance of Rs. 2,099 - 15 - 9.

In 1818, when Captain Briggs effected arrangements with most of the Mehwasi Chiefs, he found the then representative of this family, named Chunder Sing, in possession of Budawal. Bhil Chiefs Lachmun, Pauchya and Nylia were dependent upon him. The Chief of Budawal received Geeras from forty villages in Mundubar and Sultapur Talukas. He also held possession of the passes into Mutwar. Budawal seems to have been originally independent, and laterly tributary to the Peshwa, but having
been found in a state of independence, it was treated with by
Capt Briggs in 1818, as an independent State, having tributary
to it Kati, Singpur, and Nal.\footnote{361}

Capt Briggs entered into an agreement which Chunader Singh
by which the later agreed to keep in check the Bhils of his
vicinity. He fulfilled his engagements, till he died in 1819.
Chunader Singh was succeeded by his eldest son Bhagwan Singh, a
man of no character. He died in 1859. Bhagwan Singh was succeeded
by his brother Gunput Singh. He was totally unfit for the position
he had attained.\footnote{362} His deep involvement in debt together with his
oppressive treatment of his subjects, combined with the suspicion
that he connived at the robberies occuring in the Sultanpur Taluka
led his removal to Luliana and attachment of his estate in 1845.
Gunpat Singh died Childless, and as there was no heir to the estate,
the estate lapsed to the British Government.\footnote{363}

**GOWHALI**

Gowhali was bounded on the north by the Kati and Rajpipla
territories, on the south by Chikii, on the east by Kapurmunda
Purguna and on the west by Sagbarra. It was described to be a
feudatory of Rajpipla and was staled to have been almost ruined
on the subversion of that State. Its population was confined to
the Bhils. There were about 76 males and 73 females, total 149
souls; distributed in 14 villages.\footnote{364}

This Estate was extremely mountainous and covered with
dense forests. The climate in these dense jungles was most
insalubrious, and no stranger could reside in it very long, owing
to Malaria and unwholesomeness of its water.\textsuperscript{365}

The soil was stony, and the country was composed of a number of irregular hills, almost entirely covered with thick bamboo and timber jungle. The industry of the inhabitants was confined to the cutting of timber, and the cultivation of nigli, bunti, bajri, jawari and the collection of mohwa flowers, wax and honey.\textsuperscript{366}

The Chief received his revenue in grain.\textsuperscript{367} Independent of this he received an annual payment Bahasye Rs.1,000/- from Baroda and a Kunti allowance of Rs.500/- from the British Government. He was also supposed to realize Rs.500/- a year from people who procured teakwood from the jungles of his estate.\textsuperscript{368}

In 1818 this family held Gowhali, and had in its pay numerous Shembundis. Capt Briggs considered it advisable to grant its representative, Nana Wulvee, Rs.500/- per annum as Kunti allowance, and to require from him police assistance within and around his estate.\textsuperscript{369}

Nana Wulvee was supposed to have secretly aided Kunwar Wusawa, in his frequent raids into Khandesh, until that Chief was brought to reason by Mr. Willoughby (then Assistant Resident at Baroda) and then it was arranged that the Sagbarra Chief and Nana Wulvee should receive shares of the Songir Kunti. In accordance with this arrangement Nana Wulvee received Bahasye Rs.1000/- from the Baroda Government. On his death, his son, Katia Wulvee succeeded him. But as Katia Wulvee was a minor his uncle Dewjee Wulvee, became his guardian. In 1854 Katia, about 14 years old was attending Kukurmunda School \textit{and} was considered
quite intelligent student.\textsuperscript{370}

KATI

The Suwasthan of Kati was bounded on the north by the Udaypur State, on the south by the Suwasthans of Singpur and Chickli, on the east by the Akrani Purgana, and on the west by the State of Rajpipla and the Suwasthan of Gowhali. It was very difficult of access from every direction, and consisted of a succession of narrow valleys, separated by ridges of lofty, irregular hills, covered with thick jungle. Its population was confined to Bhils. Estimated population was not more than 1,000 to 1,200 souls. These Bhils belonged at Mutwaria Povra, Wurali and Farvee clans.\textsuperscript{371}

The soil in the villages between the ridges of the hills was good. The main source of livelihood was confined entirely to the rude cultivation of the grains they consumed for food. Climate was very unhealthy. The prevailing diseases were small-pox, fever, jungle fever and Cholera.\textsuperscript{373}

In 1818 this Mehwasi was recognised as a dependent for the Rana of Budawal. As this estate was situated within the Satpuda and was of considerable extent, its chief was granted a Kunti allowance of \textcurrency{Rs} 37-8-0 by Capt Briggs.\textsuperscript{373}

This Chief was formerly a tributary of Budwal, to which it paid a yearly Nazarana of \textcurrency{Rs} 32/-. Its annual revenue was ascertained in 1849 by Lieutenant Rigby, then Western Bhil Agent, to be about six or seven thousand rupees. \textcurrency{Rs} 450/- were yearly paid to it by the British Government as a Kunti allowance.\textsuperscript{374}

After British acquisition of Khandesh, a detachment was
placed at Kukurmuuda under Capt. Rigby who found it necessary
to proceed to Kati, to inflict punishment on Luxman Parvi, its
Chief, and to prevent him from collecting his followers for
plunder, and thereby disturbing the public peace. When Capt
Rigby arrived at Kati he found it vacated and subsequently got
it burnt. On this occasion the whole of the family property
of Luxman Parvi was destroyed. In 1854, its Chief Umed Parvi,
about 40 years old was found devoid of energy and much in debt.275

The Chief had no Shibandis. He had only 10 peons, whom
he employed in the collection of his revenue. There was no
police establishment.

SINGPUR

Singpur Suwusthan was bounded on the north by the Satpudas,
on the south by the Kukurmuuda Purgana, on the east by Nal and
on the west by Budawal. It consisted of 3 inhabited villages.
The Bhil population was estimated at 16 males & 16 females. The
soil was good but little cultivated, except in the immediate
vicinity of the villages. There was no irrigation. The country
was flat and mostly covered with jungle. Means of livelihood
was confined to the cultivation of the grain they ate and the
collection of Mohwa flowers, wax etc. Climate was unhealthy.
Prevalent diseases were small-pox, fever, jungle fever, Cholera
etc. 277

In 1818 the Bhil Chieftain of Singpur was acknowledged
by Captain Briggs as a dependent of the Rana of Budawal, and
as the possessor of Singpur and its three villages. Briggs had
granted to this Chief an annual present of Rs. 200/- through the
Rana of Budawal. In 1854 its Chief Bhikna Parvee was about 60 years old. His son was about 20 years old and had been a student of the Bhil School at Kukurmunda. The revenue of Singpur was about Rs.135/-.

NAL

Nal was bounded on the north and south by the Kukurmunda Purgana, on the east and west by the states of Gowhali and Budawal. It contained two inhabited and five uninhabited villages. The population of Nal consisted of about 30 Bhils. The soil was middling. There was no irrigation and except in the immediate vicinity of the villages, the estate was covered with jungle. The industry of the people was confined to the cultivation of the grain they consumed as food. The climate, like of all the petty Mehwasi States was unhealthy. The prevalent diseases were fever, jungle fever, small-pox and Cholera.

In 1818 this petty Mehwasi was recognised by Capt Briggs as a dependent on Budawal. When Briggs effected his arrangements with the Rana of Budawal, he agreed to recognise Rana's right to Nal, with its then five villages. He also granted the Kunti to which he was recognised but this was collected by the Political Agent. He was also granted an annual present of Rs.200/- in accordance with Government letter No 4592 of 1849. The Bhil Chief of Nal was a tributary of Budawal and paid that State a yearly Nazarana of Rs.10/- Independent of the allowance of Rs.100/- granted by the
Government, he had but little revenue, which he sometimes received in kind, sometimes in money. Revenue was estimated at about Rs. 20 to Rs. 25. Kanid Parvi, the Bhil Chief of Nal was about 30 years old in 1854. He kept no accounts of his disbursements, and had no police establishment. 384

Rylia Wulud Weslia Parvi

The estate was bounded by Nal, Singpur and Budawal. It was very small and quite unproductive. Its Chief, Rylia Parvi had his usual place of residence at Gur Waleri in the Buduwal Suwasthan. 385 He was formerly dependent on Budawal but later on became independent. His estate was for several years deserted. On the death of Rylia Parvi, this estate was attached vide circular No 19, dated 14 April 1832, but was given to Kuera Parvi and Dilia Parvi on the 5th April 1853 by Capt Rose, then officiating Western Bhil Agent. Kuera Parvi acted as Jemadar of the Nandurbar Mahwasi police for sometime and was considered as an intelligent man. 386

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NOTES

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