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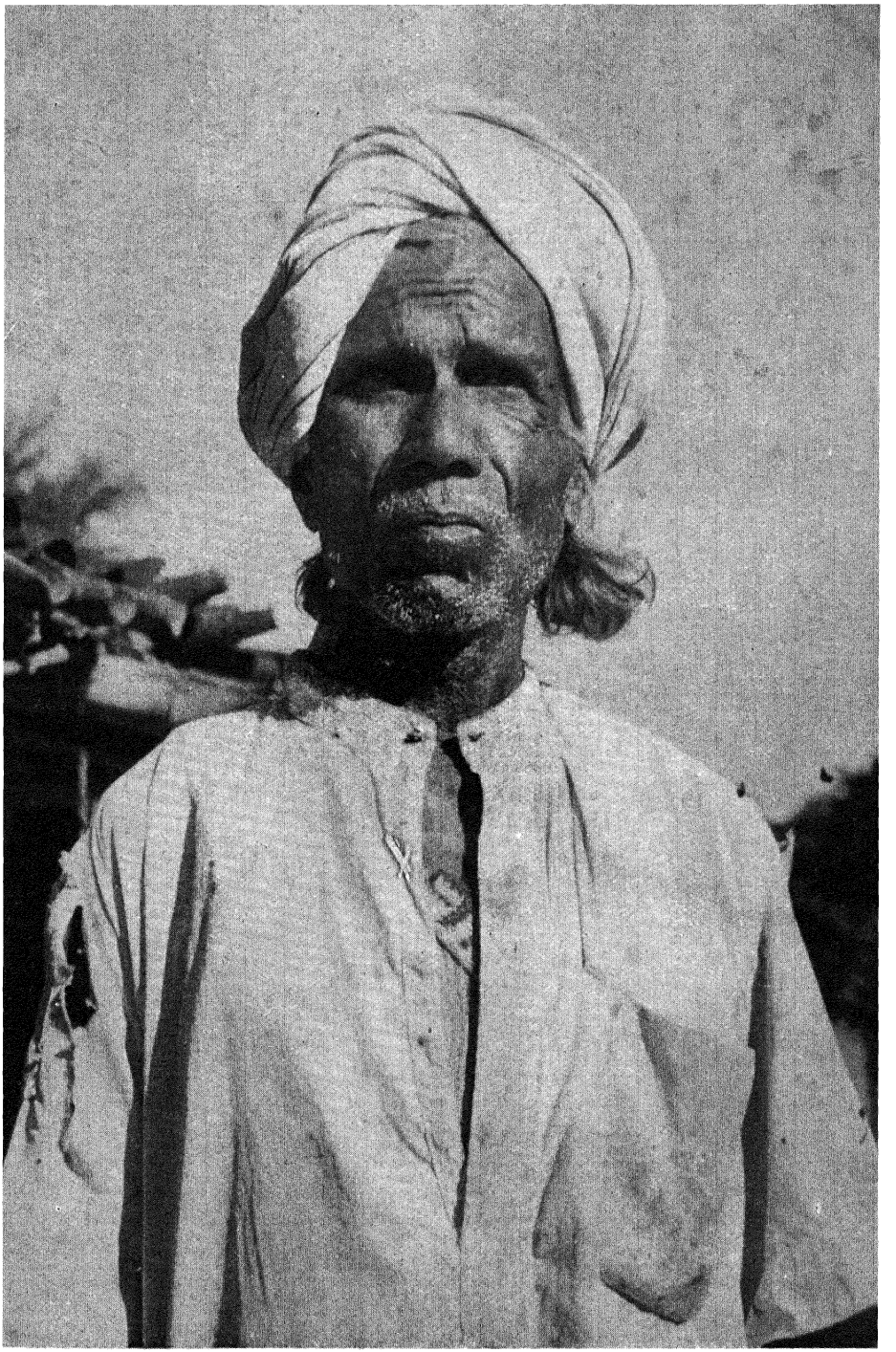

A DUBLA BHAGAT — Babarbhai Dulabhai
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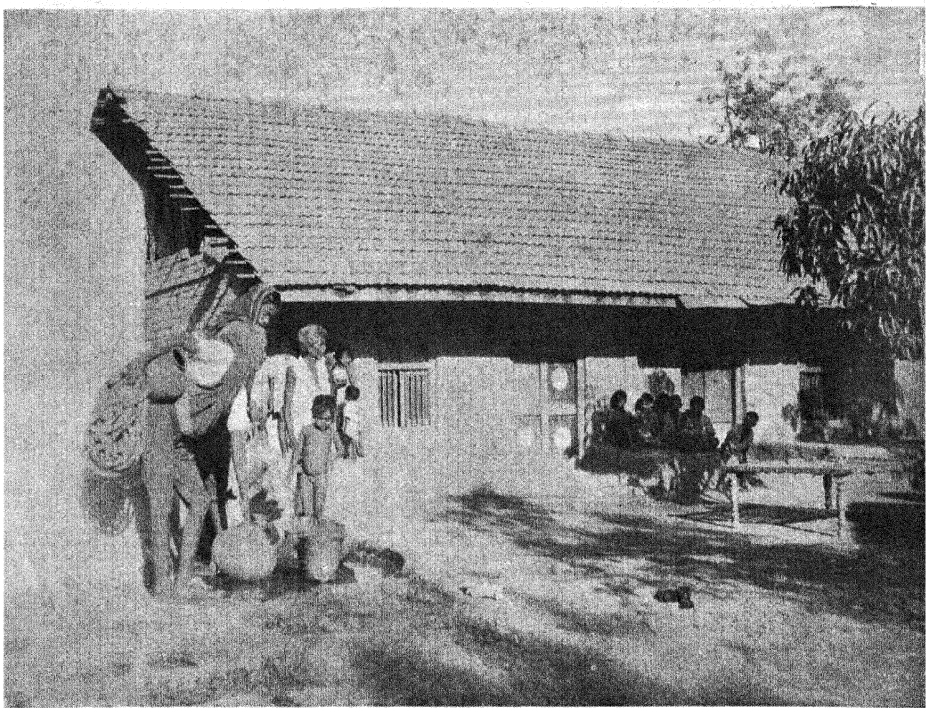

THE DUBLAS OF GUJARAT

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BHARATIYA ADIMJATI SEVAK SANGH

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DEDICATED

TO THE

TEEMING TRIBES OF INDIA

IN A SPIRIT OF SERVICE

WITH A

FIRM FAITH IN THEIR FUTURE

AS FULL CITIZENS

IN A CLASSLESS SOCIETY

TRAINED TO ADD TO

THE PRODUCTIVITY AND HUMAN

RESOURCES OF THE

ANCIENT MOTHERLAND

IN A

WORLD OF PEACE AND EQUALITY

PREFACE.

The present book on the Dublas forms an important stage in the study of the tribes of Gujarat. In 1935, during my tour through Europe, I decided to take up the study of anthropology and began as an amateur anthropologist. The Bhils of the Panchmahals, formed the first subject of my study. I then came into contact with the late Thakkar Bapa—Shri A. V. Thakkar, L.C.E., ex-Municipal Engineer, and vice-president of the Servants of India Society and the Founder of the movement for the uplift of the tribal people. This developed into a further paper on "Bhils the Original Inhabitants of Gujarat" in the October 1939 number of the Gujarat Research Society. This was followed by the Anthropometric measurements of the Bhils of Kathiawar by Dr. G. M. Kurulkar of Seth G. S. Medical College of Bombay (Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, October, 1942) and a further discussion on Bhil Raciology was included in the same Journal in a paper by Dr. D. N. Majumdar. In 1942 also appeared my paper on "non Hindu elements in the culture of the Bhils" in the Volume of Essays presented to Dr. S. C. Roy, Dr. D. N. Majumdar was invited again in 1946 to make a further study of the racial tribes in Gujarat. After measuring 3600 persons and testing blood samples of 3000 persons of 26 groups, he prepared a Report which is published under the title Race Elements in Cultural Gujarat.

Dr. T. B. Naik, a Scholar of the Gujarat Research Society, was encouraged to make a fuller study of the Bhils of Rajpipla and his book on Bhils has been since published.

2. During my world tour in 1952, I got into contact with anthropologists in Japan, the States, in London and in Vienna. I was invited to the Wenner-Gren Foundation World Symposium at New York in 1952, and attended the world conference of Anthropologists and Ethnologists at Vienna. I also studied the State Welfare measures adopted in the United States and also in Mexico. In the Presidential address which I delivered on 'Anthropology, the Science of

Human relations' at the Second Gujarat Research Workers Conference on 24-26 January, 1953. I emphasised the necessity of further research into the cultural life of Tribal population of Gujarat. I referred to the large tribal population of the Bhils (474), Dublas (180), Konkanas (34), Dhankas (20), Dhodias (140), Naikas and Naikdas (116), Gamits (98), Chodhras (98), Kolis (86) and pressed for a permanent research organisation for the study of these tribes and other social groups in the region. The percentage of tribal population in some Gujarat districts is much higher than the average of 9.30 per cent for the whole of the Bombay State e.g. in the Dangs district the percentage of tribal population is as high as 84.35 per cent, in Surat district 46.74 per cent, in Panchmahals 40.97 per cent, in Baroda 17.48 per cent and in Sabarkantha 10.44 per cent.

3. In the 1954, I prepared at the instance of the Government of Bombay, a scheme for carrying out research into socio-economic and cultural and other aspects of various schedule tribes in Gujarat. The research was proposed to be carried out on the following lines, which have been followed also in writing this book:—

Cultural life:—(1) Practices and customs connected with (i) birth, (ii) marriage and (iii) pregnancy (iv) death. (2) Festivals, dance, songs, plays, sports and gams. (3) Folk-songs, folk lore, folk drama, folk literature. (4) Witchcraft—belief in evil force, origin of disease, conception of creation, tribal gods and goddesses.

Socio-economic life:—(1) Intensity of contact with modern life, roads, dispensaries, hospitals, schools, factories. (2) land hunger, the influence of tenancy legislation. (3) Indebtedness and self sufficiency.

Health and Nutrition:—(1) food, selfsufficiency or otherwise, (2) stimulants and liquor, and effect of the dry policy (3) Health and efficiency (4) Diseases and (5) Longevity.

Physical Measurements:—(1) Anthropometric measurements and serological study.

Progress of Education:—(1) Literacy (2) Disabilities and difficulties and (3) Unemployment.

The object of this research is to secure scientific data regarding the tribe and ascertaining those aspects of their cultural life in art, dance, dress, manners and customs, which deserve to be preserved or valued in planning for the progress of the people. The scheme was approved by the Government of Bombay in Government Resolution No. MBC 2552 dated the 8th December, 1954 with a request to start the research work according to the scheme but for the Dubla community.

4. The work was commenced in the last week of January 1955, and a Research centre opened at Dharampur, one of the most hilly areas of Surat District. I visited the centre and the neighbouring village in January before initiating the work and again in March. From this centre the Research Assistant visited the villages and the area surrounding them in search of information regarding the cultural social and economic life of the Dublas. Dr. T. B. Naik, the Director of the Tribal Research Institute, Chhindwara, Madhya Pradesh paid a visit to the area in February and was helpful in deciding the detailed procedure. The villages visited from the Dharampur centre were Asura, Hanumanjhampa, Malunpada, Kanurburada, Motaponda, Rajpora, Bhambha, Barsod, Rohina and Tarmalia. The research centre was moved to Maroli Kasturba Ashram from middle of April to middle of July 1955. Information was obtained by visiting the villages and neighbouring areas of Mahuva, Kolagana, Kadoli, Chhinam, Dhaman, Nedod, Maroli-gam, Dabhol, Ponsara, Hansapur, Sisodara.

The research centre was shifted in July 1955 to Varad, predominantly representative Dubla village (nearly three miles away from Bardoli Railway Station, situated in the most thickly populated Dubla territory as may be seen from the Map). A special opportunity was taken to observe the village and tribal customs of the Dublas on the occasion of the Divasa festival which is the most popular in that community. From this centre, the villages of Rajapora Pandu, Rayam, Akoti, Astan, Bajipura and Butwada were visited. But the most important research conducted from this centre pertained to the cultural life especially the festivities, folk

songs, folk dances and folk stories connected with the important festivals of Divaso, Norata (Navaratri) and Divali. We have had ample opportunities to use the camera and the tape recorder, the latter presented special difficulties owing to the absence of electric current and we had to take a special petrol generator. The Talavia Dublas at Vagra, Ankot, and Agrama in Broach District were also visited.

5. In the meantime our Tribal Research Unit strengthened by the appointment of Dr. H. R. Trivedi, M.A., Ph. D., with effect from the 14th November, 1955 and of Shri J. L. Rathod, B.A., D.S.S.A., from the 1st March, 1955 while Shri J. B. Naik was already working there with this Unit we proceeded to make a further study of two additional tribes in the neighbourhood the Naikas and the Gamits. The staff visited and surveyed Endhal, Sarbhon, Alipor Matwas, Vandurvela, Pipaldhare, Barolia, Degam, Anaval and Aheva. We also visited various other tribal centres like Bilimora, Vansda, Bhinnar Puna, Anaval etc.

6. Besides our staff, I took the help of various experts on the lines contemplated in the scheme in para 3 above. Psychological investigation of the intelligence of Dubla children was conducted on Goddard Form Board Test, Pass-along tests, Koh's Block design test etc. with the help of trained staff loaned by the M. S. University of Baroda, Department of Education and Psychology.

A health and Nutrition survey of the Dubla settlement at Varad was organised under the auspices of the Government of Bombay Nutrition Department when the eminent nutritionist Dr. M. V. Radhakrishna Rao was personally present and guided the survey. The results are incorporated in a separate chapter.

I am a believer in physical anthropology, for among other things it provides for exact measurement; and the accuracy of a scientific investigation depends upon the exactness and care with which the data are collected. Econometry, sociometry and anthropometry are all new subjects which deserve to be investigated with prolonged patience and keenness spread over a number of years, before reliable comparative data are secured and before they can be utilis-

ed for proper interpretation of important problems regarding the origin, migration or acculturation of various groups or races. The investigation on serology is based on the earlier findings of Dr. D. N. Majumdar in 1946, but since 1952, a serological unit has been initiated by this Society, under Dr. D. D. Banker, Dr. Purandhare, Dr. H. I. Jhala with Mr. G. N. Vyas, who has incorporated the findings in a thesis for the M.Sc. degree in Microbiology.

The anthropometric measurements of Gujarat Tribes, taken by Dr. D. N. Majumdar in 1942 and in 1946, have been supplemented by special measurements taken by one of his ablest assistants Dr. R. D. Singh in April 1957. The report will be found in Chapter 19.

7. The present study of the Dublas is, therefore, one of the most comprehensive ones attempted in India for any tribe. In addition to the usual survey of the socio-economic and cultural aspects of the life of a tribe, the cooperative effort of Psychologists, Nutritionists, Anthropometrists, Serologists has rendered it possible to present a connected and all sided picture of a people, who have suffered from the stamina of being called 'serfs' and from being subjected to social humiliation and economic exploitation. While exploring the scientific side, we have not neglected the welfare side of the problems of this tribe; with this object, our staff and myself have been in constant touch with the social workers of voluntary welfare agencies, who have been of immense help to us in many ways, especially in securing contacts with the tribal people in the interior.

8. I am grateful to all these expert authorities for their prompt and cooperative help. The Vice-Chancellor Smt. Hansa Mehta of the M. S. University of Baroda University, Prof. T. K. N. Menon and Prof. Lele of the Faculty of Psychology and Education at Baroda, Dr. M. V. Radhakrishna Rao, Chief Nutrition Officer to Government of Bombay, Dr. D. D. Banker, Dr. Purandare and Shri G. N. Vyas for serological investigation, and Dr. D. N. Majumdar and Dr. R. D. Singh of the Lucknow University for anthropometric measurements. Our contacts with the Dublas was made easier by the co-operation of the eminent social workers in the area.

Shri Narhari Parikh (before he become ill and died recently), Shri Dahyabhai Naik, Shri Kalyanjibhai Mehta, Smt. Mithubehn Petit, Shri Jugatrambhai Dave, Shri Mohan Parikh, Shri Jhaverbhai Patel, Shri Kedarbhai Chaganbhai, Shri Bahadurbhai K. Patel, Shri Sumanbhai Bharati and several other social organisers have given us the benefit of their discussion and advice and have gone round with me in explaining the welfare measures. The author and the Gujarat Research Society's Tribal Unit are grateful to all of them.

9. It would be ungrateful not to thank the Government of Bombay for the grant given by them for tribal research. Several States in India e.g. Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa and Madhya Pradesh have organised Tribal Research Institutes one for each province. Instead of doing so, the Government of Bombay attempted to organise such research by giving grants to various voluntary Research Societies, like the University of Bombay, the Anthropological Society of Bombay and the Gujarat Research Society. This scheme was, however, dropped. Inspite of occasional difficulties in sanctioning extension of grants and the final sudden stoppage, it has been possible for the Gujarat Research Society to complete the survey of Dublas and to prepare this volume for press.

The grant was discontinued with effect from April 1957, though the staff had to be continued till October 1957. This has delayed the completion of the survey of the Naika-Naikda and the Gamits tribes, and also the publication of the volume of the Dublas. An Interium Report on the Dublas in Gujarati was published in Journal of Gujarat Research Society, January 1956 issue.

This and other studies of the tribes in Western India will, I hope, convince the Government of Bombay to initiate a Tribal Research Institute or an Institute of Social Research which willl undertake similar studies.

10. I have every hope that the present research on Dubla will provide enough data for further expansion of welfare measures, and for the protection of the genuinely sound aspects of their culture and that they will become strong well-fed, prosperous, useful and patriotic citizens ever ready at the call of the Motherland in her peaceful progress.

11. I am grateful to the authorities of the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Delhi to undertake the publication of this book. The printing of a book full of tables, and statistics, maps, photographs and illustrations has been a task full of many difficulties and the Popular Press Management deserve great credit in getting the book through the press. It would be invidious to mention names but I take the opportunity of thanking all who have helped me in the task of preparing the book and seeing it through the final stages of printing and publishing.

27th March 1958.
Lalit Kunj,
Bombay-21.

P. G. SHAH.

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Chapter I

HISTORIAL BACKGROUND

The Dubla tribe has been living in the plains of Gujarat far from the blue mountains and snowy peaks which play an important part in the life of the hilly tribes. The country (Dubla land) is described in a later chapter, but the historical background behind the whole region is of great importance in indicating the migrations and the contacts with people of the neighbouring regions. There are certain peculiar features of the historical evolution of the territory that deserved prime consideration. The region under a study is a thumb-like portion of fertile land in modern Gujarat in Western India, mostly along the sea-coast, cut off by the great rivers, Tapi and Narmada and bounded in some portions by the Aravilli hills. The tribe must have migrated into this area from the side of the sea or along the inner mouths of the rivers of the area; its numbers in the hills are decreasingly small, and the density is greatest near Pulsana and Bardoli, and the least in the hilly tracts of Dharampur and Vansda. Navsari, the ancient capital of the Lata-desh has a large number of Dublas, about 15 per cent of the total population. Evidently this is not the case of a tribe leaving the hilly tracts for the plains, but one of a tribe which thrives on the rich agricultural soil and is unable or unwilling to go into the wild forest or the hilly region. For a proper historical approach to the migrations of this tribe, and its evolution in course of time, we must have a proper perspective of the political and social changes that have affected this religion, since the beginning of history.

2. The region was known as a part of Aparanta and Lata since ancient times. Even in Ashoka's time (3rd century B.C.) Lata-desha, the region from Tapi (daughter of Sun) to Damanganga was well known. The important sea towns of this region were the ports of Sopara, Navasari, Kalyan and Thana. Ptolemy (A.D. 150) also mentions Larika

(Lata) and Arika (Konkan). The records of the contact with Greeks in the ancient times, as preserved to us by Megasthenes, Strabo, (63 B.C.-23 A.D.) Pliny (A.D. 23-79), and Arrian, give interesting history of one of the tribes, e.g. Varlis mentioned as Varelatae. He also mentions Patala the land to the south of Sind with the legendary story of Usha, the princess so well known in Gujarat mythology. Mc Grindle in his "Ancient India as described by Ptolemy" also mentions other important places like Kavi (Kapika) Navsarika, (modern Navasari) the river Namados (Narmada), Barygaza, and Surat (as Pulipula or Phulpada).

3. The Periplus of the Erythrean sea (a guide book to the Indian sea including the Red sea and the Persian Gulf written about the 90 A.D.) provides valuable description of the coast of Gujarat and the gulf of Cambay. The author makes frequent references to Gujarat in 20 out of the total 60 paragraphs of his log book. He mentions Barygaza, Surat Saurashtra, Cutch, (Baraka), Anaca (hatica), Eironon (Rann of Cutch), Abiria (land of the Abhirias), Berberia (land of Berbers—Babariawad).

4. The various names mentioned by the ancient geographers point to the important part played in the ethnological history of Gujarat by the vast coastline. Beginning from the Cutch sea ports, the coastline contains many sea ports like the Dwārkā, Jāmnagar. Porbunder and Bhāvanagar, Cambay, Dholera, Broach, Surat, Billimora, Navsari, which are situated in regions known throughout puranic history. In ancient times, the traders between Ceylon and Gogho are supposed to have secured a bride from the ruling family of Ceylon for the prince from Sehore (near Gogho); the trade connection between Gujarat and Java was well established and a Gujarati[1] ship was noticed in Borobunder in Java in about 600 A.D. Barygaza-modern Broach-Bhrigukachha—well known as an ancient port and was an important part of the Empire of Chandragupta Maurya, who is said to have resided at Shukla-tirth, known at present as a place of pilgrimage near Broach.

The trade and adventure which a vast sea coast bring in together with a fertile land and industrious population

is described in the following words by a keen student and observer like Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji[2], who wrote about sixty years ago:—

"The richness of the mainland of Gujarat, the gift of Sabarmati, Mahi, Narmada and Tapi rivers and the goodliness of much of the Saurashtra the goodliland, from the beginnings of history, continued to draw strangers to Gujarat both as conquerors and refugees.

"By sea probably came some of the half-mythic Yādavas (B.C. 1500-500), contingents of Yavanas (B.C. 300-A.D. 100) including Greeks, Bactrians, (Parthians and Scythians; the pursued parsis and pursuing Arabs (A.D. 600-800), hordes of Sanganian pirates (A.D. 900-1200); Parsi and Nawayat Musulman refugees from Khulāgu Khan's devastation of Persia (A.D. 1250-1300); Portuguese and rival Turks (A.D. 1500-1600); Arabs and Persian gulf pirates (A.D. 1600-1700); African, Arab, Persian, Makrian soldiers of fortune (A.D. 1500-1800); Armenian Dutch and French traders (A.D. 1600-1750) and the British, after A.D. 1750.

"By land from the North have come the Scythians and Huns (B.C. 200-A.D. 500) the Gurjjaras (A.D. 400-600); the early Jadejas and Kathis (750-900); wave upon wave of Afghan, Turk, Mughal and other Northern Musalmans (A.D. 1000-1500) and the later Jadejas and Kathis (A.D. 1300-1500).

From the north-east, the prehistoric Aryans and their descendants till almost modern times (A.D. 1100-1200) continued to send settlements of Northern Brahmins and since the 13th century have come Turks, Afghans and Mughals.

From the east have come the Maurayans (B.C. 300); the half Scythian Kshatrayas (B.C. 100-300 A.D.) the Guptas (A.D. 320); the Gurjjars (A.D. 400-600); the Mughals (A.D. 1530); the Marathas (A.D. 1660-1760); and the British (A.D. 1780)."

6. Each of the incoming groups, castes, races, types, tribes or nationalites mentioned in the above lists have materially affected the characteristics of the racial types noticed in the country. Take for example the Yadavas, who have come into the region in about 1500 B.C. during the

Mahabharat. At that time the Gujarat and Western India were considered to be outside the pale of the central *Arya Varta* and visitors to that area were supposed to perform a purificatory rite (prayaschitta). The journeys to these distant places were supposed to involve great risk and danger owing to the existence of various tribes. *Yadavas* were a short dark people, whose leader was the historic Krishna, and had migrated from Muttra—the Centre of Hindu Culture to the west. Before his arrival, the country was known as Anarta; and a region with mountain Revat was ruled by King Raivata, who had a daughter called Revati. While this King had gone to Brahma for consultation about the marriage of his daughter, his country was occupied by Yādavas and he was advised to marry her to Balaram, the brother of Krishna. The wife was very tall while the Yadav bridegroom was too short, so that the legend assumes that her height was reduced by the pressing down of the head by the Hala-plough—the classical weapon of Baladeva[3]. The The shortness of the stature of the Yadavas is also mentioned in Bhagavata Purana where King Muchukand is awakened from long sleep and finds round about him the Yadava people of short stature. During the travels of the Yadavas of Muttra between Dwarka and back, we find various tribes sometimes described hostile and otherwise. The route from Muttra to Punjab, and from Punjab to Sind was safe while the direct route from Dwarka to Muttra via present Rajputana and Malwa was supposed to be dangerous and infested by the notorious Abhira tribe. These Abhiras had robbed the seventy year old Arjuna and the seraglio of the dead King Krishna after the latter died at Prabhas Patan.

Yet the Yadava dynasty ruled over the whole of Saurashtra including Dwaraka, Junagadh, Somnath Patan and Anarta including Central Gujarat and Lata the Southern Gujarat. Some Yadav families later migrated to the Deogiri near modern Aurangabad and had given shelter to the Karan the last of the Waghela Kings when persecuted by Allauddin Khilji.

There are various accounts of the life of other tribes which give important historical information about the

ancient tribal population of India. The Yadavas and Abhiras still persist in large numbers and their modern ethnological study deserves to be strengthened with reference to the extant literature in Sanskrit.[4]

7. The word Gujarat was not known until the inroads of the Gujjar tribes from the Punjab made the name more familiar. The Gujjars were supposed to be a sub-tribe of the Huns. The region known in ancient times as Anarta, Saurashtra, Lata, and Aparant came to be known as Gurjara-ratra or the land of the Gujaras only about the 6th century. At that time also came down the Huns who seemed to have descended from the North via Kashmir, and who have left traces of their racial culture in middle Asia and who can be traced even in modern Turkey where the Hittites (connected with the Kathis of Kathiawar) have been studied with great thoroughness. Coming down from Kashmir and Central Asia they are known by various names, like Kazhar, Gujars etc. Dr. K. M. Munshi[5] has discovered linguistic affinities between the folksongs of Gujar milkmen found by him at Baisuran in Kashmir in 1945, and old Gujarati songs.

In modern Punjab, (prior to the Pakistan separation in 1947), the town of Gujarat (Gujaranwala) and the district of Gujarat used to form important land-marks; and Shah Kings of this Gujarat form the subject of an important historical work on that subject written in Urdu. The descent of these people (Gujar) and the relics found at Bhinnamal and Shrimal near modern Jodhpur point to an important halting place to the southward journey of these Gujar tribes.

The word Gurjardesh was applied to this area also from the contact with Kanauj Kings. The dominions of Gurjar-pratihar kings extended from Gujarat to Kanauj and the country previously known as Lata and Anarta, came to be mentioned in literature as Gurjaradesh.

8. *A brief historical setting.* We need not dive deep into the political history of the various dynasties that have ruled over Gujarat but make an attempt to glance over the various governing groups, who have added variety and vigour to the life of the people. The White Huns, Hara Huns, Maitrayas, Mers, and Gurjaras were in power for long time

during the 7th and 8th centuries has described by the Chinese historian Hieun Tsang (A.D. 612 to 956) and by the Arab historians of Sind. The Chavdas (720 to 956) Chapotkatas were themselves Gurjar Kings, but became popular and laid the foundations for Anahilwad Patan which led to the beginnings of Gujarat. The Chalukya kings (960 to 1242) developed the glory of Gujarat with a succession of the noble princes, as efficient administrators viz. Mulraj, Bhim, Sidharaj Jaysingh (1094-1143) and Kumarapāla (1143-1174), the builder of the Delwara temples at Abu. It was during their rule that Hemchandra Suri—the Omniscient Jain High Priest and Scholar (1089-1173) thrived and brought reputation to Gujarat as a grammarian; he got books from Kashmir and made a study of the tribal dialects as distinguished from the main language.

The advent of the Muslims (710 and 715) as Tajika Arabs brought a new element in the otherwise homogeneous population of the country. The succession of raids from Muhammad of Ghazani led to the sack of Somnath and the weakening of Hindu power. About the same time Surat district saw bloodshed when the king Bhimbisara of Mahim went through Daman and Tarapur to Gujarat. Battlefields were formed at Navasari when the army of the Jain king Kumarpal Solanki defeated and killed Mallikarjun the Silhara king near Bulsar.

During the 13th century, Koli and Warli chiefs—one of them Paupera—came from the Deccan with a handful of Mahadeo Kolis and established a ruling family with control over 22 forts. These tribal people were left undisturbed during the Musalman period (1297 to 1403), the Ahmedabad Sultan (1403-1573), the Mughul viceroys (1573-1758), and the Marathas (1760-1819). These outside rulers had limited interests in the security of the country and they had no time to conquer the tribes or to reform them, unless their depredations became very heavy and disturbing. The hill forts of Bagwada in Pardi, Parner in Bulsar and Dharampur were taken by the troups of Mahmad Begda when the tribes began to harass the population. The forests at Parnera and Daman were taken possession of by the Portuguese whose

ambitions brought them into western India in 1538.

The great rise of the Maratha power disturbed the quiet economic life of the tribal and rural peoples of the Gujarat. Shivaji with 4,000 horses marched in 1664 from Bassein through Javar, Dharampur, plundered Surat and retired. The Maratha raids at one time formed almost an annual occurrence for several years; until the Musalman kings built a strong fort for the protection of Surat. There is a record that Fort Songhad came into the hands of the tribal people in 1719, but finally went into the hands of the Marathas.

When the English took over the Surat district in 1817, the country was in a very unsettled condition. The land revenue was farmed out to Desais who were to collect a certain amount from the agriculturists who had no other interests to increase the produce. The people were poor and the villages were desolate. The various tribal people who had bows and arrows or other weapons used to sweep down the villages and plunder them; The Pindaris and other tribes made frequent depredations which could be suppressed only slowly, but when they were subjugated and when a proper system of land revenue assessment and collction was introduced under an efficient Government, the village life became steady and peaceful. The tribal people also got a chance to live a quiet life.

9. The geographical and ecological factors that govern the ethnic history of Gujarat may be summarised by the following main features:—

(1) A vast coastline encouraging the movement of seafaring sailors and lascars, as well as merchants and traders.

(2) A fertile black soil specially in central Gujarat—with abundant crops, which brought to Gujarat the title "Garden of India".

(3) Limited forest areas in Dangs, Panchmahals, and Girnar.

(4) A moderate rainfall about 30 inches except in hilly areas.

(5) A moderate climate except for 2 months of exhilarating winter, without serious hardships of snow or a heavy rain.

These factors have encouraged migrations both ways—immigration of conquerors and their followers and emigrations of the trading sea-faring classes some of whom would return with women and slaves collected during the sojourns.

The writers in Sanskrit of travelogues in the 17th Century like Venkatagiri describe the prolonged journeys for trade by the people from Gujarat region. Even now the traders, and merchants from Gujarat are found all over the world. Large colonies of Indians and Gujaratis settled in South Africa are responsible also for great political upheavals like those which led to the Satyagraha movement of Mahatma Gandhi. Even at present, emigrants from the Gujarat to South Africa and other countries, have returned to Surat district with considerable wealth which has affected the prosperity and the social behaviour of themselves as also their Dubla employees.

10. *Caste.* The migratory movements of the population of Gujarat has led to an ever increasing number of castes and subcastes seldom observed in mid-land areas where infiltration of foreign population is generally not so great.

It is wellknown that except perhaps in the centres of orthodoxy in the Benares, Allahabad, Kanauj etc., the caste system in Gujarat has been most rigid, and has extended to small caste-groups even of 100 families which refuse to dine or marry outside. There are 84 kinds of Brahmans—the proverbial number of Brahmin-sub-castes (to which invitation must be sent on the occasions of the City Banquets to Brahmins whenever they arise; similarly there are 108 lakhs of Vaishyas whose representatives attend the City Mahajan dinners in Ahmedabad City. The number of Rajput clans is estimated at 103.

Even Jainism, which does not believe in caste has, evinced a tendency towards exclusiveness and concentration of its financial resources towards the benefit of the members of its community. Caste has been officially abolished in census and in court records: yet it remains a powerful factor in social life and even in political or civic elections. All official efforts to abolish Caste[6] have proved ineffective in the absence of an adequate response of the people particularly

in rural areas. The problem is actually seen in the treatment given to Harijans by caste Hindus and even though the public opinion is slowly coming round, the effect of isolationism on the life of the tribal people is not small.

These tribes who have lived in close contact with other caste groups in the rural areas have not escaped the notions and practices of casteism. It is not proposed in this Chapter to discuss the effect of casteism on tribal population but the above discussions about the geographical and historical traditions of the region would be helpful in preparing the reader for the widespread isolation, which originates in all tribal communities but which gets increased impetus by contact with caste people. It is a peculiar feature of the tribal people living in proximity with other caste groups that they always consider themselves superior to Harijans and also to other caste Hindus, if the financial or social status of a tribal group is high enough. The sense of individuality is felt not only in social behaviour while alive but also after death, for the burial ground or the cremation ground in each village is demarcated into separate areas for each of the tribes and the castes served.

[1] P. 245—Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, 1912 Edn. edited by Scroff—Note quoted from "History of Java" by Sir Sanford Ratffel's Vol. II p. 87.

[2] Page 1 of Early History of Gujarat, Bombay Government Gazetteer Vol. 1 part 1, Chapter 1.

[3] Vishnupurana IV. i. 19 also Bhagavata Purana Skanda IX. iii. 16. 36; and Matsya Purana Ch. XII. 22.

[4] Ancient Indian Tribes. Two volumes by Dr. B. C. Laha; also by Rama Prasad Chanda, Calcutta.

[5] K. M. Munshi—p. 187-201. Glory that was Gurjar Desha—Pt. I 1955. Bhavan's Book University.

[6] See p. 124 of B.G.G. Vol. IX, part I.

Para 2: The Lāta Pradesh is also mentioned in the third century work of कामसूत्र of वात्सायन which is later than Plolemy (150-180 A.D.)

Para 4: The landing of King Vijaya in Sinhaldvipa in the year B.C. 543 the year of Buddha's death is mentioned in the Ceylonese Chronicles the

Mahavansha and Dipavansha. The connection between Ceylon and the Saurashtra coast is mentioned in the famous Gujarati proverb લંકાની લાડી અને ધોધાનો વર, which is used when a bride from a distant place is won over by a rich bridegroom.

Chapter II

ECOLOGY OF THE DUBLA LAND

The Dubla Land. The Dublas form a scheduled tribe distributed unevenly in the South Gujarat; they are found in all the Talukas of the Surat District, though with varying degrees of density of population and also in some Talukas of Broach and Thana districts. The area where they live, will, for the present purpose, be named the "Dubla Land". By this term, we will indicate the main territories in which the members of the Dubla tribe are found and beyond which they are not usually noticed. It is obvious that the same area is occupied by a number of other tribes and also by non-tribal population. Another noteworthy fact is that there are no pockets or areas entirely occupied by the Dubla community alone so that it may be described as a probable source or origin. They seem to have neither the capacity nor the tendency to live independently as a self-sufficient autonomous body. They are usually employed as landless labourers and even if they were land-holders in the distant past, they have lost that position. Of course, the Dublas live in separate falias or streets in villages and have their own punches and tribal organisations to enforce their social and tribal obligations. There are but few Dublas who have acquired land or houses which would bring them a prestige or a reputation as respectable gentry of a locality. They are among the most backward and least educated of the tribal population of south Gujarat and the economic condition of these agricultural serfs has attracted notice for the last thirty years ever since Mahatma Gandhi placed them in the limelight in 1923.

The habitat, the general geographical layout, as governed by the distribution of the sea, mountains and rivers, agricultural and conditions of soil and crops, the distribution of road and transport facilities have been all studied and the results incorporated in four maps. These maps are (1) Topo-

graphical map (2) Soil of the Dubla land (3) Distribution of Dubla population and (4) Communications (Railways and Roads).

2. *Physical features of the Dubla-Land.* (a) The Dubla land is an undulating alluvial plain taking a gradual upward slope from east to west. Its approximate length, north to south, is about 160 miles and its breadth east to west varies from 25 to 50 miles from the sea inwards.

(b) It is situated roughly between 18 53′ and 22 15′ north latitude and 72 38′ and 73 30′ east longitude. To the north, it is bounded by the river Mahi which separates it from Kaira district. It is an undulating plain, alluvial, the hills sloping down to sea on the western side. To the North-east spread Wagra and Jambusar talukas of Broach while West Khandesh, Dangs, Nasik are on the East. To the South come Kolaba district while to the West lie the gulf of Cambay and the vast Arabian sea. Umbergaon, Dahanu, and Palghar taluka of Thana district form the southern portion of the Dubla land.

(c) It is a wide stretch of land spread over 6638.9 sq. miles in extent, and includes 4066.6 sq. miles of the eighteen talukas of Surat, 1201 sq. miles of the four talukas of Broach and 137.7 sq. miles of the five talukas of Thana district. A special table gives the area of each taluka in sq. miles, the total population and density, the number of Dublas and the percentage of the Dubla to the total population in each taluka. For a comparison of the variation of the population with the climate and rainfall, the relevant data are also recorded. These data are also included in the four maps appended to this volume.

3. *Hills.* The hills and the mountains in this region are not very high. The railway line is built on an average elevation of a little less than fifty feet. But the western part of the region rises above the average elevation of 150 feet; and it is the (western) terminus of the various Ghats. Some of the peaks of the uplands rise from fifty to 600 feet. This hilly region remains covered with forest for almost all seasons. From near the village of Tadkeshwar near the Mandvi subdivision chains of flat topped hills stretch towards

the Rajpipla range. The Rajpiple hills have become the home of the Bhils and other aboriginal tribes which have been studied.[1] The eastern boundary of the hills in Songadh Vyara talukas is also hilly and is inhabited by Gamits, Chodhras, Vasavadas (Bhils), Kotwals and other tribes. The hilly areas of Bansda and Dharampur are also inhabited by tribal people and so also the Jowar and Mokhada talukas in Thana districts. Though Dublas are not found in the hills, the Configuration of the hilly region is of importance from the point of view of migration. For example, during the seventeenth century the Maratha troops had several times looted Surat City by rapid sorties through the hills near Dharampur, Sonagadh etc. The same routes have been utilised for movement of the people for the purpose of trade and commerce.

4. *Rivers.* The main rivers flowing through the Dubla-land are Narmada, Tapi, Kim, Hindola, Ambika, Poorna, Auranga, Par, the Damanganga, Sena and Dhadhar. The river Narmada or Rewa is the holiest river of Gujarat. It stars from Amarkantak, a holy pilgrimage place in Satpura hills and travels 500 miles among the parts of Sahyadri and the plains of South Gujarat. Next to Narmada in size and holiness is the river Tapi considered to be a daughter of the Sun God. It originates from Satpura uplands and passing through the high plains of Khandesh, reaches Gujarat after a journey of about 450 miles. The other rivers are comparatively small. The catchment area covered by the rivers in Surat district is large and of varying types affected by not only the local forest-clad hilly areas but also monsoon currents at the source, so that if rainfall is excessive causing floods and considerable hardships, it may cause damage to crops and other properties. The soil is loamy and cloggy, particularly in black soil areas, so that the monsoon leaves the villages water-logged. With paucity of good reliable roads, large areas remain water-logged and field work for an anthropologists becomes impossible from the end of June to the middle of November. The flood control measure and the construction of all weather roads with good culverts have recently made great changes in the life of the people,

but the difficulties in the past must have been great. Movements of people especially the tribals must have been hampered by natural barriers like hills and rivers, which must have seriously retarded the daily life and activities of the people, and thus influencing their culture.

In connection with the rivers, it is recognised that in India they have provided easy means of migration of movements of human groups and also for transmission of culture. Narmadā, Tāpi, Ambikā, Kim, Purnā, Aurangā, Pār, and Damanganga have been all centres of Hindu culture and their banks are studded with temples of various denominations and of varying importance. In evaluating the culture of the tribes living in an area with rivers having such traditions, we must take into account the facilities available for transmission and transfusion of culture. Even in respect of mountains, we have noted that they are not very high, or impregnable, and have provided means for rapid movements even of mounted troups.

5. *Geology.* The Dublaland appears to be on the surface mostly alluvial as most of the region is fit for cash crops like cotton and food crops like wheat and jowar and garden crops like fruits and vegetables. But underlying this surface are the tertiary aqueous formations of gravel conglomerates, sandstones and limestones with or without fossiliferous nummulites. The limestones have been found useful and possibilities of cement factories in the region are envisaged.

Deep below in the lower strata are the various layers of trap formations, which are thus described[2]:—

"The trap rocks on the area form a part of the great trappean group of central and western India and precisely as in precipitous and highly picturesque mountains of the Sahyadri range, it is everywhere found to form a part of a regularly stratified series intersected by numerous dykes, most of them perphyritic. The trap beds or flows consist of rocks of several varieties ranging from solid basic trap to soft shaly-looking amygdaloid. Of the latter, the variously sized cavities are filled with zeolties of different kinds, chiefly stilbite, beubandite, apophyllite, or laumonite and frequently

by transparent or amethystine quartz."

The geological formation of early tertiary and infra tertiery period has left surface rocks of varying composition. But limestone, calcarious sandstone, and agate conglomerates are common particularly near Tadkeshwar. Exposition of common trap is common and there is no want of evidence that the whole country is composed of trap, and that decomposed trap rock has led to the formation of ferruginous limestone or laterite beds.

The rock formation is responsible for the poor availability of water supply; in some of the trap areas eg. near Songadh water cannot be found even on the bank of the river (eg. at Bodisavar Ashram School) unless a depth of 80 or 90 feet is reached.

The origin of the fine argillacious black soil of this area is attributed to it having been originally formed in back waters and marshes and the level of the soil is supposed to have been then raised consequent on the general rise in the level of the land. It is this raised land with brackish soil that causes the brackish wells in Surat district. The water supply in Dublaland is generally ample and easy but the brackishness of many wells is a serious handicap. This brackishness could however be avoided by restricting the depths to certain extent so that the layer of brackish soil is not reached or is crossed successfully.

6. *Minerals.* The mineral wealth of the area is negligible as it happens also throughout Gujarat in alluvial soils.

Red-earth from decomposed trap and laterite formations are found in Billimora and Gandevi towns and yellow earth in Munjearee village of Mandvi Taluka. Varying quantities of manganese dioxide are found on the border of Rajpipla taluka (Broach district) and Mandvi taluka (Surat district. Hakika (Agate) is also found near these areas and though the famous Ratanpur Agate mines, which used to support the agate industry of Cambay, are now exhausted, occasional agate pieces are still available.

The deposits of limestones and sandstone are utilised locally and the possibilities of a cement factory in Surat district are being seriously considered.

In Broach district, mineral wealth is larger and iron ore, calcide, orches, grey white plastic clay etc. are being explored. In Jhagadia Taluka, a quary of valuable hakika (agate) stones has been recently found: plentiful stones, good for cement[3] industry, are available on the Gore side of the River. All these aspects do provide good scope for new industries on a large scale and a small scale, and if developed fully and if the manpower is trained and utilised, the future is bright even though it may take years to do so.

7. *Soil.* (a) The soil generally follows geological classification and the soil map of the Dublaland which has been prepared from the Government records follows this rule. The land can be geographically divided into several vertical divisions, the salty land called *Khar* or *Khajan,* the black soil or Kali and the light soil called the Gorat. The fourth class of soil is *Besar,* combining the characteristics of both black and light soils.

(b) In certain areas near the sea, like Pardi taluka, the tracks are more similiar to the soil of the Konkan than of Gujarat; there are also marshy lands known as *Khar* and Khajan. These lands remain saltish and marshy owing to the tidal actions in the mouths of the two big rivers, and the numerous creeks that cross the coastal land. These marshy areas are useless for cultivation and well water is rare. The little prosperity sometime noticed in coastal tracks is due to the Koli community which is industrious and considered to be nontribal in origin, as far as Gujarat Kolis are considered.

(c) Then there is the black soil, which is away from the coast and free from tidal action. It will be seen from the map that black soil covers a big track in the centre of which the largest numbers of the Dubla tribe live.

(d) The Gorat or light soil is the best and richest soil of the district and is formed by accumulation of floods of rivers. It is capable of producing in rapid succession the most luxuriant of the crops; they occur near the banks of rivers Tapi, Ambika and Auranga, near the hilly and forest areas spread the poorer and less fertile uncultivated grass land.[4]

(e) As compared with other parts of Gujarat, Surat

District is conspicuous for the larger portion which the fertile soil bears to intrinsically poor soils. Of the entirely cultivable area 9/16 is black soil, 5/16 light soil and 2/16 is medium or Besar soil.

(f) The principal crops grown in the district are javar, paddy and cotton. Some areas are fit for wheat and pulses like *tur, Masur, Mung, Adad* and *Vāl.* In poor soils, inferior millets like Bajri, Kodri and Nagli are grown; while grass lands occupy still less fertile tracks.

(g) The recovery of the salt lands and the fuller utilisation of the less fertile grasslands form the urgent problems of soil preservation and development.

(h) The soil in Broach District is much smaller in area than in Surat district, the rainfall being less and the general condition poorer. The coastal belt of sand and the low salt *Khar* wastelands, of about 2 lakhs acres, have remained uncultivated owing to tidal waters. They would require a huge bunding programme before they could be utilised. Then there is the Bara land (seaside tract) the conditions of which are described to be similar to those in the Bhal tract of the Ahmedabad district; the whole of this tract is without trees and after the crops are taken the land is bare. During the hot weather, the entire land becomes a black desert swept by strong winds and clouds of salt dust.

But the central portion of the Broach district consisting of Hansot and Wagra and other talukas has medium black sandy loam type of soil of deep well-retentive nature. Then there is the deep Gorat soil in Jambusar taluka with immense irrigation possibilities. It is significant that the Dublas concentrate in Hansot and Wagra talukas where they feel the climate and soil congenial to them.

The crops in Broach district are varied and include jowar, (kharif and rabi), paddy, cotton, wheat (dry and irrigated). bajri, groundnut, tur, lang and other pulses.

8. *Forests.* The economic life of a tribal people is closely connected with the produce of the forests in which they live. The main produce of the forests of the talukas Mandvi, Songadh, Vyara, Bansda and Dharampur are teak, blackwood, kher (Acacia catechu), bamboos and many other

varieties of forest timber. The other common trees of this area are bordi (Ziryphus Jujuba), jambu (Engenia Jambolana), khakhra (Butea Frondosa), mahura (Basia latifolia), ambo (manjifera Indica), the tamarind or ambli (Tamarindua Indica), the banian or vad (Fiens Indica), the limbdo (Azadirachta Indica), the piplo (Ficus Religiosa), and the most common tree bawal (Acacia Arabica). The toddy-yielding wild date or khajuri (Phoenix Syteteestris) grows more or less freely in the Dubla-land.

The forests were subjected to an unusual strain during the first world war, when huge areas were cut down owing to an unusual demand for timber. But the conservation policy of the forest department has now resulted in the restoration of a great portion of the loss. The khakhra and the pallas trees used in the lac industry had lost much ground. The lac industry which was given considerable attention[5] in the now merged Baroda State has died out. It is now receiving fresh attention and a school for training lac-workers, has been started at Mandvi. The pallas or kesuda tree, with its brilliant orange-red flowers, imparts a new colour and life to the tribal people at the time of the spring festival of Holi when this flower is visible everywhere with the young people, in their hair or in their dress or in the dyed cloth.

9. *Animals.* The chief wild animals are tiger or *wagh* (Felistigris) panther, *dipdo,* (Felis Pardees), the bear, *rincha* (ursus labiabus) the pig, *dukar* (sus indicas) and the wolf (canis pallipes). The fox *lonkdi* (Vulpes bengaenesis) spotted deer (chital) and antelopes (kaliar) were described as common in 1875, but they are getting scarce now.

The domestic animals that are common in the region are oxen, cows, buffaloes, and goats and sheep; horses and asses are also common but are seldom within the reach of the Dublas, though the ass forms an object of special cultural study in the case of the Naika tribe. But the cow and the ox form a part of the domestic economy of the Dubla people. They seldom afford to maintain a buffalo, but they are interested in poultry both for ceremonial and for dietary purposes. A cock or a chicken is frequently required for

ceremonial purposes for sacrifice to the numerous tribal gods and goddesses and on the occasion of local festivals like the Holi, or of tribal gatherings on marriage, death etc. There is no objection to eat eggs, and fish, and the Dublas catch fish for their own use by means of simple bamboo net-baskets made at home; they would be usefully employed in fisheries or fish industries, if developed along the coastline.

10. *Rainfall.* The rainfall is varying from one area to the other. In Surat district alone, the average annual rainfall is 40 inches since the last 47 years. In the hilly areas of Bansda, Songadh and Pardi talukas, the rainfall is round about 70″. The average rainfall in Broach and Thana districts is 37″ and 90″ respectively. The rainfall in coastal region varies from 40″ to 50″, though the variation between Olpad 32 inches and Chikli 72 inches is much higher. The map gives the idea of variation of rainfall in Surat district. It is significant that the Dubla population is concentrated in the areas with a rainfall between 39″ and 45″. The largest number of Dublas are found in Navasari taluka (29230), 43″ Bardoli (27938), 41″, Choryasi (2449) 30″, Kamrej (13220) 39 inches. In Gandevi taluka, the rainfall is higher in some tracts and the high population of 13091 is accounted for by the prevalence of good crops like sugarcane.

11, *Climate:* (a) The climate of the region is moderate. There are none of the extremes of temperature noticed in northern Gujarat or northern India. The winter is cold and salubrious, the summer though hot, is not oppressive like that in the Punjab and the monsoon is also moderate.

(b) The climate is influenced by the freshness and coolness of the sea breeze, providing an equable climate not only for the people but also for the crops.

(c) January is the coldest month of the year, when the minimum temperature varies from 57°F to 60°F. The lowest temperature does not go below 40°F. April and May are the hottest, April being hotter of the two. The mean maximum temperature varies from 97°F to 99°F. The highest maximum rises to 105° or more.

(d) The winds are changeable in cold season, i.e., from the beginning of December to the end of February. How-

ever, the wind generally comes from the north-east; and it becomes hotter as the season advances to March and May. In the afternoon of the hot season, the winds change to sea-breeze coming from the West. This is the healthiest period of the year. In the rainy season from June to October Westerly winds start and bring torrential rains. October or Dassera time is the period of transition from monsoon to winter and marks the end of the rainy season. The cold weather starts about Diwali time which generally synchronises with the beginning or middle of November.

(e) The salubriousness of the Dubla-land varies with different areas. In Surat district it is moderate, particularly along the coast where temperature is rendered equable by the sea breeze. The climate of Broach district is almost similar but in Thana district it is very moist, and with heavy rainfall, it is difficult to maintain good health throughout the year.

(f) In the present set-up of the Surat district the unhealthiest spots owing to moist hilly climate are in Songhad, Vyara and some places in Pardi and Mandvi. The following proverbs quoted by Campbell in the old gazetteer are interesting:—

Māldhā Limdha, Mhotifal are bad enough: and if one does not die there, he may go to Deogadh, which would turn him green and yellow with malaria. In Bagwada one becomes half but in Mandvi he would die completely.

માલધા, લીમધા, મ્હોટીફાલ, નહીં મરે તો દેવગઢ ચાલ,
દેવગઢ કરે હું લીલો કરૂ, નહીં મરે તો હું શું કરૂ,
બગવાડા જીવે આધોજી, પણ માંડવીમાં મરે પુરોજી.

The folk song mentions Māldhā, Limbtha and Mhotifal as moderately unhealthy while Devgadh turns the body green or yellow; Bagwara permits only half the normal life, while a man has no hopes of living in Māndvi!

(12) Out of the three districts of the Dublaland, Surat is the most advanced in education, trade, commerce, and industry. There are six textile mills, three in Surat, two in Navsari and one at Billimora. There is also a paper (card

board) mill at Billimora utilising the bamboo and other forest raw produce. There are nine bobbin factories utilising local wood and 49 factories for ginning cotton which is locally produced.

The jari, gold and silver thread manufacture is an ancient industry in Surat and gives employment to 65,000 persons. The handloom and powerlooms, weaving cotton engage 18,000 persons in 1,900 units.

Among the agricultural industries are sugar factories and gul making units specially in Gandevi and Bardoli talukas. In the present year, (1957) a co-operative sugar factory with the capital of about fifteen lakhs is under construction near Bardoli railway station. While the irrigation projects of Kakarapara, the dam reservoir and canals have supplied considerable occupation to labour in the adjacent area, the handloom industry and the ambar charka are changing the occupation pattern of employment in many rural areas. The development of forest labour societies, the consequent frequent facilities for transport of forest produce, and general steady improvement in roads and communication by State transport and by increasing facilities on the railways on branch lines and narrow gauge lines have all improved the economic and social life of the tribal people.

These factors have also influenced the cultural life of the Dubla people though indirectly. A sprinkling of Dubla men and women do find a few jobs here and there even as inferior labourers in these industrial and semi-industrial concerns, but the rise of such employment creates an uplifting effect on rural labour in general and even the few Dubla families, that can secure a more continuous employment and greater economic stability, raise the standard of life and behaviour of the whole community. Even in remote areas, during social contacts at local festivals or during marriage or death gatherings, this influence of city and factory life is keenly felt to an increasing extent every year.

[1] A study of Rajpipla Bhils undertaken by Dr. T. B. Naik at the instance of Gujarat Research Society has been published in 1956.

[2] Records of Geological Survey of India Vol. I part II (1808) quoted at pp. 29 of Surat District Gazetteer.

[3] P. 6. The Five Year Plan for Broach District, May 1954.

[4] See Bombay Government Gazetteer, Vol. Surat Dist. 1887, pp. 59-64.

[5] Raniparaj Enquiry Committee Report (Baroda State) 1927.

Forests of Gujarat by H. R. Dholakia, Journal Gujarat Research Society April 1941.

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Chapter III

THE DUBLA TRIBE (GENERAL)

Name 'Dubla'—Does it mean weak? The name Dubla, applied to a Tribe of about two lakhs of people, has an intriguing and interesting history. At the first sight, it is easy to dismiss the question by a simple explanation that Dublas are a physically weak people and represent a set of weaklings, downtrodden by economic want and agricultural serfdom, unable to live independently.

This economic serfdom and extreme helplessness attracted the notice of Mahatma Gandhi in 1923 and great amount of social work has been carried out among the Dublas in Surat District, at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Patel and Thakkar Bapa. Yet they are treated with so much contempt that Shri Narayan Desai reported in 1956 a conversation among people of the land owing class enquiring whether the Dublas at all deserved to be considered fit for being given the gift of Bhudan land?

The economic condition of the people described in Chapter XIII reveals that they are not only poor but are considered by others to be socially low. Most of them are under-nourished but they are capable of regaining strength if well paid and well fed. Some of these Dublas, who are sound economically, are capable of continuous hard work and have a good stamina but the majority are in a very unsatisfactory state of health.

The above conclusions are based on the survey of 80 families at Varad, conducted by the Nutrition Department of Government of Bombay, with the co-operation of the Gujarat Research Society. Dr. Radhakrishna Rao, the Officer in charge, has reported that:—

(i) the nutritional status of the family members as well as the children, is very unsatisfactory;

(ii) only the average height of man is 64 inches and weight is 97 lbs. while the average weight of the

Dublas woman is 85 lbs. with a height of 59 inches.

(iii) only one out of 30 persons showed good physique and general health.

(iv) the average intake of food was above 1477 calories against the requirement of 2400-3000.

(v) the blood condition indicated that there was only secondary anaemia caused by deficiency in iron.

(vi) the incidence of caries was small, the teeth being well kept.

The survey gives hope that though the physical condition is bad, if the economic condition is improved and if better nutritional and housing facilities are accorded, the regeneration of the Dubla tribe is not far distant.

2. *Origin of the word.* The dictionary meaning of the word दुर्बल in Sanskrit is one who is weak or feeble (Mahabharata VII 20) or small, scanty or little (Rigveda V. 12). Some elements of want of strength are noticed in the Dubla population, mainly due to under-nourishment; but the average height and stature are not such that the people can be called either weak, small or short, as compared with other tribal or ordinary population in the area. In the opinion of Dr. Radhakrishna Rao, the "Dublas are definitely not weaker than the other population in the same area."

There is however the general complaint that the output of work by the Dublas is much smaller compared with other tribes in the area. I was told by a prominent land-owning farmer of Vankaner (a village near Bardoli) that the work which takes four Dublas to complete, is accomplished by three Chidhras or two Kathiawari labourers. The latter are casual visitors during the agricultural season, coming from Saurashtra across the gulf of Cambay (a distance of 20 or 30 miles), they belong to the Indo-Aryan population. They possess a stamina, an intelligence and a general capacity for work which make them efficient labourers or field workers. They can regulate their life and overcome their laziness and control the output of the work to a much better extent than the Dublas who have lost their stamina and capacity owing to centuries of serfdom. On the other hand, the Dubla is in much demand as a Hali by being a reliable and

trustworthy employee even though he suffers from fits of laziness or dullness. Thus an explanation for the apparent weakness or deficiency of stamina appears in the continuous degradation by the habits of serfdom and a slavish mentality of subordination which deprive the Dubla of the vitality of life necessary for the springs of action. What incentive can a landless labourer, without land, or house, or property secure until he is educated, trained, and made self-reliant?

3. *Durvala-difficult to bent.* There is another interpretation of the word Dubla as given to me personally by Munishri Punyavijayaji. If Dubla is derived from the Sanskrit expression Durvala, दुर्बल 'difficult to bent' or 'difficult to change opinion', 'strong-willed'—'obstinate'—its meaning more befits the qualities of the people. This obstinacy which is based on ignorance or on limited knowledge is common to the aboriginal tribes and may be attributed to Dublas also, arising specially from centuries of inferior status bordering on economic serfdom.

The word 'Durvala' is used in Sanskrit as an epithet of a king and it could not be used in the sense of 'weak', but it expresses unbendable or unconquerable will. Pargiter* mentions durvo bhavyah sutastasya दुर्वो भाव्यः सुतस्तस्य and equates the name with Durva, Durvala and Durbala.[1] It would be too far fetched to bring in the name of the Chahamana king Durlabha of Gujarat (A.D. 1066-1080) and to connect it with the Dublas.

This obstinacy of temperament is a common feature of Dubla life whether it represents a man, a woman, or a child. If the Dubla has made up his mind not to work on a particular day, it is generally difficult to make him change his mind; also when he makes up his mind to do any work, it is equally difficult to divert his mind to other pursuits. If he is fed well and treated well, he can stand hours of work in the field and can turn out good crops; he is, however, sensitive to bad treatment and if jolted, the output of work is at once brought down.

4. *Composition of Dubla tribe.* In 1920, about four decades back, Enthoven described twenty subdivisions of the Dubla tribe which, with the exception of two or three,

seldom ate together and never inter-married. The names, alphabetically arranged, are:—Baba, Balsaria, Barnnia, Choria, Damani, Harvia, Isria, Kharcha, Khodia or Palia, Mandvia, Narda, Olpadia, Palia or Khodia, Rathodia, Sarvia or Saravia, Sipria, Talavia, Ukharia, Umria, Vasava or Vasavda and Vohra. Dr. D. P. Khanapurkar (1945) gave five additional names viz. Ghangalia, Kanharia, Thakora, Thaligoria and Vatolia. According to him only three viz. Talavia Dubla, Voharia Dubla and Kharcha Dubla (out of the twenty-five clans) are the most important and representative of all the chief divisions of the Dubla society.

The Dublas themselves have at present no definite idea of their principal or subordinate groups (clans) and their interconnections. The National Census Register mentions only the main caste and no subdivisions. Further, the sense of self-prestige has affected all subdivisions of the tribe and most of them like to be known by their highest caste viz. the Talava Dublas. This has been the position in the lower rung of castes all over India after independence. Most of the Dublas claim a strain of Rajput blood. Besides, they are reported to have absorbed a few persons from Kanbi, Koli, Dhodia and Kachhia castes. A large majority of them call themselves Talavias or Talavia Rathod. The word talavia is sometimes interpreted as living on the bank of a tank or pond; and is also derived from Talavar, a sword. These sword-swinging Rathod Rajputs may be linked with the famous Rajput hero Prithiviraj Rathod of Delhi iron-pillar fame. The Rathods are connected with the Rashtrakutas just as Solanki Rajputs are linked with the Chalukyas of the South.

Another distinction is that between the Chokhalias and the Vatolias. The Chokhalias are considered to be pure unspoiled Dublas living with Hindu farmers, while the Vatolias (polluted or impure) are those who live as halis or serfs to non-Hindus like Parsis and Muslims.

Voharia Dublas. Among them the concept of *Vito* and *parjan* remain the same with a light variation in the degree of applicability. They form a small group, and are at the mercy of their patrons, who influence them in their daily

habits of life. An examination into the genealogies of several of the Voharia families has revealed that they are more elastic in their composition. This group consists of a considerable number of Naikdas, Chodharas and Dhodias who have lost their place in their own society because of inter-caste marriages. There seems to be four main groups among Voharia Dublas. (1) the originally pure Dublas, but polluted due to the habit of taking food and water from Vohras and other Muslims, (2) Dhodias, who married Naikda women and lost social status because they merged with the Voharia Dublas, (3) Naikdas who married Dhodia women and lost social status by merging with Voharia Dublas and (4) Chodharas, who married either pure Dublas or some non-Chodhara tribals.

Economic Groups. During our investigations we noticed that many separate groups of Dublas are known locally and the tendency to form separate marriage groups (Vitos) cannot be resisted. For the purposes of this study the families investigated by us have been divided into the following economic groups, (1) Land owners, (2) Tenants, (3) Labourers on the Hali system, (4) Casual agricultural labourers, (5) Non-farm labourers, (6) Artisans, (7) Factory labourers and (8) other workers. We find this classification more reliable than the caste or subcaste classification, which does not now find a mention in Government records, and which even the sub-groups themselves are not anxious to recognise. With the abolition of details in the census registers, it has been decided to study the tribe by economic grouping, though on the cultural side the data has been collected for the general group of Dublas irrespective of sub-castes. Geographical and ecological variations, wherever noticed, have however been metioned.

5. There are no great cultural differences between the Hindu Dublas, the Voharia Dublas and the Parsi Dublas, for the Dublas do not leave their ancient habits of life and thought nor their belief in the ancestral worship, khatri, or in the joint shraddha ceremony called Parjan, in spite of their contact with a new religious life. The Dublas, living in the families of Parsis or Voharias or other Muslims, partake of

their richer food containing more valuable animal proteins. There is another point that the standard of living being higher and there being no prejudices, the Dubla servant in a Parsi family is given higher duties as a cook or a nurse and, is not treated merely as a menial, as it happens in Hindu families. Simliraly the Voharia Dubla, employed in Muslim Voharia families often get better social treatment and is sometimes paid higher wages owing to the wealth acquired from South Africa or to other foreign sources of income of the Voharia farming families.

6. *The Distribution of the Dubla Population* by geographical areas is given in a special table. The census of 1951 gave a total population of Dublas as 202,218, out of which 182,173 representing 90.2 per cent is located in Surat District, 6666 (3.03 per cent) in Broach district, 13,079 (6.5 per cent) in Thana district. The tribal population in the whole of India is 1,91,16,498 and in Bombay state 33,59,305. The strength of Dublas as against all other tribals in India is only 1.05 per cent; while in Bombay State, they form as much as 6.01 per cent of the total tribal population. The table below gives the comparative figures of the distribution of Dublas in the aforesaid three main districts.

POPULATION OF DUBLAS

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
No.	Taluka	Square Miles	Den-sity	Dubla Popu-lation	Total Popu-lation	Per-cent-age	Rain fall
1	Vansada	234.1	273	922	63,965	1.44	70″
2	Barodali	156.8	499	27,938	78,283	35.68	41″
3	Valsad	201.8	684	11,193	137,958	8.11	64″
4	Chikhali	237.6	521	11,548	123,872	9.32	-
5	Chourasi	221.1	2579	23,449	349,032	6.71	30″
6	Dharampur	574.6	195	860	112,109	0.77	74″
7	Gandevi	124.8	876	13,091	109,371	11.96	74″
8	Kamrej	147.0	353	13,220	51,918	25.46	39″
9	Makuva	137.9	393	4,836	54,151	8.93	49″
10	Mandavi	276.5	272	4,783	75,205	6.35	38″
11	Mangrol	293.5	253	249	74,202	0.33	40″
12	Navasari	287.1	704	24,230	299,165	14.67	43″

No.	Taluka	3 Square Miles	4 Density	5 Dubla Population	6 Total Population	7 Percentage	8 Rain fall
1	2						
13	Olpad	264.8	244	11,335	64,568	17.55	22″
14	Palsana	57.6	614	11,610	35,374	32.82	45″
15	Paradi	162.2	682	11,456	110,636	10.35	67″
16	Songadh	298.7	207	50	61,905	0.08	54″
17	Valod	77.9	464	5,475	36.179	15.13	43″
18	Vyara	316.6	1284	1,228	89,949	1.36	55″
Total Surat Dist.		4066.6	499	182,473	1,827,842	9.98	40″
19	Hansot	154.0	207	4,396	31,950	13.7	-
20	Jumbusar	385.9	239	349	92,320	.4	-
21	Thadiya	313.7	259	329	81,201	.4	-
22	Vagaral	348.0	128	1,592	44,717	3.6	-
Total Broach Dist.		1201.6	-	6,666	250,188	2.7	-
23	Bhivandi	263.7	431	1,362	113.632	1.2	-
24	Dahanu	372.1	353	4,363	131,281	3.3	-
25	Palghar	421.9	352	1,268	148,504	.8	76″
26	Thana	84.2	1530	107	128,862	.08	-
27	Umargam	228.8	496	5,979	113,462	5.3	-
Total Thana Dist.		1370.7	-	13,079	635,747	2.1	-
2	Grand Total Surat, Broach, Thana Dists.	6638.9	-	202,218	2,713,777	7.5	-

The population is numerous in Bardoli Taluka where they represent 35.6% of the total; in Pulsana it is 32.8%; Kamrej comes next with 25.4% while Olpad, Valod and Navsari have population ranging between 14 and 17 per cent. These areas are more fertile and carry large agricultural population, and yet the economic condition is poor because labour is more plenty than what the land can support and because the Dublas are not ready to change their habitat very willingly.

The distribution of the Dubla population as worked out by each taluka and has been shown also in a Map, which is separately printed in this volume. It is clear that there are three distinct areas of the Dubla land, in respect to the incidence, density and pressure of the Dubla population. The

three talukas of Bardoli, (27,938) Chorasi (23,449) and Navsari (29,230) where the general population is 10% and above, find the largest concentration of the Dublas; forty per cent of the total Dubla population is found in these three talukas. In the second area consisting of the seven talukas of Bulsar, Chikhali, Gandevi, Kamrej, Olpad, Palsana and Pardi, where the general population is between 5% and 10% and 41% of the total Dublas are found. The third area where the pressure of Dubla population is the lowest, is a group of seventeen talukas, namely Baroda, Dharampur, Mahuva, Mandvi, Mangrol, Songadh, Valod, Vyara, Hansot, Jambusar, Jhagadia, Wagra, Bhiwandi, Dahanu, Palghar, Thana and Umargaon. In this third area, the population of the Dublas is generally below 5% and 19% of the total Dublas are to be found there.

7. *Other aboriginal tribes in Surat District.* It is a significant feature of the rural economy of the Surat District that as high as 40% of the total population of the district consisted of the aboriginal population in 1941. In 1951 census this percentage was 46.74%; Dublas, (182,473) Chodharas (106,530) Dhodias (91,971) and Naikas (47,254) are the most important of the aboriginal population.

The distribution of figures by sub-regions as indicated in the above table and in the special map are interesting. The hilly tracts of Dharampur and Vyara and Songadh are almost devoid of Dublas who do not seem to prosper there. Similarly they do not flourish in the salty coast lands, nor in areas with high rainfall. They prosper as agriculturists and landless labourers in subregions with a rainfall between 39 to 45 inches and where the fertility of the soil is fairly high. They are particularly numerous in Bardoli taluka where they represent 35.6 per cent of the total population; in Pulsana they represent 32.8 per cent. Kamrej comes next with 25.4 per cent while Olpad, Valod and Navsari have population ranging between 14 and 17 per cent. These areas are highly fertile and have large agricultural population; the economic condition of the Dublas is poor, because evidently the labour is more plentiful than what the land can support and because the Dublas are not ready to change their

habitat very willingly, inspite of the oppression and hardships from the employers.

8. *Concentration of Dublas:*—(a) The above analysis shows that the Dublas have at present concentrated in the fertile valleys of the rivers Tapi and Poorna. On the other hand, they are sparsely scattered in the hilly and forest areas of Dharampur and Bansda where Dhodias and Gamits number high. In the same way they are scarce in the coastal strip which is mostly inhabited by Kolis and other seafaring people. The map makes this observation explicit.

(b) If we concentrate our attention to the Dublas of Surat district only, we discover that out of 8,54,405 tribals, 1,82,473 are the Dublas, i.e. 21.03 per cent of the total tribal population. And, their percentage to total population in the district is 9.98. This comparatively high numerical strength of Dublas gives them a position of importance in the rural economics of the district.

(c) An examination of the rainfall of the areas of high concentration is useful in showing how sensitive the Dublas are to high rainfall. They are not found in large numbers in regions like Dharampur and Palghar talukas where the average rainfall is 79 and 76 inches respectively; even in Bansda with 70 inches of rainfall their numbers is small while other tribes like Bhils prosper there. In Songadh and Vyara talukas where the rainfall is about 54 inches, only few Dublas are found, as they do not like the hilly and forest areas of this region.

(d) The largest concentrations of Dublas, as high as 32.82 per cent of the total population, occur in Palsana with a rainfall of 45 inches and Kamrej (25.46) with a rainfall of 39 inches.

(e) Bardoli taluka 27,938, and Navsari (29,230) and Chorasi (23,449) have high concentrations of Dublas in areas with a rainfall between 30 and 40 inches.

9. *Origin of Dublas:* The Dublas claim a strain of Rajput blood and bear connection with Rathods of early ages. The following are some legends to show why the tribe is known as Dublas.

i) *Why Dublas?* Here is a legend behind Dubla being

physically weak according to the dictionary meaning of the word.

In olden days their enemy challenged them in the battle field. Owing to the fear of defeat, the leader refused to fight against them. On this refusal, the leader of the opposition said "Being Dubla—physically weak—how can you fight with us". From that day they came to be known as Dublas —physically weak. But at present, if we interpret the word Dubla as 'physically weak' it would do a great injustice to the tribe who work for 8 to 10 hours per day for their Dhaniyamas employers.

ii) *Dublas were weak on arrival as refugees.* Once in their original home, due to the scarcity of rain, a severe famine occurred. To save their tribes from this famine, the ancestors of the present tribe migrated to this side of the country.

A group of persons one day stopped at a village. As they had no food and water for a long time, they had become very thin and weak. When the villagers saw them, they made enquiries and the people said, "some Dublas—physically thin and weak, have come from famine-stricken areas". From that date they lived here and came to be known as Dublas from their physical weakness, caused by the famine.

iii) *Why Talaviyas.* Following is the legend to explain why some Dublas are known as Talavia Rathods.

When Parshuram was killing all Kshatriyas (warriors) and was making the world free of all kshatriyas, the head man of this tribe which consisted of Rathod Kshatriyas tried a trick for saving his clan from Parshuram.

One day when a group of Rathods were seated on the bank of a pond with their leader, Parshuram came with his 'Pharsi' (axe) in his hand. It looked as though death was very near them. On being asked, the leader replied on their behalf that they were not Rathods, but Talavias living on the pond and from that date they began to be known as Talavias or Talavi Rathods. This legend serves a double purpose, one of raising the Dublas that to the Rajputs and second that of Talavias being the highest Dublas.

Some talavias derive their name from talwar, a sword

and claim to be a sword-swinging tribe which has come to evil-ways owing to their land being taken away from them by the money lenders.

(iv) *Migration.* The migration of the Dublas must have taken place from across the seas and they have selected areas where land is fertile, rainfall is reasonable and crops reliable and plenty. Their qualities as agricultural labourers have helped them to stick to their profession and they have not been driven to the hills like the Dhodias, Gamits, Naikdas or Bhils.

The problem of the origin of Dublas is difficult to decide until more research work is done, but the following general points may be mentioned to indicate their origin from across the seas.

a) Their practices and beliefs on the occasion of the Divaso holiday give an indication about their affiliations across the sea. Small cloth dolls are ceremoniously married and sent floating on river water across the seas to the place of their father-in-law.

b) They may have been original owners of the land and the slash and burn system of cultivation locally known as 'Daziu' was practiced by them some years ago; but at present there are few landowners.

c) Being careless and improvident in their economic and social habits, they became gradually dependent upon the farmers, and being docile and quiet became serfs and came to be known as halis. The hali system is followed also by some other tribes in the same region, e.g. Naikas, Gamits.

d) Being attached to the land, they could not migrate to longer distances beyond Hansot in the north and Umbergaon in the South.

e) The serological tests and the results of the blood group examination indicate a relation-ship with Negrito blood on account of a higher percentage of sickle cells in Dubla blood.

10. *Position of the Dublas in the Hindu Society.* It is an important observation that even though the tribal people—Adiwasis—are among the poorest in India, they do not

consider themselves as socially the most inferior. They align themselves with the majority Hindu community and look down upon scheduled castes, or harijans, whom they consider untouchables. It would form a useful criterion for determining whether a group of caste is a tribe or not, if we know whether they are considered as inferior or superior to Harijans.

Dublas, like Dhodia, Chodharas, Gamits and Naikdas, consider themselves as good as Hindus, even though they worship their own gods and godlings and have their priests and magicians, and the tribal panch. They have recently begun to accept the Hindu form of worship, to eschew eggs and animal food, and visit Hindu temples in the neighbourhood. But, left to themselves, they have a preference to their own gods and godlings and their own ceremonies and worship. Even when a Dubla is a land-holder, he may not claim social equality with caste Hindu landholders; and not even with artisan castes such as gold-smith, black-smith, shoe-maker, carpenter, potter, oil-presser etc. The Dublas, however, consider the shoe-makers (mochi) and other Harijan Hindus as impure and lower in rank than themselves because the former deal in leather. The Dublas are reported to accept food and water from any of the shudra castes but they abstain from doing so with the harijans. With a view to avoid pollution they refuse to work in the house of a harijan, however, clean he might be, nor would they draw water from harijan wells. The Dharampur Dublas wanted me to help them in getting separate well for themselves; even though a harijan well was nearby, they used to go to a well near the cremation ground for fetching water despite a longer distance. The Dublas of the Endhal village are a little more advanced and do not object to draw water from the well owned by a mochi (cobbler) and situated in the latter's house-yard, but go there only when the mochis are not also using the well. Ordinarily, a drop of water from a mochi's hand is considered polluting, but the water contained in the mochi's well is considered as pure, because it is not directly touched by the members of the mochi caste at the moment the water is drawn.

Dublas are generally looked down upon by other castes who do not accept food and water from them. The Dublas work in the houses of high caste people such as Anāvil, Patīdār, Baniā, Ghānchi, Kanbi and Koli. Entering every section of the house, including kitchen, they sweep, clean metal (brass) pots or utensils, and fetch water from the well, pond or river. By constant contact lasting for centuries, they have absorbed many Hindu customs, and practices and even religious festivities, though they worship also their own gods and godlings, as will be seen the detail of their religious life mentioned in Chapter IX.

One feature which distinguishes the higher caste Hindus, is the present universal practice of cremation of the dead. The tribal people are not particular about either burning or burying their dead—both the practices being permissible and varying with the economic conditions of the party, the burning being always more expensive. The caste Hindus do not share the cremation ground with the tribals, who in turn do not allow untouchables to use their cremation grounds. In some parts of Dangs District, the Bhills maintain a separate cremation-burial-ground from that of Warlis and Kanbis (or Koknas) who, however, observe no distinction whatsoever in this respect. It is also a highly significant feature of the solidarity of the tribal group of the Surat District that there is no distinction between the various tribes who are all allowed to participate in the funeral ground (smashan) irrespective whether they are Warlis or Konkanas or Bhills or are Dhodias, Chodhras or Dublas, in spite of the slight difference in the social status of each subgroup.

11. *Their position among other tribal population.* The position of the Dublas in the tribal population may vary from one part to the other in south Gujarat. Some of them consider themselves higher than Naikdas and Chodharas. The Dhodias, inspite of their comparatively smaller number, are considered most superior owing to their social and economic status. This is followed by Chodharas, Naikdas and lastly come the Dublas. Among Dublas there are the pure (Chokha) and the impure (Vatolia). The Dublas thus fall at the bottom of the tribal hierarchy because they accept

food and water from non-Hindus (Muslims and Parsis); though in many other respects, they are similar to other tribals. The above scale in social heirarchy is worth noting, even though in consideration of national problems like the voting at election, every tribal is a full-fledged voter if he has attained majority. But as voting at elections is governed by a variety of considerations, among which caste, tribe or clan reign supreme, it becomes necessary to evaluate the culture of each tribe separately, even though eventually each human being may become a full-fledged citizen of free India.

12. *Do Dublas form a tribe?* At a time when the country is breathing with aspirations for unity and solidarity, it would be improper for an anthropologist to think of separate castes or tribes. But he approaches the problems of study of tribes not in a spirit of disharmony or disunity but with the object of securing unity and solidarity out of various conglomerates that build up the nation. The object of the present study is to collect together all the data—cultural, social, economic, historic, study of arts, myths, folktales, folk literature etc., and to discover the points of individuality, similarity and unity.

There is a prevailing impression that the tribes of Gujarat have been so rapidly acculturised and industrialised that they may not be considered as tribes. While it is true that some of these backward classes in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar or Orissa belong to unacculturated groups; their problems are different from those of the tribes which are placed in closer contact with modern conditions of life owing to modernisd system in regard to roads, transport, educational and industrial development. Yet the psychological factors which determine the behaviour of a modern man cannot according to Adler, neglect the historical and biological origins of the group. The cultural characteristics of tribal groups owe their origin to their past history and the sense of fear of the supernatural, leading to the worship of the dead ancestors, the tribal gods and goddesses, the primitive way of life, the absence of self-control, the explosive temperament which leads to frequent quarrels, the absence

of foresight and preparation which is the cause of ignorance and poverty, and the lack of technological advance which leads to ill-health disease and bad housing—these are some of the common factors which characterise tribal life. Then the physical features and the serological study all definitely point to the tribal nature of the Dubla population. The chapter on serological data in this book supplies abundant evidence that the sickle-cell content of the blood of Dublas definitely places them on the side of tribals—a characteristic not so far found among the non-tribals.

Even though the individual members of a tribe may rise to become Ministers of Government, as long as the majority of a group is without means and facilities for education and are illiterate, is still subject to fits of tribal temper and behaviour, is unable to free itself from the atmosphere of fear and suspension, believes in worship and propitiation of ghosts, spirits, witches, ancestors, prefers its tribal gods and godlings to correct medical treatment, is unable to overcome a sense of frustration, and cannot command self confidence and self reliance—such a group cannot be considered either as detribalised or as acculturised or to have left its tribal characteristic either for purposes of their cultural study or of financial help from the State.

[1] Purana text of he Dynasties of the Kali Age, F. E. Pargiter, O.U.P. 1913 p. 7.

[2] Cremation was more popular with the Hindus, though both the practices co-existed in Rigvedic times: see page 238 of Grihya Sutras.

Chapter IV

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION

1. *Hali System.* The Dublas are a large tribe, numbering over two lakhs and the Dublaland covers 6,638 square miles spread over three civil districts and 27 talukas. The conditions of life vary slightly from locality to locality on account of ecological considerations. This affects their economic conditions but the social structure is more or less the same, even though affected by contact with the majority community and with tne neighbouring tribes. The *hali* system has seriously affected the whole social organisation, life, and culture of the Dublas, but we must number here two main factors that all the halis are not Dublas and that all the Dublas are not halis. The halis come from five communities, the Dublas, Dhodias Gamits, Naikas and Chodhras. The Chodhras halis are supposed to be mainly in Mandvi taluka, Naikas and Dodias mainly in the Southern talukas of Pardi, Bulsar and Chikhli, and in Bardoli, Chorasi and Jalalpore. While the Dublas are spread over various talukas of Surat, Thana and Broach Districts.

In the whole district of Surat, the Hali Committee had reported in 1948, 26,923 Halis distributed in 577 villages bringing the average per village to 47 per cent. Another significant fact is that 239 villages or 29 per cent of the total villages were without Halis. This Hali system is not an essential part of cultural life of the Dublas, it is of course a relic of the feudal practices under which 'Veth' or 'Bethi' system of forced labour was extracted from the tenants by landholders till recently. It reminds one also of the Ghothi system of bonded agricultural labour in Orissa; or Kamiauti, a system under which for a cash advance the labourer becomes a serf in Chhota Nagpur.

There is a kind of solidarity and unformity in the life of the Dublas though living in different villages. In certain areas e.g. near Bardoli, where Hali system prevailed for a

long period and has left its deepest marks even after its official abolition by Government, the influence of the farmer proprietor (Dhani-āmā) on the daily life has been to encourage a sort of feudal culture, where the social life depended on the living conditions in the master's household.

2. *The Village Patel.* In addition to the village punch and panchayat which look after the village amenities and village problems, the daily life of the Dublas is governed by the tribal punch and patel; there is one patel for each unit either of a falia, or a village, or a group of Dublas spread over several villages. This tribal punch has immense influence on the life of the Dublas; for it is able to enforce a kind of uniformity and solidarity of behaviour by frowning upon all innovations and insisting on the uniform standard of life and conduct. The voice of the punch or the patel is always heard in settling details of marriage and also of divorce, while the observance of joint funeral rites like the Parjan, and feasts and festivals like Divaso, Norata, Holi and Diwali provide ample opportunities for the continuation of the social obligations on an elaborate scale, as will be indicated separately in this and other chapters.

3. *Village Association.* The machinery for enforcement of the social organisation is getting modernized almost throughout the Dublaland. In addition to the Dubla punch for small localities, there are associations for a group of 12 villages based on the model of the Indian National Congress. There is usually a conference of the leaders of Dublas living in neighbouring areas who pass resolutions affecting their general life and problems; they also elect the President of the managing committee, and other office bearers to see that the resolutions are carried out. Their opinions on questions pertaining to the customs and expenses incurred on the occasions of marriage, pregnancy and death ceremonies are noteworthy as they describe the growing modernisation of their cultural life.

4. *Regulated Acculturization.* Two significant factors deserve mention in connection with these attempts at regulated acculturisation. First, is the inward strength and unity for a joint effort to improve their

social and economic conditions. The educated members of the community become the leaders in place of the hereditary or influential office bearers of the tribal punch. Their outlook changes from that of a closed fraternity of a tribal group to that of modernised villagers who have heard of caste groups, caste conferences, cooperative societies and also of the National Congress as evolved by Mahatma Gandhi and Sri Jawaharlal Nehru. Secondly they want to be as advanced and prosperous as the similarly situated neighbours in the same locality. They want a minimum wage, a certain standard of social behaviour, want to give up drink and such other expensive customs which make their social life difficult. They have noticed that dance, music and ancient folk songs are uncommon with their so-called advanced neighbours and some of them have declared that dancing should stop on various grounds, one of which is that it leads to sexual irregularities.

5. *Ferment for modernisation.* Underlying this ferment for modernisation is the solidarity of kith and kin, a faith in their own strength and unity and a desire to progress which was absent about 30 years ago. We need not discuss the political considerations behind Valod firing in 1955, or Pardi satyagraha in 1955, or Adivasi struggles in Thana districts,—but they betray the tendencies of the efficiency of their social associations which must be recognised both for purposes of research into the cultural life of the people or the formulation of welfare programmes for the tribal people as contemplated in the constitution of India. The political and civic elections in 1957, have also demonstrated that the tribal organisations are able to effectively carry out their own will.

6. *Joint family life among Dublas.* It is a fundamental feature of Dubla life as distinguished from ordinary Hindu social life that the joint family system has been at a discount and may be considered as absent at present from the normal type of the modern Dubla family. Two important circumstances have helped in the creation of this social structure. The Dublas have neither the land nor a permanent house of sufficient value to attract the young

couple to remain in the joint family for a longer period than is absolutely necessary. The parents arrange and help the young husband and wife to fulfil all the social obligations of the wedding celebrations; yet it is a recognised practice that the debt incurred by the bridegroom for the marriage is his personal responsibility, and he has to work hard to pay back his debts. The young wife is also anxious to have an independent life. As however, the age of marriage of the young man and the girl is nearly 16 to 18, the burden of maintaining them upto that age on the parent is not small. The average number of children in a Dubla family is 2.7. The common pattern being the elementary family consisting of husband, wife, and their children. As soon as the sons marry, they separate themselves from the parents. Where the remnant of the officially abolished Hali system prevail, the grownup son has to become a hali of his father's Dhani-āmā or of some other persons if he marries with the monetary help of the latter. The new couple possess an independent status and have separate cooking arrangements even though in the same hut. This, however, does not completely cut him off from the parental group. In most cases the married son shares a common hut, in which his parents and other married or unmarried brothers might be also living. So long as he is not in a position to build a hut of his own, either by his own endeavour or by the help of his Dhaniāmā he remains as a co-residential member in his parent's family, but his earnings, his debts and his cooking arrangements are separate.

7. *Nature of Dubla House-hold.* There is no dead uniformity and many varieties of Dubla families are noticed, though the general pattern is that the family consists of only the husband and wife and unmarried children. They invariably share a common hut (10′ x 12′) with one cooking chula (stove). As soon as a child crosses the age of seven or eight, he is supposed to assist in the domestic work. The girls might clean the house, fetch water, and look after their younger brothers or sisters; the boys, on the other hand, work as Govalia (cowherd-boys) and look after the cattle of their father's dhaniama or of some one else in the village. The

girls, in addition to their family duties go to work in the family of their father's dhaniama, and have sometimes been found also to do the work of tending the cattle. The children and the parents remain together only at night and for some hours in the morning and in the evening, though they may meet for the midday meal. However, in some cases girls might spend more time with the mother and the boys with the father. If a father is going out to work as a non-hali labourer out of his village, he might remain absent from the house, when the mother remains alone with the children.

8. The parents and children behave without any restrictions among themselves and a general lack of discipline prevails, e.g. it is not considered improper for the children to speak obscene words, or smoke bidi in presence of the parents. The children become lazy and unwilling to attend the school. They like a morning outing for tending the cattle of farmers, for which they get a small amount either in cash or food. Even if boys have no work, I have seen them prefer to wander about rather than attend the village school. The parents might sleep in an inner apartment separated by a bamboo partition and the grown-up children might sleep in the outer portion. If they own poultry or cattle, they have also to be accommodated in one of the corners of the small hut. This makes it very difficult to accommodate any guest in the house; but if some one drops in, he or she is housed in the same hut and the children might be sent to some relative's hut in the neighbourhood.

9. *Other patterns of Dubla Family.* (a) A slightly different pattern is found in the case of widows or widowers who have no children. An aged sonless widow or widower can stay with his other married daughter or daughters and sons-in-law and their children. In such few families, both, the father or mother-in-law and the sons-in-law contribute towards family expenses. In some cases a son-in-law might be so lazy that the father or mother-in-law has to maintain him. The responsibility of marrying his children also lies with the grand-father, or grand-mother. It is these male children who inherit the property of the grand-father, or grand-mother.

(b) A childless couple may keep with them in their house their (divorced, widowed or deceased) sister's (on both sides) children married or unmarried. Here also the family might depend on the joint efforts of the male members living jointly. The marriage of the daughter is generally performed at the cost of the head of the family.

(c) A couple with their step-children also form an important family unit. In such cases we come across families giving legal status to the step-chldren of the husband or the wife concerned. But in majority of the cases, it is found that children (whose mother is divorced or deceased) when they come to age, do not stay with their father if he has married another woman. Such children, therefore, generally go to their grand mother's house, mother's sister's or mother's brother's house even though they live in a different village. It is generally believed that these maternal relations provide more protection and care than a household governed by a step-mother. Generally, the young Dubla does not lose the rights over paternal property and he can come back to claim it, if there is any to claim. Cases have however, been noticed in which a boy may be adopted by the maternal uncle or aunt, if the latter is childless. This maternal relationship is a powerful factor in the migration of the Dublas. Sometimes, when a young man cannot afford to pay the bride price, he decides to work as a Khandadia until the money is paid off. During this period he may sometimes be sent away if found to be unsatisfactory. In some cases, a desirable young man is invited to settle down with the father-in-law or mother-in-law who may have no children or workers to assist them. Thus the wife or the mother often becomes an important factor in deciding where young persons finally settle down. It has been observed that very few Dubla families can claim to have stayed for more than four generations in their present village, and a joint family with grand parents or grand children is a rarity among Dublas.

10. *Indebtedness and marriage.* (a) Among the social implications of the life of the average Dubla is his average honesty and a keen sense of keeping his promises to repay his debts even though he knows that he is being exploited

in the matter of repayment of his debts. A person without money or means has to borrow cash or goods whenever he is unable to earn enough inspite of his willingness to do the work that is available. The Dubla's debt starts with the borrowing on the occasion of his marriage and this debt persists throughout partly owing to the unfair methods of the money lender. Once a debtor, he remains a debtor always, also because his improvident methods and small earnings leave little room for him to reprieve his debts; he has to borrow grain when guests arrive without notice, and every festivity and every religious, ceremonial, or communal function, makes him borrow further to keep up his prestige and status.

(b) The Dubla is blamed for his improvidence in spending money on the occasion of the marriage, but the blame is hardly justified if we examine the conditions under which a marriage is performed even in civilised societies at present, either outside or inside India. Take the richest nation in the world—the average American bridegroom with an average income of about 3,000 dollars per annum gets his furniture and household equipment of labour-saving devices on long-term-borrowed money. This money is either saved in advance or has to be returned in instalments with interest out of future savings. The main fact is that marriage there involves heavy expenditure resulting always in some sort of indebtedness, which is however liquidated easily because of a steady high income.

(c) Marriage also involves high expenditure in non-tribal Indian communities in the same area where Dublas live and it is their example which encourages the Dublas to be spendthrifts. The evils of bride-price (dehej)—a payment compulsory for the bridegroom to pay for getting a bride into the family—are not so serious, as of the other expenditure which is compulsory on the parent of the bride as dowry—to be paid to the father of the bridegroom by the parents of the bride. In addition, the expenditure on marriage parties, including dinners, illuminations and marriage processions and other celebrations, is quite heavy and in most cases out of proportion to the income or the saving

capacity of the parties. This inveterate tendency to overspend on the occasion of marriage is also noticed in Bengal, Punjab and Madras. The heavy price of the dowry has led to many girls remaining unmarried in Bengal, even though spinsterhood is supposed to involve loss of status or prestige and many cases of suicides there have also been reported. The dowry system among the Parsis of all stages of economic and social life, involves heavy cash expenditure and upsets the quietude of many a family, besides causing indebtedness. The Anavil Brahmins and the Patidars in the Surat district also incur heavy expenditure; which brings permanent indebtedness on some families and upset their normal economic position, throughout the life.

In such circumstances, one need not wonder if the Dublas indulge in heavy expenses on the occasion of the marriage and get into indebtedness. It is idle to suggest that they should not get into debt, when the whole world persists on going mad on expenditure on marriage; the problem has to be investigated with sympathy and consideration. The correct remedy is to increase earning capacity, by giving the scale of minimum wages, by giving the benefit of technological advance in education and equipment, and above all enabling him to return the loans taken on the occasion of an important social necessity like the marriage. This involves great changes in social habits and behaviour; luckily, the social organisation and social structure is capable of efficient re-organisation on the pattern of a re-integrated social life. We have already referred in para 3 of this chapter to the social organisations prevailing among the Dublas; yet a more detailed description in the succeeding paragraphs will be useful in realising the extent to which the social organisations of the Dubla tribe can be utilised for their future development.

11. *The Panch system among the Dublas.* The Panchayat system forms a most important feature of corporate rural life in India which has persisted for thousands of years and given a remarkable solidarity and continuity to the various rural groups throughout the country. The tribal communities have not escaped the

influence of the democratic way of life enjoyed by this local village panchayat organisation which has prevailed throughout Gujarat and particularly the areas inhabited by the Dubla people.

An essential feature of the panchayat system is a democratic outlook, based on joint deliberations of a group of five or more members who may be elected in virtue of their office or status. There are three categories of panchayats that affect the Dublas. The first is the statutory village panchayat whose constitution, duties, and functions are regulated by the village panchayat act; the second is tribal organisation of the Dubla panch which regulates their daily activities within a village or sometimes a locality falia or street in a village. A third organisation is a bigger one spread over all the Dublas in a district, trying to consolidate the activities or regulate the corporate life of the whole of the Dubla community over the district or districts over which they are distributed. In accordance with the village panchayat Act, generally speaking, the Dubla community has one or two seats reserved for it.

Though the tribals, as a matter of right, occupy a place in the village panchayat, lack of education and foresight have made them feel apathetic towards taking greater interest in the panchayat movement. Whether the Dublas occupy a seat in the village panchayat or not, they are at times suppressed by the high caste people as was noticed in the village of Endhal in Gandevi taluka. The high caste people being in majority do not give facilities to the Dublas to secure the full benefit of their prerogatives, as complained by them. Sometimes they are not allowed to know when the panchayat election is to be held in the village and their grievance is that their genuine complaints are rarely attended to. This particular village appears to be exceptional, for other investigators have found that there are members of the Dubla community taking part in the village panchayat in virtue of their election e.g. Azrai and Kachholi have each one Dubla member, while Varad, Sisodra and Hansapore have two Dubla members in the village panchayats.

12. *The Dubla Panch:* While the village panchayat attend

to the problems which affect the village as a whole, the small Dubla Panch of the locality attends to the domestic problems, to disputes and quarrels among themselves, and to their tribal festivals and celebrations. The elders of a tribe shoulder responsibility through the organisation of the Panch, and endeavour to clear internal disputes. The disputes are generally settled after full discussion in which both sides are given a due hearing, and when a party is found guilty, it is punished by the imposition of a fine appropriate to the occasion. In most cases it is imposed in cash. The whole amount of the fine is not given to the injured person but a part of it is spent in drinking or feasting by the members of the Panch. The amount paid to the injured is the compensation for his suffering or the loss of his prestige.

A brief analysis of the conditions in Endhal village is given here. In addition to the main (high-caste) population of the village, there are eleven hamlets of tribals, (namely Dubla, Naikda and Dhodia). The village *panchayat* of Endhal though supposed to represent the tribals as also high caste people has no tribal as a member. On the other hand, all the three tribal castes have their own organisations which function only when some internal question of major importance is discussed. Besides, all the eleven hamlets (the smallest consisting of not more than sixty individuals) have, so to say, their local panches which function only when questions as to hamlet solidarity arise. The representatives of a hamlet organise a sacrifice (*havan* generally performed in the month of Shravana i.e. August-September) to propitiate their gods or goddesses. They also raise funds to buy utensils for group dinners at the time of marriage or death rites; and, in the time of disputes they lodge a complaint to the Dubla *panch* of the hamlet or the village *panchayat* as the case may be.

13. *The Patel of the Dubla Panch.* A Dubla head-man is also called Patel and is selected from the elders living in a village. The selection is based not only on the consideration of age and experience but also on status and influence of a person. A person who holds the responsibility of a head-man is highly respected;

and, the function at which he is honoured is known as *pāgadi bāndhavi* (i.e. tying the turban, the official head-dress of the chief). The person who receives it in private or at a public function acquires high honour; he performs many of the functions of the old fashioned tribal chief, though living in modern societies. He is considered the wisest man of the community and his advice is usually followed by the tribesmen when settling the details for marrying their children. In cases they ignore the Dubla Patel, he will not stand by them when problems in marital life arise. If such a person goes to the Patel for arbitration, he may retort by saying, "You have married your son or daughter without taking my advice, so it is up to you to break your head". However, in all matters of family disutes, personal rivalries or quarrels, his voice is supreme and the parties generally go by his decisions.

14. *The composition and working of Dubla Panch.* a) A Dubla panch consists of the headman and the representatives from each ward or hamlet (falia) of a village. The representative is also selected by the inhabitants of a hamlet on the basis of his intelligence and experience, and, as expressed previously, he conducts the affairs of his locality, except when some problems concerning the Dublas of other hamlet or village crop up. The patel selects a person called *avaldar* from the members of the panch. The main duty of an *avaldar* is to send for persons at the time of caste assembly. If he fails to convey the message to any member of the *panch,* or fails in his other duties, he is taken to task.

b) *The Avaldar:* is paid about a rupee or a half per meeting for doing this job. Generally speaking, there are written records for these panchayats but the leaders and their followers trust to their memories for the past decisions.

c) If a person is accused of dining with an untouchable, his case used to be brought up before the tribal panchayat. At present no official punishment is possible in view of the Government orders abolishing untouchability and making illegal any discrimination against untouchables.

d) If a person is found guilty of extramarital relationship with a man or a woman of some other tribe, the *panch*

inflicts a fine. The person who does not pay the fine is excommunicated; while the person who pays the fine is readmitted.

e) If other disputes arise between two persons or parties, the *panchayat* tries to make a compromise; the guilty person is not only officially reproached, but also severely censured.

f) Cases of disputes between a husband and wife are generally settled by amicable compromise brought about by the *panch* and followed by a feast.

g) If any sort of compromise between a husband and his wife fails, the *panch* helps them in seeking divorce only for reasonable grounds. If a husband has taken initiative in taking divorce he has to pay Rs. 12-0-0 to Rs. 101 to the wife's party; while if a wife takes the initiative she has to pay a compensation of Rs. 51-0-0 to Rs. 125. While the *panch* demands a share of Rs. 5-0-0 to Rs. 12-0-0 from the compensation received by a party, the same is not levied in the case of a divorced woman. Generally the compensation to be paid by a wife seeking divorce is fixed at a higher level than that to be paid by a husband.

h) The children may remain either with the husband or the wife concerned. In case the wife keeps the children, she is given a compensation of Rs. 5-0-0 or more depending on the circumstances of the case. As few persons claim children by their divorced spouses, because of the expenses of maintaining them, the intervention of the panch is necessary. The study of some genealogies of Dubla families suggests that the children of a divorced woman or a widow generally go and stay with her. If she prefers to remain in her natal family they are looked after by the maternal uncles, and if she prefers to remarry, they go with her and stay with their step-father. The *panch* looks into all such matters and takes decisions according to the merits of each case. Because the husband has paid money towards *dej* at the time of marriage to the bride's party, he suffers greater loss in the case of divorce. This loss has therefore to be balanced by the concession he gets in paying a smaller compensation at divorce.

15. *Records of the Dubla Panch.* (a) The Dub-

las have not been literate enough to keep a record of the decisions given at their Panch meetings. With the increase of literacy some records are being kept; and the general tendency has been, in the past, to keep a record of all divorce cases, in view of the importance attached to the sanctity of marriage as an institution and to the strict observances of the decisions of the Panch in cases of violence of this sanctity.

(b) The decisions regarding a divorce are however, finalised in written documents of which a sample is described in a later chapter. These are preserved in a file by the Patel. This document is known as *fārgati nāmu,* which makes it explicitly clear that, "Henceforth (i.e.) from the date of writing the document, such and such a man and woman are no more related as husband and wife." It is also stated who took the initiative in seeking the divorce and also what compensation he or she paid to the opposite party for doing so. This terminates the claim of husband and wife over each other; and they are free to marry whomever they like in their tribe. Such a document is duly signed by the members of the *panch* and also by the divorced spouses. The writer of the document, generally a member of the *panch,* gets one rupee as a reward which he spends in offering tea and bidis to other members. In case of non-observance of the verdict of the document by any party, the *panch* produces the original, before the individual concerned and forces him to abide by it, and in case of refusal to abide by the decree, the person concerned is excommunicated.

16. *A Consolidated Dubla Association beyond the Village.* It is a significant feature of the acculturation of tribal Dublas that they have absorbed the practices and preachings of the neighbours among whom they live. The impact of the economic life of the area or their daily life and culture is commented on in a separate chapter, but here it is necessary to describe how the system followed by the higher caste organisations for their consolidation and amelioration is copied by the Dublas. The advanced persons among the thinking sections of the community have organised the local Dubla Panches into wider organisations with the object of

consolidating their social customs and improving their education and social and economic status. At first, a collective meeting of the representatives of a locality of twelve villages is called and this preliminary meeting is followed by a duly constituted association, a Mandal or a Samaj. Usually such an association covers the people of twelve villages, which is an euphemistic name even though more than twelve villages may be joining in this association. The main function of such *bargamno choro* is to take measures to eradicate bad, old fashioned or harmful customs prevailing in the Dubla community. Booklets laying down the constitution of Dubla castes in various *talukas,* have been collected by our investigators. These new talukawise organisation[1] represents, so to say, the *bargamno chora* in modernised and modified form. The rules[2] that have been laid down in the booklets of these organisations give a clear idea of the social reforms taking place in Dubla society. They have begun to realise the advantages and the privileges sanctioned by Government to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes; and they have made continuous efforts to improve their economic conditions.

16. *The Social Reform Movement.* The new reforms recommended after considerable discussion are summarised below. They are indicative of the new life which is pulsating through the social activity of the so-called backward tribes:—

1) No parents should marry their children so long as they do not attain maturity.
2) The parents should seek the consent of their children in selecting a spouse for them, or they may be allowed to choose their partners by themselves.
3) Once a betrothal is fixed it should not be broken. The defaulter has to pay Rs. 10-0-0 to 20-0-0 to the *panch* of the village concerned.
4) Nobody should perform a betrothal ceremony at a tea-shop in a market-place or bazar. Instead, this ceremony should be completed at the bride's house where all gifts (including a suit of clothes to the bride and cash) must be handed over to the parents of the

bride. No other expenditure must be incurred by either party.

5) Nobody should ask or pay more than the dowry fixed by the taluka *organisation.*

6) The marriage party should be given due reception at the village of the bride and in no circumstances they should be made to stay under the trees in the outskirts of the village.

7) The ceremony of exchanging the gifts (chāndalo and kanyādān) should be finished on the day of the marriage; and the marriage party should be given the send-off the next day.

8) The marriages should be performed with the help of a Brahmin with due ceremonial rites.

9) Nobody should be allowed to sing obscene songs at the time of marriage.

10) The use of musical instruments may be allowed to any one, but the dances at the time of marriage must be abandoned; and the custom of beating the drum (*tur*) must be minimised.

11) The persons who take part in carrying a dead body should not ask or be given tea after coming from the burial or cremation ground.

A significant feature of these proceedings is that there is an united and determined effort on the part of the advanced Dublas to improve themselves and come into line with the main population. This is a hopeful sign and should be encouraged; but behind this lies an unconscious neglect of their own culture and want of confidence and self-respect in their own history and traditions.

17. *Growing opposition to .dancing* A noteworthy feature of the reformist movement centres round the keenness to abolish the dance and the use of musical instruments at the time of the dance on the ground that they make too much noise. Whether this is due to urbanisation or a craze for giving up ancient customs in favour of the modern practices of bhajan, or theatrical performances, or cinema or any other reason, it is a sad change. The disappearance of dance among the tribal people

of Gujarat will be a sad calamity, for not only the tribal people lose an opportunity for joy, rest and recreation but will lose an important feature of art and artistic life. For dance is a spontaneous evolution of the inner urges of emotional life and its suppression will lead to inhibition and frustration and will eventually lead to moral and psychological degradation, and seriously affect the spontaneity and joy in the life of a people who have few other means of amusement and recreation. This is discussed further in a later chapter.

* 1) *"Navsari talukana Halpatinyati bandharana", Shri Pachhat varya Shramjivi seva Mandala,* Dt. 1st June 1954, Anand Vijaya Press, Navsari.
2) *"Gandevi Talavia Rathod Samaj,* Gandevi, Shri Nanubhai Kikabhai Tailor, Dt. 18th Feb. 1955, Shri Narayana Printing Press, Bilimora.

Chapter V

CULTURAL LIFE

Birth, Pregnancy & Childhood. The critical conditions in the life of an individual centre round important events like Puberty, Marriage, Pregnancy, Birth, Climacteric, Old Age and Death. These turning points in individual life are observed with a certain amount of reverence and sometimes accompanied by anxiety, the latter of which is often relieved by festivities and celebrations of dinner, dance or singing. The individual is helped in tiding over these critical events, by the society or the tribe joining in general celebrations on group basis. These give a careful observer sufficient evidence about past history, affiliations, migrations and cultural relationships with other tribes. The customs pertaining to these events mentioned above have great value in the study of culture patterns of any group or tribe. A full length portrait of that group is not possible without a description of the social behaviour on these occasions. A special feature of the present study is that a comparison is made between the standard Hindu pattern of behaviour as laid down in the ancient Hindu scriptures—the Grihyasutras, which were compiled about 2,000 years ago, and which still do represent the essentials of Aryan Hindu culture. We thus get a conception of the extent of acculturisation from tribal primitive life through contact with Hindu culture.

2. The Dublas are among the intelligent tribes of the country and do not possess any superstition about the birth of a child being a gift from heaven. There is a certain amount of freedom of contact between the sexes, the boys and girls meet on the grazing fields when in charge of cattle, they also meet during dances on marriage occasions and festivities like Holi and Norata. This leads to a kind of pre-marriage sexual liberty among young persons of both sexes who are not unaware of the periodical menstruation among women

on maturity and of the taboos observed by them. There is no special celebrations as in some other communities, to announce the attainment of puberty and no peculiar ceremonies are performed on that occasion. But menstruation involves taboos in many a primitive society, and these taboos have been strengthened by constant contact with Hindu community of farmers, to which the Dublas are usually attached as labourers. The general pollution for three nights, and the bath on the fourth morning are observed in most Dubla families. The fourth day bath for the hair is supposed to be a specially elaborate affair requiring a special shampoo and wash for the hair which is to be made free from oil, which is called *'mathu* cholvu'—માથુ ચોળવું This monthly wash of the hair is considered unnecessary as soon as menstruation stops in a pregnant woman. This is technically described as stoppage of the monthly hair washing—માથુ ચોળવું બંધ થવું. This description indicates that sufficient knowledge about menstruation and pregnancy is prevalent among the Dublas. They keep a count of the month in which pregnancy has begun. This makes it easy for them to celebrate the various ceremonies connected with the first pregnancy.

3. The Dublas celebrate only the first pregnancy of a young wife. This celebrations known as *Kholobharvo,* is organised on the fifth or the seventh month after conception. The main ceremony consists of filling the lap of the pregnant woman on the ceremonious occasion with presents, consisting of varying amounts of wheat grain, generally a seer and half by measure, seven areca nuts, one coconut etc. The woman is seated on a *pātlā* or a higher pedestal according to the means available. The sister-in-law, that is, the wife of her husband's elder brother *Jeth* (real or classificatory) takes a prominent part in this "Kholo-bharavo" ceremony and it is she who takes initiative in singing appropriate songs on the occasion. She also wears her a new *sari,* puts on a *kumkum* mark on her forehead, sprinkles rice on her head and gives her blessings on the top of all these. In the same way other elderly women of her conjugal and natal families give her blessings for getting a son and happy marital life.

The parents of the young wife come from long distances to attend this ceremony, as it is their social duty to give presents usually in the form of garments etc. to the husband and to the mother's younger brother, (Māmā) on this occasion. The parents generally leave the home of their son-in-law on the same day or the next one. The husband's parents and other relatives bid them good-bye with some formality and give them a rupee or two as a token of gift. The ceremony brings together the families of the young husband and wife, all of whom take interest in the arrival of the new baby.

4. A brief description here of the standard Hindu ceremonies described in the Grihyasutras[1] would be helpful in understanding the acculturation that has taken place. The birth of a male child is essential in Hindu culture, and the Garbhādhān ceremony performed after the marriage ensures the birth of a hero. The *punsavan* is performed in the beginning of the third month of the first pregnancy, when the pounded powder of a Nyagrodha shoot (which has fruits on both sides) is inserted in the woman's right nostril with ceremonies and mantras. The *Garbha-rakshana* ceremony (for the protection of the embryo) and *Simantonnayana* ceremony (parting of the hair) are performed during the seventh month and *Kshepra-prasavana* (the quick delivery) ceremony seem to have been in later times compressed into one ceremony—the Kholo-Bharvo—lap filling mentioned above. The lying-in-chamber is to be besmeared with pounded roots of a certain plant to drive away the Rakshasas. Then a water pot is placed near the head, and a Turyanti plant near the feet of the pregnant woman; her body is then touched and stroked with some mantras which ensures a safe and speedy delivery. During the labour itself, *Soshyanti-homa* सोष्यन्ति होम (sacrifice) is performed, when Darbha grass is strewn round the fire and prayer is offered for the birth of a son. These ceremonies offer material for comparative study of the simple practices followed by the Dubla tribe. But the main difference is that there is no

1. pp. 65 to 67 Social and Religious life in Grihyasutras. Dr. V. M. Apte, 1954.

chanting of mantras and no Brahmin is present, the tribal priest performs some sort of invocations to the tribal goddess on each occasion e.g., the offering made to the *pet-fodi-devi* (the goddess which opens the stomach (uterus).

It becomes a moot point for research whether the simpler tribal practices formed the original ceremonies from which the nomadic Indo-Aryans on first arrival evolved more elaborate rituals with sanskrit mantras. The sanskrit pandits, with all the pride and glory behind the Hindu culture, would prefer the alternative opinion that it is absorption of Hindu rites by the imitation of the tribal people that has resulted in the cheap adoption of the Hindu culture. The prevalence of tribal gods and goddesses and tribal priests, however, tell us a different tale and point to an independent tribal culture with its own origin and evolution on which was superimposed a later layer of Aryan culture described in sanskrit books.[2]

5. *Labour:* (a) A cot made of *Kathi* (cocoanut-bark string) is prepared for the woman in labour. The cot is spread over with a palm-leaf-mat on which the woman is made to sleep during the period of confinement. She is given fresh hot semi-liquid food for some days in the beginning but later the usual food is considered sufficient.

A mid-wife or dai is considered indispensable for delivery. The profession of mid-wife is sometimes taken over by Dubla women also, but in the absence of such a woman the neighbouring women of experience are called for help. In the case of difficult delivery a more expert mid-wife of Muslim-barbour caste is called, but as a rule no male member is allowed to stay near at the time of delivery. In case of villages near dispensaries and maternity hospitals, a qualified lady or male doctor may be available. But in tribal areas this facility is rare.

(b) *Vows taken at the time of delivery.* When a woman is passing through an intense pain or delay in labour, a vow is taken to propitiate the deity called *Pet-fodi mata* (lit, the

2. *Slater*: Dravidian Elements in Aryan Culture. See also *Vishwanatha*: Synthesis of Hindu Culture.

mother-goddess capable of releasing the stomach). In some cases the *Pet-fodi Mata* is offered the sacrifice of a cock or a goat according to the capacity of the vow-maker, when the vow alone does not give adequate relief. Sometimes a vow is taken to 'offer a baby' to the *Pet-fodi Mata.* In this case not a real baby but the miniature effigy of a child made of flour or clay or metal, is offered.

(c) *Disposal of the Natal Cord.* The natal cord of the baby is cut with the blade of the jawar stalk; and it is buried in the backyard of the hut. The use of wood for this purpose is reminiscent of the ancient times when metal was not familiar to the members of this tribe. A stone-slab is put on the ground where the natal cord is buried; and it is on this stone that the mother is bathed every day. The mother also keeps a sickle by her side in the bed and she carries the same with her when she happens to go out of the hut: the use of this metal is also practised by the neighbouring Hindus for protecting the mother and the child from being molested by evil spirits.

(d) *Massage given to the new-born child:* The mother or the midwife massages with oil the body of the new-born baby for some days. This is done with the object of giving good circulation and shape to the baby. Similar treatment is also given to the mother if she is in delicate health.

6. *Sixth Day Ceremony.* The sixth day after the birth is very important, being the day when the goddess of Fortune is supposed to come at the time of this ceremony and write the fortune of the new-born child. A lamp of clarified butter in an earthen dish is placed near the cot of the mother at night and the same is offered to this goddess. The neighbouring women are invited to attend this function when a dinner or a tea-party is given. This custom is different from that followed by Hindus. In the case of the latter, a slate and pen or paper and pencil, are left over-night near the child; the object being that the goddess Vidhata may come over at night and write out the 'fortune' of the future of the child on his forehead with the writing material left for the purpose. The illiterate Dubla does not think of writing though he believes in a goddess of luck.

7. *Celebration on the 11th day of delivery.* The mother steps out the house only after the 11th day. On the twelfth day she is (after the usual bath) taken to a well where she puts an earthen lamp to propitiate the water goddess. When this is over, she returns home and applies red and yellow turmeric paste on the threshold of the door. At the end of this ceremony, one seer of rice or wheat and a rupee is given to the midwife concerned. The mother is now permitted to perform usual domestic work except cooking. On the thirty-seventh day of delivery, the mother resumes cooking after taking a special purificatory bath.

8. *Name-giving Ceremony.* Unlike the Hindus, the Dublas do not call upon a Brahmin to prepare a horoscope or to give a name to a child. Generally, the family members jointly select the name of the baby, but the father's sister is given a priority in this respect. The name-giving ceremony takes place on the same week-day on which the baby is born. Sometimes, the child is given the name of the day itself, e.g. a child born on a Saturday is called *Shanio,* and that on Wednesday is called *Budhio.* It has been observed that the day of Thursday, i.e. *guruvar,* is not generally selected for name-giving. Now-a-days adopting names from high caste people has become common. The name is also chosen from those given to the children of their relatives or neighbours. When the children of a person happen to die one after the other, this is considered as due to illwill of some godling or spirit. To escape this, it is customary to name the child after an unattractive or repulsive person. The names of the lowest category which refer to mean professions or objects, e.g., *Bhikhalo* or *Bhikhli,* meaning beggar or *Ukadio* or *Ukadi,* meaning a heap of refuse or cowdung, are chosen.

Dr. Apte[3] gives the Hindu version of the name-giving ceremony (*Namakarana*) during which there is a prayer for a long life of 100 autumns, and a name of two to four or six syllables is given by the father. His name may be that of *Nakshatra* based on the stars under which he is born, and

3. p. 68 Dr. V. M. Apte's Social and Religious life in the Grihya Sutras.

different from that given on the 10th day. The double name probably indicates that the tenth day ceremony was common among all people including the tribal people; while the second elaborate sanskritised ceremony was evolved later by the Indo-aryan settlers.

9. *The custom of removing the hair from the head of the boy: Tonsure.* The custom of removing the hair from the head of a boy is present among the Dublas, as among the high caste Hindus. This ceremony is known as *Mundan* or *Choulikarma* in Sanskrit and is performed when the boy attains the age of three or four. As the child is supposed to be a gift of a god or goddess according to their traditional belief, they consider it to be their duty to offer the boy first to the deity. It is believed that the deities have full right over the life of children and the boy in particular. So when the children die in a family one after the other, it is thought that these unpacified deities have devoured them; with a view to admit the right of the deity over the children and to give due recognition to its authority, a vow is taken to pacify it by making some offerings. It is also believed that the child with original hair on the head is not accepted by the deity and that a growth of hair on the head is supposed to protect the life of the child from the unpacified deities. They consider the hair to be so important that on the day selected for the ceremonial tonsure they offer a hair and a coconut to the goddess and request her to accept the gift as a substitute for the child offering. We heard a dubla saying: "Till today the boy belonged to the Goddess but as we have now given her the offerings (in hair cocoanut, a lamp, etc.) in compensation, she is pleased to give to us the son back, to live with us permanently."

10. *Motherhood and Pregnancy.* The mother is supposed to remain contaminated for one full month after delivery. During this state of pollution, she is not allowed to fetch water, enter the kitchen, touch earthenware, brass and copperware, clothes, etc. She observes this upto a month and a quarter. It is only after this period that she is allowed to resume her normal duties. This limit is sometimes raised to 40 or 45 days which closely follows that observed by the

Hindu community in the area.

A woman is bathed with hot water boiled with a herb called *nagol* which is supposed to remove foul smell and to invigorate the health of the mother in confinement. The bathing continues for eleven days after child-birth and it is performed by the midwife who also cleans the utensils used by the woman.

If it is possible for her parents or her husband, the pregnant woman is given nourishing food, but generally poverty and the strain of daily domestic life keep her illfed and ill-nourished till the day of delivery. But after delivery, she is given more rest and looked after better to some extent, and given nutritive food to compensate the loss of her health and vitality.

The importance of the mother in Dubla life, as judged by the general considerations given to her is not small. Cases of ill-treatment of the young wife by the mother-in-law are few because the joint family does not last long. On the other hand, the husband being occupied in agriculture or household work at the Dhaniama, the wife slowly gets a superior position with growing maturity and her voice and counsel are generally appreciated. The woman has no position in tribal councils, but she is given a more lenient and favourable treatment in divorce proceedings. Further, the custom of bride-price has placed an economic value on the wife, who cannot be displaced, without a fresh monetary investment and who thus secures an increasingly higher social status.

11. *Beliefs and superstitions associated with pregnancy and birth.* The Dublas believe that conception takes place only by the will of God. They do not generally make a grievance about sterility or barrenness. Unlike the Hindus, they do not believe in the necessity of a male child to perform Shraddha after a deceased Dubla. On the other hand, when they want to avoid getting more chidren, the advice of a midwife or some other experienced woman, and now-a-days that of a doctor, are sought after for this purpose. They often indulge in abortion; and this is specially done when an unmarried girl becomes pregnant. On the whole, the demand

for more children is not perceptible among Dublas. It is their poverty that is responsible for such an attitude towards children. The avergae size of a Dubla family consists of about 2 or 3 children; they manage to have a considerable gap of years between the births of two children. Some of them avoid sexual intercourse till the child is weaned and often the weaning of the child is prolonged for two or three years in the belief that such a delay prevents the coming of another child.

12. *Restrictions on the activities of the husband during the wife's pregnancy.* The social and cultural aspects of pregnancy are important and affect the daily life of all the members of the family. The birth of a healthy child is not considered to be an accident but the event which requires careful preparation. Even the husband of the pregnant woman has to observe several restrictions if an eclipse falls within the period of pregnancy. Some of the restrictions are as follow:

(i) The husband should not prepare a *bidi* (out of leaves). If he does so, it is believed that the baby's ears get rolled up like the *bidi* itself.

(ii) He should not cut anything with the help of a pen-knife. If he does so, it causes wounds on the body of the baby in embryo.

(iii) If he hurls a stick in anyone's body, it is supposed to create a hollow in the body of the embryo. Similar restrictions are followed by the husband of a pregnant woman in the case of Anavils. This is an additional feature in some of the common points in the culture of the Anavils and Dublas who have been living together as farmers and labourers for centuries.

Chapter VI.

CULTURAL LIFE. (ii)—Marriage.

It is an important feature of the culture of most of the tribal people in India, that they do not believe in early marriage, nor in the prevention of widow-re-marriage, nor in minor food and caste taboos, which are prevalent among the majority of Hindu Castes. The practice of early marriage among the Hindus, which has a long historical origin enforced with greater rigour as a measure of social protection during the domination of a foreign culture, does not exist among most of the tribal people. The Dublas have the usual age of marriage among them at about 18 for boys and 15 for girls. Even then marriage among them is not always a simple affair of love and courtship between a young man and a girl, but the tribal society imposes restrictions through certain social institutions some of which we may mention. (1) The existence of a professional mediator *Vastario,* (2) the institution of *bride price* (Dehej) (3) the conception of *Vito*— all these three restrictions are important from the point of their cultural life.

2. *Vito: the geographical endogamous marriage group.* The Vito means a bundle or a round or a circle within which only the selection of bride is generally allowed. Marriage connections are permissible under certain groups of Dublas within certain geographical areas, e.g. a number of villages within a particular area of *Navasari* taluka would form an endogamous group beyond which brides could not be exchanged; and so also those in Bardoli or Gandevi would form another *Vito.* This geographical unit may overcome subgroup differences of Dublas e.g. talavias and non-talavia dublas may form one *Vito* and exchange brides between themselves, provided them come within this *Vito.* The conception of *Vito* as a geographical unit, is copied from the majority community of the Hindus. It saves the participants long journeys in connection with arrangements for the

marriage on the occasions of the various formal negotiations or of the ceremonies of the wedding, the Anu or the first formal exchange of visits of the bridegroom and bride after marriage, or the pregnancy ceremony or the child-birth visits etc. The localisation of the field of marriage has strengthened the solidarity of the local culture and led to its enforcement with a sense of rigid reality.

This practice is probably the result of the economic conditions but its social significance cannot be over-emphasised. It gives a definite clue as to whether the Dublas were or at all connected with Rajputs. A Rajput never marries within a clan e.g. a Solanki would not take a bride from another Solanki family but would try to get one from a non-solanki Rajput family. But a Dubla takes the bride from a local Dubla or Talavia or Dubla-Rathod—the geographical fraternity being more important. The concept of a gotra or a sect, which is responsible for the avoidance of local marriages among some Hindu castes, is not observed rigidly by the Dublas. This supports the theory that the Dublas form a group with foreign origin and with certain concepts which are not accepted by Rajputs or other Hindus.

3. *The Selection of a spouse and the role of mediator (Vastario).* When a boy reaches a marriageable age of eighteen, his parents usually communicate with their relatives asking them to suggest the names of suitable girls for their son. Generally the mother's brother or the brother-in-law (sister's husband) of the boy as well as other relatives on the mother's and father's side take prominent part in approaching the girls' parents in view. The relatives take all possible pains to search for a girl in the circle of their relatives and acquaintances; and make suggestions to the prospective bride's parents to think over the matter. The girl's parents, on the other hand make inquiries as to the general nature of the members of the boy's family, behaviour, his habits, his temper, his general pose and whether any person from the boy's family, had any serious disease or hereditary ailment. If anything doubtful is suspected, the boy's parents straightaway refuse the proposal and go in search of another bride. In villages, a girl with long schooling

may not be preferred, as it is feared that education may make her indifferent to the simple life in Dubla huts, where cooking, domestic work and field work are common. The well-being and stability of a Dubla family depends upon the capacity of the womenfolk to work in harmony in the dull and heavy household and field work. The acceptance of the bride into the husband's family is always a slow business in all communities. She is often looked upon by her mother-in-law as an inferior person and she has to bear her own share of household and farm work. The parents on both the sides, therefore, make enquiries as to how far these social adjustments are possible before they decide finally to agree to the proposed alliance between the two families. If the information supplied is found satisfactory, they convey the message to the boy's parents through the mediator concerned. The mediator is known as Vastario or Vastalia among the Dublas of Dharampur side. The Naikdas of Chikhali and Gandevi also follow this custom and call the mediator by the same name.

4. *Liberty of the boy for personal choice.* The parents of the boy formally go to see the girl at her house and the boy also does the same after some days. If the boy does not approve of the girl, the parents do not ignore his wishes even though they might be in favour of the girl. If a girl is refused at this stage, it is not considered out of etiquette; and the girl's prestige is not supposed to have been affected by the refusal at the first stage. But there are occasional cases in which the boy and girl meet each other and make up their mind to join in wedlock. Sometimes they run away and live together for a few days with the connivance of the parents. This kind of alliance is generally accepted by the parents who consider themselves lucky that they have been saved the botheration of making preliminary preparations and also the consequent expenses at the various stages.

5(a). *Betrothal (Nani tadi).* When everything else is agreed to by parents on both parties, there comes the occasion of settling the date of betrothal. Betrothal was known, in the old fashion, as *nani tadi* i.e. 'a minor drinking occasion'; because, it was then usual to

partake *tadi* drink in small quantity by the boy's and the girl's relatives. In this feasting, the girl's and the boy's parents had to pay Rs. 4 and Rs. 2 respectively, to buy the total quantity of the drink required. The drink is now replaced by a tea-party which is enjoyed by the members of both the groups often with some eatables.

On the betrothal day, the boy's party goes to the girl's village and sends word through the mediator. The mediator conducts the formal ceremony of asking the girl's parents whether they want to give their daughter to the boy concerned and the parents obviously reply in the affirmative. So at the instance of both the parties the members of the caste *panch* are invited, to decide the amount of *dej*[1] or bride price (in cash and kind) to be paid by the boy's party. When both the parties have agreed to the proposal, a tea-party (formerly *tadi*) is arranged for. The bride-price to be given in cash is handed over to the girl's parents at the time of betrothal, and that in kind, (i.e. clothes and ornaments) is reserved to be paid at the occasion known as *Moti tādi.*

(b) *The Second part of betrothal* (Moti Tadi). The stage next to betrothal, is the presentation of ornaments and clothes to the bride. This occasion is called *moti tadi* or *paherāmani* and is considered to be an important stage of solidifying the bonds between the two families requiring a big feast of *tadi.* It generally comes about six months after the betrothal. The boy's party consisting of about twenty to twentyfive persons go to the bride's house carrying with them the presents previously agreed upon.

The presentation, which commences by midday, generally consists of two nickel anklets, two saries, two blouses, some bangles and bracelets and some hand-spun yarn: this yarn is known as ganthi and is used for tying the garments of a bride and the bridegroom—a symbolical union of the couple at the time of the wedding ceremony. These things are placed near a sacred lamp, as a gesture of offering to the family goddesses. The articles are then handed over to

1. The word dehej (that which is given) generally refers to dowry, but the Dublas use it to refer it also to bride-price.

the mediator (vastalia) concerned, who passes them on to the parents of the bride. This is followed by the collection of contributions for the occasioned feast. The boy's father, generally, contributes about Rs. 6 while the bride's father gives half of it, i.e. Rs. 3. In olden times, they used to purchase *tadi* but now-a-days they take tea and some other edibles. The collection of the contribution becomes necessary, because otherwise there is little spare food with the Dubla. The persons who join the party from a near place, for *nāni tādi* or *moti tādi* generally return home before night-fall. In case the visitors have come from a distant place, they do not have a meal at the bride's house; even though they may spend the night there, they generally make their own food arrangements and leave for home early next morning. The lack of hospitality is generally due to poverty and absence of stocks of food in the house. It has been noticed that every time a guest is coming, the Dubla family has to borrow food grains or cash from friends or from the Dhaniamās in those cases where the Hali relationship still exists. Poverty and lack of resources dry the springs of hospitality so common among owners and cultivators of land.

6. *Fixation of Wedding Day.* Though the Dublas do not call upon a Brahman to perform the marriage ceremony, they consult him whenever available for fixing an auspicious day for the wedding. The Brahmin may be a *purani* reciting the sacred books or a professional priest performing ceremonies laid down in sanskrit books, or an astrologer dispensing divine knowledge about the auspicious stars and determining a suitable day for various kinds of ceremonies. It is only in the last capacity that he is consulted by the Dublas, when the Brahmin consults his almanac and determines the auspicious time and day (muhurta) as per the astrological calculations base on the names of the bride and the groom.

Another important factor to be considered in fixing the date is the avoidance of the menstruation period of the women who perform the roles of the mothers of the bride and the groom respectively known as either *Vahu-Mā* or *Vara-Mā*. If the mother is old, infirm or a widow, her status

(for the time-being) is taken over by either the paternal aunt or the wife of elder brother any other suitable consanguine. Such a responsible woman at the marriage is known as *Vara Ma* and is requested to perform the usual rituals, in company with her husband.

7. *Ghān Ceremony. Ghān* is a peculiar marriage custom among the Dublas. It implies a *ghān* (a kind of hammering stroke) which confirms the arrangements previously made. There has been already the betrothal *Nani Tadi* and exchange of clothing *Moti tādi* and now the third and final opportunity is taken to prevent any change of mind in the case of wavering individuals or families. On this occasion, the arrangements are finally fixed by the groom's party formally sending to the bride's house a bag of rice. This rice, which is presented to the bride's parents, is known as *ghān*. Besides, it is customary to give half the amount of the *dej* (bride price) which has been fixed at the betrothal. The *ghān* is also considered to be an important occasion for the concrete settlement of the marriage day. It performs two important functions. Firstly, it confirms that the girl's parents are still anxious to marry the daughter to the person agreed to. It is noticed that in some groups, it is open to the parents to refuse to accept the *ghān* from the prospective groom, if they had changed their mind. The acceptance of this gift is, therefeore, looked upon with the satisfaction that the arrangements are finally accepted. The second function of the ceremony is to secure for the bride's parents the rice and the money which are both helpful for making preparations for the wedding. In some parts of Navasari taluka, the custom of *ghān* does not play an important role because, the Dublas generally do not break away after having reached the stage of exchange of clothing at the betrothal ceremony. There is also another variation, the *ghān* (bag of rice) is taken only on the day previous to the wedding when the ceremony of applying the turmeric paste to the bride is performed. Still another important variation is that instead of carrying a bag of rice from one village to another as a token of ghan, cash is paid as a substitute. These variations are made to suit the local conditions and the varying

financial position of the parties concerned. An important implication of the *ghān* ceremony is that the relaxation is possible of the betrothal promise upto this stage if the bride's party desires; the bride's parents have a deciding hand only till this ceremony is performed.

8. *The Age Factor.* The relative ages of the boy and the girl is generally taken into consideration. It is usual to have a difference of one to two years between the ages of the boy and girl, the boy being older. Sometimes the spouses of equal age are not looked down upon; but if the girl happens to be older than the boy, such a union is resented, and the parents do not agree except for a consideration, which may be economic or social in character. This is often observed in these cases where the bridegroom is unable to offer the expected bride price and has to stay as *Khandadia.*

9. *Marriage by Choice.* This ancient and primitive custom still prevails in many Dublas areas several cases having been noticed in Dharampur Taluka. The young people come in contact with each other either in the fields while tending cattle or in the bazar or while carrying errands or doing some work on behalf of their families. The dance-ceremonies in connection with religious festivals or in connection with wedding and social occasions bring the boys and girls together and offer opportunities for selecting a partner for life. Such casual acquaintance often results in closer attachment which often culminates in proposals for marriage. They convey their intimation to their respective parents who formally initiate the proposal to the girl's parents. A proposal like this is not generally resented to or turned down and is often encouraged as a lot of intermediary troubles are saved, and the marriage is agreed to. But the tribal Patel or Panch is consulted and kept informed as a kind of semi-official witness to each stage of the transactions, otherwise, he may refuse to help in case of difficulties or disagreement.

10. *The Wedding Preliminaries.* (a) *Marriage Booth.* The ordinary Dubla cannot afford to make any special preparation for the wedding except perhaps cleaning, mud-plastering, and sometimes white-washing if the liv-

ing hut is already covered well with cow-dung. There is little artistic talent even to provide decorations or embellishments on the occasion of marriage or even on any other occasion. But an important event is the installation of the marriage-booth, even if it may not be an elaborate structure. This ceremony takes place on the third day previous to the wedding day at the groom's house while it commences on the fifth day of at the bride's place. Before the first post of the booth is put into the ground, it is usual to make a formal offering of an *areca* nut, some rice, a few flowers and a copper coin to the presiding duty. The booth consist of eight posts covered over with crossed bamboos and on the top with green or dry grass as may be available. On the ground, in the center of the booth, an altar made of clay of suitable size and height is prepared. This dried altar (ṭhori) is used for making offerings during the wedding ceremony. In parts of Dharampur a post known as *murat beriun* is erected in the centre of the booth instead of the raised altar. In the hole dug for this central post they put a wood of *sami* or *khijda* (prosposis spicigera) tree, betel leaf, areca-nut, and some rice. It is round this altar or the central post that the bride and the groom circumambulate later, like the Hindu *sapta padi,* as a part of the marriage ceremony. Those Dublas who use the flat raised altar (chori) are generally known as *choriwara Dubla* and those using the central post *(murat beriun)* are known as *mandavia.*

(b) *Pithi-Rubbing.* It is under their respective marriage booth that the bride and the groom begin from the same day to stand to the ceremony called *pithi-rubbing* i.e. rubbing the turmeric on the back and the whole body. The groom undergoes the *pithi*-ceremony for three days while the bride has to submit to this for five days. The neighbouring women relatives are specially invited to attend this function, and to sing appropriate songs. The duty of rubbing the turmeric is entrusted to the elder-brother's wife or mother's brother's wife of the person concerned. Among the Dublas the turmeric (pithi) is not supplied by the mother's brother (mama) of the groom or the bride concerned as it is among the caste Hindus of the region (especially the

Anavils), but is supplied by the people of the village.

The use of turmeric during the marriage celebrations is common also among the tribes of Madhya Pradesh, and is described with great details in the famous description of his own marriage with a Gond bride by Dr. Verrier Elwin in his article "I marry a Gond" in "Man in India".

(c) *System of marriage invitations.* It is a feature of Dubla life that the relatives and friends are invited to the marriage festivities by the family members of the bride and the groom personally. On the first day of *pithi* the women of the village or hamlet bring rice with them to present it to the bridegroom. The rice thus obtained, is considered auspicious and preserved. The women members mix this rice with turmeric and take it as a token of invitation to the relatives concerned. The invitation to be given in the village or the hamlet is delivered orally by the sisters, brother's wives or paternal aunts. On the next day they go to the huts of their relatives and put some rice at each threshold and invite the members to attend the marriage on the day fixed for the purpose. This act of putting the rice and giving the invitation is known as *Notarun mukavan,* lit., to lay invitation. નોતરૂ મૂકવુ ')

For the close relatives living in distant villages, it is usual to send some male members to deliver the invitations in the traditional way. But nowadays, the custom of the caste Hindus to send printed invitationcards is getting to be adopted. The text of such cards is prepared by caste Hindus and provides one of the numerous instances of acculturation to Hindu practices.

11. *The preparations at the groom's house.* Before starting for the bride's village, where the wedding is to take place, the father of the groom offers a meal to his relatives, and prepares for setting out the marriage-procession. The groom takes his bath and after removing the turmeric off his body, puts on new clothes presented to him by the mother's brother or father's sister. These presents consist of a *dhoti* (lower garment), shirt, coat, a cap or turban or head-gear and a garland; a bundle of flowers and a cocoanut are carried in his hand.

(e) Two fruits of *mindhal* are tied on his wrist. One of these is removed from his hand and tied on the bride's wrist before the marriage rite is performed. This fruit is supposed to provide a protective charm against evil eyes among the caste Hindus, and the Dublas seem to have adopted this custom, though the reverse position is not impossible.

(f) After this, his elder brother's wife or his mother (Vara-Ma) gives him protective boons by waving a lamp and rice grains on his head and by putting a red mark of *kumkum* (red termeric) on his forehead.

(g) This rite is followed by a custom known as *chandalo karavo* which constitutes the offering of cash gifts with red-coloured-mark to the groom by the relatives. The nature and the cost of these presents depend firstly upon the degree of relationship; the near relatives have to give more while the distant ones give less. On the other hand, the persons of the hamlet or village who are not relatives pay such a gift in equal proportion to one that the groom's father might have paid in the past at the marriage of the son or the daughter in these families. The amount of *chandalo* varies generally from annas four to rupees two. The dublas who generally do not keep accounts, possess a retentive memory for these small mutual transactions and carefully make a note of the amount for purposes of returning on a suitable occasion. The idea of reciprocity is an important factor in the money economy of persons who are perpetually in want of money and who require it badly for use on the wedding day. For this purpose, another term is used namely *shesh mukavano* i.e. placing or recording gift i.e. *shesh*. These details show that the Dubla wedding is considered as an occasion for mutual help and goodwill; and the village people contribute not a little to keep up the prestige of the village of the bride against that of the visitors from another village who bring the bridegroom for the wedding celebrations.

12. *Marriage Procession.* (a) Marriage is a festive occasion giving much scope for merry-making and joy, as can be seen by the music of the drums and other indigenous instruments, which accompany the marriage-procession. The

abandon and care-free atmosphere that prevail on this occasion usually lands the dublas into heavy debt, which worries him and his family for a life time. But as is shown elsewhere the heavy expenditure on marriage occasion is common among almost all communities of the human race.

(b) Whatever may be the economic status of the bridegroom and his parents, he is considered to be the king-groom and he is given on this occasion the honours due to a king, according to the resources and ideas of the local group. The marriage party of Dublas going in the form of a procession[2] from one village to another, is an important event. The bridegroom is generally accompanied by his near relations and is supported by his friends and the representatives of his tribal and other groups from his village. The bridegroom-king is officially respected and in the absence of a horse or a conveyance is carried on the shoulders of the sister's husband—*anvario* (one who follows) upto the end of the street or outskirts of the village or the hamlet. He is then seated in a special cart, well-decorated, to go to the bride's village. Except a few children who are allowed to sit in the cart, the other members of the party go on foot. Sometimes the groom himself walks down the distance if the girl's village is not far or if he cannot afford to hire a cart. The women, who accompany the procession, sing songs appropriate to the occasion. On reaching the bride's village, the *anavario* again lifts the groom from the outskirts of the hamlet to the resting place. The guests are lodged in somebody's house where the groom and his relatives take rest. The *anavario* (one who follows) who is the attendant to the groom, remains in the latter's company and helps him in all respects. Even after marriage, at the time of latter functions called *anu* (i.e. the coming and going of the bride and the groom) the services of the *anavario* are considered indispensable. Similarly the bride also has her *anavarin*, who looks after all her comforts and removes any kind of inconvenience.

2. The pomp of the marriage ceremony and the parading of the bridegroom and of the gifts received in a procession have been observed since Rigvedic times. (Social & Religious Life in the Grihyasutras by V. M. Apte. p. 18).

The wife of *anavario* (i.e. groom's own sister) also helps the bride and the groom.

(c) In the case of the bride, her sister, married or unmarried, is a great asset. Such a person is known as *karavali* who accompanies her also when she goes to her husband's house for the first time.

13. *Preparations at the Bride's place.* (a) *Santek.* After the arrival of the groom's party the women from the bride's family go to bring clay for the marriage altar. They are accompanied either by the drummer of the groom or their own drummer and then go to the outskirts of the village singing songs. The altar (chori) is prepared by the trained Dubla priests known as choriwalla; a small sacrificial fire is lit from dung-cakes (છાણાં) and offerings consisting of cocoanut, rice, areca nut etc., are made. This ceremony has to be postponed till the actual arrival of the groom, who has sometimes been found in the past to change his mind about the marriage. This is evidently an imitation of *Griha-shanti* or *shanti* ceremony performed among the Hindus, as preliminary to the wedding ceremony itself. The Hindu sacrificial ceremony is for the appeasement of the planets, stars and various godlings which guarantee a peaceful termination of the ceremonies.

(b) *Bath.* The bride is then bathed and the turmeric is washed off her body. She then puts on the new clothes presented to her by her mother's brother, the māmā, who forms important functions in the marriage. In the meantime, one of her male relatives (generally brother) goes to receive the groom and his party.

14. *The Wedding Ceremony.* (a) *The groom enters the wedding booth.* The groom alighting from the shoulder of the *anvario* enters the premises of the bride's house and stands at the entrance of his booth. His mother-in-law receives him with a ritual known as *araghavun* or *ponkhavun.* In this ceremony of *ponkhavun,* she waves round his head a set of a miniature churning post and jowar stalk, supposed to be emblems of protection against the agricultural profession. The mother-in-law then takes red and white hand-spun yarn (sutar) and

winds it round the groom from head to toe; this is a symbolic representation of the soft silken ties with which the bride-groom is expected to join the family. This yarn is taken out and again wound up into a kind of garland, to be used later in the ceremony. Then the groom is taken inside the booth and seated on *patla, machi,* or *bajath* intended for him; where the modern chair is available, it is used by preference.

(b) In certain villages, the couple stand under a leaf-*toran*—a *gorenu toran* built over the threshold: the husband of the sister of the bride-groom ties the ends of the clothes of the couple by special knots and the couple is asked to step in and step out seven times.

(c) In some villages, before the couple is allowed to enter the threshold, the younger and unmarried brother of the groom has some function to perform. He shuts the door from inside and would not open it, until he gets a satisfactory answer to the question he puts to the new sister-in-law enquiring whether she will help him in getting himself married. This is only a sample of the jocular relationship that is maintained throughout life between the young wife and her husband's younger brother.

(d) *The arrival of the bride:* The wedding ceremony among Dublas is performed by their own priests. The priest who performs marriage is known as *chorivaro,* i.e., one who works at the altar (chori). The groom and bride are made to sit facing each other on opposite chairs .or patlas. The bride is ceremoniously lifted to the booth, by the *anvario,* the brother-in-law, and seated near the bridegroom who has been brought in by the mother-in-law after the welcome ceremony.

(e) *Antarpat:* A temporary cloth curtain is held between them. The curtain is known as *antarpat* and is similar to the one used by caste Hindus at the wedding.

(f) *Transfer of Mindhal:* Before the priests start their work, one of the two *mindhals* from the groom's wrist, is removed and tied to the bride's wrist.

(g) Now, the priests utter the names of holy rivers such as Ganges, Godavari, Jamuna, etc., and also the names of Hindu gods and goddesses and heroes of epics etc. They

repeat these names including those of the bride and the groom and the *anavario* at every interjection of *Sāvadhān.* The word of warning, *Sāvdhān* i.e. "Take care," "be on the alert", "keep your senses", before entering the responsibilities of a marriage life, is repeated also by the Dubla priests.

(h) The Hindu custom of *saptapadi* is generally followed by all Dublas. The yarn that had been wound round the groom on entering the house is made into the form of a garland and kept round the couple as a token of the two being brought together. The ends of the sari and the dhoti of the bride and groom respectively are tied by a special type of knot. The couple, headed by the bride then go round the small fire lit in the altar (chori) seven times. This is considered to be an essential part of the ceremony and is in accordance with also the Hindu practice, where courts of law have challenged the legality of weddings performed without this ceremony. But the Dubla does not invite the Brahman and is satisfied with the *Bhagat,* one of himself, appointed as a priest.

(i) When the ceremonial rites are completed, the Dubla versions of the mantras are recited by the *Bhagats,* who then instruct the drummers to beat the drums loudly, announcing the completion of the ceremony. The marriage is then supposed to have been rightly consecrated.

15. It is a general practice among the Dublas, that the expenses of the wedding fall more heavily on the bridegroom's party than that of the bride. The *Dehej* (bride-price) recieved by the father is just enough for the simple expenses to be met by the bride's father. The groom has to give not only *Dehej,* but also clothes and silver ornaments to the bride, and to bear the exercises of the marriage and dinner parties. It included in the past a liberal amount of liquor, the cost of which used to exceed the cost of food. These heavy expenses levy a life-long burden on the Dublas and have been the main cause of the economic serfdom (Hali system) caused by the heavy initial debt and also by the growing rapacity of the money-lending farmer. It is a peculiar feature of the social economy of the Dubla people that they are constantly aware of their poverty and that the

bride's people seldom get into debt on the occasion of the marriage. Most of the expenditure, for the reception of the marriage party of the groom and his relatives, is made from the money received on the occasion of the *Ghān* and betrothal ceremonies, and the bride-price.

16. *The custom of Kanyā-dān and Mameru.* After dinner, the party, again meets in the Mandap for an informal yet essential function. The presents given to the bride by her parents and their friends, are formally given to te bride in the presence of the assembly. The gifts are considered Kanya-dan, officially recognised as stri-dhan (wife's property) and over this no one else has any right.

The bride receives gifts from her near relatives, especially from mother's brother. Her parents also may present her costly brass pots or pitchers and or other smaller utensils to facilitate establishment of a new household. The gifts from the bride's mother are given after a special ceremony called Māmeru—i.e. a reception from Māmā, maternal uncle.

The bride has the sole authority over the gifts, be they cash or kind, and she carries all these things to her husband's house; she is expected to start her own kitchen as soon as possible even in her father-in-law's house. When this ceremony is ended, the bride's brother takes her from the booth to her father's house, while the groom remains seated in the booth with his friends and relatives.

17. *The Wedding Night.* The groom and his party spend the whole night in or near the Mandap, and make themselves merry by some gossip or game. The members of the bride's party also join them and spend the time pleasantly, doing some mischief or other (e.g. hiding the shoes or other belongings of the bridegroom) and telling merry stories. Songs and dances by the professionals and amateurs of the village increase the intensity and tempo of the gay and cheerful atmosphere. Though restricted, illicit drinking may be resorted to by individuals at their own cost but the expenses of the wedding night are not borne by the bride's party.

18. *Preparations for send-off.* The celebration of the wedding of the Dubla bride gives many proofs of solidarity of the Dubla tribe. She is considered to be the daughter of

the whole community, all members join in helping her parents on the occasion of the send-off.

One is the financial contribution to the expenses of the wedding in the shape of *chcndlo.* The bride receives *chandlo,* i.e. cash gifts from her relatives and the acquaintances of her family. This is similar to the occasion when the groom receives gifts from different people when he sets out from is village for marriage. The *chandlo* practice is a good device for mutual and voluntary contribution which helps in the heavy expenditure necessary for the wedding party etc. The *chandlo* collection made in the case of the bride's party is given to the bride when the groom and his party are leaving the village on the second day of the marriage.

19. *The send-off ceremony.* In certain Dubla villages, the bride's parents give the grooms party the gifts of sari and blouse, and certain auspicious fruits e.g. nine cocoanuts, 100 betel-leaves, half-pound betel-nuts; they distribute the pan and betelnut to the members of the community present. The wedded couple pass under the Mandap—the marriage booth—and come out.

When the bride leaves the village with the groom's party, it is usual for the parents to shed tears to express the sorrow caused by her departure. But the occasion is considered too auspicious for serious mourning and songs giving advice to the bride for her proper conduct in the new family are generally sung.

She is advised to obey the orders of all the elderly members of her conjugal family and live in harmony with others: and also to keep her husband pleased in all respects and never to disobey him. The bride's parents also make humble requests to the groom's parents to treat her as their own daughter and tell them to forgive her if she happens to commit any mistake.

20. *Influence of Rāma.* Another important custom, known as *Rama Viavahar* is practised at certain villages. The present observation was made at Dharampur. This looks more ancient than the Hindu practices detailed above. Even if the *Rama Viavahar* i.e. dedication in the name of

Rama, is a separate and independent ceremony, its importance and significance are noteworthy.

Before the groom's party leaves the village, the members of the tribal panch are invited to be present at a formal farewell function. The bride and the groom are made to take vows not only to remain faithful to each other but also in the name of god Rāma to support and maintain each other, even if any one of them becomes blind, lame, invalid, or paralysed; they also admit their allegiance to the tribal panch, and declare that if any one of them renders injustice to the other in any form, they recognise the right of the tribal panch to interfere and punish the guilty. Any breach of this agreement made formally at *Rama Viavahar* ceremony is suposed to incur divine wrath.

21. *The home return of the bridegroom party.* The successful termination of the wedding ceremony and the bringing in of the bride is celebrated as an important event. But its religious significance is great because the party visits their godlings and pay homage to them at the tribal temple before entering the house.

(a) The visit to the shrine of the deity Bharamdev is considered most important. Offerings are made at the shrine and homage done to attain not only prosperity but also fertility.

(b) After entering the house, the bride has to pass through an ordeal. Her husband's sisters and his elder brother's wives play an important part in this. Several pots, some filled with food-grains and others empty are placed together. The bride is asked to say whether a particular pot is filled or empty. If her reply is not correct, she is teased and mocked. In a way, this strengthens the acquaintance of the bride with her husband's close relatives and builds up the beginning of a homely life. When this is over, they loosen the *mindhal* fruits from their wrists and throw them on the roof.

22. (a) *The Bride goes to her father (anu).* The newly wedded wife is not allowed to stay long in the new house. After about a week's time, a party of even number from the bride's family goes to bring her and her husband. During

the stay of the groom at his father-in-law's house, one of the tasks is to remove the marriage-festoons and clear the refuse from the vicinity of the bride's house; this task used to be performed jointly by the wife's sister and the latter's husband. In recent times, not only is the son-in-law relieved from this task, but the wedding booth is not shifted till the *anu* ceremony takes place.

(b) *Bridegroom returns to his father with the bride.* After a week's stay at the bride's place the groom's parents send a party of relatives to bring back the bride. In this party, they send at least two persons more than that the number of persons who might have come to the bride's house earlier. These people, halt only for a day, are given sumptuous meals, and allowed to return with the bride and the groom. This return is accompanied by a small ceremony. The parents give the bride two sweet balls called *Unda* made out of flour mixed with molasses or jaggery and oil. The bride finally leaves the village and the task of the Anvaria and of other relations end here.

(c) *The last of the marriage ceremonies.* When the bride reaches her conjugal home, the groom's parents prepare two similar balls made of ashes. These four balls are put in a winnowing-pan (supadun) which the groom and the bride hold from two sides while its other two sides are held by the sister and her husband. They then wave the winnowing-pan and throw the balls out into the mandap. All these four persons again remove the festoons and other garbage that may be left over, from the pandal of the bridegroom's house. This last act puts an end to all the marriage festivities and ceremonies. It marks the termination of marriage period. The customary duties assigned to the sister's husbands *(anavaria)*, of the bride and the groom respectively, are also over. When they are allowed to go to their respective places, they are given a dhoti and Rs. 2 as gifts by the parties concerned. This receipt of goods and cash is supposed to be the right of an *anavaria* earned by the duties performed during and after the marriage.

23. *Divorce.* Till recently the Dublas have suffered from the primitive instincts of changing a marriage partner

on the least provocation. At present there is greater appreciation of the sanctity of marriage and the divorces are getting less frequent though not rare. It had been a long recognised practice that both the man and the wife can claim the divorce privilege by appealing to the tribal panch. If a man does not like his wife or doubts her fidelity he begins to ill-treat her and compels her to take to divorce. Sometimes he persists in beating or treating her badly to such an extent that she runs to her natal home and never returns. A suspicious woman may also quarrel with her husband if he ill-treats her without reason or if he has extra-marital relations with some other woman. If her husband's family members are not kind to a newly wedded wife, she cannot be compelled to live with them against her wish; if she is strong enough to pick up quarrels and create scenes, she may succeed in establishing a separate household instead of getting divorce.

24. *Procedure:* (a) The procedure for divorce is simple and ensures due consideration and secures a sort of justice suited to the standards of the tribe. Each case has to go before the tribal panch whether the complainant is a man or a woman; and in each case a formal document of divorce is recorded by the panch with the help of an outsider, in case the members of the panch are illiterate. The increasing expenses of the wedding and high bride prices have proved as deterrent economic factors that have made divorce more difficult and less frequent. The tribal panch no longer favours such divorces, which used to provide in the past occasions for drinking parties as a part of the fine.

(b) The man or woman who wants divorce approaches the *panch* of his or her village. The panch calls for the man or the woman and their relatives and after conveying the feelings of the opposite party, endeavours a compromise. If the party is stubborn, the members study the case more minutely. After hearing in detail the members of the panch weigh the arguments and put relevant questions. If the panch considers it reasonable, they compel the divorcer to pay the fine fixed by them to the injured party. The amount varies with the circumstances of each case and

usually the person who takes the initiative has to pay the higher amount.

(c) *Children:*—The children of the divorced couple are generally handed over to the father. If a child is lactating it remains with the mother for the time being but later it has to go to the father. Generally the responsibility of rearing and marrying such children rests with the biological father. But if the father does not insist, the children may remain with the mother irrespective of whether she re-marries or not.

25. *Re-marriage.* Re-marriage among Dublas creates complicated situations at different times and in different contexts, as complete freedom for re-marriage is enjoyed by a divorcee man or woman and also by a widower or a widow. It is likely that a divorced man may get a virgin as his second wife but the divorced wife rarely gets a bachelor, unless someone has been waiting for her in a case of genuine love and affection. However, some instances of bachelor marrying a divorced woman or a widow occur and in such cases the details of the ceremony are modified.

(a) A bachelor marrying a widow or a divorced wife is considered unlucky and to ward off this defect he has to undergo a symbolic first marriage with an auspicious plant called *Sami* so that both the sides have undergone an equal number of marriage rites.

(b) The widow's children generally go with the mother when she re-marries and on the step-father devolves the duty of rearing and marrying them. The step-children and the children born after the new wedlock are treated alike and the parents are expected to be impartial.

(c) The children of a divorced woman may live with her even if she re-marries. But this depends on the agreement that the woman's divorcee and the re-marrying husband make with her.

(d) When both the husband and the wife (either widowed or divorced) are re-marrying and if both have children, they may agree to tolerate the step-children of each other in the same family and it is the husband who gives shelter to the step-children. All the step-children of a person

look upon one another as brothers and sisters and cannot marry among themselves.

(e) If a woman remains childless even after re-marriage but if she has step-children she looks upon them as her own and is interested in rearing and getting them married.

The divorce system, if it has undergone any change, has moved on the stricter side. The tribal organisation has, on the whole, been stricter and stricter, not only because there is greater solidarity and self consciousness, but there is a genuine desire to approach the standards of behaviour and conduct followed by the majority community. Even in these groups of Dublas where literacy is not common, care is taken by the punch authorities to get the decision written out in the form of a regular document. The sample of the document printed below indicates an anxiety on the part of all concerned to clearly record the decision arrived at and to prevent any misunderstanding arising out of a vague word or expression.

It is also a sign of increasing sense of solidarity and of social importance that the Dubla tribal organisations have taken the shape of caste guilds of superior Hindu communities. They have framed a definite set of regulations which have been printed and which are being observed with a fair amount of rigidity.

I have in my possession three of such printed regulations prepared by the Gandevi Talavia Rathod Samaj, the Talavia Rathod Samaj of Navsari, and a third for the Talavia Rathod Samaj at Bardoli. The general provision is for the divorce to be open both for the woman as well as the man but if the proceedings are commenced by the woman as the complainant, the penalty payable by her is always higher viz, Rs. 125/- in the case of woman and Rs. 101/- in the case of man (Gandevi), Rs. 101.4.0 woman and Rs. 75.4.0 man (Navsari), and Rs. 30/- woman and Rs. 25/- man (Bardoli).

The divorce proceedings are formally written out and a translation of one executed at Varad on 20th October 1955 is attached. It shows that even an illiterate community considers it necessary to make a formal record about an event to which so great social importance is attached.

DIVORCE-DEED (FARGATI)

Dated 11-3-1956, Fagan Sud 7th, Thursday. Nanubhai, son of Bhagabhai, resident of Varad. Ganga, daughter of Nathubhai Sukhabhai, resident of Surat, Rustampara, Agiari Mahollo, Babubhai no vado, Dhaman vado.

We, Nanubhai ,son of Bhagabhai, and Ganga, daughter of Nathubhai Sukhabhai, married about two years ago. But we do not get along well as husband and wife.

So, I, Nanubhai Bhagabhai, by my own will and proper understanding, give her divorce. Henceforth, I shall not have any right on her and if I claim any right on her that will be considered as sinful breach of law.

I, Ganga, have given to Nanubhai Bhagabhai Rs. 101/- and have taken divorce. Now onward if I marry somewhere he will not have any right to object it.

Bhagabhai Khushalbhai
Left hand thumb
impression of Ganga-
Nathubhai Sukhabhai.

sd/- Nanubhai Bhagabhai
Dahyabhai Bhagabhai
Sarabhai Jethabhai
Dahyabhai Lalbhai

Copy: Dated: 20-10-1955.

Chapter VII

DISEASE AND DEATH

Fear of Death. The fear of Death and the consequent effects on the culture of a group supply invaluable materials in the study of any tribe. This study has special importance in the case of the Dubla tribe, as it brings forth evidence about the history of the tribe and cultural changes it has and is undergoing at present. Most of the salient features of tribal culture are preserved, while the recent changes arising from acculturation with the neighbouring Hindu population get into prominence.

It will be seen from the chapter on Religion that the Dublas believe in life after death indicating not only a survival for completing the cycle of life and death—the garland of pots (ghat-mala)—but immediate continued existence as ghosts or evil spirits, bringing harm and misery on the people left behind. It is this sense of fear which permeates the whole of the cultural outlook and behaviour connected with the event of death and the various ceremonies it involves.

2. *Prior to Death.* Sickness is an occasion for the exhibition of genuine sympathy and goodwill on the part of the neighbours and relations. It is usual to call upon the sick and specially when the sickness becomes more serious, visitors attend more frequently and show greater sympathy. Sometimes small presents are brought at the time of visits, but, these become scarce as the disease advances. The evening meeting of the visitors at the death-bed decides the line of treatment, the use of various small drugs and roots, the incantations and prayers through the Bhagat, and the taking of such measures as would secure comfort and relief to the afflicted person. One important reason for these frequent visits is the sense of fear that the dead person would harass if old feuds are not settled, if old wishes remain unfulfilled; apart from this sense of fear, there is general

anxiety to make the death quiet, painless and happy. Generally all the near relations are called for even from neighbouring villages, and the whole family gathers together to give their last homage to the dying person.

3. *The last moments.* As soon as the symptoms of the last moments of an ill person are discovered, the relatives stop all daily work and sit sadly by the dying person and recall to the house any relative who is staying away from the locality. If the person is young, they generally offer prayers to save the life and also take vows to propitiate the various deities. As soon as the pulse slows down and the patient is presumed to be breathing his last, he is taken from the cot or his bed to the bare ground carefully prepared after being covered with cow-dung and water. To die quietly in one's bed may be a source of comfort to the modern man; but it is regarded as a sign of neglect by the family, if the Dubla is allowed to die unnoticed in the dirty surroundings of his old bed. He expects to be kept clean by his relatives who prepare a ceremoniously clean spot covered with the purificatory powers of cowdung and water.

The relatives, struck by grief, begin to weep aloud immediately after a person dies. Some elderly persons try to smooth their feelings while others get busy in making arrangements for the funeral. The relatives concerned, living in neighbouring villages are sent for, and until the expected relatives turn up, the dead body is not removed, though it is not usual to wait for the next day, as the body would decompose and would bring ill-luck to the house. It is kept with its feet towards the south and a ghee-lamp is lit and placed on rice-grains. It is ceremoniously removed to the cattle-shed and bathed with specially prepared hot water, and turmeric and rice are applied to the body from feet to the head as many as five times. The idea seems that the body is made as ceremoniously clean as possible so that no evil spirits or ghosts can come near it. (The turmeric is also used during the wedding ceremony and its use also during death rites has a significance). The dead body is then covered with new white cloth in the case of male and red cloth in the case of the female.

It is now ready for being taken out in a funeral procession in which the relatives, neighbours and friends join.

4. (a). The *Funeral Procession: Bier-Thāthdi.* The bathed body is put on a lader-like bamboo frame about six and a half feet in length. It is prepared by the mourners themselves on the spot, in a simple way, by tying twentyfour pieces of split bamboos placed on across two long poles of bamboo with fibre strings tied with care and skill. This hand-made thāthdi is common throughout the country; and though made in a simple manner, it can support the weight of a dead body, while leaving the ends free to be used as handles for lifting the body. In rice-crop areas, the bamboo strips are supported by rice stalks also. Over this rough bamboo-frame, the dead body is delicately placed, wrapped with red or white new cloth, and decorated with flowers. Red cloth is used for a woman's corpse while white one is used for a man's, but most poor people cannot afford this luxury. Cooked rice or milk in the case of a child is carried to the *smashan* (the cremation ground).

(b). *Chief Mourner.* Generally the youngest son of the deceased is considered to be the principal mourner but in the absence his place is taken by the brother (real or classificatory). The principal mourner walks first when the body is taken out of the house. He carries in his right hand an earthen pot with burning firewood in it, which is used to light the funeral pyre. The four near relatives of the dead lift the corpse keeping its head towards the south; others follow them in procession to the funeral ground.

(c). *Visāmo.* Somewhere in the middle of their route the corpse is rested on the ground or a specially prepared platform. Such a place is known as *Visamo,* or resting place. There are usually a few stones kept here which represent the protective deities. An earthen waterpot is crushed here and water is offered to the spirit of the deceased, which is supposed to be thirsting hard. The rags, clothing and bedding used by the deceased are left here so that he has no attractions to go back home. A cocoanut is also offered so as to ward off the spirits who haunt this *visamo* and are kept busy while the dead body is removed. It is now carried with its

head turned towards the north during the last stage of the journey.

(d). The procession is headed by the chief mourner who usually is the eldest son and takes the fire from the house to be used at burning-place, *smashān*. This is supposed to be the remnant of the practices in the vedic times, when a Brahmin was to be burnt only with fire taken from the home-fire, which was supposed to be kept ceremoniously alive; when all the sacrificial implements were burnt with him and when the wife was also taken to the funeral ground, made to lie on the pile of the funeral pyre of wood and then lifted out by the request of her relatives specially the brother of the deceased.

The funeral procession in the case of the Dublas is of the same character whether the dead body is burnt or buried according to the wish and economic condition of the family. Burial costs nothing beyond the digging of the pit, but the price of firewood required for burning is rising every year —the free concession from the forest fiewood is getting scarce. Whether the body is buried or burned the ceremonies are similar with one difference that in the case of burial, a small wooden effigy has to be also burnt on the occasion of the performance of the eleventh day ceremony.

5. *Last Ceremonies.* The Dublas observe different death ceremonies in the cases of the dead who are buried and of those who are burnt.

The ground selected for digging the *burial* pit is purified by the sprinkling of rice. The chief mourner then circumambulates (goes round) the ground four times round the dug-in-pit and purifies it by putting rice in it also. Before the dead-body is put into the pit, balls of cooked rice are put into the mouth and the pit is covered. The mourners then go to the river and have a purificatory bath and bring an earthen pot full of water; a small hole is made in the pot so that water percolates down the pit: a lamp is lighted and kept in front of the pit. The party then returns home. At the house, rice-heaps are placed on four leaves placed in the four directions; liquor (when available) is offered to the deities represented by these heaps, in the name of the

deceased. The mourners then have drinks or tea and retire.

The procedure in the case of the cremation ceremony is similar. The rice-grains are first thrown on the spot where the funeral fire is to be prepared. The fire wood is arranged on a straight level, first up to the half size so that the dead body is laid straight on it. Balls of cooked rice are placed in the mouth and four such balls are also offered to the crows, who are supposed to be helpful in the journey of the dead, and who may be in the neighbourhood. Then the pyre is fully covered with fire wood. When everything is ready, it is lit by the chief mourner. All wait till the dead body is completely burnt; they then go to the river, have a bath, and return then to the house of the dead before dispersing.

6. *Part taken by the women folk.* Women seldom accompany the procession upto the funeral ground, but when they follow it is for a short distance, lamenting and beating their chest. They generally return from the outskirts of the village or at most from the *Visāma* referred to above.

The Dublas have come to recognise the bangles on the hand, and the necklace of black beads round the neck, as signs of married life. When a husband dies, the widow is helped to remove these symbols by the women folk after they return from the funeral procession.

The Funereal Feast. While the arrangements for cremation or burial of the dead body are being completed, preparations are made at the house to offer a funeral feast to the party of mourners who have helped in the last rites to the dead.

Formerly the feast used to consist of some food with liquor in some form or other. But nowadays only tea is served to the members when they return; as a measure of social reform, some people subscribe for the tea instead straining the family of the deceased. On returning to their houses, after the tea, some of the persons take a purificatory bath in consonance with the Hindu practice.

7. *Post Cremation ceremonies.* (a) The ash and other remains of the deceased are kept in an earthen pot on the roof of the house till they are thrown in a river or a water

reservoir.

b) Even when burial is resorted to for some reason or other the symbolic act of cremation by burning a miniature effigy of the deceased is often performed on the 11th day. The effigy is made usually out of a gourd on which eyes, mouth etc. are carved and tied to a stock of hay to represent the trunk of body. It is then carried to the funeral ground and cremated. No Brahmins are called but the Dublas themselves function as priests, and carry out the last funeral rites.

c) *Post-funeral pollution.* Even though the Dublas do not use Brahmins as priests for their funeral rites, the Hindu conception of pollution (sutak) is observed in a modified form. *Sutak* among Dublas mainly refers to the prohibition of shaving the head and the beard; there is no taboo against touching or accepting water and food from the close relatives of the deceased, while among Hindus, the pollution refers not only to the contact with the relatives of the dead persons, but also to the clothes water, food used by them. The Dubla male members of the family of the deceased shave their heads clean on the fifth or the seventh day, and thus relieve themselves of mourning period and also the period of *Sutak.*

8. *Khatri.* (a) In addition to the numerous tribal gods and goddesses, ghosts and spirits, the fear of the dead persists throughout the daily life of the Dublas. Where ignorance and poverty prevail, superstition cannot disappear; whenever any trouble persists, the Dubla thinks that some ancestors are responsible for it and that they must be worshipped not for a few days but for long periods involving a heavy strain on his slender resources. These are called khatris representing either a male or female ancestor, for whom different colour of clothing is presented. No Khatri is installed except at the instance of the family priest or Bhagat.

(b) If it is noticed that some one is constantly ill and is not cured by the usual treatment, a suspicion is aroused that some dead relation is causing trouble. Some rice is waved around the head of the patient and is shown to the

family Bhagat. After the Bhagat has ascertained the history and the symptoms and made his calculations, he says "such and such a relation of yours wants to sit as Khatri for satisfying his unfulfilled desires. If you do not do so, within such and such a time, he will cause great harm to the surviving members, in addition to the patient on hand."

(c) Khatris are small wooden statues made out of a round piece of wood about six inches long with a flat face on which eyes, mouth and nose are painted by hand. Before installation, the wooden idol is given some clothing, red in the case of woman ancestor and white if it be male.

(d) Only those persons are selected for installation as khatris who are definitely known to have unfulfilled desires e.g. persons who die without being married or during insanity or after an accidental death. If the deceased was unmarried, before the installation of his Khatri, a formal marriage with the sacred sami tree (prospopsis spicigera) has to be first performed. On the day fixed for the installation, the *Khatri* of the deceased is first carried to a *sami* tree and the formal marriage ceremony with the tree, as represented by another *khatri,* is performed. After this, both the *khatris* are ceremoniously seated under a specially constructed grass roof. During the ceremony music and dancing with Tur and Thali are carried out as during an ordinary wedding. It is understood that the Khatris see everything and if a person is negligent in appeasing him, he will have to suffer. This is followed by installation of *ghat-ghummat* (an earthen pot with holes at the top, with a lamp underneath), by placing a white and red banner on the top of the head, and lastly by a feast after sacrificing a goat. This formal ceremony is repeated every year on the third day of *vaisaka (akhshya tritiya* day) in May and involves fairly heavy expenditure. If new clothes are not given to all the khatris in the village on this day, it is believed that they will harass the village folk. This belief in the capacity of the dead to insist on fulfilling their desires has caused in the minds of the Dublas a great sense of fear, and absence of sense of security. Many socio-economic consequences of this psychological belief in their daily life can be traced to this

sense of fear. The belief in the necessity of marriage and fulfilment of sexual desires seems to be very strong. If they find that they have to instal khatris of persons with unfulfilled desires and to incur expenditure on them, the Dublas consider it normally wise and safe to get every boy and girl married as soon as possible, with certain fixed standards of expenditure on ceremonial feastings, clothing and ornaments, even though they involve heavy outlay beyond their means. This outlay is considered a safer investment than having to see that the unmarried person, after his death, has to be provided with a formal marriage with the khatri and the couple ceremoniously maintained as khatris in the family or village shrine for years together.

9. *Joint Ancestor Worship.* Ancestor worship among the Dublas takes a special evolution in the joint worship on the Parjan day or *Moto Dahado.* It is a big day because it involves high worship of the ancestors not only of one family but of many families connected by agnates. It has a great social significance because it brings together, once in four or five years, the relatives of all families who have suffered a loss of a member by death; and it has the unusual feature of concentrating on group-rite as against the rites offered to individuals. This sense of group-rite and joint worship throws light on the social solidarity of the tribal people, inspite of the vicissitude of their being spread over large areas broken up by hills and rivers. Parjan is a group-rite performed by an individual family, when all the persons who had died within the period of last four to five years are propitiated, at a mass gathering of the known agnatic relatives.

(b) The principal aim of *parjan* like that of shraddha, is to liberate the spirits of those recently dead from the worldly attachment. Besides, the spirits of distant ancestors are also propitiated. The pacified ancestors are supposed to bestow boons of prosperity and longevity on the living members of a kul or a lineage. These boons are also supposed to avert misfortune falling on a person.

(c) Before collecting the relatives at a *parjan* ceremony the elders of an agnatic group enumerate the persons who

have died, in their group, since the period of the last ceremony. If they find that the number of such deceased persons is not big enough to call almost all the families of the group, they postpone it to some near future date. Any person who wishes to call parjan at his own place, has to shoulder the responsibility of organising the festival and to spend some money on this occasion; he does all this willingly because he attains a higher social status in the group.

10. *The Ceremony of Parjan or Moto-dahado* is performed in the bright half of Maha, i.e. in the month of February. On account of its association with this funeral ceremony, this period is avoided for auspicious events like marriage or betrotal. The message of the fixation of the *parjan* day is carried to the relatives living in distant villages. A coconut bark-rope or string is sent to every village or hamlet, signifying the invitation to the *parjan;* knots placed on the string signify the number of days after which the parjan day is expected. This practice is getting less common and the invitations are now sent orally and are often written or printed and sent by post. On this appointed day, male as well as female relatives from different villages pour in before the evening.

The actual ceremony generally commences at about 9 at night. The ceremony is performed in a special hut prepared for the occasion. In the centre are placed as many heaplets (known as *punj*) of rice as there are the deceased persons to be propitiated. On each heaplet of rice, is placed copper coin (pice) and an arecanut at the top. In the centre of these, is put a spouted earthen vessel filled with water and on the top of it an earthen dish lamp lit in clarified butter, is put. From the spout of the vessel water is made to trickle down drop by drop.

The above arrangements are made by the Bhagat appointed to officiate at the function. When everything is well arranged the Bhagat instructs his associate musician to sing songs praising the spirits of ancestors and to play on a stringed instrument known as *ghangali.* By the time the musician begins, the Bhagat gets possessed and begins to shake his head and the whole body in the customary manner. This goes on for a considerably long time and during this

period, the musician orders the women folk to cry and stop and then to repeat the same at various intervals. It is believed that during this process all the spirits of the deceased persons assemble on the spot and occupy the seats represented by the rice heaplets or *punj* assigned to each of them.

These ceremonies go on for the whole night till about five in the early morning when the Bhagat gets possessed, so to say, by a supreme mātā (mother goddess). Now he comes in his due form and one by one takes hold of the individuals who have come to pacify the spirits of their relatives. He calls each individual relative by his name and gives out names of persons who had recently died in his family. When the individuals concerned confirm that the Bhagat has not left out the name of any relevant deceased, he gives from a pot (known as ghara) some water to the Bhagat to drink. Each individual carries such a pot and gives a little water to the medium man, who offers it to ancestors whose names are mentioned. This water is symbolical of the food, water and other necessaries required in the other world. It is believed that the supreme spirit also is pleased by the offering of water. The individual then humbly requests the Supreme Spirit to take care of the deceased relatives in the other world and to satisfy them in their desires. The essential part of the Parjan, apart from the family gathering for social purposes, is the invocation of the central spirit *mātā* and the constant shaking of the head by the bhagat. The ceremonial conception of the shaking movements and the shrieks and cries with which Bhagat announces appeasements of the various ancestors each by name, have lasting effects on the Dublas minds. The ceremonies last throughout the night after most of the children have slept. The wierd cries and the songs of the Bhagat in the dark night create a ghostly and memorable effect also on the spectators, but what is most important is that each guest goes with satisfaction that his ancestors have been properly worshipped through the Bhagat.

By the time the day dawns, all the individuals invited complete the propitiation of their respective deceased relatives. All the persons begin to help preparing meals for

the group and after partaking in the common meal, they disperse by midday. The expenditure incurred for purchasing earthen pitchers, firewood etc. is shared by the leaders or the headmen of each invited family.

11. *Other Functions of Parjan Celebrations.* Most of the Dublas call this ceremony 'motodahado'—a big day while a few other sections call it Parjan; the date coincides with a wellknown day in May (Akshayatritiya) which is considered to be an auspicious day by Hindus for marriage and other auspicious events. This ceremony of invoking the ancestors of the selected families jointly is given the name Parjan also by the other tribes like Dhodias, Naikas and Gamits. The etymological meaning of the Sanskrit word Parjan would be persons who are living in the other world; and the task of satisfying them is an important one for people believing in life after death. When such a large gathering of family relatives takes place after a number of years, it serves many other social purposes, besides the main religious objects of worshipping the ancestors, and getting their blessings. One of the natural blessings is to invoke the solidarity, the continuity and popularity of the family. The main host also secures a prestige and status in society by the invitation and the family members secure social contacts and obtain new ideas and new impacts in their otherwise dull and staid lives. For it also helps persons in knowing details about eligible brides and bridegrooms in the families and in the villages visited. The function is an old remnant of the traditional culture of the tribes and deserves to be encouraged for its religious and social values.

It has been found difficult to discover the historical background of the structure of a Parjan-group; it is however getting less popular due to the high expenditure involved on feeding and also because people do not remember their genealogies beyond two to three generations. The Dublas of a particular village may include many unconnected Parjan-groups, which are exogamous and which function independently of one another. The Parjan group and the village groups are thus entirely different. The other important features of the parjan worship are:

i) The worship of ancestors of selected exagamous families has a very wide meaning—it brings out the individual from the dull surroundings of village life and broadens the outlook by periodical contacts.

ii) The Bhagats intervention in the matter of joint worship of the ancestors at midnight and the mysterious cries and head-shaking of the Bhagats bring together a new type of closeness of contact and feeling.

iii) The midnight exchange of food and drinks brings together the families much nearer and induces tribal solidarity.

iv) The meetings in daylight on the next morning seals the ties of friendship also among the women folk, and much information is gathered about the suitability of certain 'houses' and 'families' in the domain of marriage-market.

v) Parjan is not universally adopted by all tribes even in Surat District and this points to certain amount of racial and cultural affiliations only between the Dubla, Dhodia and Nayaka tribes which observe it.

Chapter VIII

DANCE AMONG DUBLAS

One of the simplest definitions of Dance is that "it is an externalisation of emotional energy by means of muscular movement" (Martin[1]). It is practised not only by man, and woman in every degree of civilisation and culture, but also by many types of animals, especially birds. It has age-old variations bearing on "time and clime" and the culture of a people; sometimes it varies with religious fervour and sometimes serves as a mental stimulant. It has a definite note and form, rhythm and accent, and with the inclusion of esthetic elements, has become an art, not only attractive, but also worthy of study.

Dance-movements are the result of an innate impulse for the release of surplus energy in the case of the young whether of human or animal origin. It is not surprising that the human being learnt the art of dancing from animals, especially birds, whose spontaneous and spirited exuberance of joy and delight form the common feature of bird life; the peacock, the most graceful and attractive of birds combines his artistic talents with the sexual appeal, and takes the prime place as a dancer. Dances performed by the peacock are well-known in the India as symbolic of both grace and rhythm, and form only a sample of the numerous types of dances performed by the other birds.

2. *Primitive Societies.* Dancing has played an important role in premitive societies, and the moderns have to learn much from the early dancers. There are social and religious dances and also the group dances, and individual dances, and also dances for couples of both sexes. Rhythmic beating and chanting, which accompany the dances have been passed on to us from times past, and have contributed much to the unification of social groups. Dancing, in war also, has

1. J. Martin, p. 701. Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. III, 1954.

contributed to the entertainment and also to the group solidarity required for joint military action. It has given courage and enthusiasm during war and has made the warriors forget the fear of death. War dances are common to all martial groups; and military bands music and dancing for the normal equipment of the most modern armies.

To the tribal people who are cut off for several months from the cities during the rainy season, dance provides not only a natural outlet for surplus energy but also an occasion for recreation and social contacts. The usual dances performed for social joy, viz., for agricultural seasons, for marriage and other festivities, for holidays and for light recreation for social functions connected with birth or death, for lightening the burden of daily tasks as harvesting or winnowing, are observed among this tribe. They all help in consolidating the group solidarity. Primitive dance in India has been accompanied by characteristic musical appliances peculiar to each tribe or group of tribes. A study of the development of each of the musical appliances would bring out various elements in the history of dancing in India.

3. *Ancient History.* The tribal people have not been completely isolated from the culture movements that have contributed to dancing in India. Man dances for his own amusement at first, but a stage comes when he is conscious of an effort to please his audience. This has led to a set standard of the practices and to theories of dance and music, folk art, and folk dancing. Devotional dancing in temples led to the system of Devadasis but the malpractices connected with such devotional dancing had at one stage led to a complete prohibition to even seeing of such dances by Buddhist and Brahmin priests. Public opinion about dancing has wavered between periods of complete support by kings and rich men, and of complete prohibition by religious orders. But the institution has progressed and will progress in spite of temporary set-backs. From ancient times in India, particularly in cities and in seats of ruling princes, dancing has been patronised in various forms. The theory of music and dancing, the various movements, the mudras and the part played by each of them, have been beautifully described and

classified in ancient sanskrit books dealing in Bharat Natyam; while the practices for the Kathakali and Manipuri dances have laid the foundations for modern technique in Indian dancing. This renaissance in the cultural movements in India has not yet touched the tribal masses; but owing to the theatre, the cinema and other modern methods of recreation, the tribal people also are getting into touch with modern technique. It will remain a moot point whether the ancient tribal dance practices can remain static or retain their individuality before the surging tide of modern forces of acculturisation. We will return to this point later after studying the pattern of dances followed by the Dublas.

4. *Dubla Dances.* The Dublas are not an exception to the inherent artistic talent prevalent among all tribal people accustomed to free movement without the artificial restraints imposed by the so called civilised society. This inherent talent can be always further developed after training. This was demonstrated at the special Dance festival organised at Delhi on the Independence Day in January 1956 and at Bombay Folk Dance festival held in April 1956. On being given a little encouragement in the selection of dress, tunes and music, they secured not only the merited admiration but also one of the top prizes. The art critic in the *Times of India* stated that "the Halis of Udvada brought the first whiff of excitement of the stage at Bombay. The tempo was vigorous, the costumes were well-designed, and a rhythmic pattern pulsed through the dance measure by measure". The dance performed by the Dublas of Udvada was described by a new name the *Hali dance,* the plough dance—depicting the various phases of sowing, planting, harvesting, and thrashing. The dance revealed the sturdy grace and vitality of the peasants, who are by nature hard-working, honest and truthful.

5. Apart from such command performances, the ordinary Dubla dance is not highly colourful; the people are too poor to buy dresses of varying patterns but the rhythm of their movement and the music of their songs are attractive and noteworthy.

(b) In their dances, the movements of the body and the

legs are so well synchronized that they are rthythmic and spontaneous and that when the left leg is put forward, the body leans towards right and vice versa. There are many variations from this which give different modes to different dances. One who does not know how to modulate the steps, cannot dance with them and even if one tries, he gets tired within few minutes while the expert can dance for two to three hours without feeling exhausted. These dances highly express the intense joy exercised by the dancer. In addition the dance is a great amusement to the spectators, and gives the dancer good bodily exercise. Thus the dances provide a kind of treat most charming and enjoyable even to the most critical and sophisticated spectators.

Geographical conditions have played a vital role in deciding the nature of dances pertaining to this region. The dances of the tribe living in the plains, are milder in expression than those of the tribes living in the hilly areas. Dances coming under the martial category are more popular generally among the people of hills and forests. The Dublas of south Gujarat inhabiting the fertile plains do not know the martial dances. The dances of the Dublas are comparatively milder in expression than those of the hilly or forest areas where both climate, nature and the wild animals provide a more vigorous tempo.

(c) The rhythm and vigour and the timing which are put forward in dances speak well as to the bodily strength of the dancers. It is from the age of five or six that the children begin dancing and acquire the highest skill. They begin with simple animal mimicry dances, imitating the cock, squirrel, lizard, or *bethi baldi* or *panchetio* or *Lāmbi fāl*—from these dance forms (*charos*) sprung up more elaborate combinations noticed at *Norta* or other festivals.

6. The ordinary Dubla dances may be classified into the following important categories:—(1) The spontaneous recreational tribal dances which come off as an amusement or as part of some rejoicing and which are performed on any bright night. These are real tribal dances.

(2) The social dances connected with social ceremonies linked with pregnancy, birth or marriage or religious cere-

monies like *khatri* installation or death ceremonies.

(3) The semi-religious dances connected with festivities like *norata (Navratri)* or *divaso* or *holi* (or *fag)* which are closely connected with agricultural seasons or crops. They form more elaborate versions of the tribal dances mentioned in (1) above.

Tur and Thali. Before describing the different types of dances something about the main musical instruments 'Tur' and 'Thali' deserves mention. *Tur* is a two-faced drum of a cylindrical shape, made out of clay with camels leather on both the sides. This leather is carefully tanned with the central portion pointed black according to the tune required; to make it more sensitive to the touch of the musicians' fingers, an additional paste of rice and ashes may be applied, to be removed when not required. One who beats the *Tur* is called a *"Turwalla"* and the person beating the metal dish *thali* is called *"Thaliwalla"*. The dancers get encouragement and guidance from *Turwalla* and *Thaliwalla* and dance in rhythm with their instruments. The more skilful the drummer is, the better is the tempo, the rhythm and the harmony in the dance. The dancers make movements "to and fro" before the drummer; they get rhythm and encouragement every time they approach the *Turwalla.*

The instrument 'Thāli' or dining plate is complementary to the tur. It is round and flat in shape and is made from thin material of bronze. Any and every bronze plate, used for taking meals, does not produce the desired musical effect, but it has to be selected.

7. *The dance types* observed by us in various Dubla villages may be analysed into certain fundamental types called *charo.* It is from this simple *charo* that more elaborate dance forms are worked out. The various types of dances are known by the title *Charo* which in Gujarati means imitation or mimicry. The names are symbolic of various animals imitated, e.g. *Marghi Charo* (cock), *Khalli Charo* (squirrel), *Ghocharo* (lizard); *Sherdi-charo* (sugarcane) depicts the planting of sugarcane; while the *Mandva charo* (marriage hall) represents the dance performed in or

near the marriage booth.

(i) *Marghi Chāro: Cock Dance.* The study of the cock dance, lizard dance and squirrel dance shows that the influence of animals and birds is great because they are the constant companions of the tribal people.

In the cock dance the Dublas imitate not only the cock but also the manner in which the birds pick up and eat grain thrown on the ground. They also show how the poultry fight among themselves.

A man interlocks his hands with his legs in such a way that the hands pass from under the thighs. After attaining this position he walks on his hands signifying the gait of a cock. Two such persons clasp each other's hands and thus represent a cock fight.

(ii) *Lizard-dance.* A lizard is wrongly considered to be a poisonous animal and is generally avoided. Some varieties of lizards are useful in clearing the huts of the Dublas from small vermin but others are considered by them as fit for eating and considered a delicacy. There is a proverb saying that if a lizard wants death, then alone it goes near a Dubla. The Dubla is thus familiar with the life and movement of a lizard; the lizard dance thus forms an imitation of the actual life a variety of lizard known as a *pātla-gho.*

(iii) *Pātla-gho-dance.* In olden times, the patla-gho was used to climb up the wall. The *gho* sticks its legs on the wall in such a way that it is almost impossible to draw it back. A rope is tied round this lizard and thrown on the height of the wall; the stead-fastness with which the *gho* sticks to the wall makes it possible for a person to climb up with the help of the rope. This device is used by thieves to climb up a house and also by soldiers to climb the wall of a fort.

This dance is performed like a game of tug-of-war where two persons, one representing the gho and other the climber, pull at the rope tied to the waist of a person representing the gho. With whatever strength they drag the gho, they are unable to move it even an inch until overpowered.

(iv) *Khiskoli charo; or Squirrel dance.* In this dance also the dancers show how the bushy tailed squirrel jumps

from one branch to another.

Two persons stand facing each other and hold their hands tight; a third man stands on his head and fixes his legs on the waist of one of the two, and tries to pass his whole body through the legs and the hands of the two. These efforts are made to appear like the quick movements of a squirrel, to the tune of *tur* and *thali.*

8. *Crop Dances.* An agricultural community like the Dublas cannot escape the artistic inspiration from the agricultural operations. They know the different processes of farming and try to weave them into their dance-life. One of them is described here.

Sherdi Charo. (Sugar-cane dance). This dance represents the operation of planting sugar-cane. It is planted by the wooden plough one after the other. In this dance it is shown how sugar-cane is planted in the field.

All the participants stand on the ground in a line at ease, with their hands down. Then a person passes through the legs and hands of those who are standing, till he comes out at the end of the row, jumps up and stands in the same posture. All persons one by one do the same, passing through the hands and legs and standing up at the other end of the line. The movement proceeds very fast even though rhythmically and we feel as if we are in the field observing the actual process of plantation.

9. *Marriage Dances. Mandavo Charo (Pandal Dance).* Marriage festivities have inspired a dance revival among these artistic people. The *mandva* (or marriage booth called the *mandap)* is symbolised in the dance showing how a pandal is erected, and it is called Mandavo Charo.

In this dance the dancers are divided into two groups. One group sits down in a circle holding one another's hands and the members of the other groups stand on their shoulders. The sitting persons then get up and begin to dance in a circular way with the younger people on their shoulders.

The pandal is erected during the marriage ceremony of the Dubla sons and daughters. The same process of erecting a pandal is imitated in this dance. The dance group represents the *mandya* and during the dance various move-

ments are made expressive of the different marriage ceremonies performed in the booth.

10. *Patedia Charo.* (*Culinary Dance*). The inspiration for dancing is obtained from the examples of the culinary art e.g. by preparing a tasty dish called *'patra* or *patedia.* The *alavi* leaves are rolled over with spicy and tasty paste of gramflour and *patedia* rolls are prepared. In this dance it is shown how this is done. Two of the boys lie down flat on the ground with their heads in opposite direction; then they begin to roll round on the ground showing how the *patediya* rolls are prepared. This is generally done to the tune of *tur* and *thali.*

The above dances show that the Dublas imitate what is going round them. They are imitating not only the birds or wild animals but also the process of agriculture and cooking.

11. *Duet Dances.* Under this heading, three dances were noticed. (1) Bethi Beladi; (2) Panjetio Charo; and (3) Lambi Fal or long jumpstep dance.

(a) *Bethi Beladi.* (sitting couple). In this dance the dancers do not leave their original place. They stand at one place and perform the dance by moving to and fro. Two persons having their hands around their waist, first put their left leg forward keeping the right at its original place, then they take back the left foot and throw the right leg forward. In this way they go on moving to and fro and the right and left foot. The movement is rapid and rhythmic and here the tur plays an important role.

(b) *Panjetio Charo.* (dance of five). In this *charo,* the five dancers take two steps forward at a time with the left leg first and then with the right leg, after this they come back to their original place. In Bethi Beladi they do not leave their original place but here they leave the original place, go forward two steps and come back again. This is more vigorous and impressive.

(c) *Lambi Fal* (Long Step). Here the movements of the legs of both the men are the same as in the previous dance, but the legs are put forward and backward with greater speed, and cover a longer distance.

12. *Group Dances.* Under group dances we have noticed four types. They are:—

(a) Nani Alak;
(b) Moti Alak; and
(c) Katchio-pitchio-godhan and
(d) Thābadā Charo or Clap Dance.

a) *Nani Alak.* All the dancers stand in a circle holding their hands around another's waist with firm grip. Then with the rhythm of the tur they go putting their left leg one step forward and right leg one step backward. When they put their right leg backward the left leg takes its original place. Thus the dance is repeated.

b) *Moti Alak.* In this dance, the dancers do not use their hands but keep them freely hanging; they raise the hands when they go one step forward, and make the dance more attractive. The movement of the legs are the same as in Nani Alak.

c) *Katchio-pitchio-godhan.* While performing this dance in group, the tur is beaten in such a way that the sound 'Katchio-pitchio-godhān' comes out of it. Then all dancers put their left legs forward very swiftly and then come to the original position. Then they put the right legs forward and bring them back to the original place. The movements are repeated very quickly and yet rhythmatically and while dancing they go on singing the title of the dance and strengthen the tune coming out of the tur and thali.

d) *Thābadā Charo (Clap Dance).* The Dubla men and women stand in a semi-circle with their hands round the waists of their companions; the turwala and thaliwala stand opposite to the main party. They all make the bigger circle.

As soon as the sound of the tur is sufficiently well adjusted, the dancers put three steps forward, putting the left foot first and then the right foot. Then they bring them back alternately and in this way they come back to their original place. As soon as they return, they take away their hands and clap. The clapping is done simultaneously by all, so that it produces a big noise. After one clap they begin to go forward. After taking measured steps forward they take an equal number of steps backwards. The process is repeated

with high regularity, rhythm and vigour which makes the dance attractive and pleasant to the spectators and invigorating to the dancers.

13. *The Norta and Gheria Dances.* Out of the various types of 'Dubla' dances, evolved in connection with the Hindu holidays, the most important are those connected with the Norata (the Hindu navaratri—nine night festival). Divali and Holi are the next important holidays, and perhaps the Divaso is the still more indigenous holiday but the most characteristic dances are practised during Navaratri (Norata) the first nine days of the bright half of the Aswin (September-October). The main goddesses to be worshipped are the Meldi (the impure) and Veraya (revengeful) Mātās. The worship and the dance are well organised. A party of twenty or more persons called 'gher' is formed. They move about together as one unit and travel long distances moving from one village to another, singing, dancing and merry-making. We found at Varad in Bardoli taluka a party that had travelled from the Mangrol taluka a distance of about 80 miles. The unifying force binding together these groups, which often cover more than the tribe, is the spirit of Norata —Navratri. The main idea is the worship of the mother goddesses of various shapes and names e.g. Meldi or Veraya —all worshipped by the generic name Matā.

There is a great variety of songs sung by the Gheria party varying with the village, the street, and also the minor goddesses in the various localities and the tribes concerned. The tunes also vary with the tempo and the background of the families who invite the party to their house to sing.

The leader of the party is called 'Kaviyo'. He sings and others follow suit in chorus. He decorates himself with silk coat and dhoti and puts on a full head-gear; he holds a cluster of peacock feathers in his right hand, as a token of good luck and good omen.

The other participants, who are called "Gherias" dress themselves as the female devotees of their goddesses; they hold two small sticks in their hands. Some hold one stick and a cluster of peacock feathers. While dancing, each one strikes his stick with that of his neighbour. A 'Bhaghaliwala'

is another personality in the party. He holds a long bamboo at the upper end of which is tied a small horizontal stick upon which is hung a white coat or a shirt, called "Bagali". This bagali, the white shirt, represents the white swan, a symbol of purity, which provides protection for the whole party from the evil eye.

A 'Ghodiwala' who rides a small wooden horse, consisting of a stick to which is tied the head of a horse, by keeping it between his legs, is an important member of the party. He moves round as if seated on a horse back. While dance and music are going on, he plays the role of a joker and makes the spectators laugh by his mimicries, during the interval between two songs.

The party goes to the houses of high caste Hindus. The Dublas dance and sing their various types of songs: and in the end they are given some money from every house. With Gheria dance they sing either 'Pārnu' a lullaby, 'Pāvādā' a historical song, or Garbā (a descriptive or lyric song).

The whole party is animated by a spirit of devotion to the various goddesses. The boys and men dress as women and no girls or women are allowed to join the party. The clothes are supposed to be ceremonially pure, being made of starched and unwashed cloth as originally purchased. They may be made of silk or art-silk with flowery patterns usually worn by women. The clothes once made are kept from year to year and left untouched by water (or unwashed) for preserving their ceremonial purity. They are used only for ten days of Norta and are carefully stored for use next year.

The Gheria dance is thus a part of the ceremonial festivities in honour of the mother-goddess. The Gheria party is symbolic of the message of the goddess which is conveyed by the ceremonial songs. Every family in a village considers it to be its duty to invite the visiting Gheria party and to hear songs in praise of the goddesses. The bigger landlords provide food for the gheria party for the nine days; and this was more common when the relation between the Dhaniamā-Master farmer and the Hali the serf labourer were friendly. In addition to the food, some presents of clothing dress and other paraphernalia of the itinerant dan-

cing party used to be supplied.

For their dance the Dublas make two circles, the outer and the inner, coming out from the outer circle and entering the inner, they move in a circular movement, going round and round, sometimes clapping their hands, sometimes striking rhythmically the short sticks (dandias) which they carry in their hands.

The religious nature of the Gheria dance festivities is recognised by the formal ceremonial turn given to the last dance. The members of the party are considered to be devotees and representatives of the goddess. They are formally worshipped by the housewife or the daughter of the family at vadāy or farewel ceremony, a lighted lamp or Ārati is swung round the symbol of the gher held by the Kavio or the leader, and a present is given either in cash or kind. The red kum-kum marks, together with the usual rice-grain, are made on the foreheads of each member of the party. In return the party sings verses of blessings from the goddesses giving pleny, peace and prosperity to the family.

The Norta dance must have originated as a festival at the end of agricultural season and to mark the cessation of the monsoon, but it is replaced by a series of religious and social events bringing together large number of persons not only from village but from several villages, all bent on pleasing the ancient goddesses, which bring prosperity, crops and health to the tribe.

14. *Holi Dance.* Like the Gheria dance practised at the time of Navratra—the end of the monsoon—the dances practised at the spring festival of Holi in March by Dublas derive great importance from the fact that the group dancing is resolved to also for the collection of fag—a cash contribution earned by singing Fāg songs. A fāg song is a spring song often obscene and crude, but the nature of dancing is practically the same as described in the other tribes.

A general feature of the Dubla dances is that the drummer and thali player are always at the centre while the dancers go round and round either clockwise or anti-clockwise.

Ordinarily the dancers hold their hands or catch each

other either round the waist or shoulder and dance together as a group.

Men and women generally form different groups but they may dance together provided they are related in some way, e.g. aunt and nephew, elder sister-in-law and younger brother-in-law or a brother-in-law and his wife unmarried younger sister. Men and women who are strangers do not touch each other while dancing with joined and stretched hands across the waist as without such firmly clasped hands, the party cannot move or dance in unity and rhythm.

15. *Effect of modernisation.* We have seen that Dublas perform dances of various types and undoubtedly it is the main source of their recreation. When they go out for dance they forget the unhappiness and vicissitudes of the daily life and become refreshed and more vigorous for the next day work. But due to the effect of modernisation they have begun to feel shy in performing their dances. They consider them old fashioned and uncivilised. An inferiority-complex, regarding their dances is created in their minds and they are giving up an important part of their ancient culture. It is essential that steps should be taken to preserve their dance life before they forget their dances completely.

In spite of their worries, poverty and their life the Dublas are incorrigibly fond of song and dance. Left to themselves in their remote home they indulge in these pastimes spontaneously and vigorously. Modernisation of their life has seriously affected their love and practice of dance. There is no doubt that the normal unsophisticated Dubla enjoys it spontaneously and thoroughly and returns fresh and vigorous after the dancing festivities late at night. He is losing the impetus of liquor or intoxicating drinks, but cups of tea or coffee are sufficient to make him dance even now till late hours.

It may be stated in this connection that their Gheria dances, religious or semi-religious, are affected by their economic condition.

However, there are two factors, which have seriously affected the dancing art of the Dublas. Formerly when they were working as *Halis* with the Anavils or Patidar land-

owners and had pleasant social relations, they used to get clothes and ornaments either on loan or as gifts for decoration during the Norta dance festival. Further, cash was available more freely on loan, even at high rates of interest; this deficit financing used to make life easy and full of joy for the group dancing and social carnivals.

But the conditions have since changed. The Hali system is fast disappearing and the Dublas are working as casual labourers. The Dhaniyamas has stopped giving them any clothes or ornaments and money for organising their parties. The economic condition of the Dublas under the new set up has not improved enough to enable them to buy clothes and ornaments for the annual festival. Thus there is less brightness and gaiety in their dances. The presents that they used to receive at the time of 'Vadāy' (farewell) ceremony are getting smaller; the time available for the leisurely dances is decreasing and the Gheria parties are getting fewer and smaller. Economic pressure has seriously affected the time and money available for these festivities.

But there is a more serious danger to the cultural life of these people by a growing indifference towards dancing as a pastime or as a cultural institution. Owing to rapid urbanisation and closer contacts with city life, the Dublas have adopted a definite opposition to group dancing of both sexes, in some areas. The Gheria dance is particularly restricted to men while women are excluded and men dressing as women offer homage of the dance and songs to the tribal goddesses. To the tribal goddesses like Meldi and Veria, the Hindu goddesses like Ambā and Kālikā are often super-imposed but it is surprising that women do not join the Gheria party at Norata time. This may be in a sense due to menstrual taboo but is more generally due to the insistence of the younger men desiring a free hand during the rapid transit of Gheria parties. This sense of isolation of the sex is coming to the front even in the case of secular dancing. Mixed dancing is considered objectionable and several tribal gatherings have passed resolutions preventing their women-folk from joining dances organised to meet visitors. The women-folk are slowly and steadily developing a feeling of

aloofness and shyness in dancing and the dance is fast disappearing either as an art or as a source of pleasure.

It is unfortunate that this indifference and aversion to dancing is creeping into the foundations of the cultural life of a most modernised tribe even in North India like the Santals. The constant flow to the tea gardens and back to their homeland, has made the Santals amenable to modern influences and Dr. Datta Majumdar and Dr. B. C. Biswas have reported the decreasing favour in which the Santals look upon their dancing proclivities.

During the fourth tribal conference held at Koraput in April 1957, the tribal groups were collected at mid-day to perform dances before the opening of the conference. This led to such an agitation that a decision had to be announced against such official dancing. It is significant of the rising self-respect of the tribal groups that they refuse to be exploited even in the name of cultural encouragement, and this sense deserve to be fostered. If students of culture want to study the cultural dances, they must visit the tribal villages on the occasion when they practice dancing for their own pleasure, and they must not order dances when visitors parade themselves in motor cars.

Tribal dance is the form of Indian art which requires most urgent and sympathetic attention at the hand of the social welfare state. The annual tribal dance festival organised at the centre and the states on the Independence Day every year has already given good impetus to the dance movement, but there are two dangers to be guarded against. One is undue modernisation under the influence of modern practices of cinema and theatre, and the other is undue isolation arising from absence of training in the fundamentals of tribal music and dancing. The various institutions teaching Fine Arts should organise a special course for studying the indigenous nature of tribal dance and for encouraging all that is indigenous and beautiful and good in them. Such properly trained dancing experts should be available as teachers in Ashram schools and in the educational and training institutions working in tribal areas. Further, a scale of expenditure on these activities should be officially

permitted for all schools in tribal areas. The revival of folk dances and folk-songs in the cities should give increasing recognition also to the tribal dances and songs.

Chapter IX

RELIGION OF THE DUBLAS

General. The culture of a people may be described as a set of inherited customs and beliefs as tampered by the daily conduct which undergoes change in consonance with changing contacts. The history of evolution of religious thought reveals that in most primitive tribes there is a tendency towards animism—a bundle of beliefs in the supernatural, either beings or things, evolving slowly into the idea of a God. No tribe has ever existed which had no belief in the supernatural or which did not need any help from a superior being during periods of suffering, famine, epidemics or other unforeseen calamities. We need not agree with what E. B. Tylor wrote in 1871 about animism in his *Primitive culture.* A belief in supernatural phenomena is common to the primitive people throughout the world e.g. that disease is caused by the displeasure of the presiding gods or godlings is natural to communities whose culture keeps them back or whose capacities or facilities to acquire modern knowledge of cause and effect are limited. Those who take pride in having acquired a superior position of a belief in god, like the Hindu God or Christian God are now subject to scientific criticism by the agnostics and atheists; even their modern standards of criticism of faith and belief, have been surpassed in the past by the schools of Buddhism and Jainism, who do not believe in a creator-god. Thus when we describe the customs, practices and mores of a primitive tribe, about disease and death, we mention their religious belief, we need not describe them as belonging to a group with a lower culture or a lower civilisation but view them with a sense of sympathy and goodwill. We have every hope that they will reach a higher stage in social evolution and equipment in their conditions of housing, living, in facilities for education, health improvement in diet, health, and treatment of disease. Given these facilities, the cultural evolution

of the tribe may be expected to raise these groups to the level of the socially advanced groups in the neighbourhood.

2. *Treatment of Disease* represents an important stage in the evolution of religious life of any community. The Dublas believe that the earth is full of all sorts of spiritual powers some of which are intensely active while others are less potent; and that disease is caused by supernatural and by some mysterious power possessed by certain objects and persons. Dublas, before they go to Bhagats, try their own pharmacopia of drugs and *tuchkās* (small prescriptions of drugs are taken in the form of leaves or roots or extracts or decoctions.) Most diseases are supposed to be the result of want of favour from the goddess presiding over the disease but some may be caused by spirits or by witches residing in the locality. Such diseases may be cured by the intervention of the Bhagat, their own priest, who is not a Brahmin. When the intervention of the Bhagat fails to cure, branding the painful part e.g. stomach in the case of local pain, is often practised. In the case of diseases attributed to specific gods and goddesses, the latter are worshipped differently according to whether they belong to the pure or impure (*meli*) group. The tribal gods do not mind blood sacrifices involving killing of animals but the Hinduised gods are at present vegetarians. Some of the gods of disease are considered to be pure where a chicken or a goat is not to be sacrificed. Baliyakaka (the small-pox god) the powerful uncle, is supposed to be a pure God to whom no animal can be sacrificed. A red pumpkin, representing the head of an animal is sometimes offered to the small-pox god—evidently a relic of the times when a live animal head was offered. Sitalādevi is also a vegetarian Hindu Goddess to cure cases of small-pox.

3. Regarding the Meli type of the tribal godlings, the nature of the sacrifice (whether a chicken or a goat) depends upon the various factors e.g. the severity of the disease, the economic position of the party and the insistence of the Bhagat. In cases of cholera or plague, a goat has to be sacrificed before *Markimata* (goddess of plague), if the incidence of the epidemic is severe and the persons affected are large

in number. *Kansāri Devi* is a presiding deity of corn, satisfied with only a chicken for sacrifice. *Khokhali Devi,* the goddess of cough is pleased only with a coconut and a ghee lamp. Though the sacrifice of a cow used to be practised among some of the Bhil tribes, the Dublas are too poor to think of offering either a cow or buffalo on any occasion. The chief god of the Dublas is called the *Bharam Dev,* (possibly not unconnected with the word Bhrahma) one of the angry excitable gods who are difficult to be pleased. The Bhagat is usually able to get a whole goat sacrificed to the Bharam Dev.

4. *Evil-eye.* The superstitious belief in an evil eye can be observed among the Dubla men and women. If a child suddenly falls ill, they say, "she was playing in the house wearing a new dress, when that nasty woman came in the house, her evil eye fell on the child making her sick."

A child suffering from headache or one that has turned pale and thin, is supposed to be the victim of the evil eye; such a victim may vomit whatever food he has eaten in its presence. If a child is uncomfortable or cries for a long time it is attributed to an evil eye. The evil eye may be of human origin or attributed to a living person of evil intentions or of illwill. It may be attributed also to superhuman beings like ghosts, dākans, chudels etc. To counteract the effect of an evil eye, several tricks or tuchkas are observed. The black marks on the lobes of the ears, in the centre of the cheeks, and on the forehead are supposed to ward off the evil eye; and very often young infants are seen decorated with these black marks with this object. The material used is an ointment made from lampblack, which is also often used in the eye for protection. This ointment is made from the soot collected from a lamp of ghee or castor oil. The dry soot is mixed with other soothing things like ghee or mother's milk and some other things. This oily mixture is called "mesh".

If the evil eye is considered to have actually affected a person, á common remedy known as "binding the evil eye", is adopted so as to stop its bad effects. A small quantity of dry chilly powder is waved round the head of the affected

person and thrown into a burning fire; if the chilly powder burns with an explosion, it is considered that the evil force has been burnt to death. If the powder burns quickly, it is considered that the evil eye has left already or had not even entered the body.

The superstition about the evil eye may apply also to vegetables crops and even animals like a goat, cow or a buffalo. When no easy remedy is available, when there is no agricultural or veterinary expert, the only thing to do is to approach the tribal Bhagat or Bhuva.

5. *The Human Evil Spirits.* It is a part of the belief in life beyond death and of belief in the capacity of the human being to live without a physical body that the Dublas believe in ghost (bhut) Chudel or Vantri, Dākkan or Witch. They seriously believe that these human supernatural beings do great harm to ordinary persons without any reason. These beliefs may appear strange or ridiculous to the modernist, but it must be remembered that they were shared by many communities in Europe and America till recently, and that ghosts are considered fit subjects for investigation by learned and popular bodies like the Psychical Research Societies. Let us therefore, see with what peculiar beliefs the Dublas look upon these evil spirits, and how their religious thoughts and behaviour are affected by this and similar ideas about supernatural gods and goddesses. The religious life is not complete without their special priests and the influence they bring upon their daily life.

(i) *Bhut.* It is believed that the spirit of a person who falls a victim to a tiger or other wild animal or is killed suddenly by accident or who has many unfulfilled desires, becomes a ghost; such a ghost harasses people or surviving relatives and even passing travellers.

Bhuts are given different names from the place of their habitation. A ghost inhabiting the burning ground or the cemetery is known as Masanio Bhut; and some trees or wells are named after a 'Bhut' because one is supposed to reside in it or on it. In a village of Navasari Taluka, a banian tree is known as "Bhutio Vad" because of the belief that a ghost resides in this tree; this ghost is held responsible for mis-

leading and misguiding the passing cattle which are out for grazing. Only when the cattle owner takes a vow to offer a cocanut, a ghee lamp, and a garland to the ghost then only the cattle are allowed to return to the owners house—failing which owners are made to find out their lost cattle. The Dublas still narrate many stories of Bhuts how they appear before them, and how they mislead and oppress the population and with growing education and prosperity, these beliefs are now at a discount in areas in close contact with city life.

(ii) *Chudel or Vantari* is a female ghost supposed to be the counterpart of a woman who had died in child bed or had committed suicide, or had undergone a violent death. To prevent the return of a dead person as a chudel or vantari, an iron nail is driven at the end of the street immediately after the body of a dead woman is carried beyond the village boundary: another practice is to tie two coconuts to the bier, near the head. The chudel is supposed to be particularly cruel to her husband if he marries again, and also to the new wife. It is no small consolation to the Dubla, that all these difficulties can be overcome if the Bhagat's help is taken in time.

(iii) *Dākkan or Witch.* The Dublas believe that witchcraft is practised by certain women, called Dākkans, whose evil eye spoils good food made for children and the sick. Though many women are considered Dākkans, they are seldom beaten to death, like the witches in the West. These women are supposed to cause harm to all persons who come under their sway; when children begin to vomit, turn pale and thin, or go on weeping for the whole night without any reason, it is all believed to be due to the influence of a local Dākkan.

It is said that Dākkans are not born, but learn their art by practising in the burning ground (smashān). On the dark night of 'Kali Chaudas' at midnight, fourteenth day of the dark half of Aswin, according to Hindu calendar, the Dakkans are believed to go to the cremation ground with burning charcoal in a *sigri,* which may be tied round the neck or carried on the head. It is believed that on these

dark nights, the black art is best learnt with the help of the seniors who practise it and who are called *gurus*.

6. *Gods or Godlings.* Besides the ordinary deities presiding over diseases or localities, there are general deities of the Dublas, having a few affinities with the Hindu gods and godlings of the same locality. Deities are of different grades, either helpful or destructive. To secure their goodwill or harmful influence, certain rituals in the form of offerings and sacrifice, have to be carried out.

7. *Tribal Gods and Goddesses.* Besides the tribal superstitions about evil spirits and ghosts, and the numerous gods and goddesses and godlings, whom the Dubla wants to propitiate, there are several important gods who have great influence on their daily life. The most important indigenous god of the Dublas is the Bharam Dev, followed by Halia (Balia) Kaka, Akashi (Sky) goddess, Petfodi Mata, Khokhali Mata, Devli-madi, Kanashri Devi, etc. A detailed description of each god or goddess is given below:—

i) *Bharam Dev.* He is the main deity of the Dublas, and is universally respected. He is generally invoked during a period of epidemics and once established, his worship is to continue every year even though it involves sacrificing a fowl or a goat, because its discontinuance would bring illness and death.

The idol of Bharam Dev is made of clay and is about two feet high. It is cylindrical in shape, flat and also closed at the top with four holes in the head. The image is placed under a small tatched roof, specially constructed for him.

When someone in a family is ill or remains ill, the Dublas believe that it is due to the wrath of Bharam Dev. To make sure of it, a few rice grains waved round the body of the sick person, are taken to some Bhagat for divination and interpretation. The Bhagat adopts the usual tactics of all village Doctors and first finds out the opinion of the family, as to what is suspected. He behaves as if he himself is the spirit of Bharamdev and says with authority that: "The god Bharam Dev has become very much angry with you, go and establish the idol of Bharamdev and worship it, with full honours, then only will the sick be alright."

When the family council agrees with the Bhagat, they immediately take steps to instal the idol of Bharamdev, even by incurring debt. Near their house a small roof of grass is prepared for placing the idol; he is considered to be a great god and nothing less than the sacrifice of a he-goat, is regarded sufficient to pacify the wrath of Bharam Dev. Further it becomes imperative to sacrifice a goat once every year to keep the god pleased enough to prevent illness.

ii) *Baliyakaka.* (Halia-Kaka) is the god connected with small-pox, chicken-pox and allied eruptive diseases of an epidemic nature, which have struck terror into the hearts of ignorant people, tribal or non-tribal. Sitalā Devi is also associated with Balia-Kaka but there is a separate temple for her. These deities are worshipped even in big cities like Bombay, where the famous Sitala Devi Temple in Mahim is well-known. In Dubla villages, the name is pronounced with H, as Halia-Kaka and the image is made of wood about one or one and a half foot in height; in some places, an idol of a *goval* or cowherd, made of stone, is kept in front of the Halia-Kaka. Its origin, having close connections with Hindu practice, the Balia-Kaka is never offered an animal sacrifice, he being a 'pure God'. Devout persons may offer a chicken or a cock or a goat, but the animal is kept alive, and taken away without being killed. Even though the modern process of protection from small-pox by vaccination has been appreciably understood by the tribal people, they are not free from their regard and respect for tribal gods. For, even after small-pox vaccination has been practised for several decades in this area, and when it is well-known that vaccination is successful only when the marks develop into full size, the Dubla mind thinks that the tribal gods help in securing full and developed marks and healing them without pain. A dish of ghughri (boiled jowar) is therefore offered to this god, to ensure that vaccination marks are fully developed and healed promptly. This is an indication, that the old traits of the tribal culture, do not die even with modern discoveries for the cure of any disease.

(iii) Another important goddess of the Dubla is the *Akashi Mata.* She is supposed to have a pervading influ-

ence, just like the sky covering the earth. The Hindus in Surat district also worship this goddess, and they have a big temple to her about 10 miles from Bulsar. This temple is popular not only among the Hindus and some Parsis in the locality, but also with the tribal population in the area. It is a big temple enriched by the endowment from a large number of people; but in ordinary tribal areas, the usual Dubla temple of Agashi Devi is an insignificant one, the idol is prepared from a stone and has little grace, beauty or form. It is sometimes placed under the same shed in which the wooden idol of Baliakaka is placed. Sometimes all the tribal Godlings are placed under a *banian* tree called Khatrinu Vad, where even the representatives of human spirits khatris (referred to in another chapter) are brought together, for a formal collective or individual worship as may be desired.

As the Akashi goddess is supposed to be moving in the sky in all directions, she can do evil to children when they are playing outside the house. A child, affected by the wrath of this goddess, may suddenly develop high fever, or an attack of Kurmi (worms) with pain in the stomach. To please the goddess in times of difficulty or to escape her death, a vow is taken that if the difficulties are solved the goddess will be given a special worship and offering. Being considered a celestial goddess she is offered no animal sacrifice, but usually a garland of flowers and a watery coconut are considered enough. To this is often added, a tākā or piece of coloured paper to represent the sari or other clothing. In front of the goddess is placed a specially made earthen pot which is called *ghat-gummat* i.e. sky-pot. It is like the ordinary travelling waterpot with a short handle, in which water is carried from place to place, but it has two important differences. The bottom is not there so that the whole pot (*ghat-ghummat*) can be placed over a burning lamp. Secondly, there are holes in the upper part (ghummat) of the pot. When this pot is put over a small oil lamp, the light shines through the holes and gives the appearance of a star-lit sky. This star-lit pot is considered a suitable offering to the sky-goddess.

(vi) *Pet-fodi-Matā.* This "goddess for opening the abdomen" is worshipped by the Dublas on occasions connected with difficult childbirth. Whenever a pregnant mother finds difficulty or pain at the time of the delivery, a vow is made to the goddess that if the delivery is early, safe and without pain, the child will be offered to her. But the intention is not to offer the child but only a silver image of the child. In a case observed at Varād, a child was taken to the temple of the goddess; the child, together a flattened silver plate containing its image was placed before the deity. The child was taken back after the offerings and it was believed that the goddess has given back their child in return for the silver image. The idol of the Pet-Fodi-Mata herself is made of stone, and not of wood. The use of the flat silver image of the child represents a great cultural change resulting from the contact with the Hindu practice of using such flat images. Whenever a Hindu family returns from pilgrimage to Jagannath or Dwarka or Rameshwar, an image of the god and the respective temple embossed on copper or silver (according to the means of the pilgrim) are distributed among friends, and relatives. These flat embossed images are made with the help of a small pressing machine in towns and cities and have found favour with the tribal people.

(vii) *Khokhali Mata.* "Khokhali" is the Dubla word for "coughing" and as cough caused by throat or chest troubles persist for a long time in the damp and moist climate of the region a special goddess is designed by the Dublas to relieve them from such troubles. She is called by the name Khokhali Mata, who is the presiding deity over the cause, cure and prevention of the disease.

Whenever a child is attacked by cough, the Dubla believes it is to be due to the wrath of Khokhali Devi. A vow to offer a coconut, a gheelamp and flowers to Khokhali Devi is taken, and when in the natural course of events, the disease is cured the vow is fulfilled in great faith.

(viii) *Marki, Marakimata, Marimāta, and Maridevi* are the various names with which the Dublas worship the deity supposed to be presiding over epidemics like cholera.

Whenever fear of the epidemics spreads over a village, they meet in a group and a vow is taken to make an offering of a cock or a goat to the goddess, and prayers are made to stop the epidemic. As soon as the epidemic is over, the Dublas of the village bring themselves together, go to the temple of Markimata and sacrifice a he-goat, before her. Their sense of corporate life is so keen that the Dublas consider that an epidemic cannot be cured without joint action on behalf of the whole community or village or the street in which they live. This has been also observed in villages, which usually agree to join hands to drive away the disease. An effigy of the disease is placed in a hand-cart and taken round each street of the village, a small offering is made at each street corner and then the cart is taken away from the village to another village and handed over to the leaders of that village. Thus the cart is passed from village to village, till the last village decides to burn the effigy to ashes.

(ix) *Verāi Mata.* This goddess is supposed to be the remover of all difficulties and is generally worshipped with Meladi, a goddess who also rules over difficulties and is associated with dirt (Mel). Sometimes a third goddess Bhavani is also associated with them. These triple goddesses are supposed to have some affinities and are often worshipped jointly, particularly at the time when the Gheria parties go round the villages during the Norata or Navaratri festivals for a ten day tour of dance and music. Every Gheria party lights a ghee lamp in the name of these goddesses, and every member of the party bows down before the lamp and asks for their blessings. It is believed, that because of good-will of these goddesses, the Gheria party does not face any difficulty and returns home happily.

(x) *Devali Mādi.* The Dublas and other tribal people of Valod and Vyara talukas of Surat District have great faith in this goddess, and vow offerings to her whenever they are in difficulties or want to celebrate a domestic festival like marriage. She is an important goddess, and the offering for the success of the vow, is generally a cock or a goat, depending upon the economic condition of the devotee.

Apart from the offerings in connection with the cure of diseases it is the systematic practice of the people of all communities in the neighbourhood to visit this temple as a matter of pilgrimage, which is often repeated several times a year and which is compulsory at the time of the Norata and Holi festivals. One can see on the roads from Vyara railway station and other village centres, a large number of bullock carts full of men, women, children proceeding to or returning from the villages singing songs and making merry. It becomes a big fair where hundreds of men, women and children gather together and spend a couple of days in carefree abandon, and free enjoyment in ceremonial dinners, intercepted by doning and by occasional bouts of unauthorised drinking. The local authorities have to make a special effort to keep the place clean and to maintain law and order. The efficacy of a goddess is generally believed to depend upon her purity and virginity; and the myth about Virginity of Devli Mata—as a divine goddess is noteworthy. It is believed that her brother wanted to marry her and that he followed her across the fields when she tried to run away to the forests. She could not escape till she turned himself into a stone. It is this original stone image that is supposed to be worshipped even now. The myth is symbolic of the fear of incest which must have been common in this locality in the distant past. This also exemplifies the great regard which the tribal people have for the chastity and purity of their domestic life. The affection which the people have for this deity can be reflected in term of endearment Mādi i.e. dear human mother, while the ordinary term Mātā (mother) is applied to other less dear goddesses.

(xi) *Kansari Devi.* The name Kanasri is derived from the sanskrit term goddess of *Kana* or corn. She is specially worshipped by the Dublas of Dharampur taluka. Any stone lying in the field is installed as Kansari Devi, and worshipped before the harvest season. The ceremony is simple. A handful of corn is placed before the established image of the goddess as an offering, and a chicken is also often sacrificed. These offerings are expected to secure bumper crops and are welcome as additional food by the devotees.

The formidable army of supernatural forces against whom the Dubla has to defend himself is large and keeps him perpetually in fear. Living in areas where the human and veterinary dispensaries have been absent for centuries, he has to fight against disease, against extensive failure of rain or drought which effect his food and crops, against the forces of an exacting administration, against evil spirits of human and superhuman types; he has also to seek the gods and godlings which he has to appease to avoid danger or to secure a quiet and peaceful life. In all societies whether they are primitive or not, there are experts and technicians for help in case of technical difficulties, and the tribal people have to be content with their priests and goddesses to meet difficult situations.

8. *Bhagats.* The Dublas like other tribes in neighbouring area call their religio-medico-priests Bhagats persons devoted to a godly life.

In every village there are one or more persons of both sexes who act as Bhagats, who intervene and help the Dublas in their difficulties about disease or indisposition, which they attribute to witches or spirits. They are supposed to be devotees of some god or goddess, and have learnt the art from their own ancestors or spiritual preceptors. Endowed with high commonsense and good physique, they can sing and recite songs, mantras and invocations which bring faith and confidence to their clients. Whenever anybody is taken till, some one from the family waves a handful of rice or jowar seven times over the head of the sick person, and takes this grain to the Bhagat. The process is called *dānā-bāndhvā* or tieing round the grain. The grain thus taken ceremoniously as a lump or a sample is called 'Khadi'; this Khadi is examined in gross and by re-arrangement in groups, and then the Bhagat comes to his conclusion about the line of action. Generally he recites some incantations over the grain and gives it back thus sanctified, to be tied round the wrist of the patient for protection, and asks for a report after a few days. Sometimes the Bhagat uses incantations to immediately drive away the evil spirits, and on other occasions he applies a prolonged magical treatment as

cure. When a man is affected by cholera, he directs to offer a goat, to 'Marki Mata' the goddess of cholera. When the Bhagat thinks that the man is affected by the wrath of 'Bharamdeo' he directs the patient to establish the image of that god, and advises him to offer a sacrifice which may be that of a goat. Whenever the Dubla goes to the Bhagat, he never refrains from giving him some money, say annas 4 to annas 8, for he fears that if the Bhagat is not properly rewarded, he will make the affected person ill again. The Bhagats are their great doctors and specialists for every disease and sometimes prescribe roots and vegetables as cure; it is the sense of deep faith in, and the sense of fear of, the power of the Bhagat, that makes them so indispensable in the social life of the Dublas. Some of the Bhagats are amiable persons and are anxious to please outsiders. During our visits to the Dublas at Varad, we were able to get the Bhagat to recite the mantras which have been tape-recorded.

9. *Bhagats as snake charmers and scorpion-healers.* The tribal people live in remote places where medical aid is scarce or limited and where the huts are full of scorpions and the fields are inflicted by serpents and snakes. The people have to become self-reliant or to depend upon their priests, Bhagats, and Bhuvas for treatment of snake-bites and scorpion stings. Every village or community has their own snake charmers and scorpion curing houses even though the work may not involve wholetime occupation. This power of curing snake bites and scorpion poisoning is generally associated with long religious or spiritual observances, and also with many years of preparations and coaching. For learning this art, one has to undergo a systematic course of training from a preceptor or guru. Besides this, the strict observance of the rules regarding food and behaviour with persons is compulsory. In case one knowing the art of counteracting poison of snake and scorpion is observed to disobey the rules, rumours are spread that he is going to lose his acquired power; whether he loses these powers or not, his reputation goes down and the extent of his clientele generally gets reduced.

In the village of Varad in Bardoli taluka, a young Dubla is esteemed to possess special powers to cure snake or scorpion bite. It is claimed that he intuitively becomes aware of such poisoning cases and reaches the house where the case has occurred without being informed. Usually it is a common custom in the locality that a drum is beaten whenever a case of serpent poisoning occurs. This young man however, finds out the case himself and approaches the afflicted party without waiting for the drum. The usual procedure adopted by him is to sit in front of the afflicted person and to shake his head reciting a few incantations. Usually the pain subsides with the increase in the vigour of shaking the head and the person finds relief. Whether all the cases are cured or not, the reputation of the charmer is increased, even though he attends to few cases. He generally gives free service to the people, and is supposed to be a pure soul, leading a simple life. He has to observe strict rules, regarding food and conduct, if he desires to preserve his art and reputation.

In Hansapur, a village of Navsari Taluka, two Dublas know how to counteract the poison effect of the scorpion bite. They have learnt the art from their guru, living in a nearby village, Abrama; the ashes of cowdung is applied on the bite with their hands and they recite the mantras. The poison is made non-effective in about half an hour and the disease is completely cured.

These people, who cure the snakebite, do not charge any fees, for the acceptance of money may mean that the art is losing in its value. They quote many instances where persons have lost the art because they accepted money.

These instances of belief in the supernatural powers of some individuals are not peculiar to Dublas only. They are to be found in almost any community in India, where the scientific treatment for snake-bite by injecting snake venom vaccine at the proper time is not known or available.

Scorpion bite poison is sometimes removed by a simple process like dropping salt water in the eye of the patient; to increase the faith in the drug, the expert may say that the salt is to be placed in the eye on the opposite side of

the body, where the scorpion has bitten. Superstitions die hard, but the Dublas feel justified in their belief in supernatural powers of individuals when the modern methods of scientific treatment are not known or available to them, and when dispensaries and doctors are so few and cases of disease and death so numerous among men and also among cattle. One of the ways to obtain confidence of the tribal community is to take to them good food and effective drugs in which they have good confidence; the Christian missionaries find the dispensary and the hospital better allies than schools and colleges.

The religious life of the Dublas is tinged with the Hindu culture of the neighbouring higher class population but the thread of primitive indigenous tribal religion that persists throughout the daily life in remote villages leaves no doubt as to the essential tribal origin of the Dublas as has been explained in Chapter III.

Chapter X

FESTIVE LIFE OF THE DUBLAS

Though the process of Hinduisation of the tribe has been going on for a long time, and though many of the Hindu ceremonies are being adopted by the Dublas, they have not completely abandoned their festivals nor left the peculiar manner of their observation. The participation in fairs and the general celebrations held during Hindu festival days and the giving of some offerings to the Hindu gods and goddesses in vogue in the locality do not mean that they have completely left the ancient practices connected with the festivities peculiar to their culture.

The Dublas are mostly employed in agriculture and as landless labourers and some of them have taken additional work as domestic servants or Halis, if not serfs, in some areas. They have thus been in close contact with the Hindus and other farmers in the locality and like their customs and manners their festivals also closely resemble the pattern of the majority community. They have their own ways of getting into festive moods and freeing themselves from the daily worries. A study of their festive ways throws much light also on their history and origin.

2. The festive life of the Dublas centres round several holidays which were originally connected with agricultural seasons but are now closely based on the corresponding holidays followed by the Hindu community. The most important festivals of the Dublas is *Divaso,* which is considered to be the "Day of the Dublas" and which is a mid-monsoon festival. It represents a break in the working season between transplanting and weeding operations. Then there is the Navratri and the nine days of festivals of dancing to their tribal goddesses followed on the tenth day by the Dassera a festival which is more of a Hindu pattern. The Diwali (the day previous to the Vikram Samvat new year) is not so important among the Dublas even though it is

recognised to be the end of the financial year, and to coincide with a change in the agricultural season. The Holi, the evening festival of burning a bonfire and dancing all night is not observed by the Dubla with as much fervour as by other tribal communities. A most common feature in all these festivities is the dance wherein both the men and women and even grown up children take part. The local variation of the dancing bouts are caused by the regional and climatic variations. They all provide important evidence of the cultural change that is coming over the Dubla population. One important factor being the close contact with the farmer owners who belong to the enlightened community ot Patidars, Anavils or Banias.

3. For an agricultural community the most important occasion for festivity is a good crop at the end of a successful season which comes off at Diwali. The usual spring festivities at the time of Holi form another occasion for merry-making and is a common feature of all tribal life. During the hot weather, there is little field work as the hot sun enforces prolonged rest during the day. The dull days in the field are usualy brightened by the festivities of the marriage season, and by bright moon-lit nights. The evenings are long, pleasant and full of cheer. The coolness of the night permits long bouts of dancing and other forms of enjoyment.

4. *Mehulo Songs.* The monsoon weather is generally preceded by days of anxiety about rain. Parties of anxious men and women go round the country, singing rain songs to the rain god and begging for money to be utilised in making offerings to please the angry weather-god who has delayed the rains. These are called *Mehula* songs; and the festivities in connection with them very often mean continuous touring for 8 to 10 days by groups of men and women; these tours generally leave happy memories in the minds of the participants. These bouts of singing and going round the villages are again resorted to, whenever there is fear of prolonged draughts in the middle of the agricultural season. The Mehula song party are considered as part of the ceremonial religious service offered by persons with a good musical voice during periods of unemployment expected from failure of

crops and the consequent general distress.

5. *Divaso.* This is the most important of the Dubla festivals and is timed with a period of general relief from strenuous agricultural operations. It generally occurs in July at the end of one of the farming operations of transplanting in rice lands, during the brief interval of about 10 days before commencing the next operation of weeding. Transplantation is a difficult operation and has to be completed before a particular date, in spite of the uncertainties and rigours of the rain. A successful transplantation ensures a good crop, and it is usual for the farmers to give an extra grant of grain or food to Dubla labourers as a special gift on this occasion, if the work is completed well and in time.

Divaso is one of the biggest festivals, being also practised among certain sections of Hindus. The usual expression among Hindus viz. "Divaso is a day equal to hundred days" is replaced in the case of Dublas by the expression "Divaso is only of the Dublas." It is a day of joy not only for the Dublas but also for their employers. For by that time both of them get free from transplanting rice and other crops in the fields. The farmers are happy because their main task of transplanting is over by Divaso day. Special dishes of food are prepared by farmers for themselves, and they give some to their Dubla employees to mark the joy of the occasion. The Dublas go about in parties singing songs and collecting the extra grain or food given by the farmer proprietors, Dhaniamas. With the abolition of the hali system of service, the relations between the Dubla and the Dhaniamā have been strained and the flow of gifts is drying up. But this is not all that the festival means, because the 'divaso' is also the day utilised for the celebration of a mock-marriage ceremony by the young unmarried girls of the community, and this ceremony is both interesting and significant.

Divaso among non-adivasis. Although Divaso is a mid-monsoon agricultural festival, like many other days in the calendar, it carries with it happy memories and remembrances of a pleasant holiday. It falls on the last day of the dark half of Ashad in the Hindu calendar, and is a day of joy and feasting and not a day of fasting. The word is derived

from the Sanskrit word Deep-puja, worship of the lamp.

In certain communities, even in the city of Bombay, newly married women observe it for years to ensure a happy married life. This is done for one year or more until she gets a child. The young girl fasts during the day. There is a feast in the evening where lamps are lit. This is followed by worship of the goddesses Evarat and Jevarat, and by festivities of song in which all family members and relations also participate. Where a big party cannot be arranged, at least the son-in-law is invited for a family dinner. It is supposed that after such feasts where generally milk-and-rice are served, the flies in the locality which are common during this period disappear. દિવાસાની ખીર ખાઇને માંખો ઘેર જાય. In certain parts of North Gujarat, only the women folk meet for parties where songs and dances (garba) take place. Generally it is a day of rejoicing and feasting. Shri Meghani in his book Kankavati, Part I. p. 18, describes the observation of the Divaso among Hindus and has given a full description of the myth of the Evarat-Jevarat goddesses.

This is a version in which the Divaso day is called the Evarat day. It is observed on the last day of the dark half of the Ashad. A newly married Hindu girl fasts on that day and in the evening after a bath, goes with wet clothes to the house of the priest to worship the goddesses Evarat-Jewarat. She fasts and takes only fruits in the evening and with friends wake up the whole night singing songs about these goddesses. This is continued for five years at the end of which period a big celebration is made at which 5 Brahmin women would be invited and given 5 sets of clothes, 5 suparies, (betel nuts), 5 cocanuts halves, 5 pies, 5 chanlas (forehead marks) and five strings (for fastening the gown). The assembly then read the story of the Evarat-Jiwarat goddesses. It is a beautiful mythical story explaining how a childless brahmin worshipper of Mahadev got a son after pleasing him on condition that the son when grown up should either be not educated or not married. The son was however married in spite of the promise and when a child was born the goddess Evarat came and took away the child. This happened on each occasion when a child was born and the

four children were taken away by the four goddesses, Evarat, Jewarat, Ajayia and Vijaiya. But when the last goddess arrives the Brahmin wife pleases the goddess by feasting her so well that all the four children are restored, and the couple is happy. This is braminical story but at the back of it is the motif that a son is essential for a brahmin and can be secured and protected by the worship of the four goddesses mentioned above. This festival is observed by the Hindus on the same day as the Divaso but it is significant that the Dubla tribal festival has a different motif and a different sequence—being observed by young Dubla unmarried girls long before their marriage.

6. *Divaso among the Dublas.* The genius of the Dublas has created a peculiar variation from the above Hindu festival. The unmarried girls celebrate the occasion by performing mock marriage of dolls on a large scale. It is the festival in which only the unmarried Dubla girls take part, though the men-folk are not prohibited from watching and joining the celebrations.

Dollmaking. Every Dubla girl expects to marry and as a preparation for marriage, from the early age of six she is expected to take part in the Divaso marriage festival by preparing a he-doll or a she-doll with her own hands. She has to take care of the doll throughout the festival period and see that it is given symbolical food, dress and ornaments, and also given due importance during the marriage and send-off ceremonies. The preparation of the doll is an important event which begins few days in advance of Divaso day.

The male doll is made out of white cotton cloth and the she-doll out of red cloth. Their eyes are made of red 'chanothi' seeds. The doll is not ordinarily bigger than one foot in length; It is generally made in a simple way. The artistic value of these dolls is poor but deserves to be encouraged and developed.

7. (a) *Joint effort of the community.* Generally the Divaso festival is a joint effort of the village or group. It is not like the silent observation of a feast or a worship in one or more families as in the case of the Hindus. For in addition to the individual family preparing its own dolls,

the whole tribal group have to arrange for the ceremonies in connection with (a) preparations of the dolls (b) singing of songs for the whole group, (c) the construction of the village marriage mundap at the place where the big doll is prepared and lodged (d) the joint celebration of the wedding ceremony and the send-off (Vidāy).

In addition to the individual small dolls, the preparation of a big *Moto Dhinglo* and *Moti Dhingli* is entrusted to a select family. These big dolls are supposed to the main participants in the ceremony. The boy-dolls and girl-dolls belong to different families, and a lot of fun and frolic is derived by arranging for the symbolic marriage of these dolls, simultaneously on one day. The marriage ceremony is not performed separately in each house where the dolls are prepared. A group marriage in one maholla is organised; but if a village is small and not divided into many streets, there is only one wedding celebration for the whole village.

The families selected for making the big dolls undertake great responsibility. On the girls who function either as the mother of the big boy-doll or of the big girl-doll, devolve the functions of the main mother-in-law who has to prepare the mandap, where the main ceremony takes place, and to work as masters of ceremony and arrange detailed programmes throughout the days of the ceremonies. The Hindu custom of singing songs every night before the wedding day, is followed and these singing parties are organised at the houses of the owners of the big dolls. The women folk in these houses are given the name of the mother-in-law or vehavan. Every year different girls function as the mothers of big he-doll and she-doll. Generally the eldest among them become the mothers-in-law.

If a girl at the beginning prepares a he-doll she has to prepare he-doll, as long as she participates in the marriage-doll festivity. If this is not observed, it is believed that some evil will happen. If the rule is observed, there is no difficulty in arranging the pairs of he-doll and she-doll for marriage.

The girls prepare dolls in some villages fifteen days before, or in some other villages seven days before, the actual Divaso day. During these preliminary days, all the girls

gather together at the house of the moher of big she-doll. They deposit all the dolls, big and small, boy or girl at this place for the whole of the period. They sing appropriate marriage songs when they meet on the verandahs or open space every night. The elderly women and men folk also join in this fun. Considerable excitement is also derived when the girls discuss among themselves with whose he-doll she will marry her she-doll.

8. *The mock marriage celebrations* now take place in the same order and with most of the details observed in Dubla families during an actual wedding. The Mandap (Mandavo) or the marriage booth is prepared not in every house, but only at the house of the mother of the big she-doll. The pandal is erected tree days before the 'Divaso' day. It is of small size, and made from common sticks or bamboos, and covered with green leaves spread over the top of the booth; the marriage ceremony of all the dolls is performed in this pandal.

(b) *Murat ceremony* is performed at the same time and the day on which 'Mandavo' is erected; it consists of applying 'pithi' to all the dolls. This *pithi* consists of two powders—turmeric yellow powder and *vano* white powder mixed with a little water. One of the many songs sung on the occasion in the village of Varad, is of considerable interest as it contains references to the trade across the river and foreign lands. The song mentions the sister sending a letter to her brother asking him to send 'turmeric' and 'Vano' for the marriage of his nephew thus getting an opportunity to sing in praise of her brothers.

(c) *The santek (peace-assuring) ceremony* is performed in the case of the he-dolls two days previous to the 'Divaso', and in the case of she-dolls, on the day of the 'Divaso' itself. The ceremony is more or less the same as that followed in the case of Dubla boys and girls. The main ceremony consists of bringing fresh earth, making an altar, erecting a small sacrificial fire, to which cocoanut, arecanut and rice are offered. This is done at the mandap in the front of the house of Big Dhinghli for all the he-dolls on one day and for all the she-dolls on the Divaso day itself.

(d) *The ceremonies on Divasa day.* After the santek, the next ceremony consists of the Mosalu, in which the procession of the groom is an important feature. On 'Divaso' day, in the afternoon, maternal uncle's party comes to the bride's house with a 'saree', a blouse and a petticoat for her, the party is welcomed by the mother of the main she-doll, and is given seats on a verandah.

(e) *The formalities of mock marriage ceremony.* In the afternoon, the party of the main he-dolls arrives at the bride's place, with the he-dolls placed on a plate, is received formally by the mother of the main she-doll and her party, and is allowed to take rest at the *jani-vaso* for some time till the party of girls who have mothered the she-dolls is invited to the marriage-booth. The *thali* or plate containing the he-dolls is put in front of the marriage altar. A small sacrificial fire is lighted on the altar near the plate containing the she-dolls. The usual formalities of marriage ceremony, as described in a previous chapter, are carried out wtih the help of the usual Dubla priest who officiates as in ordinary marriages, and is called, 'Choriwala'. He holds a 'Dhoti' between the two plates of he-dolls and she-dolls and recites the mantras. The first is *"Kaniya Padharavo Savdhan"* i.e. bring the bride in the booth with care. The plates containing main she-doll and other she-dolls are brought out and placed on opposite sides. The next mantra is *'Kari Ganthi' (Mangal Sutra) Savdhan"*, i.e. give the necklace of black beads (sign of wedding) with care and the third is *"Kaniya Dan Savdhan"* i.e. (give the bride with care). With the repetition of such phrases and the other formalities the marriage ceremony comes to an end by the evening, and the party disperses to take their evening meal at their respective homes.

(f) *Night Vigil.* After supper the girls gather at the house of the main she-doll to sing the marriage songs. For the whole night, they sing songs of different types and keep awake with the object of keeping a vigil over the dolls before their departure. This vigil may be considered to be similar to that observed in several Hindu communities on the 'Divasa night, partly by way of fast and partly of rejoicing.

9. (a) *Immersion of the dolls.* A characteristic feature of the mock marriage ceremony during the Divasa celebrations is the pathetic immersion of the married dolls in water. After the night's vigil the girls rest, bathe, take the morning meal and gather together at midday for the final ritual of *'Vadaya'* i.e. departure of the dolls. The girls who have been playing with the dolls for periods ranging from 7 to 15 days, collect their dolls and place them in an earthen pot or *Tumadi* of dried pumpkin fruit. This is then carried ceremoniously to the river in the form of a procession in which the girls are accompanied also by their parents. (b) *Songs after the immersion ceremony.* During the ceremony of immersion of the dolls, the girls sing the usual songs of advice to the departing daughters-in-law. The song is as follows:

"Oh dolls, address the river as your
'Mashi' (mother's sister).
"Go to the sea and address the sea as
your grandfather-in-law."

નદી તારી માશીરે, ઢીંગલી,
દરિયો તારો દાદોરે, ઢીંગલી,
દરિયા કાંઠે જાજેરે, ઢીંગલી,
દરિયાને દાદો કહેજેરે, ઢીંગલી,

This song provides a significant clue to the origin of the tribe, which recognises the sea as the grandfather and the river as the mother. The Dublas must have come from across the sea through the rivers, possibly as labourers and trained specially for agricultural operations.

The merry-making does not end with the departure of the dolls. The girls remain in the sands of the river, or near the pond if it is the place of immersion, and sing songs and garbas or gossip till evening. The parents also remain with them and the whole party is not in a hurry to reach the village before dark. By extending the wedding ceremonies for two days, the Dublas obtain a well-deserving respite during the mid-monsoon working season.

It is a belief that the worship of these dolls by the young daughters helps them to get a good husband. Further the practice of the details of the procedure and of the songs etc., provide a nice entertainment to the young girls who become almost experts when they reach the marriageable age.

10. *Ding-dev the presiding deity of the dolls.* The big he-doll is called the *Dingdev* (god of dhings) while the dolls are *dinglis,* (she-dolls) and he is considered the presiding deity of the 'Divaso' ceremonies. He is also considered to be an ideal son-in-law obligingly helpful if properly worshipped. Further if the Dinghdev is kept pleased by the formal attendance for five successive years, a girl is assured of a good husband and a successful married life. The eternal urge of women seeking satisfaction in a happy wedded life is crystallised in this custom of annual repetition of marriage ceremonies from an early age. Even the Vadāya (parting) ceremony of immersion of the married dolls is not merely one of regret but is symbolic.

The plates containing the shedolls and hedolls are kept floating on the water together with the burning lamp. The whole village turns up to see this Vadaya ceremony. It is believed by some Dublas that the dolls float up to the mouth of the river and then reach the sea across which is the place of the origin of the Dubla tribe. The village people watch the disappearance of the floating lamp and dolls along the river in the hope that the dolls will reach the sea. It is significant that the final destination is the sea because the seagod is supposed to be the grand father-in-law for the shedolls and grandfather for the hedolls.

11. Great importance is attached to the conception of the sea god who is considered to be the grandfather of the bridegroom and also the grandfather-in-law of the bride. The river goddess is considered to be the mother and mother's sister (*mashi*) of the dolls. This renders possible the theory that the Dublas are a foreign tribe which has come across the seas through the rivers. This conception is supported by the figures of distribution of the Dubla population on the banks of the rivers Narbada, Tapti, Kim, Ambika, Purna

and Par. This point has been referred to above together with the details of the folk songs sung at the time of the vadāy ceremony.

12. *Dubla Adaptation of the Hindu Shitala Satem.* The observation of Shitala Satem, a fast in honour of Shitaladevi, the goddess of cold and chicken pox, derives importance from the point of acculturation. In villages near the towns the practice, more or less, is based on the customs followed by the majority community since ancient times and yet there are distinct differences, which are peculiar to the Dubla tribe and which show their past history, and present culture. 'Shitala-satem' is observed by the Dublas as a day of partial fast on the seventh day of dark half of Shravan, (July-Aug.). The Dublas distinguish between the two diseases (chicken-pox and small-pox) of which latter the presiding deity is Baliya Kaka, the powerful uncle. Even after modern vaccination, which is known to prevent small-pox, the temple of Baliyā kākā is visited every time when there are cases of small-pox in the family, and a small offering is made and prayers are offered for quick recovery.

Shitala Devi is also concerned with the chicken-pox or *ori.* To secure protection from the wrath of the goddess the Dubla women observe the day every year; they bathe in cold water and offer an oblation of grain, ghee and molasses at the village temple of Shitala Devi. On this day the goddess is said to visit every house and to roll herself in the family hearth. No fire is, therefore, lighted in the house on this day, for if the goddess came and got scorched by the fire she would bring misfortune on that household. In addition to the usual food, a number of dainties are prepared on the previous day. The women folk enjoy complete rest from cooking and are free to use the time in more pleasant pursuits.

In the afternoon the women folk arrange for singing Garbas of various types in honour of the goddess. It is the peculiarity of the mother worship that if one goddess is selected for worship, a sister goddess may also be associated with it without offending anyone and without duplicating the ceremonies or offerings. The songs and Garbas (circle

dances) may be addressed to the goddesses other than Shitala goddess without causing offence.

The Hindu version of the Shitala worship is described in authoritative Sanskrit books. Shitala-purana and the present system of worship followed by Hindus is according to these mandatory provisions. But two important cultural differences which characterise the Dublas must be specified here. The Hindu women do not go out in the open to sing garbas. In honour of the goddess singing and dancing being a characteristic feature of tribal life is still retained by the Dublas. Secondly Hindu women observe a series of holidays prior to Shitala-satem, e.g. on the fifth day of the dark half of Shravan, they observe Nag-Panchami and worship of the serpent God. It is significant that though the Hindus living in the same region worship the Naga or Serpent, the Dublas do not recognize the serpent as an object of worship. The sixth day is also called the cooking sixth (*Rāndhan-chhath*); it is a day of cooking delicious dishes for offering to the gods and goddesses and cooking in advance, for rest is to be given to the cooking hearth on the next day of the Shitala-Satem.

13. *Norata (Navaratri—the festival of nine nights) and Dassera.* The nine-days festival (Norata) observed by the Dublas is in the same pattern as the Hindu festival and yet there are certain features which show their distinctive culture. The Dassera, observed by the Hindus is not observed by the Dublas as such. The second feature is that the goddesses worshipped by the Dublas are not of the Hindu pantheon like Kāli, Ambika, or Saraswati, but they have their own goddesses like Meldi and Veraya. Navratri festival is observed for the first nine days of the bright half of the month Ashvin (September-October).

The nine-night festival which is followed by the Dassera is universally observed by the Hindus all over India; it is copied by the Dubla, with the important variation that the Dassera is less important to him. and that the Dubla worships his own goddesses even on the Dassera day while the Hindu is fully conscious of the mythology as mentioned in his sacred books. The Dassera day conveys different

interpretations in different parts of India. According to the Ramayana, the Dassera is the day of conquest—*Vijaya dashami*—a day of rejoicing at the liberation of the world from tyrannical forces represented by Ravana and the victory of the truth and rectitude as practised by Rama. Throughout north India the exploits of Rama are sung for the ten days in the Ramlila dramatic performances and a big effigy of Ravana is burnt on the Dassera day on the Ramalila grounds in every village.

In Mahabharata, the Dassera day represents a stage in the history of Pandavas, who go into voluntary concealment during the twelfth year of exile; it is on this day that they worship their arms and entrust them to Shami tree, during the period in which they take private employment to conceal their identity. The common feature of the Navaratri festival among Hindus of Gujarat is the worship of the various goddesses, Kali, Maha-Kali, Ambika, Laxmi, Sarasvati, Rannadevi (wife of the sungod) and a number of others. The house is decorated with yellow flowers, and the horse or the cart or the motor car is worshipped. The celebration of the Dassera and the Kali-puja on that day, with Sarasvati puja on the next day, is the most imporant festival of Bengal.

14. *Gheria Parties:* (a) The Dublas, in worshipping their own goddesses organise different parties of twenty or more young persons known as "Gher" in each village. Though the Navratri (Norata) festival is devoted to the worship of goddesses, women folk take only a minor part. The dancing parties, which go daily and return home every night consist about twenty to twenty-five men, mostly dressed as women. Their dress consists of the usual dhoti, which is however a real sari, usually worn by Dubla women, and a blouse. Another sari made up into folds is tied across the shoulders; these folds support the shoulders during the dance.

(b) In a Gher, the "Kaviyo"—the leader of the party is an important personality. He sings the songs and others follow him. He decorates himself with fine clothes. He puts on mostly a silken dhoti and on his head he puts a highly

coloured head-gear. In one hand he holds a cluster of peacock feathers to show that he is an important figure in the 'Gher' party.

(c) The 'Bagaliwala' is another leading personality in the party. He holds a long bamboo to the upper end of which is tied a small horizontal stick and on that stick a coat or a shirt is hung. This represents the *Chadio* or a scarecrow, usually hung in the fields to scare away wild birds and animals; this is known as *"Bagali."* This 'Bagaliwala' generally leads the 'Gheria' party. It is believed that the evil eye is averted by the presence of this 'Bagali' which generally leads the party when it goes about.

(d) *The Ghodiwala* is another important personality. He is supposed to ride a 'ghodi' or wooden horse (an ordinary stick with the head of a horse) between his legs. He ties ('Ghughara') small ringing bells around his waist, and moves about with the party, as if he is the leader seated on the horse-back. He plays the role of a joker and makes the spectators laugh by different varieties of his mimicries and movements. In some places like Surat city, he is known as a *'Kāli Bilādi'*, a black cat.

(e) The party sings songs in front of every house, before the formal departure *'Vaday'* takes place. This 'Bagaliwala' or black cat goes into the house and pretends to drive away evil spirits, if any, from the house by his magic art.

(f) The other participants in the 'Gher' who are simple dancers or singers or are both are called 'Gherias'. Each of them holds two sticks (dandias) $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length to be used at the appropriate moment in suitable dances. These sticks are held up to the head and struck across to make cracking sounds in rhythmic gestures. Some of them hold a cluster of peacock feathers in one hand as a sign of good omen. They dress like women and put on saree, blouse and other ornaments worn by women folk. Upon their heads they put either a well-tied turban or a funny head-gear like a discarded hat, for a bare head is supposed to bring ill-luck when crossed over by the wheels of the chariot of various goddesses who move in the sky. Various types of bells are tied round their waist. These make smooth ring-

ing sounds without any effort during the movement.

(g) *The Tablawalo* is another important person in the Gheria party. The 'gherias' dance and strike their sticks according to the rhythm of the 'tablas.' Upon the *kavio*—poet—songster—and this musician *tabalawalla,* depends the success and good name of the Gheria party.

15. The Gheria parties dance for themselves and their friends, without the expectation of any money but they visit the houses of their 'Dhaniyamas'—employers and their relatives—to play 'gheria' dances in expectation of some gifts as a matter of custom and status. With the official disappearance of Hali system the 'Dhaniyamas' are not so liberal as in the past and the formal encouragement to the Gherias is decreasing.

Yet, the Dublas are fond of dancing and moving about in open air; and the Gheria parties can be seen walking long distances to exchange mutual greetings and to complete in wholesome rivalry for the best performance in both singing and dancing. Generally, every visit to a family brings about some sort of contribution.

The usual belief is that the 'Gheria' party brings good luck to all the houses visited. The party plays and sings for nearly half an hour before each house. When the function is over, the house-wife applies red turmeric and rice to the forehead of the Kaviyo and gives some money and rice as *'Vaday'* (a farewell gift) to the party. While their ceremony is being performed the party sings the following song of 'Vaday' :

Oh! sister first propitiate	પહેલી વધાવ
The sun and the moon.	ચાંદા સુરજને બેની
Then give offerings,	પછી વધાવ
to my Gher (party)	મારી ઘેર ર
Oh! sister, long live your	ઘેર વધાવતી બેનડીરે
husband in happiness	તારો સુખી રહે ભરથાર
For your giving offerings	રમતી ઘેર.
to my Gher.	વધાવનારારે
You will get blessings (merit)	બેન કાશી
of visiting 'Kashi' (Banaras)	ગયાના પૂત.

This gher song evidently has mixed religious and social motifs and expresses great familiarity with Hindu conceptions of pilgrimage to Banares and worship of the Sun and the Moon.

16. For nine days, the party goes on playing dances and singing songs at different houses, and different villages. On the tenth day the party is dissolved, and they feast from the money collected during the nine days itinerary. The village solidarity is reflected at such meetings when it is observed that the utensils for the common use of all members of the party at a village are purchased out of the funds. There is also an unofficial arrangement for storing the dress and the clothes and musical instruments of the party for the next year. The dresses used during these dances are supposed to be made new every year for the sake of ceremonial purity or may be kept over unwashed if made from new cloth with the starch in it. These ceremonial taboos form a feature of these dances.

While the men go round and sing in day time, the women in some villages assemble and sing the 'Norata' or 'Navaratri' songs and 'Garbas' within doors. The word 'Garba' is derived from 'Grihadip', the house-lamp; the Dubla women put an oil lamp in an earthen pot, in which holes are made. The women go round with this pot on their head and sing 'garbas'. This is generally an imitation of the songs sung by higher caste people in villages and cities of Gujarat. The 'Gheria' parties have other head-gear to carry and do not carry the 'Garba-lamps' which are used only by the women.

17. *The Holi Festival:* As the spring festival of the Hindus, Holi is distinguished by several features like fasting during the day in honour of the goddess *Holika* and worshipping her with ceremonial offerings of cocoanut and flowers, at the time when in the evening ceremonial bonfire is lit. The *prasad* of cocoanut is given to all who are present and then only the fast is broken. This takes place on the full moon day of 'Falgun' (March). The worship is followed next day by rejoicing and sprinkling of coloured red powder and coloured water. The famous red powder-smear-

ing on the face of the Prime Minister of India and the President at Delhi on the Holi day is an event of importance published in the news columns all over the country. Apart from the sacred fire, the amount of coloured powder spread and water sprinkled, a lot of mischief is incurred during Holi holidays. During March 1957 the District Magistrate of various districts in Gujarat issued official orders which were published in Gujarati newspapers prohibiting noisy or indescent behaviour either in cities or rural areas. This indicates the general freedom of life and spirit of care-free abandon that prevails during this spring holiday throughout India, and Gujarat is no exception. As a community in close contact with the Hindus, the Dublas in villages follow the same practice, but there is one peculiarity that they do not *light* a separate fire of Holi for each street, or their community but they join in the village Holi. It seems significant that Holi is not an indigenous custom among this tribe but is adopted as a result of acculturation. There is another peculiarity that on the next day of Holi, the Dubla women in every village go to the house of their Dhaniyamas, dance and sing songs in their praise, describing the stately mansion of the master, with a lamp in every niche and with diamond and rubies in plenty, with a household full of women folk, daughters-in-law and servants. Small gifts are given from every house to the party. These gifts are called 'Holino fagavo'. The participants in the party divide the collection among themselves and make merry. This custom of giving gifts is similar to that observed on another festival day 'Divaso', when men go round as 'Gheria' party and are given some money as gift on the occasion. Both 'Holi' and 'Divaso' mark important occasions in the agricultural life of the village community. With the disappearance of the 'Hali' system, the cessation of the relations between Hali and Dhaniyama, the occasions for the exchange of gifts and opportunities for dancing and social contacts, are decreasing.

18. *Diwali:* Diwali is another holiday which, though not indigenous to the culture of the Dublas, has been adopted by them as a result of the close contact with the Hindus. The Dhaniyamas give to their Dubla halis special food pre-

pared for the holidays, and a small supply of crackers. Where Dublas have become independent of Dhaniyamas, some buy crackers for their children and celebrate Diwali as a holiday of general merriment without any cultural importance. There is no belief among the Dublas that a new year commences on the day after the Diwali, but they share in the general spirit of merriment and exchange of visits and gifts. In some villages, the day preceeding the *Diwali*, which is devoted to the worship of the goddess *Kali* is more important. *Kali* the black mother goddess, together with other tribal goddesses and *Meladi* and *Verai* appeal to the tribal people, like the god *Vithoba* in the South. *The Kali chaudüs* the fourteenth dark night is observed ceremoniously by special worship of the tribal goddesses and ghosts and spirits by the official priests the Bhagats, who thus derive additional spiritual power. This night is supposed to be the darkest night in the year and worshippers of the ghosts and spirits are supposed to secure the best results by the practices and the mantras recited by them on this night. In Gandevi taluka, the Dublas attend the fairs of Hindus at the neighbouring places e.g. Gandevi, Andheshwar (Amalsad) and then at Unai. They go to the fairs only to spend the time in merry-making and sight-seeing and making purchases if they have money and not to visit temples; for most of the Dublas do not believe in Hindu gods even for obtaining relief from their ailments. There is thus a constant contact with the Hindu culture which is slowly transforming the Dubla culture, sometimes with advantage and sometimes with disadvantage but generally with a progressive attitude towards national unity.

Chapter XI

FOLK SONGS

It is difficult either to interpret or to understand the 'folk-songs' of a people like the Dublas whose culture has been constantly in transition. There is no doubt that they have migrated into their present homelands hundreds of years ago. A fairly great number of them have worked as landless labourers in recent times; and some of them have become agricultural and domestic serfs and have imbibed, as well as influenced, the culture of their employers. But all Dublas are not Halis-serfs and all Halis are not Dublas. Some of the folk songs show a clear evidence of the contact with the non-tribal populations but others, picked up in the interior and describing certain characteristic or special holiday life, bear the distinct mark of a separate culture, sometimes giving an indication of the origin of the tribe.

2. *What is the essence of a song?* Is it the word or the song, or the music that enchants and captivates, or is it the collective atmosphere of the folk-land, the trees, the rivers, the sunset, and the moon-light or of the folk people, the hearty laugh and the pleasant smile, that bring out the joy and the hilarity of a folk-song? It is so easily distinguished from the serene chastity of the classical songs sung to the melody of perfected music. The spontaneous flow of the music and merriment that characterise a folksong party, is different from the well-dressed artificiality of classical music; the full-blooded sincerity of the tribal songs in sylvan surroundings has a stamp of its own and impresses a sympathetic heart much deeper. Seldom is the soul of a people touched, except through song and dance, which result in a spirit of real carefree abandon. This is realised only in the case of the folk songs of the tribal people, sung with the characteristic music of each tribe. It is fortunate that the Dublas in remote villages are still fond of dancing, singing and music. They usually spend their dull evenings, specially

on moonlit nights, in dancing to the tunes of the *'tur'* the drum, and *thali,* the flat dining plate made of copper and zinc alloy.

The songs of the Dublas may be classified into (1) Marriage songs, (2) Kudanya songs (sung while jumping) (3) Mehula (rain) songs (4) Garbas sung by females and (5) Gheria songs, in connection with Norata preceding Dassera, sung by males.

3. *Marriage Songs.* The average age of the Dubla at the time of marriage is sufficiently advanced to enable the marrying couple themselves to take part in the festivities of songs and dance that accompany the formal wedding ceremony. In the case of the Hindu community in rural areas the age of marriage had till recently, in the majority of cases, been on the lower side; and the wedding parties seldom attain the spontaniety and the hilarity of the tribal people. There may be more money, splendour and food at the weddings of richer classes, but tribal people show more inner enjoyment on these rare occasions of merry-making.

Whatever may be the supposed position of the woman in Indian society, she reigns supreme on all formal and ceremonial occasions, be it a social function or a festival connected with the wedding of her children. The men earn the money and procure the food, but the woman quietly rules the home, inspite of the bursts of temper of the male and of his idiosyncrases on public occasions. So in the domestic and tribal festivals, the woman gets and retains her own place in the marriage songs and other ceremonial details. Most of the marriage songs are sung by the woman-folk, who also arrange all minor details on the ceremonial side. The women take pleasure and pride in singing the songs, the first place being usually given to a person who has a good voice and can sing a variety of songs of different tunes and types.

The marriage songs described here are subdivided under four heads: (a) Songs sung at the ceremony of applying Pithi (Haldi); (b) Songs of Santek Ceremony; (c) Songs of Vidāya (Parting) Ceremony; (d) Songs of Freedom.

4. *Songs of Pithi.* The marriage ceremony starts with applying of the yellow turmeric to the groom and the bride five and three days respectively before the marriage day. The songs sung on this occasion, as already referred to in a previous chapter on the dolls festivals, usually refers to the singer writing a letter to her brother to send turmeric for the marriage of the young nephew. The songs refer to the custom of writing a letter, not because the singer is literate but because the best quality of *haldi* is to be obtained, irrespective of cost.

The Haldi is well-pounded.
The quality is the best,
I had asked brother mine — હરધી ઘુંટીરે, મેં તેના કાગર મોકયલા
To send in tins the finest — મારા કયા ભાઇ હરધીના વેપારી
A letter I had written to — કે હરધીના ડબ્બા મોકયલા
Merchant brother mine
To send in tins the finest.

The reference to 'letter' and 'business men' shows that the Dubla song composers are not ignorant of modern means of communication and trade. Another interpretation is that the song is an imitation of similar songs sung among the Hindu community of Gujarat region where trade is common, and importation of turmeric is necessary because it is not grown locally.

5. *Songs of Santek.* One day before the marriage ceremony, the Santek ceremony is performed, and on this day the marriage booth is erected, at the house of both the bride and the bridegroom in a specially erected marriage-booth — an inexpensive structure built from wooden or bamboo poles. The womenfolk sing songs asking the menfolk to call merchants from big city with all the ornamental materials necessary to prepare and decorate the marriage booth:

Get ready, the poles, green and yellow
Make the booth beautiful
Brother Jinabhai, be in no hurry
Get clothiers from Surat.
Decorate the booth beautiful.

લીલીને ખીળી વાસો વેરાવો,
તેનો રૂડો માંડવો બંધાવો.
ઝીણાભાઇ ધીરે ધીરે પરણાવો
સુરેત શે રથી કાપડીઆ બોલાવો
તેના વડે રૂડા માંડવા કપડાવો.

The songs also refer to the sacred earth to be obtained from the bed of the rivers Ganges and Jamuna for covering the ceremonial altar 'Chori' on which the bride is to seat.

Get the sacred earth from Ganga & Jamuna
Brother rise make no hurry,
Get painters from Surat to
Paint the Chori-seat.

ગંગાને જમનાની ગોરમટી મંગાવો,
તેના રૂડી ચોરી થપાવો.
ગુલાબભાઇ ધીરે ધીરે પરણાવો વીરાને
સુરત શે'રથી ચીતારા બોલાવો,
તેની રૂડી ચોરી ચીતરાવો
શુકારભાઇ ધીરે ધીરે પરણાવો-વીરાને.

The bride is represented to be a fondled child and whatever the bride-price she may have fetched, she is asking for the presents desired by her.

Shanta Behn seats on the threshold
And pleads with father for a wristwatch
Shanta Behn seats on the threshold,
And tells mother she will not marry without silver footlets
Shanta Behn seats on the threshold
Tells the groom she will not marry without wristlets.

શાંતાબેન ઉમરીએ બેસી બાપાને વિનવે
કે બાપા ઘડીઆળ વિના રે હું તો નહિં પરણું.
શાંતાબેન ઉમરીએ બેસીને માડીને વિનવે
કે માડી ઝાંઝર વિના રે નહિં પરણું.
શાંતાબેન ઉમરીએ બેસીને વીરાને વિનવે.
કે વીરા પોંચી વિનારે નહિં પરણું.

In the above song, foot and hand ornaments are asked for and so also for a wrist watch. Even though these may not be put to daily use by the farm-working brides, their wishes are indicative of the great advance taking place in their social life and standards. The Dubla girls in cities and neighbourhood have taken to all modern fashions regarding clothes, dressing the hair, chewing the *pan* and wearing highly coloured clothes and using champals as footwear, which would be so uncommon in the Dubla villages. The impact of modern fashions on the mind of unsophisticated and illiterate Dubla girls, has made them more insistent on expensive habits of life.

6. *Freedom Songs on Marriage Occasions.* The spirit of freedom is up in the country, and even if we avoid the songs of political freedom as having been inspired by non-tribal forces we cannot ignore, that the spirit of freedom is at work in dress, in service, and in domestic peace as expressed in the following brisque song:—

Dress we in Khadi Pyjama
Tolerate we no servitude
Serve we not in Schools.
Tolerate we no servitude
Serve we never as Halis
Tolerate we no servitude
Serve we our Mothers
Serve we never our *Sasu* (Mother-in-Law)
Tolerate we no servitude.

અમે ખાદીનો પાયજામો પેરીયે,
ગુલામપણું ન કરીએ.
અમે શાળાની નોકરી ન કરીએ
ગુલામપણું ન કરીએ
અમે વીરાની નોકરી કરીએ
ગુલામપણું ન કરીએ
માડીની નોકરી કરીએ
સાસુની નોકરી ના કરીએ
ગુલામપણું ન કરીએ.

The spirit of independence is reflected even in the social life, and the last two lines describe the opposition of the young wife to remain subordinate to the mother-in-law.

7. *The Bride-Farewell Songs.* The songs sung at the time of the Viday—farewell-ceremony to the bride and bride-groom's party are pathetic. The girl cries because she is departing from her parent's house and relatives, and sheds tears on this occasion. This occasion is considered highly emotional and has been depicted by the poet Kalidasa in the pathetic words of Kanva Rishi, when his adopted daughter Shakuntala departs from his convent-ashram.

The Dubla farewell song is simple and yet full of pathos. Sita, a Dubla bride goes to the father-in-law and the brides-maids sing,

Sita goes to the father-in-law	સીતારે ચાયલા સાસરે
Who escorts her?	સીતાને કોણ વેાળવવા જાયરે
Sita goes to the father-in-law	સીતા ચાયલા સાસરે
Sita's mother goes with her.	સીતાની માડી વેાળવવા જાયરે
Sita weeps bitterly,	સીતાએ રડી રડી
Her tears fill the sea.	ભયદા સમુદરરે.

Then there is a song of usual advise about the behaviour in the new home,

Take your steps but slowly,
When you reach the father-in-law's house
Walk but slowly in the place of the father-in-law
Forget your father
Worship the father-in-law
Worship the love of your mother
Worship the mother-in-law
Forget the love of your brother
Get the love of the brother-in-law
Forget the love of your sister
Get the love of your sister-in-law.

And yet tragedies do happen, and the following is a brief couplet is highly expressive of the proverbial harass-ment of a new bride by the husband's sister.

On the rebuke of the sister-in-law,
The wife leaves the home, and
Joins the passing crowd of Sadhus.

નણદલને મેંણે ચાયલા
જોગી ઝુંડમારે લેાલ

8. *Kundanyas.* These are light breezy songs sung in a jumping rhythm mostly by young girls with a sense of spontaneous humour and joyfulness which is characteristic. These girls may be married or are about to be married and the tenor of the songs reflects the full-blooded vigour and health of young life.

(a) The Kudanyas style of songs is adopted to describe the joking relationship between the young wife (bride) and her husband's younger brother. She jokingly asks him for ornaments and he refers to the lust in her eyes, in which he is prepared to be drowned and become an ascetic.

My young Diyar make me "anklets"
No my bhabhi, I will get you "Vintla"
Bhabhi, in the magic of your eyes —
I become a Jogi — no, I become a Vairagi
My young Diyar, make me a girdle
No my bhabhi, No my bhabhi, I will make you a bracelet.
Bhabhi in the magic of your eyes, I become a Jogi—
No I become a Vairagi.

નાના દ્યિરીયા મને સાંકરા ધડાવેા રે,
નહિં ભાભી, નહિં ભાભી, વીંટલેા ધડાવું રે
ભાભી તારી આંખેામાં જોગી બની જાય રે
વૈરાગી બની જાય રે,
નાના દ્યિરીયા મને કંદોરેા ધડાવેા રે,
નહિં ભાભી, નહિં ભાભી, પેાંચી ધડાઉં રે.
ભાભી તારી આંખેામાં જોગી બની જાય રે,
વૈરાગી બની જાયરે.

(b) In another song, the bride complains about child-like simplicity of the husband, who wants to go to the city of

Bombay without caring for the pleasures of the newly married life.

"My boy lies so immature	પયણો* મારો નાદાન પયડોરે ગુજરાત,
Anxious to go to Bombay	પયણાને મંબોઇ જવાની ધણી હોંશ,
My boy is so immature."	પયણો મારો નાદાન પયડો રે.

* ધણી

The song continues with a critical description of the mother-in-law who is young and vigorous while the husband is innocent and immature.

The Sasu is anxious to adopt the gown,
My boy lies still immature,
The Sasu is fond of anklets,
My boy lies still immature
The Sasu is fond of the girdle,
My boy lies still immature.

સાસુને ચણીઓ પહેરવાની ધણી હોંશ,
પયણો મારો નાદાન પયડો રે.
સાસુને સાંકરા પેહેરવાની ધણી હોંશ,
પયણો મારો નાદાન પયડો રે.
સાસુને કંદોરો પહેરવાની ધણી હોંશ.
પયણો મારો નાદાન પયડો રે.

9. The following is a type of the song usually sung for the *Anu*—the ceremony for the first incoming of the bride to the father-in-law's house.

The mango-tree on the lake — Oh Nandlal
Mango jumped out, Oh Nandlal
Mango hit the breast of the boy—Oh Nandlal
The sixty-olds left for the jowar crops — Oh Nandlal
Mango was hit in the standing crop — Oh Nandlal
When will the Day (Anu) come — Oh Nandlal
When will Holi or Diwali promise prove correct, Oh Nandlal.

તળાવના પાળેરે આંબો રે નંદલાલ
કુદીને પડી કેરી રે નંદલાલ
પયણાની છાતીમાં મારી રે નંદલાલ
સાડી જુવારમાં નાઠી રે નંદલાલ
ઉભી જવારામાં પકડી રે નંદલાલ,
એવો કે દા'ડો આવશે રે નંદલાલ
એ.રી (હોળી) દિવારી (દિવાળી) ના વાયદા રે નંદલાલ

The anxiety to join the husband is felt in the young brides all over India and almost every tribe, caste, has songs to depict this intriguing situation with great romantic appreciation. The above songs refer to the Dubla custom of Anu ceremony. A newly married girl cannot join her husband, without her parents-in-law arriving for performing the Ānu ceremony, and describes her agony.

10. (a) *Mehulo Songs.* (Songs for rain). It is seldom that rain arrives in time and a delayed monsoon causes great anxiety. This leads to the formation of singing parties, addressing the rain gods (Mehula — Megh — cloud). The songs sung at this time are called Mehulo songs.

તારી ધરની ધણીઆણી જુએ વાટ
ઓ દલીનો મેવલીઓ
તારા હરખેલા હાળી (હાળી-દુ'બળાઓ) જુએ વાટ
ઓ દલીનો મેવલીઓ
તારી ચોહેલી પરજા જુવે વાટ
ઓ દલીનો મેવલીઓ.
તારી ચલીયાં ચાબખલાં જૂએ વાટ
ઓ દલીનો મેવલીઓ.

Thy earth-wife awaits you
Oh dear Rain-god
Thy happy halis await you
Oh dear Rain-god
Thy nourished people await you
Oh dear Rain-god
Thy birds and animals await you
Oh dear Rain-god

The appeal to the rain-god as the husband of the earth is supplemented by another; an enquiry is made of "lightening" "Viz" on behalf of rain-mother whether she has seen the truant rain-god.

(b) The simple tribal mind pictures the rain-god to have a mother. She is also anxious about the absence of rain and will be searching for him. She meets and asks "the lightening" where her brother rain has gone, for lightning and thunder without rain are common during scarcity days.

Oh Lightning, tell the mother of rain-god
Have you seen my son "megh".

મેઘની માડીએ એમ કરી પૂછ્યા !
કેથા મારા મેઘનેા ભાળ રે વીજલી.
ઉત્તર ગાયજ્યે, દખ્ખણ વરસ્યેા
વરસ્યેા ચારે ખંડરે વિજળી.

દરિયામાં ગાયજ્યે, ગામડેા વરસ્યેા
વરસ્યેા ચારે ખંડરે વિજળી
નાગલીનેા કેાદરેા ઝીણેા દાણેા
વાડીએ પાયકા ભાતરે, વિજળી
મેઘની માડીએ એક કરી પૂછ્યા
કેથેા મારા મેઘનેા ભાળરે વીજળી.

11. *Gheria Songs.* In another chapter, the custom among the Dublas of forming singing parties (Ghers) during the Norta or Navaratri season (in October at the end of the rains) has been described. The songs sung by these Gheria parties are of various types and cover a large variety of themes and tunes — religious, social and benedictory. The motifs behind these Gheria parties are mixed; apart from the joys and pleasures of groupdancing and grouptravelling, there is the sense of the devotional tribute to god and goddesses—both tribal and Hindu—, which is considered as an annual vow. Then there is the economic side to the dance and music of these parties. Besides providing popular programmes which attract the village masses, the dance provides an occasion for making an appeal to the richer landlords, (the Dhaniamas of the olden days), by singing songs in front of their houses for suitable donation. Thus there is a large variety of Gheria songs with different tunes, motifs, suitable for the ten days of gay life.

12. *Pãranã songs* are cradle songs, the singing of which is supposed to bring children to childless parents. The Gherias know the families which expect children and sing these cradle songs before their houses. The songs centres round a prayer to the goddesses of the Dublas asking for a new cradle to be tied in the house; it gives not only an artistic description of the various processes involved in making a cradle but also provides solace and pleasure in the otherwise dull life of the Dublas in the villages. In the fulness of their joy at the preparations for the arrival of the new baby, they send for a carpenter, a painter, a tailor and a goldsmith from different parts of India and from foreign lands to prepare and decorate the cradle.

Oh get you the carpenter's from city Surat
Oh get the young cradle built
Oh get the painter's (rangara) from Rangoon
Oh get the young cradle painted
Oh get the bells (ghughara) from Ghogha
Oh get the young cradle painted.

સુરત શે'રના સુથાર બોલાવો રે
તેની તે પાસે ઘડાવો જોબન પારણું.
રંગુન શેરના રંગારા બોલાવો
તેનાથી ચિતારાવો જોબન પારણું.
ઘોઘા રે શેરથી ઘુઘરા મંગાવો
તેને રે ટંગાવો જોબન પારણે.

The cradle songs possess vigour and spirit as also the geographical knowledge, and above all the romance of youth demanding a bright cradle while the parents themselves are young. Here is another example:

(ii) *Cradle Song*

Whose is this cradle,
With bells ringing Ghum-ghum,
It belongs to Sharada-Vahu
With bells ringing Ghum-ghum,

Brother carpenter do I request
With bells ringing Ghum-ghum,
Build a cradle fine, build a cradle fine
With bells ringing Ghum-ghum,
With the cradle will play small children
In the cradle will lie small children
With bells ringing Ghum-ghum,
Brother tailor do I request
With bells ringing Ghum-ghum,
In the cradle will swing the small children
With bells ringing Ghum-ghum,
Brother painter do I request
With bells ringing Ghum-ghum,
Bring the cradle painted well
With bells ringing Ghum-ghum,

હારે કયી વહુનું પારણું રે, ધમ ધમ ધુધરા વાગે (૨)
હાંરે શારદા વહુનું પારણું રે, ધમ ધમ ધુધરા વાગે (૨)
ભાઇ સુથાર રે વિનવું રે, ધમ ધમ ધુધગ વાગે (૨)
પાયણું ઘડી લાવરે રામ, પારણું રે, ધમ ધમ ધુધરા વાગે (૨)
હાંરે દરજીડા ભાઇ વિનવું રે, ધમ ધમ ધુધરા વાગે (૨)
જેણે ઝુલશે વીરા રામ, પારણું રે, ધમ ધમ ધુધરા વાગે (૨)
હાંરે રંગારી વિનવું રે ભાઇ, ધમ ધમ ધુધરા વાગે (૨)
હાંરે ભાઇ પારણું રંગીલાવરે રામ, પારણું રે, ધમ ધમ ધુધરા વાગે (૨)

13. *Garba Songs.* The 'Garba' is a vague term used in several senses. Primarily it denotes an earthen pot *grihadeepa* with numerous holes in it which send off brightly at night the rays of a small lamp placed inside. This pot is placed in a central place and men and women go round this 'garaba' pot singing songs and clapping their hands. The songs sung on this occasion are also called garabas: there are different types of garabas, those in which only females take part specially during the Norata or Navaratra celebrations; there are other types in which both men and women take part striking small sticks (dandia) in their hands, while weaving a pattern in the ropes held by each dancer. There are also songs (garabis) in which only males take part. All these varieties are practiced throughout Gujarat, not only

in cities, but also in towns and villages. This nationwide practice has descended to the Dubla people, and the following variations observed in the tribal community, will be found interesting:—(a) Garaba dances are popular among the Dubla women and especially sung on the day of Shitla Satem, the seventh day of the dark half of Shravan (July-August). In some of the Garabas the Dubla women address their husbands who have gone abroad and request them to return home early.

(b) Some of the Garabas are clearly modern, referring to Mahatma Gandhi and to the independence movement and showing the importance of the spinning wheel in their lives, and expressive of the cultural change that is taking place among the Dublas.

Such songs generally are composed and taught in the Ashram schools run by the voluntary organisations of various Adivasi Mandals in the tribal areas. The constructive work of these Schools has a very wholesome effect on the progress of all Adivasis.

Udato-garbo. A variety of Garba dances seen during the Gheria dance festival during the Norata (Navratri) is worth noting. The Garbo sung while dancing swiftly is known as *udato garbo.* In the following udato garbo the story of Ram and Laxman, when they were in jungle for 14 years, is told with vigour.

Rama and Laxman were both men
Oh Ramaiya Rama
They went to the forest
Oh Ramaiya Rama
They built a hut in the forest
Oh Ramaiya Rama

રામને લખ્મણ બંને ભાયડા
ઓ રામૈયા રામ
હાંરે નીકળ્યા વનડા મોઝાર,
ઓ રામૈયા રામ
હાંરે વનમાં બાંધી એક ઝુંપડી
ઓ રામૈયા રામ,

In the following simple garba, the list of he gods and goddesses which are worshipped by the Dublas, is skillfully woven into a pleasant song.

સોના સરખી રે મ રી વેારાઇઆ, તેને લાગું પાય,
સોના સરખી રે મારી મેલડોમા, તેને લાગું પાય.
સોના સરખી રે મારી ખૂંટાયમાં, તેને લ ગું પાય,
સોના સરખી રે મારી ઉનાઇમા, તેને લાગું પાય.
સોના સરખી રે મારી અંબામા, તેને લાગું પાય,
સોના સરખી રે મારી કાળકામા, તેને લાગું પાય.

Golden one my Veria Mā
Fall I at your feet
Golden one my Meladi Mā
Fall I at your feet
Golden one my Khuntai Mā
Fall I at your feet
Golden one my Unāi Mā
Fall I at your feet
Golden one Oh my Ambā Mā
Fall I at your feet
Golden one Oh my Kalikā Mā
Fall I at your feet

The above is a small but representative collection of Dubla folk songs; a large number and variety of such songs have been recorded on a tape recorder and printed in Journal of Gujerat Research Society Vol. XVIII No. 1 for January 1956.

Chapter XII

THE PLAYFUL DUBLA

The Dublas are not famous for hard work and yet they are not always idle, but spend their spare hours in playing various types of indoor and outdoor games. They play a good number of games, old as well as new, even though some of the old games have completely gone out of favour. Every Dubla hamlet is full of life in the evening, when the children and the youngsters play some game or other. Generally the older boys and the younger children form separate groups. When the youths play a game, the children learn it by copying, e.g. in dancing, the children imitate the movement of the feet of their elders. There are some games in which the Dubla children show their cleverness e.g. climbing the tree, running or swimming. The boys who play marbles or spin the top do not mix with the younger children. The youths engage themselves in playing cards in groups of three four or six persons; and as they grow older they join the men folk. The elderly men have also their own company and they generally sit together in the evenings, chatting with each other about the men and affairs of their group or the village.

2. *The Common Games of the Region:* The acculturation of the Dublas has taken pace in almost every field of social activity, though to a varying degree and their games form no exception. The games such as Kho-Kho, Hu-tu-tu, Atya-patya and Gilli Danda are common to the whole region played by all the Hindus and Muslims. The Dublas have also learnt these games and play them without much variation. This can be verified from a remarkable book on 'Indian Games' printed at Baroda in 1893 at the instance of the Maharaja Sayajirao. The authors, Messrs. Chhaganlal Mody and J. G. Parekh have collected valuable information on the games played throughout Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch.

Yet it is significant of the survival value of the Dubla

culture that it has retained several games which can be attributed to their own tribal culture with pre-Hindu origin. Some of these are described below.

3. *Aan-Pan.* This is a popular game among the Dubla children. In this game, the children of not more than six years of age sit in a circle and put both of their reversed palms flat on the ground. The leader of the children puts his finger on the hands of each of the boys one after the other and while he does it, he recites one of the following words in regular order.

(1) *Ann-Pan;* (2) *Eck Jan bhukhi* (one marriage party was hungry); (3) *Putaliye Jamadi Jan* (a dol fed the party); (4) *Thali laine Uthi* (the party got up with the plates); (5) *Thali man to Kopar* (in the plates there was copra); (6) *Chaya Chhokara Sara Che* (are the children happy); (7) *Tariya, Toja, Manek, Moti* (their names are Taria, Toja, Ruby and Pearl); (8) *Gheeno Kotho Kya Chhe?* (where is the jar containing ghee?).

When the last word kotho is uttered, each child closes his palms and the closed fists are hidden away behind his back. The leader goes on repeating the above words for each of the participants and at the last word each child hides away his fist by keeping it at the back. When all the children have hidden away their hands, the leader questions them as follows:

Q. Rājāji, Rājāji tamarā hath kiyan gaya? (King, where are your hands?)
A. (All the children reply) Thaliman—(in the plate).
Q. Thāli mānthi shun maliyun? (What did you get from the Thali?)
A. (Children reply) Daryo—(water ladle).
Q. Doriya ne shun kidhun? (What did the water-ladle do?)
A. Vadi ae Pani chhantiyun (It sprinkled water over the garden).
Q. Vadie shun āpiyun? (What did the garden give?)
A. Ful—pātri (Flowers and leaves).
Q. Ful pātrine shun kidhun? (What did the flowers and leaves give?)

A. Mandire chadhāvia (they were offered to the Gods in the temple).
Q. Mandire shun āpiyun? (What did the temple give?)
A. Lādavo—Sweet Ball.
Q. Lādavāne shun kidhun? (What did you do with the sweet ball?)
A. *Adhadho me khadho ne aadadho tara mate reva didho; te tari sasu avine khai gaye* (I ate one half, and kept the other half for you but your mother-in-law came and ate it).

The legend seems to be that when a marriage party was being served with food there was a shortage of ghee. When the search was made for this it was traced to a person who by exchange, obtained a sweet ball (laddoo). The search ends in a statement that half the laddoo which was reserved for the party is eaten away by the mother-in-law. So the game ends in a joke of lasting value, and is repeated in respect of each child who gets the opportunity of getting his mother-in-law brought into prominence.

4. *Māmānu Ghar Ketale?* This is another popular game among the Dubla children who play it in the evening, before it becomes dark.

For this game the participants divide themselves into groups of two. One of the children of the pair, fills his hands with dust, and puts a small stick in the dust; the other child closes the former's eyes with his hands and asks him to walk. The latter child whose eyes are closed goes on asking the question: *Māmānu Ghar Ketale?* The child with dust in his hands goes on replying: *"Divo Bale tetale"* i.e., as far as the lamp burns.

The two children walk further for some distance and the one with closed eyes is asked to put down the dust and the stick at some place, and is asked to walk some distance further, with eyes still closed by his partner. When they have gone some distance the hands are removed from the eyes and he is asked to find out the heap of the dust and the stick which he has left some where. If he succeeds in findings out the heap, he is supposed to have won and is let off, and another child takes his place. All the pairs go on

playing like this and the other children who are sitting and watching by the side, derive great enjoyment as the child fumbles out a great deal before he can find out the things deposited by him while his eyes were kept closed down by his partner, who may have made him walk in different directions. If the former fails to find out the heap and the stick, he has again to carry the dust in his hand and walk out about blind-folded, until he proves successful.

5. *Aen-ghen..* This is a mixed game in which both the boys and girls play together. One child sits on the end of a verandha with the legs hanging down. Another child comes near and put his face on the knees of the first child and his eyes are covered by the first child with his fingers. While the child seats thus, the other children one by one come near and place their fingers on his head, while asking the question:

Aen Ghen Diva Ghen.

Tara Manama Kona Chhe? (Who is in your mind?)

The blind-folded child is expected to guess the name and if his guess is correct he becomes free and is replaced by another child. This is repeated till the names of all the finger-putters are correctly guessed. If the second child is not caught, he is allowed to run away and hide himself which makes it difficult to find him or her. If the blind-folded child fails to name any one as the finger-putter, he is allowed to do so after the removal of the blind-fold. This removal is done with the following words:

Dahino Ghodo, Ramato Jamto, Pani Pito Chhutto: (The horse of curdled milk fame, while playing and going about in search of water, is free).

The child runs about quick to trace the missing boy. If this concealed boy is traced, the latter has to take the turn to be blind-folded: until the correct finger-putter is traced, the blind-folded boy has to take another turn at the game.

The children are happy at this simple game. It involves both running and a certain amount of intelligence in tracing the boy, who has put his finger on the blind-folded child.

The above description of the Dubla game observed at

Varad by our investigator Shri J. B. Naik is subject to many local and regional variations. The standard game is authoritatively described by the late Shri Chhaganlal Mody is observed in various cities with 22 different names. The elder leader is called Dahi (curds), while the boy who is blindfolded with a piece of cloth is called the 'horse' of the Dahi. It is this 'horse' who is asked to name the boy who has put his finger on his head: and if he gives the name correctly, the 'horse' of the Dahi is released to be free to run about and drink water. If the name is not given correctly the finger-putter is released and is free.

6. *Atya-Patya.* The game is played by the boys running along the lines marked in an open space in the village. The ground is marked with four horizontal lines along which some children move according to certain recognised rules along the two lines at right angles to each other; other children also move on these lines, and stop the formal progress of the former. The game is described to be common also in the Deccan though Shri C. T. Mody describes 27 varieties of the game practised in South Gujarat, North Gujarat and Saurashtra.

7. *Kālā Kumbhār or Kayadio Kumbhār.* Five or six children—both boys and girls—gather together to play this game. The oldest person assumes the role of a potter (Kumbhar) and round him are seated all the children in a circle. The Kumbhar folds his fingers into a fist and he puts his own right fist over his left. Similarly all the children one after another put the fists over the first till a height of 12 to 14 fists one on the top of the other is reached. Then one by one they begin to say 'Kala Kumbhar Bhai Ketalo Bhar' (Brother Black potter how much height can you bear). The potter replies 'Ek Utar'. And then the child who has asked the question has to take down one of his fists. In this way, every child asks the question twice and goes on taking away his fists from the top of the potters' fists. Turn by turn each child acts as 'Kala Kumbhar Bhai'. The game depicts the work of the potter who after preparing earthen pots usually puts one on the top of the other. Many variations of this game are also practised among the majority community.

8. *O Re Wāgharan.* This game is a parody of the busy Dubla woman who after return from work in the fine fields has her hair dis-shevelled and who appears like a wāgharan —a term of contempt applied to carelessly dressed person fond of loafing about, though it was originally applied to the famous tribe of waghris. All the participants, boys and girls join in this game in two groups, who stand opposite each other. They hold their arms and their fists together and go on asking the following questions, to persons standing on the opposite side. The following is a list of questions noted during one of these games held at Hansapore near Navsari:—

Q. O' Re' Wagharan, when did you come from Navsari?
Q. O' Wagharan, have you brought brinjals? (name of a vegetable)
Q. Have you lighted your hearth?
Q. Have you prepared your rotalie (Jawar cakes) or not?
Q. Have you lighted your Biddi (cigarette) or not? O' re Wagharan.
Q. Have you cleaned your utensils or not?

In this way, the persons on the opposite side go on asking questions which often take the form of pleasant jokes of various interesting types. They also describe the activities of the Dubla womenfolk in the evening or especially after their return from the bazaar place. The questions are asked not necessarily to the person who has returned from the bazaar, but are asked by persons who have stayed at home and who enquire whether the usual duties of the household stand neglected by the visits to the bazaar.

9. *Pānimā Indu: (The Egg in water).* This game is played by the Dubla boys only, during the rainy season, when they go to practise swimming in a pond or a river. Besides the usual competition for swimming, along or across the stream, there is the competition for diving, as well depicted in this game. One of the participants, who becomes the leader shows his fist and asks the others the following questions:

Q. What is this?
A. An egg.
Q. Who breaks it? A. A crow.

Q. Who is the wife of that crow? A. You.

All of them give out the name of the boy who holds the egg in his fist, and they take a deep dive and swim away. The leader pursues them, and whoever is caught has to take his place (dāv). Only a boy with good practice and proficiency will be able to catch another and this game therefore serves as a good training ground for health competition and swimming. The game is prolonged for hours together during the monsoon months when there is nothing else to do.

10. *Pāku Joi Ne Fanas Māngyu* (asked for a ripe jack fruit). In this game the children stand in a circle holding together each other's hands. A boy stands in the middle of the circle and is called the 'king'. Other boy stands outside the circle and is called the thief. The king is the protector of the children whom the thief wants to take away on some pretext or another. The game begins by asking some questions, and the king replies as follows:

Thief: Rajaji, Rajaji, open the door.

King: Who are you?

Thief: I am a black thief.

King: Why have you come at night?

Thief: An old woman has fallen from the sky. She brushed her teeth with a bone. She used leather piece as napkin, and has ordered me to bring ripe jack fruit.

King: I have just sowed the seed of the jack-fruit.

After a few minutes the same conversation between the king and the thief is repeated. The king replies:

Now the seedlings have just come out.

Again the thief asks for ripe jack fruit. The king replies that the tree has borne the fruits but they are not ripe. After a few moments the thief again asks for the ripe jack fruit. The king replies "now the fruits have become ripe and are as big as pots of water". The thief then puts his fingers on the heads of the children standing in the circle, and takes them away one by one as if each was a ripe jack fruit. He asks them to sit in a line and pretends to give them rice and buttermilk to eat. When these are being served, the child asks, "from where have you brought the buttermilk?" The thief replies, "from the old woman who is a witch or a

Vantri". Hearing the answer they become angry with the thief and want to punish him: but he runs away and the boys become free to play the game again. This is a simple story describing a life of adventure and encounter with persons like a king or sorcerer woman—both of whom are unusual in the life of the ordinary Dubla.

11. *The Water Music.* There is another game played during monsoon months which appears to be peculiar to the Dublas. It is the play of music in water. In the moist ground near the river beds, where he has to frequently go to tend the cattle, the Dubla boy sticks two bamboo sticks, a vertical one and the other at an angle. The hollow sticks contain variable quantities of water. The boy makes noise at one of the ends either by splashing his hand at the surface of water or his blowing gently on the top so as to make a musical sound of varying grades. Each boy in the neighbourhood makes serious efforts to improve the quality of his music and to attract the boys and girls who tend cattle in the neighbourhood.

Chapter XIII

ECONOMIC LIFE

Economic vs. cultural forces. The economic life of a tribal community presents special features which are peculiar to primitive societies. As Herkovits puts it, "economic factors have to function in a cultural matrix" and thus culture is more important than either economic determinism or environmental association. Economic laws of demand and supply, the conception of the economic man, and the efforts needed in modern society to obtain efficiency by choosing the best and most economical method—all these lose their importance in primitive or non-literary societies. Similarly environmental determinism fails before the forces of culture and values working in a primitive society. The economic behaviour of the tribes of Chodhras, Dhodias, Dublas, Naikas and Gamits—all living in approximately similar environmental conditions, have different forms of culture and enjoy the economic advantages of their collective position in a manner peculiar to each group. The expenditure on marriage or death ceremonies, made compulsory for the display, status, and prestige of a group or an individual, does not necessarily bring to primitive societies, an increased effort for work or for saving. This position is dictated also by the nutritional status which depends upon the food available under the mores and customs; if the quality of food is poor, or the quantity insufficient there is little scope for increased effort to work more, produce more, and to live better.

2. *Social Mobility.* The forces of social mobility that are responsible for great changes in the West are absent in primitive societies. Sometimes the desire to increase the income is frustrated by the absence of any additional or subsidiary employment locally or by the unwillingness to shift or migrate. It is a singular feature of the American culture that economising is so thoughtfully carried out that to secure "efficiency" in income, a family does not hesitate to sell off

a house and settle into a new one for the sake of a more profitable employment. But in India, the house (or the village) and the home have such attractions that even after spending years out of Gujarat in different parts of India or even of Asia, Africa or Europe, an Indian will come back to his village and develop his own home. This constant attachment to the ancestral home, is an unusual feature of the culture ingrained in India and specially among the tribal people. The Santal who works on the Tea estates of Assam is anxious to return to his home after he save enough. Similarly a Dubla or Gamit may migrate to big cities but will be anxious to have a house of his own in the village. On the other hand, the primitive mind is responsible for the abandonment of the house or houses or a colony because of a death or an epidemic or on the suspicion of a witch or a godling bent upon doing harm; yet if the causes of suspicion or fear are removed either by magic, ritual or other forms of assurance, the tribals may return to their old home or estate. An example of attachment to old envionment was mentioned by the honorary organiser of tribal welfare in Madhya Pradesh; his department had, at the cost of the Government and with the consent of the tribal group, arranged for a new colony settlement with plenty of land, water and new huts; but at the last moment the group refused to enter the special train to be sent to their new desination!

Another example is known of Varlis living at Kashi-Mira village near Borivli (22 miles from Bombay City). They had been shifted successfully to a new colony of huts with a kitchen garden, verandah and a compound and given occupation on neighbouring agricultural land. They lived for nearly 10 years under the supervising guidance of a Social worker whom they venerated as Guruji. But suddenly there was an epidemic of sickness and the toll of death was heavy; the whole group suddenly returned back to their old abandoned huts, repaired them and lived in happiness and contentment in their dark, dingy but ancestral huts sanctified by the blessings of their local Bhagat. When I interviewed them after the changeover, they were happy and had no illwill even for the loss of the possession of their

modern huts in which they had lived for nearly 10 years and for which they had worked and paid towards the cost. They preferred freedom from fear of the supernatural to the better and more sanitary housing conditions, even though they involved less time in reaching their place of work. Thus economic considerations play a restricted part among the primitive people, as their social behaviour is seldom governed by pure economic factors.

3. *Social forces.* That social mores and customs affect the economic life can also be appreciated in other directions also. There is a common observation among the land-owning farmers that the physical efficiency of the different tribal groups in Surat district varies, the Dubla who is perhaps the most numerous but backward group, turns out only half the work of a Chodra landless labourer while the Kathiawari labourer, imported for the busy agricultural seasons, turns out the work of four Dubla labourers. This may be partly due to the physical stamina but more to the cultural pattern which favours efficiency and higher earning by means of concentrated and continuous effort in the case of the more efficient labourer. It is further assumed that the Dubla having lived the life of a Hali (economic serf) for centuries, has lost the spirit of initiative and effort observable in other aboriginal groups in the same area.

4. *Co-operation of Anthropology, Economics and Psychology.* The deep interdependence of the study of tribal groups jointly by the economists and anthropologists and psychologists should be now clear. The observations of economists if made without the study of complete cultural patterns of a primitive non-literate society, would prove a complete failure even though this may be permissible in a modern industrial society where economic efforts at efficiency and progress are unhampered by ancient mores and prejudices. At the same time the indifference of cultural anthropologists to economic considerations and of any attempt to isolate the cultural factors from psychological, economic and social considerations would be equally disastrous; for, a proper evaluation of any society, and much more so in the case of non-literate, non-industrial, primitive societies, the complete

study of culture as a whole taking all aspects from various points of view is essential. Neither economists nor sociologists or anthropologists or psychologists can work *in vacuo* but the investigator must have the wide sympathetic and integral outlook of a social scientist.

5. *General Conditions.* The bulk of Dublas are landless labourers, some of whom have been treated as domestic *serfs* till officially liberated in 1949; they have been long living a sub-human existence and their economic condition has been one of the lowest type. A visit to their village huts, made of wattel and bamboo sticks with a cow-dung plaster with walls so low that one can hardly walk straight inside the hut, will convince a casual visitor of the poverty and helplessness that surround their daily life. Their annual average earnings in the case of landless labourers scarcely reaches the figure of Rs. 200/- secured on at most 200 working days per year.

Their food is poor and they live on or below the margin of subsistence. Their dress is limited to the minimum, though they can dress in coloured attire on festive occasions. Their life is covered by superstition and constant fear of the dead and the supernatural. Economic dependance upon the master-farmer for generations, has created an attitude of indigence and indifference and of uncertainty and lack of will,—all of which are reflected in their daily life.

6. *Economic History.* The economic history of the Surat district gives some glimpses of the original Hali system of cultivation generally followed among the Dubla and other tribal people in that District. The Bombay Government Gazetteer for Surat and Broach Districts (1877) mentioned that the tribal population of Surat District represented about 33 per cent of the total population; out of this there were a few (1) small landholders, (2) Independent labourers and heriditary servants (halis). The conditions of all the three groups was described in 1859 to be "wretched in the extreme". The same book at page 62 also states that "a most marked feature of the cultivation of Surat is the striking contrast between the village of the Ujli or fair and the Kali or dark cultivators. The agriculture of the dark races is of

the rudest description. They grow only the coarsest kinds of grain, *Kodra* (Pasupalum serobiculatrem) and Nagli (Elusine coracana), seldom millet or wheat. They have no tools, for weeding or clearing the fields, and when the seed is sown they leave their fields, never returning till after three or four months when the time for harvest draws near. Meanwhile wild mint and other weeds have been growing apace, and at harvest time make more show in the field than the crop. When the early or kharif harvest is over in October-November, they barter grain for supplies or liquor. They possess little or no agricultural stock and are the only people who use the male buffalo for ploughing or for drawing carts."

These tribal people originally practiced the "slash and burn" method of cultivation described locally as *Daziu,* and which required no implements like the plough; they had to learn the modern methods of agriculture like ploughing, sowing, weeding, harvesting. Those who owned land had to come into contact with merchants or bigger landowners. The latter always dealt with the cultivators with an iron-hand and a ruthless heart. The independent tribal who had recovered the soil by cutting and burning the forest began to depend upon the money lender as soon as he changed from Daziu cultivation to fixed farming, as the latter required capital for ploughs, manure, the hut and the farm.

There is evidence in some localities that the land, which originally belonged to the tribal cultivators, got transferred to the names of the Desais, and others who became farmers of land revenue under the Mughal and Maratha systems of land tenure. The constant borrowing necessary for agricultural and domestic purposes, made the non-literate tribal dependant upon the moneylender. Sometimes, there was a partnership but the treatment always verged on a kind of slavery or serfdom with varying degrees of hardship. The Dublas by their soft nature, easygoing and subordinate temperament reached the stage of serfdom—the earliest and in largest numbers.

The cultivator was at that time described as a prey to the moneylender, who ate away the hard earned fruits of his

labour. "The very seed he sows is often not his own, and the rates of interest he has to pay leave him with only a mere subsistence of coarsest grain". In 1869, the settlement officer had found that "In Pardi, even the better class of the aboriginal tribes rarely tasted rice, subsisted almost entirely on the coarsest and cheapest grains supplemented by large draughts of liquor." "Even the cheap grains generally fail before June, so that they are compelled to beg from the moneylender seed and food to suffice till the next harvest, when the loan has to be returned with fifty per cent more grain. Anything the moneylender does not take away, goes to the liquor-seller. The situation became worse when the liquor-seller and money-lenders functions were combined as in the case of the Parsi landlords in Navsari taluka. They used to encourage the Dublas to drink by provision of free credit and thus their indebtedness and economic serfdom became more intensive. There were occasional disturbances on account of the liquor traffic and the Shuddhi movement which in 1922 originated in West Khandesh and percolated to Vyara Taluka, took an ugly turn requiring strong action on the part of the ruling authorities. The tribal people refused to cultivate the land of the Parsi landlords until relief was given from the indebtedness caused by the forced easy drinks.

7. *Land Tenure.* In the history of land tenure all over India during the period when the Adivasis were the original tillers of the soil, we find that they had acquired a right over the land which they had recovered themselves from the forest by cutting the trees and levelling the ground; but there were two factors which militated against their being the first official owners of the land. They liked the slash and burn method—the Podu cultivation—*the Daziu Khetar*—(burn and sow field) they wanted to shift from land to land which did not require ploughing; they had nomadic habits and were ever willing to change over from an old farm, if it gave the least suspicion of being haunted by an evil spirit. Secondly, even when they settled down in a village and took to fixed cultivation, their economic resources were soon exhausted and they had to borrow in cash or kind for

their agricultural operations; the land (whatever they were able to secure) got mortgaged and transferred to the moneylender. The present day Dubla is without land either for his livelihood by cultivation or for building his hut. Our survey of Dubla families has brought to light a few small landlords from among them but their land is very small in area and wanting in fertility. The Dubla has been deprived of his land for two reasons. Firstly, of his own poverty, improvidence and inability to overcome the drink habit and secondly the rapacity and the avarice of the moneylender, from whose clutches he never gets relieved.

The land tenure system is the most important factor in the economic life of a community and the poverty of the Dublas is connected with the land revenue system in the Dublaland specially in Broach and Surat districts where the soil is the richest. In ancient Hindu India, the revenue collections were directly undertaken by Government through its village servants (analogous to the modern Patel), mostly by the taking a share of the produce. All land, not owned by the ruling power, used to belong to the village as a whole, and the village economy was also based on payment in kind and barter where possible. Village servants were also paid in kind and the land owner who collected the crops in kind from the farmer became also the distributor of seeds and advances till the next crop. As long as the village remained a peaceful unit undisturbed by the depradations of the invaders and looters, little change was necessary.

8. *Deshaigiri and Hali System.* During the political disturbances in the early eighteenth century and during the slackness of administration following the disturbed state of the country, the land revenue system was slack and inefficient. Parts of Gujarat with fixed land revenue system were described peaceful (Rasti) and the rest as troubled (Mehwasi). Local disturbances were caused by Koli freebooters and some Rajput chiefs either as adventurers or *baharvatias* (outlaws). In the absence of a strong central power, these intermediary soldiers became ruling chiefs and gave protection to villages and began the collection of the land revenue. This even-

tually led to the revenue farming system which came to be practised on an increasing scale, when the Maratha system of levying *chauth* and other collections, without making a permanent stay with the people, was adopted. The creation of a new superior class of land revenue collectors, *Deshais* analogous to *Deshmukhs,* in addition to the rajput and garasia rulers became an inevitable adjunct of a system of administration when the rulers did not live on the soil. The villages were farmed out to the Deshais, who belonged to various communities, Anavils, Patidars, Banias and Parsees, and who were considered as holders of the Desh. It was their duty to collect the land revenue and to remit the appropriate amount to the Maratha overlords. The villages and the other territories were administered by the Rajput or garasia landlords who levied also their own impositions on the cultivators. The Deshais got a stronghold on the actual cultivators who began to regard him as the arbiter of their fortunes.

The cash levies of the Marathas made the cultivator dependent upon the Deshai also for the cash required for these levies at short notice. He thus went under his control to an increasing extent under the cash levy system, which ruined the independence of the agriculturist. The Deshai, who came to be called Desai, used at that time to maintain two or even three hundred Halis for cultivating his land and became a prosperous and influential landlord.

There was no individual record of rights and it appears that most of the actual cultivators gradually became landless labourers under the pressure of the moneylender. The rights of the tenants were not recognised; the cultivators were in constant need of money for their cultivation expenses.

Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, the atmosphere of political insecurity ruined the agriculturist. The constant factions in the political world, the depredations of the wild tribes, Bhils, Naikdas, Pindarees and Waghris and the weakening powers of the Mughal emperors from Delhi and the Sultans of Gujarat and even the conflicts between the troops of the Peshwas and the Gaikwars, and the constant cash demands on the occasion of every raid made the farmer

poorer and resourceless. The farmer became a landless labourer, increasingly dependant upon the moneyed landholder, who took away the crops, and though he gave help in loan of seeds, and in the purchases of implements and bullocks, his total charges were always high. The position of the Dubla, who had by then become both socially and economically dependant upon the landed classes, became worse and he had to rely upon the proprietor for his daily food as well as dress and housing. He had no land on which he could build his house; so that he usually built a temporary structure on the owner's land and was subject to threats of eviction if he did not behave properly. The scale of the wages was determined not by the cost of living but by the wish of the farmers who naturally formed a strong and self-sufficient group against whose rapacity and selfishness there was no remedy, no appeal, no redress.

By a slow process of economic exploitation, the resourceless Dubla was thus driven to the position of a Hali; he remained attached to his landowner—the master Dhaniama and to the field and his hut; his habits of periodical idleness caused also by the uncontrolled drinking, and his lack of literacy and education made him a "Serf". As long as he was indebted, he remained a Serf and could be transferred or sold to a new Dhaniama or owner with the balance of his "debt", which seldom got decreased or cleared till his death. The complete economic dependence in its trail, social slavery and poverty, the avarice and the selfishness of the money lender remained uncontrolled till Mahatma Gandhi and his band of social workers, brought new light and strength to the Dublas in 1923. Not only the ordinary farmer *(ujliparaj)* who was unable to pay the land revenue in famine year but the tribal population (*raniparaj*) who was grinding under the evils of poverty, indebtedness and drink received the attention of the patriotic social workers for the first time. During the Bardoli Satyagraha movement, the Halis of that Taluka received the special attention of Mahatma Gandhi, and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, through the untiring efforts of Thakkar Bapa. The stigma of serfdom was removed and the *halis* were christened by Gandhiji as *halapatis*. A mini-

mum wage was fixed at a joint meeting of the *halis* and their masters known as Dhaniamas. In subsequent years the Hali system has received the attention both of the people and of Government. The Hali system is abolished officially[1] and yet the rigors of the old feudal ideas underlying the system are still persisting. Our study of the Dubla tribe has convinced us that all Dublas are not Halis and all Halis are not Dublas, that the Hali system is not an essential feature of the Dubla or tribal culture, that the system is practised by the landlords of mainly the Surat District owing to peculiar economic and ecological factors prevailing there and that Halis are found also among Dhodias, Naikas, Gamits and also among Kolis. This will also be clear from the following paragraphs which describe the salient features of the economic life of the Dublas, one of which is that the occupation pattern of te Halis takes but a small space in the structure of the Dubla economic life.

9. *The Dubla Family* (a) *Size.* The Dubla is an affectionate, kind and indulgent father devoted to his family and it is round this family that the economic and social life of the community revolves. The economic conditions do not permit large families. The 156 Dubla families under survey consisted of 807 members and the average size of the Dubla family comes to 5.2. The further analysis indicates that the average size of the rural families is larger than that of the families living in the urban areas, being 5.4 as compared with 4.2 in urban areas. It is significant that the size of the family noted during our survey is larger than that reported for the whole of old Bombay Province 5.04, and for the Gujarat region 4.6[2]. Thus Dublas cannot be said to suffer either from non-fertility or over population as compared with the general population.

(b) *Type of the family (Joint or Single).* It is observed that parents stay with the family in the rural areas; while only the younger working members migrate to the urban areas. The larger size of the family in rural areas is evidently accompanied by the wider prevalence of joint families. 33.9% of rural families are joint in nature while in urban areas a smaller number of the families prefer to live under

a joint roof.

(c) *Children in the family.* The number of male adults, female adults and children per family is 1.6, 1.4 and 2.2 respectively, but the analysis of 47 families living in urban areas shows that the number of males, females and children per Dubla family come to 1.5, 1.3 and 1.7 respectively. There is no great difference so far as the average of the ratio of men and women are concerned, in rural and urban areas; but the number of children per family is less in urban areas for obvious reasons.

(d) The pattern of family life is shifting from the joint family which is getting less popular, and less frequent. Among Dublas, like other tribes, marriage take place at a mature age and the new wife is expected to live separately even in the same hut. Our analysis indicates that majority of the families both in rural and urban areas, are elementary or single. 66.1% of the rural families and 71.9% of the urban families and 67.3% of the total families investigated are elementary. The average size of the elementary family comes to 4.6 persons and that of joint family is 6.4. The number of joint families in the rural areas is more than that of the joint families living in the cities and in the urban areas round about Surat and other cities. This may be due to the fact already mentioned that the parents are unable or unwilling to go with their married children to the urban areas and to change over from the quiet life of field work or agricultural labour attached to his ancient hamlet.

(e) *Sex-Ratio among Dublas.* The sex ratio as judged by the number of females, is rather low among Dublas. In the 69 Dubla families for which reliable data are available, there were 156 females to 181 males i.e., 860 females to 1000 males. This figure is very much below that for the Surat District and for India. The number of females per 1000 males in 1955 was:—

Surat District:	...	...	990
All-India:	...	...	947
Dubla:	...	...	860

The number of women among Dublas is thus smaller than that of men; this scarcity is responsible for many social

features noticed among them. Girls are not forced into marriage at a very early age and premarriage liberty is not unknown. The bride-price remains high and there are no signs of reduction. Even though she may suffer from the disabilities usually attached to woman in the group and she may have periods of hard domestic work, the Dubla woman is no longer subject to the hardships of the Hindu joint family life. From para 14 (e) below, it will be clear that the percentage of workers among the Dubla families surveyed by us is much higher in the case of males as compared with the females, who thus have easier time at home.

(f) The scarcity of woman leads to the persistence of the ancient custom of *Khandhodia,* where a son-in-law who cannot pay the expected bride-price has to serve the father-in-law and work for the same, while staying in his house with the bride; the bride can turn out the probationary husband if he does not suit her. Though divorce and widow re-marriage are also common and the woman gets a sympathetic consideration during divorce proceedings if she is not the guilty party. On the whole the position of woman, generally speaking is not pitiable. One finds a young Dubla belle fairly well-dressed in urban areas with her coiffure well-attended to with hair-pins; she puts on dress similar to that used by women of similar economic position among the major communities. The educated girls in the various Ashram schools attain a fairly high standard of education in the schools courses, in the art of cooking and house management and also in music and dancing. With increased standards of housing and nutrition, of employment and income, and of more widespread education—the economic life of the Dubla is bound to improve further.

10. *The eight occupational groups.* The Dubla families surveyed by us have been divided into eight occupational groups for the purpose of our study. These groups mainly follow the general classification adopted in the census statistics and are (i) *Land-owning group* which is supposed to be the most well off. (ii) *Tenants* whose responsibility is limited to their tendency and who have not the larger responsibility of maintaining the property consisting of land, cart,

cattle, etc. (iii) *Hali labourers,* a class of serfs who have received great attention on account of their poverty and ill-treatment. (iv) *Landless labourers* classed as farm or agricultural labourers. (v) *Non-farm labourers* employed in building or road-making, digging, load-lifting or other work and put as a special class. (vi) *The artisans* from the Dubla community working as carpenters, blacksmiths or masons, either independently or as assistants who have been placed into another group. (vii) *Those employed in factories* usually have regular employment throughout the year and form separate class. (viii) The last group is of *other workers* e.g. domestic servants with semi-literate qualifications, as teachers, peons, and postmen.

As stated in para 8 above, all Dublas are not Halis or Halapatis either now, nor were they all Halis at any time in the past. The Hali practice is also followed by other tribal populations viz. Chodhras, Dhodias, Naikas and Gamits and some Bhils. This point is separately dealt with elsewhere in the book but is useful to recognise that even the Hali Enquiry Committee of 1948 did not mention more than 17000 Halis familes, even though the total population of Dublas was much higher. The system has been apparently dictated by mere economic factors rather than an inherent feature of the tribal culture. It should be emphasised that the general attitude of Dublas, even those who are not or were not Halis, is generally one of quiet obedience based on the sense of fear, and diffidence. Only among those who are educated or those who have come into contact with social workers of the various Sevashrams, a sense of independence and self-reliance is visible.

11. On comparing the total *average annual income* of the eight classes of occupational groups, the factory labourer group comes first with an average annual income of Rs. 920.3 and the Hali labourers with an income of Rs. 411.7 come second. In all cases the total income is derived partly from the main occupation and partly from a subsidiary occupation as well as seen from columns in table No. 5.

(b) Taking a gross average of all the 156 families, the average total income per family is Rs. 491.25 per annum

Out of these 156 families, only 26 i.e. 16.6% have an additional income of Rs. 173/- per annum from subsidiary occupations.

(c) Out of 26 Dubla Hali families only two families have been able to secure *subsidiary occupations during the period of unemployment in fair season* and the average annual income of these two families from subsidiary occupations comes to Rs. 197.5. Nine families out of 66 families of casual agricultural labourers are able to get on an average only Rs. 133.3 per annum. Evidently the Hali families still wield some influence and are able to get subsidiary occupations of a more remunerative type.

(d) Out of these eight occupational groups, only two families of the *tenants' group* derive their income from the main agricultural occupation and their total average annual income comes to Rs. 574. There are two Dublas families falling in the *land owner group* earning Rs. 1017 annually i.e. the average annual income per family comes to 508.5. Out of these two land holding families, one gets a further average annual income of Rs. 180/- more from subsidiary occupations.

12. *The income in urban areas* is naturally higher than that in rural areas. The average income in rural areas is Rs. 404.6 while in urban areas it is more than double viz. Rs. 827/-. The life in urban areas is generally more expensive and the higher income may not lead to any savings, except in the case of the thrifty and cautious families. 31 out of 32 families in urban areas have incomes above Rs. 401/- per annum and out of these as many as seven families have income exceeding Rs. 1000/- per annum. *In rural areas*, however, only two families have been able to touch the income of above Rs. 1000/- and as many as 163 out of 222 i.e. 73.5% have their income below Rs. 300/- per annum, while twelve families have an income much below Rs. 200/- per annum.

The special significance of this data arises not from the variability of the income, but from the point of view of the earning capacty of the Dubla when he is placed in comparatively difficult jobs in urban areas. They can secure the

required ability to earn a higher wage and a capacity for regular and sustained effort necessary in jobs requiring continuous and regular work.

From the above, the following conclusions of a general nature may be arrived at regarding the income of the Dublas:—

(i) *The highest income* is obtained not from agriculture but from *industrial labour*. The factory labourer has not only the advantage of continuous employment throughout the year but also has been able to secure the benefit of subsidiary occupations. Their total average income is Rs. 920 per annum.

(ii) Next comes the category known as *"Other Workers"* who are evidently employed neither on agriculture nor in factories, but in other miscellaneous work. They earn about Rs. 819.6 on an average.

(iii) The next important category is the *"artisan"* who not only gains a fairly good general income of Rs. 523 per annum, but also gets a secondary income which raises his total average income to Rs. 636 per annum.

(iv) Next comes the *non-agricultural labourer* whose average income is Rs. 433 per annum. He is able to compete in the best market owing to the great mobility he secures by being unattached to any land; he is also able to migrate to areas where there is greater demand for such labour. In his dealings with his employer he does not suffer from the inferiority-complex or the traditional sense of fear and helplessness that seriously affects the hali labourer.

13. *The hali labourer* is, however, not such a complete failure in his economic efforts as may be thought by some. Our study of the hali families situated in different areas gives a fair sample of the economic status of these "hali serfs". Whatever may have been the position of these halis in 1937-38 when their status was first brought to light by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the social change that has taken place since the report of the Hali Enquiry Committee in 1948, and the abolition of the Hali system (*vide* Press Note at the end of this chapter) their economic condition has greatly improved. The minimum wage of one rupee per day, especially

given by the tribal forest co-operative societies, has been the usual expectation, even though in individual bargaining, the Dubla may lose owing to uncertain factors like variation in the quantum of work or in prices of commodities. The average income of Rs. 396 per family of about 2.5 persons is not very high in absolute terms but as compared to that of the casual agricultural labourers who secure only Rs. 332, the Hali is definitely better off. Further in these calculations of Hali income, the food secured by the wife (as *vasidi* domestic servant) and the boy (*gowalia*) is purposely not brought into the calculations in our tables.

At the same time, it must be recognised that the treatment of the Halis has improved to a considerable extent in recent years. Since Independence, the sense of self-respect of every Indian has risen high and even the ignorant villager and tribesman, if unfairly treated, lodge their protest. Cases are known where the Dubla Hali has to be entreated to join his work every morning by the Dhaniamā sending to his hut the morning pot or *loti* of tea duly prepared and ready for consumption. With growing scarcity of labour, and increasing sense of self-respect, the Halis' economic condition has undergone great improvement, specially because the masterfarmer has learnt the art of being more considerate and liberal, simply because he cannot get any other constant source of labour during periods of heavy strain of seasonal work in agriculture.

On the whole, the present voluntary Hali system, if followed with sympathy and consideration, is of mutual advantage both to the farmer owner and to the landless labourer. The voluntary system is followed not only among the Dublas who are economically and socially watchful but also among other tribal populations of Gujarat, e.g. Bhils of Panchmahals and Rajpipla, Dhodias, Chodhras, and Gamits of Surat district. The system is not prevalent in other districts like Kaira and Ahmedabad probably because of the greater density of population there and partly because the farmer in that area personally takes part in the labour operations. Now that the Hali system is officially abolished and the tension caused by forced labour conditions is being

relaxed, the Dubla is rising up slowly in social and economic status. The system, if prevalent, secures continuity of employment to the landless labourer and obtains for the employer a fairly reliable set of labourers available throughout the year. In cases where the wages are low or uneconomic, the pressure of social workers and the execution of community project works and national extension projects tend to raise the wages. On the whole it may be safely said that during the last twenty years the rigours of the hali system have been greatly relaxed. Occasional cases of hardship and coercion are still noticed in those areas where the isolated Dubla families are not supported by either the joint action of a co-operative society or where the benefit of the advice and protection of social workers are not available. Even the most ardent opponents of the Hali practice would not mind its continuance, if it was voluntary and the conditions of service were laid down in a formal service note or agreement.

With the growing expansion of small scale and cottage industries, employment is being brought nearer to the home of the Dubla, and if he recovers from the so called lethargy and spirit of idleness, and responds to modern conditions of regular and steady work, his economic condition is bound to improve.

14. *Earners and Dependents in Dubla Families.* (Table No. 7) (a) Out of 807 members of the Dublas surveyed, there were 252 males, 221 females and 334 children. The average number of males, females and children are shown as 1.6, 1.4 and 2.2 respectively, the average size of the family being 5.2. There are 227 males, 131 females and 27 children thereby making the total of 385 earners; 59 per cent of the males, 34 per cent of the females and 7 per cent of the children contribute to the family earnings in some way or other.

(b) Most of the Dublas in the families surveyed work as labourers e.g. as casual agricultural labourers or Halis or non-farm labourers or as artisans. In these categories, more than 50% of the females is engaged as *Vasidi* or house-cleaner maid-servant, agricultural labourer, begari, or manual labourer or factory worker. About 40.7 per cent

of the woman-folk remains unemployed either because of the household duties or the children or because of the difficulty in getting suitable jobs in the villages, either in fair or monsoon seasons.

(c) So far as the children are concerned, only 27 i.e. 8.1% out of the total of 334 children are engaged as shepherd boys, house-servant or manual labourers in the fields and houses. They remain self-sufficient and help their parents in the maintenance of their family. It is also observed from the table No. 7 that the average number of dependents per family comes to 2.7 which is more than that of earners by 0.2. In spite of the low percentage of children as wage earners, the children are not regular at attending the free primary schools available in the neighbourhood. On the contrary, Dubla boys and girls stay at home on the pretext of looking after their younger brothers and sisters, or whileaway their time in loitering, playing, or sitting idle.

(d) It is surprising that the Dubla women and children do not help in productive work to the extent that other communities do as shown by the following figures:—

	Number out of 100 members.	
	Workers	Dependents.
General population[3]	53	47
Dubla general:	48	52
Dubla Male:	90	10
Dubla Female:	59	41

(e) In the villages of Bombay State, the dependents in the rural labourer group constituted 47.1 per cent of the population out of which 38.1 per cent were children. In the case of Dublas 91.9 per cent of the children are dependents while 41 per cent of females do not work and are dependents. In case of the males, however, most of them work leaving only 10 per cent as dependents, mostly owing to old age or physical inability. This follows the general tendency of leniency towards woman which is observed throughout the

3. Rural Man-power and Occupational Structure—Agricultural Labour Enquiry conducted by Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

region of Gujarat.

In all zones of Bombay State the Gujarat Zone had the highest percentage of women dependents (9.5) and the lowest percentage of women helpers (14.6). This was presumably because the man power needs of Gujarat Zone which has the largest percentage of non-agricultural families were not as high as the needs of other zones having larger percentage of agricultural families.

15. *Trends of Employment:* There is ample evidence to indicate the main feature of the employment pattern among the rural as well as the urban sections of the Dubla population investgated by us. There is not sufficient employment in the villages throughout the year and there is a large manpower that awaits utilization either for village or cottage industries.

i) *Rural Areas:* (a) In rural areas more than 75% of the Dubla families belonging to the land owner, tenant and Hali labourer groups get employment for more than 10 months in the year.

(b) On the other hand, only 18.2 per cent of the casual agricultural labourer group, 29 per cent of the nonfarm labourer class, and 20.5 per cent of the artisan class get employment for about 10 months in the year i.e. 70 to 80 per cent of the people do not get continuous work throughout the year. *Vide* Table No. 8.

(c) The families of these occupational groups do not get employment for a period of more than 100 days in the case of 20 per cent i.e., one fifth of this population scarcely get employment for more than 100 days and remain unemployed for 200 days in a year.

(d) This survey strengthens the general opinion that the villagers suffer from want of occupation and this also affects the Dubla families. With limited avenues of work open to them, their scale of income is also low. They need to be given more opportunity for work and also training to lead a life of more continuous effort. The groups that have led a life of ease and idleness do not easily take to more strenuous ways, so that economic changes have to be accompanied by socio-cultural adjustment.

ii) *Trends of Employment in Urban Areas. Factory Employees.* In the case of urban areas, the general pattern of employment covers a period of ten months i.e., 300 days after excluding 52 Sundays and other holidays. About 62 per cent of earners belonging to the factory labour groups thus get employment for 10 months a year.

Some of the factory employees in the Dubla groups are not able to get a continuous employment and 4.8 per cent get employment only for less than 100 days in a year.

That factory employment is more or less full employment is well established by the data in a special table 40.5% of the total Dubla earners surveyed by us get employment for more than 300 days, a large proportion viz. 59.5% get employment for varying periods between 101 and 300 days but as many as 20% get employment for less than one hundred days a year.

16. *Land Holding Dubla Families.* The Dubla population is at present without land and most of the Dublas are landless labourers. A critical examination of the 156 families has discovered only 13 families who owned some land. The average size of these holdings was only 5.10 wighas. The land was not in their possession for long, having been recently acquired by service or Veth e.g. by working as the water suppliers at the village *Parab*—water booth.

Analysing further, we find that the thirteen families hold among themselves only 70.5 wighas of arable land and 9.10 wighas of garden land while the average of each kind of land per family comes to 2.9 and 1.38 wighas respectively and the average size of the holding comes to 5.10 wighas per family. These holdings are very small even for supporting a family and are very insignificant as compared with the average size of holdings. In 1951 the average size of the holding of the agricultural labour family in the Bombay State was 9.66 acres. The holdings of the agricultural workers were the smallest with an average size of 3.72 acres as against 4.6 for non-agriculturists 11.69 for agriculturist

* Government of India, Ministry of Agricultural Labour Enquiry pp. 81 Chapter V, Bombay State.

landowners and 8.76 acres for tenants.

Our analysis also shows that these 13 land-owning Dubla families paid Rs. 146 as land revenue every year i.e. an average land revenue per family comes to Rs. 11-4-3 out of the land income of Rs. 272/- per land. The two tenant families have to pay Rs. 130/- annually as land rent for 8.35 wighas of land to their landlord. There are two families one from the tenant and another from the artisan group cultivating 3.20 wighas and 4.0 wighas of land on tenancy basis while one family from the artisan group cultivates 14 wighas of land on the share-basis. *Vide* Table No. 11.

It is also observed that 4 families belonging to the tenant and artisan groups cultivated 26-35 wighas of land belonging to the landlords. Two of the 4 Dubla families cultivating 33.30 wighas of government land are vethias or compulsory government village servants who had been given 26.0 wighas of government land and one Dubla family of the casual agricultural labourer group is given 2-20 wighas of government land for cultivation for the services rendered by him at the Parab by serving free water to the travellers and pilgrims in the village and the fourth one has been granted 5-10 wighas of land belonging to private landlords are cultivated by 5 families including 2 of the tenants and 3 families of the Artisan groups. The few land-owning Dubla families noticed in our survey in Rural Areas of different talukas are shown below:—

Occupation group	No. of families	Village	Taluka
Land owner	1	Godadha	Valod
-do-	1	Orwad	Pardi
Tenant	1	Valod	Pardi
Tenant	1	Orwad	Valod
Hali labourer	1	Kadoli	Navsari
Casual Agri-labourer	1	Panada	Bardoli
Casual Agri-labourer	1	Katurbarda	Dharampur
Non-farm labourer	1	Kadoli	Navsari
Artisans	2	Katurbarda	Dharampur
-do-	2	Asura	Dharampur
Other workers	1	Bajipura	Bardoli
Total	13		

The total income from the land for the 13 families gives an average of Rs. 272/- per family per annum; and taking the total income per wigha it comes to roughly Rs. 500/- on an average. The income varies with the nature of the land, and the small income of Rs. 23 per wigha per land in the case of the two land-owning families was from waste land acquired by Government service. It is significant that the income from land per wigha is seldom above Rs. 450 per annum whereas in one case it was as low as Rs. 60 per wigha. The grant of land alone is therefore not a reliable and definite method of securing economic self-sufficiency for tribal people.

The number of *tenant Dublas* is very small and our survey shows two or three families out of 156 families. The New Land Reforms which came into force from 1st April 1957 give the tenant the right to become the owner of the land; but the landless tiller of the soil like the Dubla, has ordinarily no chance to become the owner of the land even though he may have tilled the same soil for the whole life time of himself and even that of his father. The chances of a Dubla becoming the owner of the land are quicker in the case of the Bhudan movement of Shri Vinobaji Bhave. The available land donated for this purpose is divided equally among the people who have no land, the Dubla is likely to get his pro-rata share. He will also get a due proportion of the help regarding seeds, implement, bullocks etc. by way of Shramdan and Sampatti-dan; his future is therefore bright, but he has to be very wakeful and shake off his laziness at work. If this condition is fulfilled, the landless labourer will no longer be helpless and full of fear and laziness, and his future will be increasingly bright.

17. *The Income Pattern of the Dublas in Rural Areas.* (a) An analysis of the income of the Dubla families by occupation groups has supplied interesting information in table No. 6. A cross-check of this information with the income patterns as judged by various income limits gives still more important and interesting results. It shows a large variation of incomes among each group according to the capacity and inelligence of the persons. A landowning family

of Dublas may fall in the income group Rs. 400-600 and another may reach the figure of Rs. 801-1000 while two of them reach the median figure of Rs. 601-800.

The hali labourers' income, as reported to us, may fall in the income group (1) below Rs. 200. (2) Rs. 201 to 250 group. (3) Rs. 251 to 300. (4) 301 to 400. (5) Rs. 401 to 600. (6) 601 to 800. It is difficult to generalise and it would be wrong to do so for all the Dublas throughout the Dubla land. But it can be safely asserted that more than one third of the Dubla families surveyed have an income of below Rs. 300 per annum, which is barely a living wage; while another twenty per cent have an income below Rs. 200/- per annum: thus more than fifty per cent have income below one rupee per day for the whole family.

(b) The income patterns are divided into three groups, (i) One group with an income of three hundred per annum. (ii) The second group with income between Rs. 300 to Rs. 600 per annum; and the third group between Rs. 600 per annum and above. Income groups (a) 601 to 800, (b) 801 to 1000, (c) above 1000. *Vide* Table No. 9.

(i) It is surprising that as many as $23 + 9 + 9 = 41$ families representing over 26.4% of the families have income above Rs. 600. This high income arose out of the circumstance that the Halis had female dependent members who worked as vasidis (domestic servants).

A family consisted of two males and three females and between five of them, they brought an annual income of Rs. 605; another family of 3 males, 2 females, and 1 child was able to secure an income of Rs. 826; another family of three male-members, and 2 women-members have recorded a total income of Rs. 970/-. In all these cases and another 23 Hali families closely studied by our research unit, the higher income is due to some of the economic advantages of the Hali system viz. comparative continuity for the worker and assurance of a constant supply of labour for the employer, provided no misuse of the system is made.

ii) There are 18 families (about eleven per cent) whose income is about Rs. 800 per annum. One third of them are workers in urban areas, who get the benefit both of high

wages and continuous employment: about seven families obtain the higher income available to workers like postmen, teachers, peons, with some touch of literacy. The artisans as a rule have an income of over Rs. 600-800 per annum and there are good prospects of their income rising further in near future with the development of village industries.

Yet the most frequent group is that of the income below Rs. 600/- per annum. About 75 per cent of the Dubla population belongs to this category and their economic condition is highly unsatisfactory: half of these people have their income limit below Rs. 300 and they depend mostly on casual agricultural labour. The most frequent occupation of the Dublas is casual agricultural labour and the most frequent numbers occur in the low income groups viz. Rs. 200, 9, Rs. 201 to 250, 14, Rs. 251-300, 13, Rs. 301-400, 15. They have but little by way of capital to fall much upon, and there are no immediate prospects of economic regeneration, except through co-operative employment and co-operative housing which are not possible in an illiterate community without the consolidated effort of the social worker and the social welfare department.

18. *Income pattern of Urban Dublas.* The urban families investigated by our unit generally have a higher scale of income than in rural areas: 68 per cent earn more than Rs. 400 per year; out of these, 36 per cent have income above Rs. 801 per annum. The high income does not make them necessarily happy because their expenditure on house rent and on food is high. While the luxuries of city life viz. frequent cups of tea, and visits to cinema and theatres, leave little saving of money. Yet the fact of the higher income secured by as many as 68 per cent of the urban group is significant in so far as it indicates an acquired ability to earn a higher wage, involving as it does, a capacity for regular and sustained effort necessary in continuous and regular work. The cultural traits and habits which in rural areas lead to an atmosphere of leisure and idleness and to a lack of continuity of effort get transformed in urban conditions. In the busy atmosphere of urban factory life, within a few years, the same Dubla acquires the technical

ability and the mental capacity essential for a steady and continuous effort for a higher standard of life and efficiency. This capacity for a rapid change gives a sound reply to some sociologists who hold the view that the inherent disabilities of the tribal people cannot be overcome by any kind of incentive. On the other hand we have found that, given proper opportunities and training facilities, the tribal people can secure sufficient efficiency. It is well known that the American-Indian labourer is intrepid and bold and is unsurpassed for his ability to work on the high storeyed buildings in New York; this acquired skill has made him indispensable for such specialistic work and he secures high wages and a comfortable standard of living. After education and training, the American-Indian also becomes a good soldier and also a good officer in the United States army. This does not make him forget his old tribal traits, and his fondness for dancing and communal life attracts him to spend his weekend holiday in going back to his village and dancing himself to exhaustion and fatigue, which may sometimes affect his efficiency in work. Such dancing bouts occasionally affect the Dublas also, but on the whole the Dubla is getting more sober and steady and is trying to stand on his legs to an increasing extent.

19. *Expenditure on Food.* (a) It has been found very difficult to get reliable data on expenditure of the Dublas as most of them do not keep any account books, and the information has to be obtained on the basis of verbal enquiries, the result of which was incorporated in specially devised forms, after such verification and confirmation from outside sources as was possible.

The figures for the monthly expenditure which the Dublas could remember and verify easily were supplemented by information regarding annual events e.g. on feasts or festivals, or clothing, or illness etc. which do not recur every month.

These data have been tabulated with reference to each of the eight groups adapted throughout the enquiry.

(b) Table No. 12 shows that the total monthly expenditure of the 156 Dubla families incurred on food including

wheat, juvar, rice, vegetables amounted Rs. 4923.0.0. The total average expenditure per family on food comes to Rs. 31-8-11 per month.

(c) In the rural areas the Dubla family belonging to the tenant group incurs the highest average expenditure of Rs. 41-11-0 per month. The average expenditure on food of Hali labourer comes to Rs. 27-8-8 per month, while the casual Agricultural labour family has got the lowest average expenditure of Rs. 23-13-1 per month.

(d) On the basis of the figures of the food expenses, the Factory Labourer families, who live in urban areas, on an average expenditure of Rs. 58-6-5 on food, top the list of all the 8 groups, while the group 'other workers' with an average expenditure of Rs. 45-3-2 stands second.

(e) The staple food of the Dublas in all the eight groups is Juwar, and as much as (30.05%) of the expenditure is incurred on juwar only.

(f) Rice is generally speaking, less popular being more expensive and only 9.8 per cent of the expenditure is devoted to it.

(g) Tobacco and bidi are in great demand being used both by men as well as women and take the share of 9.52 or nearly 10 per cent of the total expenditure.

(h) The next second important item of the food is tea and sugar for which the Dubla family spends nearly Rs. 4-0-2 i.e., 12.71% of their total expenditure every month. The average expenditures spent on the important and useful items such as wheat and ghee comes to Rs. 0-3-3 and 0-9-1 respectively.

20. *Quantity and Quality of food:* The above information regarding the percentage of expenditure on various kinds of food has a limited value, if it is recommended that the total amount spent by the family on food is only a little over a rupee per day—the total figure varying between Rs. 23 and Rs. 58 per month.

A special study made at the request of this research unit by Dr. Radhakrishna Rao, Head of the Nutrition Department of the Government of Bombay, during his personal visits to the Dublas of Varad, has revealed what is generally

known that the diet of these people is very poor and the food value very defective. This will be clear from the following extracts from the main report given in chapter 18:—

i) Jawar is the staple food grain and it is generally consumed in the form of Bhakkar (a kind of baked cake) or Bhadku. The latter is a porridge-like preparation made from Jowar flour and butter milk, and flavoured wtih a little salt. Most of the poor class have nothing else to eat but some may have pulses and rice if they can afford.

ii) Average diet is far from satisfactory, and is below the desired level. The average intake of root vegetables, fruits, fleshy foods, and eggs is nil. The average intake of milk is reported to be 12.3 ounces, but it is very thin in consistency.

iii) Hardly any families consume the proper foodstuffs to the desired level, though 39% of the families eat the desired quantity of total serials, and 26% of the families which include green non-leafy vegetables to the desired level.

iv) The avergae intake of calories is under 1500, much below the required amount recommended for an adult male doing the same kind of work.

The diet was found so very insufficient and unsatisfactory that the nutrition officer ordered an immediate supply of milk powder to this area.

21. *The expenditure pattern* of the 156 Dubla families studied by us in 1955-56 reveals several noteworthy features. The most important is that the expenditure on liquor has been reported to be *nil,* even though during our tours and visits we could often detect smell of illicit liquor, even though for obvious reasons we did not take any official note of it. Apart from this fact, it redounds to the practical common sense of the Dubla that he spends most of his money on food (81.84 per cent, and clothing 10.92 per cent) the primary necessities of life.

(a) The figures summarised in table No. 13 gives us a picture of the annual expenditure incurred on various important items of life, food, clothing, social functions, ornaments, travelling and entertainments, medicines or magic

witch-craft and religious functions etc. For the 156 Dubla families, the total annual expenditure amounted to Rs. 72,580/-, which averages to Rs. 465-4-0 per family. Here again among all the eight groups, the Factory Labour family has got the highest average annual expenditure of Rs. 846/- per family. Next comes the families of "the other workers groups" with an average annual expenditure of Rs. 698-7-6. This means that the Dubla families living in the urban areas of Surat City spend, as may be expected, more than those living in the rural areas. The percentage of "the other workers' group to the total is more than that of the Factory Labourers, probably because the Dubla has not got enough of these jobs.

(b) In the rural areas it is the tenant family which having average expenditure of Rs. 653-4-0 stands first among all the 6 occupational groups, while the Artisan family spends on an average of Rs. 563-1-0 per annum. The casual agricultural labour family spends only Rs. 346-10-0 and is not so well off as the Hali Labourer family which spends Rs. 397-0-3 annually as total expenditure: besides this cash outgoings, the hali family gets food in the form of uncooked grain or cooked meal given to the wife (*vasidi*) or cowboy (*gowalia*).

(c) While looking at the figures shown against each item of the expenditure, it is observed that the majority (81.40%) of the expenditure is incurred on food every year. Thus the actual average expenditure per family on food was Rs. 378-11-1 per year.

(d) The second important and useful item of the necessities of life is clothing for which an average expenditure incurred by a family of 4.6 persons comes to Rs. 50/13/- only covering 10.92 per cent of the total expenditure. On social functions a Dubla family spends Rs. 8-5-8 per year; while the amount of an average expenditure on both the items of ornaments and travelling and entertainment has been shown as Rs. 4-1-8 i.e. 0.88% of the total expenditures. On an average the amounts of Rs. 1-10-6 and 1-15-1 have been spent on witchcraft and medicine respectively. This amount is much smaller than that reported by Dr. Elwin for

the Savaras.

(e) The above calculations should not conceal the main facts that extreme poverty prevails among the Dubla. The total amount of average exependiture of Rs. 465-4-0 per annum covers the provision for 4.3 persons which is the average size of the elementary Dubla family. This means that only about Rs. 100 is available every year for every individual for his maintenance as a living being. This figure is supported by the annual income of the Dubla family which is about Rs. 494 per annum on an average (vide table 6). The extreme poverty signified by this small amounts cannot be exaggerated nor neglected. On the one hand, it shows marvellous power of sustenance and resistance which the Dublas possess; while on the other, it indicates what immense efforts are required to increase their income and spending power so that they can live on a fair margin above the level of poverty and maintain themselves physically fit and active.

22. *Pattern of Assets of the Dublas—General:* These assets have been classified into Business, Domestic, Liquid and semi-liquid Assets. The proportion of each class of assets is (a) Business Assets—38.34% (b) Domestic Assets —49.35% (c) Liquid and Semi-liquid Assets 12.31%. The business assets consist of (i) land (ii) tools and implements (iii) livestock, and domestic assets consist of (i) house or huts (ii) utensils and (iii) furniture, usually a broken bed or a few earthen pots to store water or foodgrains. The liquid and semi-liquid assets consist of ornaments of gold (if any), silver and inferior metal containing an alloy of lead (Kathir), and cash savings. Brass or copper pots to store water and as cooking utensils are coming into favour in recent years. *Vide* Table No. 14.

(b) The total value of all the assets of 156 families comes to Rs. 45,145/-. It gives an arithmetical average of Rs. 289/7/3 only per family. The average value of the assets per *factory-labourer-family,* (who has a large income but is living in the urban areas of Surat city) comes to Rs. 135/6 and is the lowest among the eight groups. In the rural areas, *the Hali labourer family* has the assets with a very low

average value of Rs. 163/10/9 while the *non-Hali casual agricultural labourer* has reported a slightly higher fixture of Rs. 196 for the assets. *Artisan families* and tenant families have reported assets with average value of Rs. 599-12-4 and 547-3-6 respectively. The two Dubla families belonging to the *land owner group* have the assets with the average value of Rs. 3381/8/- is the highest among all the eight occupational groups.

(c) The total 156 families are divided into 124 Rural and 32 Urban Dubla families, each class having the total assets of Rs. 40421-6-0 and 4732-10-0 respectively. This gives an amount of Rs. 32.6 per family in rural and of only Rs. 14.5 in urban areas. The *urban Dubla* in our sample has thus comparatively less capital and less assets than the rural Dubla; the latter has at lest the semblance of a hut or a cottage and some agricultural implements. The urban life being expensive lends no opportunity for collection of assets. *Vide* Table No. 15.

(d) As far as asset-possessing is concerned, the best group is the land owner, next is the artisan group who also possesses land and tools, and third comes the tenant who has some tools and livestock. The factory labourers and other workers may have large earning capacity but they do not have much by way of assets. But the poorest is the Hali labourer, whose average assets are only Rs. 163-10-9.

(e) An examination of the nature of the assets also gives interesting results. Land is possessed by only 2 families the land owing classes, 66 families of the casual agricultural class, 17 non-farm labourers and 18 arisans, the next groups of 26 Hali families, 10 factory labourers, and 15 other workers do not possess any land at all. The average value of tools per family is 3.69 and of the live stock is Rs. 28.26. The average value of the Dubla house is Rs. 112.69, while that of the utensils and furniture per family is Rs. 16.96 and 13.17. The value of the assets of ornaments per family was only Rs. 12.36, while that of cash in the families surveyed was Rs. 23.27 per family.

(f) The above details of the scanty assets denote extreme poverty though a couple of landowning families are

just on the margin of subsistence. Most of them have nothing to fall back upon in case of prolonged illness or unemployment or a catastrophe like fire, famine, or an epidemic.

23. (a) *Nature of the Debt.* The economic difficulties caused by the nature of their employment, inadequacy of the land, the limited income and heavy expenses on food, all these have resulted in continual impoverishment of the Dublas. Consequently heavy indebtedness is noticed among most of them. This is clear from table 16 which summarises the economic conditions. It shows that 91 out of the 156 Dubla families are indebted to the extent of a total of Rs. 9,207/- involving an average debt per family of Rs. 101-2-10. In majority of the cases, the debts (82.71%) are due to the *marriage* and primary needs of life like food expenses. The age old social customs connected with marriage account for 45.51 per cent of the total debt; next comes the debts caused by *Khavki or food* expenses, which is responsible for 37.2 per cent. *Illness* accounts for nearly 5.48% of the total debt, while 11.81% of the total debt have been incurred in order to meet other miscellaneous expenditure on house repairs, clothes etc. This indebtedness is caused by the low saving capacity of the Dublas which is to be attributed to low income and absence of continuous employment. The only item which can be objected to as beyond their means is the expenditure on marriage and other festivities. Perhaps this indulgence may be forgiven in this tribal group, if similar heavy expenditure is already tolerated all over the country even among neighbouring intelligent communities like Patidars, Anavils, and even among Brahmins, Vaishyas and Parsis all over India.

(b) *The Classes of the Money Lenders.* The detailed information obtained by personal enquiries by our research staff has been analysed also in regard to the classes of the money lender. Easy borrowing and cheap credit have been regarded as two main causes of uncontrolled indebtedness.

A great portion or 53.36 per cent of the debts has been borrowed from the Dhaniamas or landlords; 23 out of the 26 *Hali Labour families* surveyed have borrowed the highest total amount debts of Rs. 3,328/- which represents

36.15% of the total debt of Rs. 9,207/- from this source. The average debt per Hali family comes to Rs. 144-11-2. It appears that the halis are still under the economic thumb of the landlords.

(b) *The casual Agricultural Labour group* has borrowed the amount of Rs. 1,005/- from the Dhaniamas or landlords to meet most of his expenses or marriages food. The percentages of the debts of this group comes to 17.20% of the total.

(c) The second largest amount of Rs. 1,720/- has been borrowed by *"the other workers"* living in urban areas mostly from the sheths or proprietors of shops, patels etc. where they work, or from where they buy their food grain clothes and other necessities of life on credit. The average debt per family of this group is Rs. 191-1-9; that is 18.68 per cent of the total debts is lent by the sheths or proprietors; while the share of the money lenders is only 6.26% of the total debts of Rs. 9,207.

(d) When *the Relatives and friends lend money,* the borrowed amount is comparatively small, i.e. Rs. 745/- and Rs. 612/- respectively to their needy Dubla brothers 8.10% and 6.55% of the total debts; the reason being the small lending capacity.

(e) In the urban areas, the employers, sheths or shopkeepers are the chief money lenders from whom the Dublas have borrowed 67.96% to the total debts of Rs. 2,575. In the rural areas the majority of the money lenders are landlords or Dhaniamas. They have kept 23 Halis and hired the labour of 20 non-hali Dublas for field work by giving them loans of Rs. 4,913 i.e. 74.08 per cent of the total debts of Rs. 6,632/-.

24. *Indebtedness of Rural and Urban Dublas.* The table No. 18 shows that there are 16 urban families and 75 rural families in the total of 91 indebted families, with their respective total debts of Rs. 2,575/- and Rs. 6,632/-. The total average debt per urban Dubla family comes to Rs. 151.47 which is higher than the total average debts of Rs. 89.63 in the case of the rural Dubla family. This means that the urban family gets into larger debts than the rural one,

because it has to borrow more money to meet its expenses and food and illness than the rural family. *Vide* Table No. 17.

25. *Variations in the Structure of Indebtedness.* (a) As the Halis and other Dublas have little idea about the extent of their borrowings from their Dhaniamas and other money lenders, a special effort was made by our investigator Shri J. L. Rathod to collect detailed information about their indebtedness from only those 58 Dubla rural families which were considered reliable. These are summarised in Tables No. 18 and 19 which indicate the position of the total debts and the variations of the debts as compared with the annual income. This compilation was specially made with reference to specific selected years 1939, 1947, 1953 and 1955. The results are summarised below. As the records of the same families were not available throughout the period, the statistics have been compiled on the basis of averages and a comparison made on the average basis.

(b) *1939.* Out of the total debts of Rs. 1,990/- incurred during the year 1939, the amount of Rs. 1,855 (93.2%) was spent on marriages and other social expenses while 6.8% of the borrowed money was uitlised for food only.

The two chief classes of moneylenders were Shahukars and Dhaniamas or landlords whose shares in the total debts of Rs. 1,900 were Rs. 1,035/- (52%) and 955 (48%) respectively.

(c) *1947.* The average debt per Dubla family was Rs. 142-2-0 in 1947. The conditions were different, as the amount of Rs. 2,275/- (80%) was spent for social and other religious functions only out of the total debts of Rs. 2,845/- incurred by 19 families.

This means that the percentage of debts on account of marriages and other social functions were lower than that for the money borrowed for the same items during the year 1939. On the other hand, there was a greater need of borrowing to the extent of Rs. 420/- for food and of Rs. 150/- for miscellaneous expenses on clothing, repairing of houses and roofs etc.

It is surprising to note that the majority of the portion

(98.47%) of the total debt of Rs. 2,845/- has been loaned by the landlords or Dhaniamās only, while only a sum of Rs. 45/- i.e. 1.6% of the total debt was lent by the professional money lenders. This leads us to conclude that the money lenders have stopped lending money because of the Bombay Money Lenders Licence Act; thus the landlords get more chances to keep the needy Dublas under their thumb.

(d) In 1953, the percentage of the debts on account of marriage and social functions is becoming still less. Only Rs. 1,850/- out of the total debts of Rs. 3,510/- amounting to 52.7 per cent was so utilised. This is much more than debts incurred on the same items of marriages and other social functions during 1939 and 1947. This might be a direct effect of the abolition of the age old Hali system in 1948 on the Dhaniamas and landlords, who must have stopped keeping Dublas as Halis and giving them loans. It is significant to note that the food and miscellaneous expenses accounted for 19.5 per cent to 13.1 per cent of the total debts respectively, which were comparatively much higher than those of the same items in the year 1939 and 1947.

In the borrowings made during the year 1953 the Dhaniamas and landlords continued to be the chief money lenders of the Dublas and this fact has been proved by the total debts of Rs. 3,510/- being loaned by that group. The highest average debt per Dubla family had come to Rs. 152-10 during 1953.

(e) On looking to the figures of debts incurred during the year 1955, it is observed that the great bulk of the debts viz. 43.7 per cent has been incurred to meet the expenses on the ancient social functions, marriages and other religious ceremonies, but these percentage are decreasing as compared with those of the past years; while much larger debts to the extent of 37.3 per cent have been incurred to meet the food expenses in this year. While comparing the total average annual income of Rs. 418/- and considering the average annual expenditure of Rs. 465 per Dubla family, we must conclude that indebtedness is unavoidable and almost irremediable, until the income is increased through continuous and remunerative work.

Miscellaneous expenses accounted for 16.7 per cent of the total borrowed money which has been utilised in the purchase of clothes, bullocks and materials for the repair of the huts in 1955 also.

An analysis of the classes of moneylenders in 1955, again shows that 82.2 per cent of the total borrowed money came from the Dhaniamas or landlords; this is not higher than those of the previous years of 1947 and 1953. A higher percentage of the total borrowings has been made from the moneylenders and employers or proprietors of shops. This is because the restrictions of the moneylenders' are proving to be discouragingly heavy. It seems that the relatives also are now coming forward in greater numbers to help their needy and poor brethren. The percentages of the debts incurred from the moneylenders, employers and relatives worked out to be 5.4 per cent, 6.8 per cent and 5.2 per cent respectively. This is a really hopeful sign of the great social change that is coming over the Dublas, who as a community, are getting more prosperous, even though so slightly, and self-sufficient.

26. *Socio-economic changes connected with indebtedness.* The analysis of the data regarding indebtedness of the Dublas gives several important conclusions which may be summarised as follows:—

(i) The average indebtedness per family in the groups studied is slowly increasing, except for the year 1955. The figures for 1938, 1949, 1953, being respectively Rs. 142, Rs. 150, Rs. 163; the figure for 1955 shows a much lower figure of Rs. 116/- which requires to be confirmed by a further survey next year, if a more reliable tendency is to be discovered.

(ii) The classification of moneylenders shows a tendency for the money lending class to officially disappear whereas the landlords and employers are getting the upper hand over the landless labourers. It is a hopeful sign that the relatives of the Dublas are themselves coming into prominence by being able to help the indebted Dublas in the financial difficulties.

(iii) An examination of the cause of indebtedness re-

veals that the borrowings on account of marriage and social expenses are steadily decreasing—the percentage having fallen from 93.2 per cent in 1939 to 43.7 per cent in 1955. The standard of living is rising as judged by increased borrowings on food, on housing and on house repairs. The expenditure on account of illness is also increasing evidently because the Dublas are now more health-conscious in urban areas.

All the three factors mentioned above are expressive of the great Socio-economic changes that are taking place at present, each of which has been reflected in the cultural pattern of the daily life of the Dubla community as a whole.

27. *The so-called Luxuries in Dubla Life.* In the dull and drab life of the Dublas, there are few redeeming features that bring brightness and joy to them. The hours and conditions of work in the fields during rain, sun, and wind, and the leaking, draughty, dingy and dark houses with kerosene-wick lamps, leave little zest in life; stimulants like toddy and liquor and latterly tea have a great hold on these people; a measure of the use of these articles is not easily available. The hali committee in 1948 obtained certain figures of the money value of the consumption of these articles and our investigators in 1955-56 have also attempted to collect similar data. In the absence of proper account books and the shifting nature of the evidence available, an accurate measure of the expenditure on these items is not possible but the general conclusions are noteworthy.

(a) *Liquor and toddy* used to take a much higher share of the economic resources of the Dubla in 1948 as compared with that in 1955.

(b) Expenditure on *tea and tobacco* has considerably increased. It is a good substitute for liquor and has become a popular beverage even in remote villages, a tea shop being usual at every important State Transport bus stop. The expenditure on tea per family per month is on an average of Rs. 4-0-2. The figures of expenditure on toddy and liquor are unreliable even though they have been carefully noted down by the trained investigators.

The use of tobacco has expanded tremendously. As

compared to 1948 the expenditure in 1955-56 is in many cases as heavy as five times what it was in 1948. The increase in the cash expenditure on tobacco may be partly due to the rise in price of tobacco itself without a proportional increase in the quantity used but it may be safely attributed also to the decreasing use of stimulants under the successful prohibition policy of the state. It is well-known that tobacco in the form of hand-made bidis or cigarettes is used by both men and women with increasing frequency. *Vide* Table No. 12.

(c) Two important indices of advancing standard of living are noticeable in the increasing use of soap and hair oil. About thirty years ago the use of water for cleaning the body was infrequent even among tribes living in hamlets in the vicinity of river banks or of water tanks or ponds. Washing of the clothes and bathing of the body were less frequent but great changes have taken place in the habits and life of these people. The contact with the various "āshrams" and schools started by social workers under the inspiration of Shri Thakkar Bapa and Mahatma Gandhi has completely changed the habits of most of the tribal people. These Dubla labourers, whose contact with the *dhaniama* farmers extended to their homes, had improved much earlier but the change is now universal and visible. The expenditure on soap varies from 0-1-0 to 0-4-0 per month in various families and is certainly much higher in some families living nearer urban areas. It is a frequent sight to see at present, the landless Dubla labourer working in the field with a white cap on his head. This common use of the Khadi-white cap, which involves frequent washing shows improving standards of cleanliness and is a sure sign of the increasing use of soap. It was stated by Liebeg, the 19th century chemist that "Let me know the consumption of soap per head in a country and I can predict what stage of civilisation and prosperity it enjoys". This standard can be applied to the Dubla population with success and it will score high.

(d) Another item of the Dubla family budget which has great cultural value is the use of *hair oil* in some form or other. Formerly the men used to cover their heads with

some sort of loosely tied turban and never cared to keep their hair trim. But with the decreasing use of the turban, men have begun taking more care of their hair. The school going girls, even in remote villages, have set the fashion about dressing the hair with oil and combing into one or two long well-knit braids. The average monthly expenditure on hair oil is about Rs. 0-6-0 per family in certain areas. The price of all oil used on the hair is increasing and the amount of oil available for one rupee for a family of 4 or 5 persons, may not go a long way but the increasing use of the oil is a welcome sign of the change in the cultural attitude. I have witnessed in some of the ashram schools and in the neighbouring areas, the Dubla girls wearing clean well-washed clothes (pressed in a crude way by being placed below the bed), with hair neatly dressed. In many cases, it becomes difficult to trace the tribal origin of some children; so well trimmed, clean and polite. Want of foresight, an attitude of living not only from hand to mouth, but also from day to day are among the main reasons behind an abiding sense of fear and diffidence which form important features of the cultural traits of many tribes. The moment a sense of economic security or self-sufficiency is felt by any group of tribal people, their outlook on life changes. Even though certain ancient taboos and shibboleths and modes and customs may not be changed suddenly, yet the economic self-sufficiency brings about a sense of resourcefulness and self-confidence, which has the effect of making immense cultural changes in the daily life of the tribal people.

An important visible effect is noticed in the modern co-operative movement among the tribal people. In an illiterate community, the full benefits of co-operative life can be realised only through the help of social workers but an increase in wages, housing facilities, and relief from debt are observed in several villages. Co-operation proves only a remote remedy for indebtedness which has been scourge of rural life; the chronic indebtedness which led to serfdom of this hard working, strong and yet timid tribe cannot be easily removed. The real remedy is the amortisation of past debts and regulation of future debts. This suggestion is

supported by the recommendation of the Central Advisory Board for Tribal Welfare. At a meeting held in October 1957, they have recommended that "the States be asked to take necessary steps for writing off three year old debts of Adivasis. Debts of lesser period will be cleared possibly with a Government loan allowing at the most six per cent to the creditor" (*Times of India* dated 4th October 1957).

28. *Housing conditions of Dubla Families.* From the point of view of durability and utility, the Dubla houses can be divided into four categories viz. those built of (i) brick and mortar with tiled roof, (ii) mud and straw, (iii) thatched on wall and roof, and (iv) tin sheets at the top only or both at the top and the sides.

Our analysis incorporated in Table number 20 shows that 55.7 per cent of the houses surveyed by us belong to the category of thatched huts while 37.2 per cent are built of mud and straw. Only 5.8 per cent of the families investigated live in houses built of brick and mortar, and those living in houses built of tin sheets come to the lowest proportion of 1.3 per cent. This in turn explain why the Dubla dwellings are susceptible to fire and to early damage by insects etc. The majority of the household consists of merely small apartments in one big house which is constructed either in one row of rooms or in groups of congested houses, which take fire easily.

29. *Ownership of Dubla houses.* Though ordinarily Dublas have no land of their own, our study shows that 63.5 per cent of their families live in their own houses built on their land either owned or leased on a small rent.

(a) It is significant that, 12 out of 26 Hali families have their houses built on their own land; the remaining 14 families live in houses built by them on either private or governmental land. Four hali families have not to pay land rent or revenue either to the landlord or the government.

(b) Out of the 32 urban Dubla families, 14 stay in rented houses built on private lands while 11 families have their dwellings built on the plots of government land, and 23 on plots of land belonging to their landlords. Only 5 of them have received rent free accommodation at their masters'

place. The Dubla families on migration to Surat city (Anandnagar area) were noticed by me in 1957 to start with a thatched hut, built by themselves on land hired at rupees two a month.

(c) *House rent.* Fifteen Dubla families, (out of 156) living in rented houses pay a rent of Rs. 576 every year i.e., an average rent per family comes to Rs. 39-3-3, per year or Rs. 3-4-3 per month. No family belonging to landowner tenant or casual agricultural labourer lived in rented house.

30. *Ownership of land.* A comparison of the ownership of the plots of land for housing the 156 Dubla families leads to the observation that 99 families 63.5 per cent have their houses built on land of their own, while 39 houses (25.0%) and 18 houses (11.5%) have been built on plots of land private and government respectively.

The majority of Hali families surveyed by us at Varad have their houses built on government plots (9) and private plots (5). Major portions of the families belonging to the last three groups have their dwellings on rented lands of government and private ownership. In the urban areas of Surat city, 23 houses are built by landlords on their own lands, and only two families stay on plots granted to them by the government.

31. *Land revenue:* Only 23 Dubla families i.e. 14.7 per cent. whose houses are situated on government lands, pay an annual amount of Rs. 88-14-9, to the government and landlords as land revenue or rent. The average amount of revenue or rent per family comes to Rs. 3-13-11 per year, varying with the size and quality of the land.

32. *Types of roofs:* (a) There are three types of roofs of the Dubla houses, namely, (i) tiled roofs, (ii) thatched roofs, and (iii) roofs of tin sheets. Majority of the houses 62.2% have thatched roofs, and 26.9% have tiled ones, while 10.9% have tin sheets.

(b) 62.2% of the families spend an amount of Rs. 3 to 5 every year on the repairs of their thatched roofs, while the rest have to spend very little on roof-repairs, even after a period of 3 or 5 years. This small expenditure on repairs,

to thatched houses, is seldom enough and generally they do leak heavily and continuously in the rainy season. The cost of thatching material is rising and the well-to-do Dublas prefer a pucca tiled roof to thatched one, if they can afford it.

33. *Rooms and windows.* The majority of the houses 68 per cent have one room with no windows at all. But where necessary a bigger house may be divided into two or three rooms, each to be used for a unitary family or by the children. It clearly indicates the inadequacy of the space from which these houses differ. This also leads to congestion specially when the average size of the Dubla family exceeds four in number. The area of the room varies from 48 to 1089 sq. ft., depending upon the requirements and the resources of the family.

34. *Ventilation.* The condition about ventilation in these houses is not far from satisfactory. From the view point of ventilation these houses have been divided into the following three groups:

i. A denotes houses having sufficient air and light.

ii. B denotes houses with inadequate air and light.

iii. C denotes houses with very poor air and light.

Our analysis shows that 95.5% of the houses have no windows. This lack of ventilation combined with inadequacy of the living space affects seriously the health and the efficiency of the Dublas. *Vide* Table No. 20.

35. *Floor space.* 180 to 200 sq. ft. has been regarded the minimum necessary area from the health point of view for a family of four persons. Judged by this test, conditions of very few families have been found to be satisfactory. Only 46.1% of the families investigated, live in houses having an area exceeding 100 sq. ft. Nearly 17.5% of the families are living in houses with an area of only 75 sq. ft. while more than half i.e. 53.9% of the families live in houses of an area covering less than 100 sq. ft.

36. The general conclusions about the housing conditions are somewhat as stated below:

(a) The Dubla houses do not provide adequate protection against the sun and the rain.

(b) There is no arrangement for proper ventilation.

(c) Adequate facilities do not exist for observing privacy.

(d) The inside of the houses is more or less dark.

(e) For the average size of the Dubla family the inside space is totally inadequate; and only in very few houses, the height is sufficient for a person to walk erect.

(f) In certain places, the Dublas are able to build their huts on lands provided by government co-operative societies. But the number of families provided with such houses, scarcely runs beyond a few hundred. In some cases they involve the payment of heavier monthly rent (including a share of repayment of capital) and lead to increased indebtedness, in those families whose income has not increased after occupying the more expensive houses.

Appendix to Chapter XIII

PRESS NOTE

With the compliments of the Director of the Publicity, Government of Bombay, Bombay.

P:—1185

6-9-51 (1-30 P.M.)

"NO FORCED LABOUR IN SURAT DISTRICT"

Hali System Abolished Long Ago by the BARDOLI AGREEMENT

Some misleading statements alleging that the Government of Bombay has done nothing to abolish the Hali (forced Labour) System which obtained in Surat District, have appeared in a section of the Press.

Hali Inquiry Committee

It may be recalled that in May 1947, the Government of Bombay appointed the Hali Labour Enquiry Committee to enquire into the social and economic condition of the Halis and to examine the relationship between the employers and the Halis regarding the terms of employment, methods of wage payments, etc. with a view to suggesting measures for rehabilitating this class of agricultural labourers and for

enabling them to live a life consistent with human dignity and self respect.

Bardoli Agreement

Prior to June 1948, the Halis and their families used to render forced labour in return for a loan taken from their masters, usually for marriage. But through the good offices of Shri Morarji Desai, Home Minister, and Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, the Labour Minister, an amicable settlement was arrived at between the Kheduts and the Halis and a formal agreement was reached at Bardoli on June 11, 1948.

The agreement said: "The representative of the Kheduts and the Halpatis of the Bardoli Taluka (Surat Dist.) believe that the abolition of the Halis system is in the interest of both and agree to these minimum terms." These terms laid down wages for stray male labourers and male employed for domestic purposes on a yearly basis. The rates of wages for female labourers as well as for domestic works such as sweeping, washing, cleaning and fetching water, etc., were also laid down. It also provided safeguards for the success of the agreement. A full text of the agreement was released to the Press by the Director of Publicity in that month.

Hali System Abolished

The agreement which came into force on June 17, 1948, abolished the Hali system in Surat District, and secured for the landless labourers decent working and living conditions. Article 23(1) of the constitution of India has since prohibited forced labour of any kind throughout the Indian Union.

Panchayats

In order to settle disputes which may arise between the Kheduts and the labourers in the implementation of the terms of the settlement, Panchayats consisting of two representatives each of the Kheduts and the labourers were set up in all villages in Surat District where the Hali system was in existence.

All formal and informal sanctions to the Hali system were put to an end by this agreement and it is now wrong to demand or render forced labour. The landless agricultural labourers receive wages in cash or kind for the work they do and are free to stay or not to stay with the Kheduts.

In view of this, the Government found it unnecessary to enact any law for this purpose. Moreover, there was no legal sanction to the system and, therefore, the question of its abolition by a special law did not arise at all.

Ameliorative Measures

Among the steps taken by the Government to improve the condition of the Halpatis of Surat District, a special scheme sanctioned by the Government for providing houses to them may be mentioned here. As an experimental measure, 10 co-operative housing societies were organised under the scheme and given the following assistance:

1. An interest-free loan upto a certain percentage of the cost of a dwelling.
2. A subsidy towards the cost of dwelling.
3. A subsidy of Rs. 1,000 per society for construction of a well for drinking water only where there are no facilities for drinking water near the location of the societies.
4. A subsidy on account of employment of an overseer at Rs. 100 per month for two years and three Secretaries on Rs. 50 per month each for five years for the 10 societies.
5. Building material like housing sites have been provided on gamtal to enable agricultural labourers to build huts of their own and special attention is paid to their needs.

The Government has also taken steps to ensure a larger number of vacancies for Dubla boys in recognised backward class hostels.

Chapter XIV

DRINK AND DUBLAS

1. *Stimulants and Society:* The diets of all communities in all countries of the world contain stimulants of varying degrees of intensity and influence, and the tribal people have generally a special tendency for strong drinks. Even before the discovery of fire and distillation of alcoholic beverages, the aboriginal tribes had discovered stimulants and narcotics which made them forget their troubles, fatigue and depression.[1] The strong constituents of the Soma-rasa of the Vedic aryans, and of 'Peyotl' plant used among the Aztecs and the 'Peyote' root among the Amer Indians for semi-religious purposes, have had important effects on the cultural life of the people concerned. Similarly the sacred wines and liquors adopted in Zorastrian, Jewish and Christian religious ceremonies must have had their physical origin in the stimulating nature of the drinks. Effect of unhealhy climate, insufficient clothing, mal-nutrition, domestic quarrels, a lack of a sense of self-protection, dreary and dull life—all these factors have combined to make the tribal people specially prone to the attractions of various stimulants. As Elwin has put it 'the aboriginals' life is so monotonous, that a bottle of liquor is to him a tonic, a medicine, an appetiser and a relaxation.'

This may provide an explanation for the drinking habit among the tribals, but can hardly provide any justification for its continuance after with the general progress among them. For in Asia, from ancient times, drinks have been prohibited. A Chinese Emperor, even as early as 1100 B.C., had officially forbidden wine as "the cause of almost all the evils which happen on the earth". In India, long before the time of Buddha, drinks and drugs were considered a source

[1] The word "Alcohol" derived from the Arabic al kohol, means roughly "the finest of something", the same idea being expressed by the Latin term "spirit vine, the spirit of wine"—P. 137—G. Schenk. The Book of Poisons—1956.

of evil and Buddha himself preached against intoxicants, for they disturb the human reason. As per Manusmriti 200 B.C., (Chapter eleven verses 146-150) which summarised the codes and practices of much earlier times—even the touch of liquor was prohibited and this was enforced by the levy of definite punishment. The tribes of the forests were not much affected by these Brahmanical tenets and they had their own primitive methods for preparing several stimulants like rice-beer, mohwa-flower-liquor etc. These were not subjected to the excise policy of the state, till about a hundred years ago.

2. *Excise Policy in the Region.* One effect of taxing the people who consume stimulating drinks is to make the state and its officials interested in their sale. The control of the liquor traffic in Bombay province was given official recognition by the Bombay Abkari Act in 1878. In 1890, the official policy of 'Maximum revenue with minimum consumption' was laid down, but most precautionary measures taken, e.g. fixing a particular target in the excise revenue based on a formal budgetary requirement, led to an increase in the drink traffic. The tribal people were much affected by the excise policy in several ways; at first, their own local rights of making liquor were taken away and they were asked to use standard drinks on payment of excise duty. There were riots and some excise inspectors and members of the excise staff, were killed during their performance of their duties to stop illicit distillation.

In 1938, when the Indian National Government first came in office, one of the most important measures of social welfare was to introduce a partial policy of prohibition in cities like Bombay and Ahmedabad. This policy was further enhanced when in 1946, a policy of total prohibition to be effective in four years was decided upon; this culminated in the prohibition act of 1949 which has had widespread and beneficial effects on the people addicted to drink throughout the province. The revenue of the State from the State distilleries and the excise duty on consumption on liquor both have disappeared involving a total loss of over 8 crores of rupees, but the same has been made up from other sources.

A noteworthy feature of the position is that the incidence of the total revenue paid by the consumers of liquor has been shifted from the poorer backward classes to the consumers of other commodities who are now subject to the enhanced sales tax and other taxes.

3. *Searching Enquiries into Excise Policy:* The progress of the Prohibition has been subjected to several searching enquiries. A report of the study of the Socio-economic effects of prohibition by the School of Economics and Sociology, University of Bombay 1950, gives useful information though the same is getting out of date day to day. The Prohibition Enquiry report in Bombay State by Sri M. D. Bhansali I.C.S. 1952 gives a well-balanced review of the position, especially in regard to the improvements required as to the working of the prohibition Act. The enquiry reports prepared by the committees appointed by the State of Andhra and Madhya Pradesh also supply valuable material. The main conclusion is that prohibition is necessary and useful but the implementation by law is not and perhaps cannot be successful, unless the people themselves give their whole-hearted support.

4. *Central Enquiry.* Prohibition is an essential plan of state policy in the social welfare and has been accepted as a directive principle in the Constitution of India. A special All-India Prohibition Enquiry Committee was appointed by the Central Planning Commission in 1955, in view of the meagre progress of the Prohibition in the various states of India. This committee has taken a sane view of the complete situation and pointed out the need for strengthening the national policy from different angles simultaneously viz. (1) Enforcement measures (2) growth of the sanction of public opinion (3) voluntary work of social service agencies and of the social workers and (4) provision for alternative sources of recreation and interests. The imposition of April 1958, as the target date of the enforcement of prohibition uniformly throughout the country, is a step in the right direction, because unless the policy is uniform throughout the country, the minds of men do not respond uniformly to any restriction on personal behaviour. It is significant that the Parlia-

ment and Government of India have during March, April 1956 accepted these conclusions.

5. *Observations in 1948.* The survey of addicts in 1948 in Surat, conducted by the Bombay University School of Economics and Sociology[1] supplies valuable information, even though it may be considered out of date, and even though it refers to the general population rather than the tribal groups. The report refers to 878 families surveyed in eight villages, though the information on various points had to be obtained on a rough basis (vide page five of the report) it can be relied upon for arriving at some generalisations. The report does not make any mention of the high percentage of the backward population of Surat district and the incidence of drink among them.

The following conclusions regarding the conditions in 1948 may be considered as prevailing generally even at present:

(a) Surat district has the highest percentage of addict families—72 per cent; Thana 59 per cent.

(b) More than half of the addict families take toddy alone, more than one third take both toddy and liquor; the percentage of families taking liquor only is very small—less than 7 per cent.

(c) Per Capita consumption in Surat district of toddy and country spirit had steadily increased as per Government records:

Year	Toddy-Gallons	Country Spirit
1928-37	4.87	6.72
1936-37	5.01	5.90
1946-47	3.93	9.14

This increase has justified a policy of total prohibition.

(d) As the number of the addict family increases, the number of addicts also increased. The percentage of addicts according to age-groups was 60 within the age groups of

[1] Report on the study on the socio-economic effects of prohibition (rural) by School of Economics and Sociology 1953.

30-40, 41-50 and 51-60 years. Even among the age groups of 0-5 and 11-15 years, 9 and 17 per cent addicts were found.

(e) The percentage of addicts among the families is less than that among the males. The male head of the family being the most addicted—females usually drink less frequently and take less in quantity than males; wives taking to drinking more frequently than daughters.

(f) The earning members, male as well as female of a family drink more often than the non-earning members.

(g) Among high caste cultivators 13 per cent are addicts whereas among the low-caste cultivators the addicts number eightyone percent.

(h) Among the all occupation groups the fisherman is the most intense addict.

(i) The average income of a non-addict family was higher than that of an addict family.

(j) The use of bidis and pan is perhaps complementary to addiction and so, the addicts spend more in these items than on clothing.

(k) To make both ends meet, the addicts economise more on food and thereby undermine their health and efficiency. The majority of crimes of loot and murder are commited by intoxicated persons. The rural community of a village when subjected to drink, undergoes psychological changes, and its culture is transformed from a quiet and peaceful life of nature, to one of disharmony, hatred and distress.

(l) Smaller percentage of non-addict families get into debt, the average debt of the addict group being Rs. 156 compared to Rs. 128 of the non-addict group.

(m) The addicts are mal-adjusted people and the balanced behaviour of an individual addict enters the family life and uproots the quiet and peaceful atmosphere from its softest tendrils.

(n) Illicit distillation was widespread and those who were carrying it out were not apprehensive of being caught.

(o) Six per cent of the addicts examined made an effort to get rid of the addiction. In rural districts some cases have been recorded of persons who have successfully given

up drink by substituting tea or coffe and some without any substitute. But in all cases the guidance, advice and the practice of a social or a religious worker is generally essential.

6. *Our Observations during 1954 and 1955.* The above general discussions form a prelude to the information collected by us about the drink habit among the Dubla tribes. It has not been possible to collect reliable information about the money-value of the expenditure on drinks, firstly because the tribal people have little conception of the accounts and secondly even an oral statement of the money spent on drinks would involve crime and prosecution. Thirdly, the consumption of liquor or alcoholic drinks in a prohibition area is linked up with illicit distillation, a transaction in which a large number of rural people are involved in spite of the vigilance of the state. Yet by sympathetic discussion at the end of several long periods of stay among them it has been possible to come to certain general conclusions:—

(i) The drinking habit has undergone a great reduction among the Dublas during the last few years. It has involved a quick and rapid culture change which is specially noteworthy during the last few years of the enforcement of the prohibition policy.

(ii) The change has varying degrees of intensity and local variation in different parts of the district.

(a) In the neighbourhood of cities and coastal areas, the drink has not completely disappeared, because the temptations of both money and company cannot be easily overcome; (b) In the vicinity of good institutions of social welfare e.g. ashram schools, seva ashrams, sarvodaya centres and other welfare centres where illicit distillation is completely overcome, the change in drinking habit has been of the most remarkable and satisfactory type. Cleanliness, water supply, better housing conditions, clothing habits, education, economic life have all undergone a great change but in these areas where the tribal and other people are unable to obtain sufficient moral support or pressure to resist the temptation of illicit distillation or consumption, the drink habit has undergone only a partial even though a definite

change.

(iii) Open drinking at marriage and other social functions being no longer possible, it has been generally substituted by tea and because of its comparative cheapness, it has become usual to serve food also at such gatherings. Women and children generally escape from the drinking habit and more money and opportunities are available for a more decent social life.

(iv) Even with a definite though small rise in the standard of living, most of the Dublas have not left drinking entirely, it is certain that they have learned some discipline in this regard. The general moral standard may not be much affected, because of the economic poverty and want of opportunity to make a decent living.

(v) There is no doubt that Dubla women have completely given up drinking, and if, men still manage to drink they do it on a smaller scale than in the past and therefore do not get drunk to the same extent. In pre-prohibition period, "a Dubla hamlet at night was but a battleground, crowded with drunkards. Heavily drunk men and women were found making rows, using abusive language and sometime lying unconscious in a most hedious state." But now the fears of punishment and loss of prestige has considerably disciplined their behaviour. In the same way, the drunken brawls at marriage and such other religious and social occasions caused by excessive drinking are certainly less common. The money spent extravagantly in drinks has also been saved to a great extent. Still some people may be found to spend a small amount of their income in drinks. The practice of drinking in secret may persist where illicit distillation exists but over-drinking in open has been amply reduced.

(vi) A great number of the Dublas have been brewing liquor from mollasses and *muhura* flowers and such other material. Some prepare it in limited quantities for their own consumption e.g. for offering to deities, giving to a sick person and also to a woman after delivery. The illicit traffic does not benefit any group permanently nor can it ever help them to improve their standard of living, because of the

perpetual fear of being caught. Further, the distillation on a large scale as a trade has disappeared and does not pay on a small scale.

(vii) A great cultural change has been brought about by the prohibition policy. The Dublas who were serving as Halis under liquor contractors were encouraged to drink and to incur large debts on this account. Their economic condition would never improve as long as they were encouraged to drink on numerous occasions by cheap or enforced credit. The Dubla is thus saved from economic exploitation in the name of ceremonial or ritual drinking. The cultural changes consequent on the formal dropping of liquor from life of the people will be appreciated by every one—whether he chooses to be known as an anthropologist or social scientist or a social worker or an administrator.

7. *Future.* The money that used to pass into the hands of liquor contractors and distributors has been saved and diverted to a healthy course and utilised to build the economic solidarity of the Dubla and other tribals. The exploitation of the tribes by intermediary agencies has ceased more or less and they have become self-sufficient in respect of drinks. Even in these places where illicit disillation continues, the bulk of the profit remains with the lower classes who seem to have realised that it is better to sell than to drink. This illicit trade will disappear only with a better education, improved home life and with a really higher standard of living, the signs of which are visible on all sides. Already, public drinking at *punch* or tribal meetings or marriage celebrations or funeral parties or on festivals has officially stopped: private illicit drinking can only stop after personal effort at self-improvement and after public opinion successfully frowns at such drinking. Like untouchability, drinking can disappear only as a result of enlightened social and cultural changes. In the meantime, a social scientist observes the social changes that have impinged themselves on society as a result of the determined effort of the State after Independence and the broad fact remains that in spite of illicit distillation, the restrictions on the facilities for open drinking has led to greater opportunities for leading a more

sober, steadier and happier life and for smoother acculturation and integration of the tribe into the national life of the country.

Chapter XV

EDUCATION AND LITERACY

Education is of basic importance in a planned development of any community in any region; particularly in the backward areas it has a very important role to play. In a progressive democratic set-up, the role of education becomes crucial, since progressive democracy can function well, only if there is an intelligent participation of the masses in developmental activities and an active co-operation with due understanding of all affairs leading to the furtherance of the community's well-being. In planning for the amelioration of any tribe, we must examine the spread of education as judged by literacy and other standards. Our tribal research unit has conducted this examination by door to door survey of 91 selected families. Before we comment on this data, let us see the general literacy level in the region.

2. *Literacy Level in Gujarat Districts (1951):* Literacy level is one of the important standards in judging the extent and efficiency of educational activities of any region. Table No. 22 indicates that in Surat District in which most of the Dublas are living, literacy among the general population is nearly 29.08 per cent of the total population. Compared to the average of other districts of Gujarat (25.08) and to the Bombay State (24.55) as a whole, the literacy standard is better. Even male and female literacy stands a fair comparison. The literacy standard of the general Dublas studied by us is however comparatively very low, as it can be seen that the percentages of literacy among the Dublas families investigated in villages is only 14.92, which is far less than the 25.08% and 24.55% of the literates of Gujarat Region and the Bombay State respectively.

3. *Literacy Among 91 Dubla Families.* Our plan of getting complete records including literacy for the 156 families could not be fully carried in respect of more than 91 families and our conclusions are based on the date obtained from

these families where total number was 429. Table No. 23 shows that only 64 out of the 429 persons i.e. 14.92% are literate. This means that the majoriy (85.08%) of them are illiterate, and that great efforts and special measures have to be taken if literacy is to be made widespread. Female education among the Dublas seems to be negligible; only two women having been found literate out of the sample of 118 women. In the case of males, 47 were literate out of 138; and in the case of children only 15 out of 173 were found attending schools.

In the urban areas of Surat City it is the group of 'other workers' Dublas which has got the highest number of 19 literates out of 88 members, that comes to 21.59%; while in the rural areas the highest percentage has been found among the Dublas belonging to the land-owner group 44.44 per cent. The lowest level of literacy is found among the Hali labourers who have got only 8 literates, out of the total of 140 i.e. 5.72 per cent.

4. *Level of literacy.* It is observed that majority of the Dublas are satisfied with only primary education. According to our investigation of 91 Dubla families, while 92.19% of the total literates have received primary education, only 7.81% of the total literates have been educated in secondary schools. This means that only 5 male adults have taken secondary education out of this group.

Only 6 persons including 4 male, one female adult and 1 child i.e. 9.38% have studied from V to VII standards in the primary schools; 20 persons including 18 male adults and 2 children i.e. 31.25% of the total literates are in the IV Standard and in the I standard. There are 17 literate Dublas consisting of 8 males and 1 female adult, and 8 children, with a total percentage of 26.56 to the total of 64 literates in all.

Equal percentages of (12.50%) of the 8 literates consisting of 5 males and 3 children studied upto 2nd standard and 8 literates including 7 male adults and 1 child studied upto 3rd standard have also been noticed in the same table.

5. *Higher Education.* It has been also observed that higher education among Dublas is almost nil. The lack of education at various stages, primary, secondary and colle-

giate may be attributed to their economic condition.

6. *Children's Education.* The method of treatment of younger children also comes in their way. From table No. 24 it is noticed that for 15 out of a total of 173 children are attending schools; this means that majority (160) of them are illiterate; and the percentage of 15 literate children to the total of 175, works out to 8.57%. This means that most of the Dubla boys and children of school going age are not going to school, because they say that they are burdened with the task of looking after somebody's cattle and their own younger brothers and sisters. It is a matter of common observation that the Dubla children prefer to go about doing some petty jobs, i.e. tending cattle or attending to errands rather than attending the school even if one existed in the neighbourhood. There is general lack of discipline in a Dubla household and the children loiter in the village during school hours. The custom of getting one or two cattle attended to by children is rare outside the Surat district. It is more usual to employ a grown-up man of a Rabari or Bharvad community who attends to larger number of cattle up to fifty and proves more economical than a small boy attending to only one or two cattle. For a proper emancipation of the ignorant tribal labour and for ensuring proper education and a well regulated life the whole village economy has to be placed on a sounder footing. Besides the provision of free primary schools, a large amount of social persuasion is necessary before full advantage can be taken of these facilities. Social change in stopping the use of child labour for unnecessary or unimportant work will require much pressure and re-organisation of labour on a rational basis.

7. *Literacy and economic condition.* Literacy has some relationship with different types of occupation as shown in Table no. 7. The casual agricultural labourer and the landless agriculturist, whether Hali or not, have a lower standard of literacy than non-farm labourers and factory labourers or artisans. Land-owners and tenants of the rural areas, and other workers of the urban areas with higher sources of income and well paid occupation, have got a higher literacy. The poor people, have stagnated at the lowest literacy level.

8. *Literacy among rural and urban Dublas.* Table No. 23 gives some surprising figures of literacy among rural and urban Dubla families. Only 43 persons including 31 males, 1 female adult and 11 children out of a total of 294 persons of 59 rural families are however literate and the percentage of 43 rural literate Dublas out of a total of 294 is shown to be 14.63%. Out of a total of 135 urban Dublas only 16 males and 1 female adult and 4 children i.e. 21 persons, are literate and their percentage comes to 15.56. This means that the Dublas living in urban areas of Surat city, are more literate than those living in villages. But literacy among the general population of Surat city is 47.44% which is comparatively far higher than that of the Dubla literates in the city. This lack of education among urban Dublas may be attributed to the fact that most of the children of school going age have been found to be working in hotels or private houses or shops and have to eke out a portion of their livelihood working as coolies, labourers or domestic servants. There are greater facilities for education in urban and semi-urban areas, and yet the attendance of Dubla children in schools in rural areas continues to be limited.

9. *Acute Necessity for Adult Education.* This table also tells of the acute necessity of adult education. More than 85 per cent of the total adult population is illiterate. Such parents attach no value and themselves prove to be one of the great obstacles for introduction of the compulsory system of primary education. Such persons can scarcely prove themselves to be useful members of co-operative societies for housebuilding or for small industries or forest contracts or labour contracts even from a sympathetic administration.

10. *Attendance at Schools.* The literacy figures have a limited value in as much as they do not indicate the future of education among the Dublas. The figures of attendance at the primary schools supplied by the District School Board in respect of the Dublas, are disappointing, except for Dharampur and Banasda Talukas, where the population of Dublas is scarce. The attendance of school-going children is given in the statement below. The attendance of the Dubla children in the District Board Schools on 1-5-1955 was 2954

out of a total population of 182,473 Dublas in Surat District; whereas in the case of Gamits it was 12,146, out of a much smaller population of Gamits in Surat District and 5,666 Naika children out of a total population of 47,101 Naikas in Surat District. It would not be proper to dismiss these statistics lightly. On the other hand, they show that the tribal and primitive character of the Dubla mind requires to be more sympathetically treated; e.g., greater facilities in the matter of food and clothing have to be provided to the

S. No.	Name of the Taluka.	Number of students in Schools under the District School Board, Surat on the 1st working day of academic year—June 1, '55.					
		Gamits		Dublas		Naikas	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1.	Palsana	479	365	23	6	8	8
2.	Bardoli	1132	629	45	27	30	13
3.	Chickli	411	185	245	96	2	-
4.	Olpad	129	76	3	4	3	-
5.	Navsari	1385	808	247	133	60	30
6.	Chorasi	648	273	67	43	31	7
7.	Pardi	310	114	174	45	10	1
8.	Mandvi	201	70	2	2	170	89
9.	Kamrej	574	434	31	21	26	15
10.	Songadh	10	3	1	-	1299	408
11.	Mahuwa	205	134	184	102	9	8
12.	Valod	217	172	35	12	243	110
13.	Vyara	68	29	22	7	1597	747
14.	Mangrole	534	233	18	2	357	197
15.	Dharampur	-	-	102	37	-	-
16.	Gandevi	853	383	282	119	-	3
17.	Bulsar	749	308	359	209	20	12
18.	Bansda	17	8	177	62	121	42
Total:		7922	4224	2027	927	3976	1690
Grand Total: Students		12,146		2,954		5,666	
Total population of each tribe		111,474		182,475		47,101	
Percentage of school going population to total population for each tribe		10.9%		1.6%		12.0%	

children, if they are to be turned towards education and training without which they cannot contribute their full might towards the regeneration of the nation.

In judging of the school attendance among tribal people, we may examine the standards already achieved in the bigger city like Bombay. The school going population in the city is expected to be only about 10% of the total population; and out of this school going population, about 80 per cent attend the schools, the remaining children 20 per cent stay away from the schools in spite of the act about compulsory attendance being in force. Thus in Bombay City only 8 per cent of the total population attend primary schools.

In the case of rural areas, the percentage of school going age population is estimated at about $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 per cent. Compulsory primary education is in force throughout the Bombay State and Surat District.

It is intriguing to find that the percentage of Dublas attending the school is only 1.6 while in the case of Gamits it is 10.9% and Naikas it is 12.0%. The later percentage is higher than that prevailing in the City of Bombay for primary schools (viz. 8 per cent), probably because District Local Board Schools take students beyond the age of 6 to 11 upto which only Bombay Municipal Schools cater.

Chapter XVI

INCIDENCE OF CRIME AMONG DUBLAS

A quiet amiable tribe. The reputation of the ordinary Dublas as easy going and lazy is accompanied by the general finding that they are invariably poor, have little resources and no savings, with nothing to fall back upon in the event of non-employment or illness or death or marriage. Often there is nothing in the house on the unexpected visit of guests, for whom a minimum standard of hospitality has to be offered even by borrowing. A bulk of them have been living a life of dependence and serfdom which hardly secure a continuous income or a contented life.

In the case of Halis, the so-called serfs, where the relationship between the Hali (the tiller) and Dhaniama (the master) are amiable, the Dubla develops a type of contented life even though with limited standards of comfort and liberty. Cases are known, where the Dubla turns out to be a most trusted and reliable domestic servant, and is trusted with cash and ornaments when escorting a bride of the master's family from one village to another. I noticed in one village Sisodara near Maroli, the hut of a Dubla with brass water pots, porcelain pottery and bright but simple furnishings. On enquiry I learnt that the wife was fairly dull but selfreliant and that the husband had to be frequently absent as he was entrusted by the widow of his Dhaniama with the management of her whole estate extending over several villages.

At a Nira Kendra (held in 1955 at Goregaon in Bombay District) the main toddy-tappers belonged to the Dubla community from Surat District. They were preferred to the local toddy-tappers, as the latter were not expected to have the stamina and self-control to resist the use of the nira as toddy for illegitimate purpose and to give the maximum production of unfermented Nira. The general impression is that the Dubla is a mild person, physically strong but mentally

obstinate, afraid of going against normal pattern of behaviour and mores of his neighbours.

2. *Police records.* How far these people figure in the police records is the subject of an interesting study by our research staff. The Dublas figure in police courts very seldom compared to confirmed criminal or ex-criminal tribes. There are two types of cases in which they figure, one is that category in which they are the accused and are found guilty of offences recognised by the police. The other category is that in which the Dubla is sinned against, either he is beaten or assaulted or killed by oppressors or is deprived of his legitimate dues. We will discuss these categories separately.

The police department authorities have supplied certain information about the criminal offenders among the three tribes, viz., Dublas, Naikas and Gamits in the three districts of Surat, Broach and Thana where they live. These statistics have their limitations and have to be interpreted with caution.

The main classes of the offenders are under murder, sex-offences and offences under the prohibition acts. The figures again are for the persons arrested and it is not clear whether the persons arrested were at all found guilty finally. But even in the category of persons arrested, the percentage of the total population has two remarkable features. Firstly, that the incidence of the offenders to the total population is small and that comparison is useful only to the extent of relative frequency of the offence. The murder cases reported against the Dublas were 5 in 1954, taking the three districts of Broach (Nil), Surat (4) and Thana (1) and 6 in 1955 for a total population of 221,641.

The number of arrested persons for sex-offences in 1954 was five and seven in 1955. The cases were mostly of the type in which a bride or a wife is enticed away or raped.

3. *Prohibition offences.* It is significant that in above type of offences there is no variation and the number is almost steady. But in the case of prohibition offences there is a tendency towards decrease. In 1954 there were 1298 offences while in 1955 there were only 928 offences. This is a distinct improvement caused by various circumstances. Drinking in

public is definitely decreasing steadily and such offenders are fewer. The case of illicit distillation are also evidently on the decrease. This may be attributed to two factors—a decrease in the cases detected owing to insufficiency of evidence or to a genuine decrease in cases of illicit distillation, arising from the pursuance of better employment pattern or of other sources of income or a genuine decrease in the demand of liquor.

If we take into account the essentially tribal origin of the Dubla community, which involved a sacrificial and ceremonial use of liquor on occasions of illness (sacrificing a chicken accompanied by liquor) or death etc, we realise that these habits are hard to change and most tribal people have to be forgiven. They find it difficult to get beyond the habits of life followed by their neighbours; they usually follow the pattern observed in other rural communities of the same area. Another point to be remembered is that when offenders are arrested they generally belong to the servant class and the landless Dubla (who is a whole-time or a part time servant) is arrested while the richer owner or actual offender escapes attention.

4. *Fall in number of offences.* In spite of these considerations, it is creditable to the progressive nature of the Dubla group that the percentage of offenders has fallen as seen from the following figures obtained from the District Police Superintendent's office for the three districts.

Name of District	Total Population of Dublas	Nature of offences	No. of Dublas involved	
			1954	1955
Surat	182473	Murder	4	5
		Sex-offences	Nil	3
		Prohibition	1026	815
		Total	1030	823
Thana	14987	Murder	1	1
		Sex-offences	5	4
		Prohibition	272	113
		Total	278	118
Broach	24181	No cases are reported by the police against Dublas of this District though there are cases against Naikas and Gamits.		

The above statistics indicate an improvement in the incidence of crime among Dublas, in spite of the inadequate increase in literacy and education as indicated in another chapter.

5. *Mildness of the tribe.* There is another factor that proves the mildness of the Dubla tribe as a group. It happens to be a group which is more sinned against than what sins it commits against others. This was discovered in a study of the criminal cases in the sessions court of Surat District, conducted by my young friend Shri Mukund R. Joshi, B.A., LL.B. The experience of this young man as well as that of his father who also is a prominent lawyer practising on the criminal side, is that the Dubla being without financial resources and mental courage seldom wins in cases against him. In the extracts of the case given below, a Dubla group was quietly dancing in the village at Kevadi, Taluka Mandvi, District Surat. After 10 o'clock at night, the party wanted to close the dance but another party of tribal people (who were evidently non-Dublas, though no names of caste are mentioned in the judicial records) came from another village and wanted to join. A quarrel issued resulting in a riot causing the death of one Dubla and injury to six others. The facts of the case are mentioned in the following extracts from the committing magistrate's "statement of facts" in case number 472 of 1955:—

The nine accused Hamji Savia aged 25, Dania Valia 25, Nagin Vehia 25, Mocha Velia 18, Ubda Mona 28, Dinia Devla 18, Spihia Sama 27, Doho Vedamo 22, Mithia Madaria 25, stand chargesheeted for all offence under section 302-325-147 and 34 of the Indian Penal Code. The story of the prosecution case in brief is that on 8-6-55 Ujadia the son of Pohla Karia of Kevadi under Taluka Mandvi was to be married and so the bride's party had come from Sarkui. A dance was held at night on the day and the accused and others had taken part in the dance. During the dance the accused No. 1 and Seria Tejia quarrelled and the accused No. 1 has belaboured him. Then Devalia Chhandia went to tell Punia Tehia, the brother of Sheria, and as a result Punia went there and then the accused No. 1 and the other accused

severally belaboured him. The accused then went away. Punia fell unconscious at that place, and subsequently he was taken to his place and from there was taken to Mandvi Dispensary where he succumbed at noon; and his wife lodged the complaint. After due investigation by the P. S. I. Mandvi these accused were chargesheeted on 6-7-55. The complainant Bai Dubli said that on the night of the incident she was sleeping with her deceased husband and then Devalia Chhandia went to their place and told her husband Punia that his brother Sheria was being beaten and so Punia went to the place and she followed him. She said that accused No. 1 had beaten him with stick. She said she could identify the others. He said the accused No. 1 had given him a stick blow. He said accused Nos. 5 and 9 had also beaten him. He said accused No. 1 had beaten Sheria. He said that Punia had come and accused Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7 had beaten Punia Chhindia Ex. 8. He was also beaten by accused Nos. 1 and 9. He said accused No. 1, 4, 6, 8, 9 had beaten Punia with sticks, Kachbia Nagraia said his son Chhindia was beaten at that time. Sheria Ex. 11 said accused No. 1 had beaten him. Richhada Ragia said accused No. 1 and others had beaten Punia. He could not identify others, now out of these witnesses who had seen the incident all of them say that accused No. 1 had taken part in belabouring Punia. Witnesses Exs. 7 and 8 that the accused Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7 and 1, 4, 6, 8, had beaten Punia. That means all the accused except No. 5 had beaten him. Witness Ex. 6 says accused No. 5 had beaten him when he told them why they were beating. So this shows that all the accused had taken part in the incident. The Medical Officer shows that Punia had met a violent death and so there are enough grounds to commit the accused to the Court of Sessions. In this case, the accused was awarded a light punishment of imprisonment for two years on the ground that it was a case of murder which was not premeditated.

6. *Legal Aid.* Cases in which the Dublas have been assaulted in the interior villages and beaten by their employers or landlords on flimsy pretexts have been reported; one of which at Godsamba was mentioned to me by a very

reliable social worker. But no cognizance is taken of such cases by the courts, unless a complaint is filed with the help of social workers or other kindly friends. The necessity of protecting the rights of the tribes in matters civil and criminal is officially recognised by the administration. The Government of Bombay has sanctioned a scheme for the grant of free legal aid to scheduled tribes in several districts like Khandesh, Nasik, Broach, Panch Mahals, Thana, Surat, Baroda, Banaskantha, and Sabar Kantha. But the full use of this facility is not made, until the more intelligent of the social workers spare time and labour for rendering this help to the illiterate tribals.

Chapter XVII

HEALTH SERVEYS OF DUBLAS

I. HEALTH AND NUTRITION STATUS OF DUBLAS

This chapter is based on the Diet and Nutrition studies amongst the Dubla community of Varad village, Taluka Bardoli, Dist. Surat, conducted at the instance of this Society by Dr. M. V. Radhakrishna Rao of the Government of Bombay and his staff in February 1956. The Society is grateful to them for the keenness and sympathy with which the work was undertaken.

Introduction. In view of the interest evinced by Government in the uplift of adivasis and other backward classes, the Department of Nutrition had carried out a diet and nutrition study amongst the adivasis of the Dangs District. A Report on this work has been published by the Government of Bombay. A similar study was undertaken in February 1956 in collaboration with the Gujarat Research Society, Bombay, amongst the Dubla Community in Surat District. The study includes details of food intake and general dietary habits, nutritional status of the individual members of the families and examination of blood in some selected cases of nutritional anaemia.

The work was carried out by a team consisting of Dr. M. V. Radhakrishna Rao, the Assistant Director, in-charge Department of Nutrition who initiated the survey work; Dr. V. N. Jai, the Medical Officer, carried out the clinical nutrition survey of the selected families and the primary school children; and Smt. S. Udas, Senior Nutritionist, studied the dietary habits of the families. The Statistical Analysis of the data was carried out by Smt. K. Lotlikar, Statistician of the Department of Nutrition.

Varad village is situated about three miles north of Bardoli. The total population is just over 2,500. Total annual rainfall is 45″.

Out of the total of about 500 families in the village nearly 230 belong to the Dubla community.

2. *Selection of Families.* During the preliminary survey of the local conditions it was observed that the hutments of this community are mainly concentrated at two places (viz. the Congress *Fallioo* and the *Derasar Fallioo*) in the Varad village. In order to get a representative sample, families from both the areas were selected for the study. The total number of families, selected at random, is 80 i.e. 35% of the total number of Dubla families in this village.

3. *Method of Study.* (a) *Preliminary meeting:* In order to create confidence amongst the Dublas, a meeting was organised on the eve of the commencement of the actual survey work. Shri Zaveribhai S. Patel, the veteran social worker of the area, introduced the team of workers to them and outlined the aim of our visit. The Medical Officer of this Department then explained (in Gujarati) the nature of work.

(b) *Diet survey:* Accompanied by the Research Assistant of the Gujarat Research Society who was well acquainted with the local population, each family was visited once—either before noon or late in the evening. In addition to noting the general family history, such as age, sex, occupation and health, the head of the family or the house wife was interrogated for collecting the dietary data. The schedule used for the purposes is enclosed as Appendix A.

(c) *Clinical Nutrition Survey:* The individual members of all the families, selected for the diet survey, were clinically examined by the 'rapid' method of clinical nutrition survey, recommended by the Indian Council of Medical Research. In addition, all the children present, in the primary school on the day of visit, were similarly examined. The schedule used for the purpose is enclosed as Appendix B. As a part of the survey work, blood pressure measurements were recorded in some cases. Moreover, Haemoglobin estimation and blood smear examination were carried out in typical cases of anaemia.

4. *General observations.* (a) *The peoples:* The Dubla Community is one of the scheduled tribes. Due to very poor economic condition, they are perforce vegetarians; however,

they resort to fleshy foods as and when they can afford. They speak Gujarati.

(b) *Occupation:* Both men and women seek employment. The adult male is usually a casual labourer—mostly working on the farm. On the other hand, the adult female is generally employed by the farmer for carrying out domestic work. In some cases, grown-up children were also observed to be employed by the farmers, mainly to look after the cattle.

(c) *Economic Condition:* As the head of the family is generally a casual labourer, the economic condition of all the families is practically the same.

A casual labourer usually gets either Re. 1/- or As. 8 and the morning meal from the farmer, for the day's work. If however, he is employed for a continuous period of two days or more, he gets Re. 1/- and 5 seers of *jowar on alternate days.* The male members of the families were observed to be employed on an average for two to three days in a week.

Women are usually employed on a monthly basis. They get Rs. 2/- to Rs. 3/- per month, in addition to the morning tea and the noon meal, for doing the domestic work of about 4 to 5 hours' duration.

(d) *Food production.* Rice and *jowar* are the main crops in the area. *Rajgira* is also grown to some extent. *Tur* and some varieties of beans (specially *val*) are the important pulses grown locally. The availability of vegetables is restricted to a few varieties only, the important being *papadi,* brinjals. There is a general dearth of fruits. Production of milk in the village can be considered satisfactory, but the Dublas are too poor to afford it.

(e) *Dietary habits. Jowar* is the staple food grain and it is generally consumed in the form of *bhakar. Jowar* is also used for making a preparation called *bhaidku. Jowar* flour is cooked in water until soft. Sufficient quantity of buttermilk is then added to complete the cooking. Salt is added to taste. The preparation is taken as a semi-liquid porridge. Some of the families, were observed to be living just on this cereal preparation, due to extreme poverty.

Pulses are consumed to a greater extent when there is

a scarcity of vegetables as in the summer months.

A fruit called *vilayati amli* (Pithecolobium dulce) was observed to be consumed by the local population. Children were obtaining this fruit straight from the trees. The soft whitish pulp surrounding the seeds, being edible, is consumed, after discarding the outside pod.

The well-to-do families who possess cattle, generally prepare butter and ghee at home. After churning out butter, the residual liquid (buttermilk) is given free to anyone who asks for it. The Dublas utilize this buttermilk mainly in the preparation of *bhaidku* as described above.

(f) *Water Supply.* In the area surveyed, there are about 3 to 4 wells and this is the only source of water, for the community.

(g) *Living conditions.* The general health and hygiene of the families appeared to be unsatisfactory. In some of the hutments two or more families were staying together. Proper arrangements for the disposal of excreta were not existing.

(h) *Medical facilities.* The nearest Govt. Dispensary is at Bardoli—about 3 miles from Varad. Although there are two to three Medical Practitioners in the village, the poor Dublas can hardly afford to be treated by them.

(i) *Educational facilities.* There is a primary school with separate sections for boys and girls in the village. Although the Dubla children are permitted to attend and study along with the non-Dubla children, the former hardly attend the school.

5. *Results of the Dietary Studies.* (a) *Average Diet.* For the purpose of calculating the total consumption units (C. U.) of each family and the average intake of each food group per C. U., the proportionate scale of co-efficients was used for children of different ages.

In case the head of the family took his meals at the place of work, his absence was recorded and the necessary correction was applied for calculating the number of C.U. of the family concerned.

The average diet is shown in Table I. The table also gives the standard deviation of the respective average values

of the intake of foodstuffs. For the sake of comparison, the quantities (in ozs.) recommended by the Nutrition Advisory Committee of the Indian Council of Medical Research are also indicated in the same table. The maximum and the minimum values observed in the case of each of food group have also been given, to indicate the range of variation.

The average diet is far from being satisfactory. The average intake of all the food groups is below the recommended levels. Thus the diet is poor in both the energy yielding as well as 'protective' foods. The intake of root vegetables, fruits, fleshy foods and eggs is nil. Although the average figure for the intake of buttermilk is 12.3 oz., the degree of dilution practiced by the housewife varied from family to family and the resultant buttermilk, as consumed, was observed to be very thin in consistency.

(b) Table II shows the *differential consumption* of foodstuffs in the families. The families have been divided into—

1) Those *not* consuming any particular foodstuff.

2) Those consuming a particular foodstuff with the average intake *below* the desired level.

And 3) Those consuming a particular foodstuff with the average intake *upto* the desired level and *above*.

It will be seen from this Table that of the 11 food groups, 4 items viz. root vegetables, fruits, fish and meat and eggs, are completely absent from the diets of these families. Pulses (93%) and leafy vegetables (98%) are also mostly not included in the diets of these families. Green non-leafy vegetables are not included in the diets of 42% of the families; sugar and jaggery in 11%, oils and fats in 61% and milk and milk production in 17%.

It will be seen from this Table that there are hardly any families which consume the foodstuffs to the desired level and above, except for 39% of families which include cereals to the desired level and 26% of families which include green non-leafy vegetables to the desired level.

In the remaining families, the foodstuffs are included below the desired level—cereals 61%, pulses 6%, leafy vegetables 1%, green non-leafy vegetables 32%, sugar and jaggery 85%, oils and fats 39% and milk 83%.

Table I. Statement showing the average diet, standard deviation, maximum and minimum values for each item of foodstuffs and the diet recommended by I.C.M.R.

Foodstuffs	Diet recommended by I. C. M. R. (in ounces.)	Average diet (in ounces)	Standard Deviation.	Maximum (in oz.)	Minimum (in ounces)
Cereals					
Rice	-	1.4	-	11.8	-
Jowar	-	11.1	-	20.0	-
Total	14.0	12.5	± 3.17	20.7	6.4
Pulses	3.0	0.2	± 0.57	3.1	-
Green vegetables					
Leafy	4.0	0.06	± 0.48	4.3	-
Non-leafy	3.0	2.1	± 2.89	14.7	-
Root vegetables	3.0	-	-	-	-
Fruits	3.0	-	± 0.50	-	-
Sugar & Jaggery	2.0	0.7	-	2.1	-
Vegetable oils/fats, Butter & ghee	2.0	0.07	± 0.14	0.8	-
Milk products					
Milk	10.0	0.9	± 0.80	4.2	-
Buttermilk	-	12.3*	±10.0	37.2	-
Fish & meat	3.0	-	-	-	-
Eggs (No.)	One	-	-	-	-

* Quantity as consumed after being diluted by the housewife.

In other words, it may be said that the diet of these families mostly consist of cereals, some green—mostly non-leafy, vegetables, sugar and jaggery, oils and fats (in very meagre quantity) and milk and buttermilk.

(b) *Foodstuffs.* Apart from buttermilk, the average consumption of foodstuffs is nearly 17 oz. per day; out of this 12.5 ozs. is cereals alone. The other more important foodstuffs viz. pulses, green vegetables, sugars, cooking oils and fresh milk—all together work out to just 4.5 oz. per C.U. per day. Thus the diets are monotonous and inadequate.

Table II. Statement showing the differential consumption of foodstuffs in the families surveyed.

Foodstuffs	No. of families not including particular food stuff in their diets.		No. of families including particular foodstuff in their diets			
			Below desired level		Upto & above desired level	
	Number	Per-centage	Number	Per-centage	Number	Per-centage
Cereals	-	-	49	61	31	39
Pulses	74	93	5	6	1	1
Leafy vegetables	78	98	1	1	1	1
Roots & Tubers	80	100	-	-	-	-
Non-leafy vegetables	34	42	25	32	21	26
Fruits	80	100	-	-	-	-
Sugar & Jaggery	9	11	68	85	3	4
Oils & fats	49	61	31	39	-	-
Milk & milk products (excluding buttermilk)	14	17	66	83	-	-
Fish & Meat	80	100	-	-	-	-
Eggs	80	100	-	-	-	-

As stated earlier, the Dublas consume fair amounts (12.3 oz. per C.U. per day) of buttermilk. However, since this quantity represents the average of a very dilute liquid, it is very poor in caloric and nutritive value.

Small quantities of *chanā*, roasted groundnuts, *chivada*, *sev*, biscuits, etc. are infrequently purchased by children from the occasional hawkers.

(c) *Nutrients.* The values for all the essential nutrients except iron and vitamin B_1 (desired mostly from cereals), are below the recommended levels. Table III shows the average intake of the nutrients as well as calories, compared with the recommended values.

The average intake of *calories* is under 1500—much below the minimum value, recommended for an adult male doing some kind of work. Moreover, most of the calories are derived from starchy foods such as cereals.

In view of the meagre intake of milk and the total absence of fleshy foods, the amount of animal proteins in the

diet is very little. Similarly, in view of the meagre intake of green vegetables and the total absence of fruits, the amounts of vitamins A and C in the diet are very low.

Table III. Statement showing the average values of the nutrients of the diets of the families, with the nutrient intake and calories recommended by the I.C.M.R.

Nutrients		Nutrient intake recommended by the I. C. M. R.	Average intake of the families per C.U. per day.
Proteins	(g)	82	42.8
Animal proteins	(„)	16-27	3.9
Fats	(„)	85*	14.0
Carbohydrates	(„)	350*	294.9
Calcium	(„)	1.0	0.37
Phosphorus	(„)		1.15
Iron	(mg.)	20-30	25.2
Vitamin A	(I.U.)	3000-4000	635
Vitamin B_1	(I.U.)	333-666	505
Vitamin C	(mg.)	50	11
Calories		2400-3000†	1477

* Approximate requirements for a balanced diet for an adult male.
† Varies with the nature and extent of work.

6. *Results of the Clinical Nutrition Surevy.* (a) *Family members.* All the 80 families, consisting of 387 persons and covered by the diet survey were surveyed by the 'rapid' method of clinical nutrition survey. As the heads of the families and some of the other earning members were generally absent, only 267 i.e. 69% could be examined. Of these, 172 were adults and 95 were children under 14 years.

The distribution of these in the three grades of nutritional status is given in Table IV. It will be seen from this, that the nutritional status is very unsatisfactory. Only 8 persons—seven adults and a breast-fed infant i.e. 3% are in Grade I, i.e. their physique and general health is good; 241 persons i.e. 9% are in grade II i.e. they are undernourished and 18, i.e. 7% are in grade III i.e. they show definite evidence of one or more deficiency states.

There is hardly any significant difference in the nutri-

tional status between i) boys and girls, ii) men and women and iii) adults and children, although adults are slightly better nourished than the children.

Table IV. Statement showing the distribution of persons in the three grades* of nutritional status.

		I No.	II No.	III No.	II & III %	Total
(A) **Family members.**						
Infants	Males	-	5	1	100%	6
(upto 1 Yr.)	Females	1	9	-	90%	10
Preschool children	Males	-	8	3	100%	11
(2-5 Yrs.)	Females	-	32	3	100%	35
Children	Males	-	11	4	100%	15
(6-14 Yrs.	Females	-	7	4	100%	11
Adolescent	Males	-	7	-	100%	7
(15-20 Yrs.)	Females	-	18	-	100%	18
Adults	Males	4	62	2	94%	68
	Females	3	71	-	96%	74
Others	Males	-	5	-	100%	12
(age not known)	Females	-	6	1		
(B) **School children**						
Boys		Nil + 3	13 + 54	Nil + 2	96%	13+59
Girls		Nil + 4	Nil + 74	2 + 11	95%	2+89
Total		8 + 7	254 + 128†:	20 + 13†	95%	282+148†

* Grade I (Physique and General Health, good).
Grade II (Undernourished).
Grade III (Evidence of malnutrition—single or multiple deficiency states, present).
† Children **not** belonging to the Dubla Community.

(b) *School children.* Both the sections of the local primary school were visited to clinically examine all the children present. The total strength of children in the boys' section was 195 (54 Dublas and 141 others). On the day of visit, only 72 boys (13 Dublas and 59 others) were present.

The total strength of children in the girls' section was 178 (39 Dublas and 139 others). On the day of visit, only 91 girls (2 Dublas and 89 others) were present. It will thus

be seen that of the few Dubla children (93) registered with the primary school, only a small number attend the school. From Table I, it will be observed that the nutritional status of these children (Dublas and others) is also not very satisfactory; the percentage of boys and girls in grade II and III is 95%.

These school children belong to the age group 6 to 15 years. Amongst the non-Dublas, there are 7 children in grade I; whereas there is none amongst the Dublas in the same age-group. Thus, the non-Dublas show slightly better nutritional standard. This difference, however, is not very significant.

The details of the clinical findings, particularly the signs and symptoms of specific nutritional deficiencies, commonly observed amongst the persons who are grouped either in grade II or III are given in Table V.

The Table reveals a high prevalence of generalised undernourishment i.e. inadequacy of the diet (caloric undernutrition), together with—in many cases, a deficiency of proteins. Hypovitaminosis A was also equally common. Hypovitaminosis B was common much more amongst the adults than the children. Anaemic condition was fairly common amongst women. Signs of more than one deficiency were present in many persons.

Dental caries (tooth decay) was present in only a few children.

(c) *Height and Weight.* As a part of the clinical nutrition survey, height and weight have also been recorded.

The number of Dubla boys and girls in the different ages is too small for obtaining useful average figures for each age.

The average height of an adult man is 64 inches and that of the adult woman 59 inches. The average weight of an adult man is 97 lbs. and that of the adult woman 85 lbs.

(d) *Haematological examination.* During the nutrition survey of family members, some women—mostly mothers, were observed to be clinically anaemic. In order to study the nature of this condition, smears were prepared from blood of about ten mothers—9, typical cases of anaemia and

one, a healthy housewife. Moreover, haemoglobin was estimated, during the survey, in all of them—except two, who refused. The haemotological examination indicated that the anaemic condition is mostly secondary in nature (due mainly to iron-deficiency) and mild in nature. There was no evidence pathognomonic of any abnormality.

7. *Summary.* A diet and nutrition survey of 80 families belonging to the Dubla Community, a scheduled tribe, was carried out at Varad, Taluka Bardoli, Dist. Surat, in February 1956.

All the families are perforce vegetarians and speak a dialect of Gujarati.

The entire tribe is very poor, since the adult male members of the families are casual labourers mostly on farms. Women are employed as domestic servants by the well-to-do families of the village. The casual labourers get either Re. 1 or *Jowar* (5 lbs.) for the day's work. The domestic servants get Rs. 2 to 3 p.m., in addition to the morning tea and the noon-meal.

The diet is mainly composed of cereals, with a small quantity of pulses, and green non-leafy vegetables. Fair amounts of buttermilk is consumed, since it is distributed free by the cattle-owning families.

The average intake of all items of foodstuffs is below the desired levels. The average diet is below the recommnded level in all the nutrients except iron and vitamin B_1 derived mostly from cereals. This is also true of the caloric value.

The diets are thus monotonous and inadequate.

Out of the 387 members belonging to the 80 families, 267 members were clinically examined. Of these, 172 were adults and 95 were children. In addition, 163 primary school children were also examined.

The nutritional status of the family members as well as the school children is very unsatisfactory.

Only 3 per cent of the Dublas examined are in grade I of the nutritional status. Thus only one out of 30 persons showed good physique and general health.

The main deficiencies are generalised undernourishment

with protein malnutrition and hypovitaminosis—A. The incidence of dental caries is fairly low.

Examination of blood in some cases of clinical anaemia showed the presence of mild degree of secondary anaemia.

II. LEPROSY SURVEY

With the courtesy of Dr. T. N. Julundwalla, Medical Officer, in charge of Gujarat Central Unit, Bardoli, working under the auspices of Gandhi Memorial Leprosy Foundation, we have been able to reproduce the following report:—

"The exhaustive survey of 31 villages, situated in the compact area of Bardoli and Palsana talukas of Surat district has shown that there are 179 leprosy cases of whom 170 cases belong to the Dubla community of this part. Approximately 2% of the Dubla community of the 31 villages, mentioned above, is suffering from leprosy."

"Moreover, the sample survey conducted previously in about 100 villages of Surat district also indicated that about 90% of the cases belong to the Adivasi community of the district."

"The reason for leprosy being mostly prevalent among the Dubla community is the housing condition of the Dublas and their lack of knowledge of sanitation. Long and intimate contact with infected patients is the primary cause of the spread of the disease. About a dozen people huddled together in a small hut of hardly 10′ x 10′ are open to infection, if there is any infectious case among them. Their contact with other communities is not so long and intimate; as the early leprosy cases of all these communities do the agricultural work in the fields, while the rank cases are not admitted in the houses of other communities. The females of the Dublas do the house-hold work for other communities; and if they have no apparent signs of leprosy in the early stages, they become carriers and spread the disease in those families."

The above report gives an indication of the very unsatisfactory state of the health of the Dubla tribe. The general conditions of health and nutrition reported in the Diet Sur-

vey are alarming enough. The conditions of housing are unsatisfactory to the extreme.

The spread of leprosy which is an infectious disesae caused by contact with infected persons in crowded insanitary huts is a serious danger to the non-tribal population among whom the Dublas are working as domestic servants. Thus bad housing, insanitary rural conditions, and ignorance demand early action, if the backwardness of the Dublas is not to be a danger to their immediate neighbours, and to the surrounding country. The effect of the new health policy, as a part of the community project and National Expansion Service and Sarvodaya movement, is being watched, but among a people with limited income, poor health, and little education, the expectation of an equivalent cash contribution may not be realised. In the meantime, the problems brought to the front by the Health Surveys are expected to be sympathetically dealt with, especially in view of the provision in the Constitution of India, Artcile 47, which directs that "the State shall regard the raising the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health as among its primary duties."

Chapter XVIII

SEROLOGICAL DATA

General. In the scheme of research for the tribes of Gujarat I have insisted on the collection of serological data and these have been collected also for the Dubla tribe. There has been and will be a school of thought specially of social anthropologists and sociologists, who, by their training and temperament, may be unable to appreciate the value of these data. But with the progress of the subject and its growing achievements in the field of Indian serology, the proper value of blood groups research will be appreciated. Blood groups are genetically determined at conception and remain fixed for life, and the mechanism of their inheritance is clearly understood. The things were different when only A, B, AB and O groups were being investigated, but under the stimulation of a host of investigators like Mourant[1] Boyd[2], the volume and variety of work has greatly expanded.

"In choosing the blood groups as a guide to resolving the problems of racial diversities, we must abandon entirely any mystical views of blood as a racial factor, a substance possessing nobility, purity or contamination. Rather does a study of blood groups show a heterogeneity in the proudest nations and support the view that the races of the present day are but temporary integrations in the constant process of mutation, selection and mixing that marks the history of every living species that maintains itself by means of sexual reproduction."

Though nonscientific racialism is by no means dead, and though sociologists are unable to realise the importance of serological evidence, a scientific anthropology is coming into being and must in the long run prevail. Before, however, we attempt to establish the blood groups as one of the main basis for such an anthropology, it is necessary to inquire what are the relative advantages of blood groups as compared with other physical characters as a means of biological

classification.

2. *Anthropology and Genetics.* Such characters as skin, hair, and eye colour, and shape of the cranium have long been used for purposes of classification. It is well known that most of such characters are not inherited by any simple rule and geneticists have shown that in the case of some characters, their quantitative expression is controlled by a number of independent genes, varying degree of effect of environment, and nutrition in early life. In spite of these complications the physical anthropologists have come to realise that the underlying factor in their classifications of human beings consists of the genes which are transmitted from generation to generation in a given population and which taken together, determine its innate physical composition.

3. *Utility of Blood Groups.* Blood groups have become increasingly important in the scientific study of physical anthropology for the following main reasons:—

(i) Blood groups are characters which are genetically determined at conception and remain fixed for life.

(ii) The mechanism of their inheritance is clearly understood.

(iii) They are controlled by individual independent genes and consequently less subject to personal errors of observation than many of the characters used in the past.

(iv) The gene frequencies of blood groups vary to a statistically significant degree in different populations to enable a useful estimate to be made by examining only a few hundred persons.

(v) Blood groups are remarkably free from any obscuring effect of age, disease, and influence of other genes in the body although examples of an effect of each of these could be given.

(vi) The blood group genes serve as markers of their chromosomes.

(vii) The technics are relatively easy after some experience and the work needs no costly or specialised equipments.

(viii) It has become possible to classify human beings into racial groups on the strength of the data of blood groups.

(ix) Blood group serology is of interest not only to the immunologist but also to the physician, the lawyer, the genetist, and the anthropologist, and is being studied enthusiastically by numerous workers all over the world.[3]

4. *Other genetic characters.* Active search for the clearly inherited common differences between human beings has, of course, been made and is being made outside the field of blood groups. Thalassaemia, sickle cell trait, secretor and nonsecretor of group specific substances in saliva, ability to taste phenyl-thio carbamide (P.T.C.) and colourblindness are amongst the other genetical characters which the modern physical anthropologist uses for classification of man.

William Boyd has contributed brilliantly to the application of genetical characters in the classification of man at International Symposium on Anthropology under the Wenner Gren Foundation in 1952 at which the President of the Gujarat Research Society was present by invitation. Boyd[7] emphasized this new type of work and convinced the scientific minded anthropologists about his classification of human races on the basis of genetical characters.

5. *Serological Work in India.* The Indian subcontinent with its highly complex racial network provides an excellent opportunity for such studies. It has provided inviting opportunities to Lahman and Cutbush[8] under the Nuffield Foundation and Simmons under the Wenner Gren Foundation for work on South Indian tribes. Recently, Foy and Condy came for work on tribes of Bihar and some tribes of South India. But the work is of such tremendous magnitude that such few attempts by only foreign workers will contribute little to what is required to be done. If we look into the tables of data in Mourant's "Distribution of Blood Groups in Man" we feel that only a negligible fraction of the work has been done in India as compared to large body of data collected in other parts of the world. Government of India has engaged Dr. Ernest C. Buchi for such studies but Buchi has done work mostly in Bengal and South India.[9] Khanolkar and his group of workers have done very elaborate work in Western India[12].

6. *Blood Groups in Gujarat:* (a) In Gujarat consider-

able work on ABO blood groups has been carried out, the earliest being by Majumdar[10] in 1946, at the invitation of Gujarat, Research Society. Twentytwo castes and tribes of Cutch Saurashtra and Gujarat were examined and about 3000 blood samples were taken. It was found that (1) the Khojas and Luhanas possessed similar incidence of blood groups (2) the Audich Brahmin, Nagar Brahmin, the Bhatia, the Mer, the Miana, and the Kunbi Patidar formed a separate constellation (3) the Parsis had a similar serological status to that of the higher castes (4) the Rabaris, Wagris, and other tribals formed separate groups by themselves. These results were obtained only on A, B, O and AB groups and the p, q, and r gene frequencies.

(b) A more detailed study of genetical characters were undertaken by Sanghvi and Khanolkar[11] who also studied A B O, A_1 A_2 MN, P and Rho (-D) blood groups, P.T.C. taste reactions, and colour blindness. But the only Gujarati group studied then was the Vadnagara Nagar Brahman.

(c) The Gujarat Research Society[1] initiated in October 1954, a comprehensive genetical and serological study of certain endogamous Gujarati groups. These groups were at first restricted to (1) Kapol Vania (2) Bhangi Harijans of Saurashtra (3) Leva Patidars (4) Cutchi Lohanas (5) Audich Brahmins (6) Talavia Dublas. In this investigation along with the serological study of ABO, A_1 A_2, MN, Rh genotype (-C, -c, -D, -E) and Duffy (Fy^a) bloodgroups three well recognised inherited characters (1) secretion of group specific substances in saliva, (2) taste reaction to P.T.C. (3) and colourblindness were also studied. Among the conclusions reached by this study the following are the most important:—

(1) The Gujarati groups have greater affinity with the North Indians in respect of ABO groups.
(2) The value of X^2 $(Chi)^2$ for intragroup variation in Cutchi Lohana was as high as 8.6003. The results deserve to be confirmed by further work.
(3) The genetical relationship is considered to be greater between Audich Brahmin and Leva Patidars and between Cutchi Lohanas and Talavia Dublas, and

the least between Kapol Vanias and B.H.S.

7. *Blood groups of tribal population.* A further research conducted by Shri G. N. Vyas[5] at the instance of the Gujarat Research Society in this connection has resulted in an important discovery regarding sickle cell trait in the case of tribes of Gujarat. A significant result[6] is that none of the caste groups like Anavil Brahmins, Leva Patidars and Marathas have exhibited a single person with sickle cell trait while this character is present to the extent of 15.33 per cent in the case of Bhils, 20.56 per cent in Dhodias, 9.48 per cent in Dublas (Talavias) and 22.22 per cent in Naikas and 33.98 per cent. among Gamits.[14] This clearcut dichotomy between tribal and non-tribal population is extremely important and significant, even if much more work may be necessary before conclusive evidence is secured.

8. *Blood Groups of Dublas.* The study of the Dubla tribe was a part of the present research scheme, the results of which are summarised below:—

A total of 212 subjects were investigated for ABO, A_1A_2, MN, Rh genotype (-C, -c, -D, -E) and Duffy blood groups, P.T.C. taste reaction, secretion of blood group substances in saliva and colour blindness. The work was conducted by Shri G. N. Vyas with the help of Kumari G. C. Kothari and Shri J. C. Gandhi. The blood samples were later studied for abnormal hemoglobins by Shri P. K. Sukumaran of Indian Cancer Research Centre.

Material and Methods. The total number of subjects were investigated during three visits to Varad and Rayam in Bardoli taluka and Hansapore in Navsari taluka. Sufficient care was taken to take only unrelated subjects.

The blood samples were collected from finger prick into sterile Simmon's glucose-citrate solution. The saliva samples were boiled within an hour after collection. The blood and saliva samples were brought over to Bombay and tested in the laboratory of the Blood Bank, K.E.M. Hospital, Bombay.

High titre anti-A, anti-B, Anti-A_1, anti-M, and anti-N sera were locally prepared. Anti-C, anti-c, anti-D and anti-E sera were supplied by Ortho Pharmaceutical Corporation,

Raritan, New Jersey, U.S.A., Anti-Fy^a serum was obtained from Medical Research Council Blood Group Reference Laboratory, London.

All the blood grouping tests were performed by M.R.C. *precipitin* tube or *micro tube* technic. Saliva samples were tested by agglutination inhibition technic. For P. T. C. taste reaction 11 dilutions of P.T.C. were used to determine the threshold of taste reaction. Colour blindness was investigated by using Ishihara's charts for test of colour blindness. Sickling wet preparations were made by using 2 per cent sodium metabisulphite solution. All the samples were ran for electrophoresis. This work was done by Shri P. K. Sukumaran of Indian Cancer Research Centre. It may also be mentioned here that anti-Fy^a serum was available only with Indian Cancer Research Centre and hence the tests for Duffy blood groups were performed by Shri H. M. Bhatia with the co-operation of the authorities of that centre.

9. *Results of Dublas of Surat District* are summarised.

Table 1: The A_1A_2BO blood groups of the Dublas.

Phenotype	Males	Females	Total number observed		Per cent		Number expected	gene frequency		
O	33	37	70		37.6		69.86	r	0.5741	
A_1	24	19	43	47	20.3		42.87	P_1	0.1516	.1684
A_2	3	1	4		1.9		4.15	P_2	0.0168	
B	40	37	77		36.3		76.80	q	0.2577	
A_1B	8	8	16	18	7.6	8.5	16.56			
A_2B	1	1	2		0.9		1.84		1.0002	
Total	109	103	212		100.0		212.08			

X^2 $(Chi)^2$ = 0.00005343 for 1 degree of freedom.

Table 2: The MN blood groups of the Dublas.

Phenotype	Males	Females	Total number observed	Per cent	Number expected	gene frequency	
M	37	39	76	35.9	77.85	m	0.6060
MN	52	53	105	49.5	101.20	n	0.3938
N	20	11	31	14.6	32.88		
							0.9998
Total	109	103	212	100.0	211.93		

X^2 $(Chi)^2$ = 0.2968 for 1 degree of freedom.

Table 3: The Rh blood groups of the Dublas.

Phenotype	Genotype	Males	Females	Total Number observed	Per cent	Number expected	Chromo-some	Chromo-some frequency
CCDee	R_1R_1; R_1R'	51	51	102	48.11	102.00	R_1(CDe)	0.6776
CcDee	R_1R_0; R_1r; R_0R'	35	33	68	32.07	66.06	R_2(cDE)	0.0784
CcDE	R_1R_2; R_2R'; R_0Rz; R_2Rz; Rzr	11	11	22	10.38	23.07	RO(cDe)	0.0904
ccDE	R_2R_0; R_2r; R_2R_2;	5	3	8	3.77	8.87	R'(Cde)	0.0162
ccDee	R_0R_0; R_0r; $R_0R^u{}_0$	4	3	7	3.30	7.00	r(cde)	0.1374
Cedee	R^1r	1	0	1	0.47	0.94		
ccdee	rr	2	2	4	1.89	4.00		1.0000
Total		109	103	212	99.99	211.94		

X^2 $(Chi)^2$ = 0.05671

Table 4: The ABH secretion of the Dublas

	Males.	Fem.	Total number observed	Per cent	Gene frequency.	
Secretor	81	87	168	83.2	Sec:	0.5898
Non Secretor	19	15	34	16.8	Non Sec.	0.4102
						1.0000
Total	100	102	202	100.0		

Table 5: The Duffy blood groups of the Dublas

	Males.	Fem.	Total number observed	Per cent	Gene frequency.	
Fy(a+)	63	67	130	65.6	Fy^a	0.4140
Fy(a—)	33	35	68	34.4	Fy^b	0.5860
						1.0000
Total	96	102	198	100.0		

Table 6: The Colour blindness in the Dublas

	Males	Females	Total number observed	Per cent.
Normal	106	103	209	98.6
Colour blind.	3	0	3	1.4
Total	109	103	212	100.0

Table 7: Frequency of thresholds for different dilutions of P. T. C. in Dublas.

		Males	Females	Total number observed	Per cent
	T1	0	0	0	0
T	T2	0	0	0	0
A	T3	4	4	8	3.98
S	T4	3	14	17	8.25
T	T5	17	12	29	14.08
E	T6	13	17	30	14.56
R	T7	12	17	29	14.08
S					
Threshold					

Table 7 (*Continued*)

		Males	Females	Total number observed	Per cent
N	T8	1	1	2	0.97
O	T9	5	1	6	2.91
N	T10	3	0	3	1.46
T	T11	6	3	9	4.37
A	T12	8	11	19	9.23
S	T13	32	22	54	26.19
T	**(T?)	(5)	(1)	(6)	—
E					
R	Total	104	102	206	100.08
S					

T1, T2, T3, etc. indicate dilutions thus:—

Distilled water	25/16	25/8	25/4	25/2	25	50	100	200	400	800	1600	Quinine 200 ppm
Notation T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	T8	T9	T10	T11	T12	T13

**T? means the subjects could not taste Quinine 200 ppm and hence were omitted from final calculations.

Table 8: Showing incidence of sickle cell trait in Dublas.

No. of persons tested	211
No. of persons with sickling (Hemoglobin A+S) ..	20
No. of persons with hemoglobin pattern A ..	191
Percentage of sickling	9.48

10. The comparative data in table 9 below for only O, A, B and AB, and p, q, r gene frequencies are based on the table at page 121 of Sarkar's[13] book on "The Aboriginal Races of India". It is significant of great racial affinity that the data of the Gujarat tribes—Bhils and Dublas—show a greater affinity among themselves than other groupings in the case of other aboriginal tribes of India.

11. It is not possible to give a full interpretation of the data contained in the above tables until comparative data of investigations of similar tribes and groups all over India are available. It is only when large data for the population of the whole of India and also of the countries round the

Table No. 9: Blood Groups of Mixed Groups (Page 121 of Sarkar's book "The Aboriginal Races of India")

Peoples	Locality	No.	O	A	B	AB	p	q	r	D/o	Author
Oraons	Ranchi	155	73	20	54	8					
		%	47.10	12.90	34.84	5.16	.088	.219	.686	0.8	Sarkar
,,	Palamau	115	30	32	39	14					
		%	26.09	27.83	33.91	12.17	.233	.274	.501	0.4	,,
Korwa	Palamau	114	22	31	37	24					
		%	19.30	27.19	32.46	21.05	.233	.280	.439	2.1	,,
,,	,,	147	47	52	30	18					
		%	31.7	35.6	20.4	12.3	.257	.159	.563	1.4	Majumdar
Bhil	Nimar	140	26	33	58	23					
		%	18.57	23.57	41.43	16.43	.218	.344	.431	0.3	Macfarlane
,,	Madhya Bharat	534	185	150	150	49					
		%	34.64	28.09	28.09	9.18	.203	.203	.589	0.6	Bose
,,	Panchamahal	369	138	102	96	33					
	(Gujarat)	%	37.40	27.64	26.02	8.94	.195	.185	.611	1.0	Majumdar
,,	Rajpipla	136	60	38	45	13					
		%	38.46	24.36	28.85	8.33	.217	.200	.620	0.6	,,
,,	Khandesh	150	60	43	36	11					
		%	40.00	28.67	24.00	7.33	.196	.168	.633	0.3	,,
Dublas	Surat	212	70	47	77	18					
	(Gujarat)	%	33.06	22.2	36.3	8.5	.168	.257	.570		Vyas

Arabian Sea, Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean on the West, and the various seafaring people in the South and the East are collected fully and analysed properly that we may be able to obtain enough material for generalisation of importance. Till then it is wise merely to collect data and wait till a suitable opportunity occurs.

We may however record that as stated in para 7 above that the tribal people of Gujarat show a high percentage of sickle cells which are absent from the non-tribals and that further the low 9.48 per cent of sickle cells found in the case of Dublas is significant when compared with 15.33 per cent for Bhils, 20.56 per cent in Dhodias, 22.22 per cent in Naikas and 33.98 per cent among Ganits. Thus the Dublas form a characteristic and distinctive type.

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Chapter XIX

RACIAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE DUBLA TRIBES

1. *General.* A tribe with a large population of over two lakhs of souls spread over three districts cannot be expected to belong to one race, specially when it is recognised that there is no pure race in the world, and that the daily life of this tribe provides for frequent misce-genation. Racial differences are usually based on physical and biological inherited factors on the one side, and on a group of cultural factors dependent upon social, environmental and emotional conditions as reflected in daily life, thought and action. These are studied in various disciplines like human biology, anthropology, sociology, social and cultural anthropology, ethnology, psychology and social psychology. The accumulated evidence in the previous chapters throw a great light on the cultural and other life of the Dubla people. A composite picture of these people cannot, however, be complete without their physical anthropometric record, which has been secured with expert help of the antropological department of Lucknow University under the trusted leadership of Dr. D. N. Majumdar. The conclusion that the Dublas "show a tendency to behave as an isolated and foreign element in the population of Gujarat" is remarkably supported by the independent evidence on the serological and also on the cultural side.

2. *The Main Racial Stocks in the World.* Before we examine this evidence in detail we may see how the anthropometric measurements have proved useful as a yardstick for racial classification. A comprehensive study of the man with other animals, and of fossils of man found in other parts of the world have constantly involved scientific measurement of the bones, the skull, and the size of the brain etc. This metric expression of human development eventually led to various systems of race classification, based on

traits like cephalic index, (the ratio of the length and the breadth of the head), the nose index, the skin colour, on stature, on the texture and the colour of the hair, the physiological characters like the nature of blood groupings and their frequencies, the incidence and the liability to disease —these are also useful factors that help us in judging the racial differences.

This task of determining the nature of physical differences is of not less importance than that of recording cultural differences based on the studies of individual and social behaviour, of the customs and mores of thought and action, of the influence of kinship in the society, of the stages of cultural levels, or the socio-economic factors. Each of these can form a basis of classification but the physical measurements have been accepted throughout the world as a universal basis. The primary racial stocks[1] of man are broadly divided into *Caucasian or white* (Nordic, Alpine, Mediterranean, Hindu). *Mongolian or yellow* (Mongolian, Malayan, American Indian) *Negroes or Black* (Negro, Melanesian, Bushman). The subdivision of these racial stocks and races and sub-races need not be discussed in this book, but it is interesting to record the view of Kroeber[1] (p. 153) that "An Indic element is recognised at present everywhere in *Oceania* except in Southern Australia. It is strongest in Polynesia where it seems equivalent to what is called Hindu in this book". The Charts of world distribution of races given in Kroeber's book describe the vast scope that has existed for migration and mixture of human races and for the Indian tribes.

3. *Geographical Classification of Indian tribes.* The classification of Indian tribes has been based by different authors at different times in different manners. Geographical location finds the easiest outlet for this classification and supplies naturally the most satisfying description. The Hilly tribes bordering on the Himalayas from Eastern Kashmir, Eastern Punjab, Himachal, Northern Uttar Pradesh, and Assam may be considered as North-North-Eastern Zone. The central or the middle zone would include Bengal, Behar, Southern Uttar Pradesh, Southern Rajasthan, Madhya

Bharat, Northern and Western Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. In the periphery of this zone, may be included the southern tribal communities in Hyderabad, Mysore, Coorg, Travancore-Cochin, Andhra and Madras. These three zones provide a useful classification though it is not necessarily connected with racial or linguistic affinities.

4. *Linguistic Classification.* Language is one of the most common and frequent source of transmission of culture and linguistic classification provides evidence of ethnic and racial affinities, even though a group may give up or acquire a new language for reasons and circumstances unconnected with ethnic origins. The distinction between linguistic and racial types should not, however, be overlooked. The point was emphasised once by Maxmuller in a classical sentence which can bear repetition. "I have declared again and again that when I say Aryas or Aryans, I mean neither blood or bones, nor hair nor skull.[2] I mean simply those who spoke an Aryan language; when I speak of them, I commit myself to no anatomical characteristics. To me, an ethnologist who speaks of Aryan race, Aryan blood, Aryan eyes and hair is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of (narrow headed) grammar".

The division of tribal groups into the big four speech-families has therefore a limited meaning but is useful in many ways. The Indo-Aryan, The Indo-European (Aryan), the Dravidian (Tamil Telugu), the Austeric Kol or Munda and the Tibetan Chinese (Sini Chinese)—these four language groups may be convenient for certain linguistic classification, but it is difficult to give ethnological support to these groups. The modern methods of linguistic research recently undertaken with the help of the Ford Foundation at the Deccan College Research Institute is expected to supply valuable information by means of phonetic and other technically advanced methods. Till the results of this new technique are sufficiently well-known, it is better to postpone our judgment on the linguistic classification of the Indian tribes. Further research on correct linguistic methods has also to be awaited, as a result of the decision of the All-India Linguistic Society to take up at an early date the investigation

of the dialects of the tribes in Gujarat which are fast disappearing as a result of modernisation. It is sufficient for the purpose of the study of the Dublas to note that their dialect shares greater affinity with the Indo-Aryan languages than with any other group, and that is because the tribe has been continuously staying in the same region at least for the last several centuries and has acquired the culture and the language of the neighbours.

5. *Classification based on Cultural Levels.* In discussing the classifications of racial groups in India, we must mention those based on culture levels. The first attempt was made by Dr. Elwin when he divided the aboriginals into four types. Those who are the most primitive and live a joint community life using axe-cultivation; secondly, those who are less isolated and more individualistic, and who are less simple than the first; thirdly, who are the most numerous about 20 million—and who are on the way to the loss of their tribal, cultural, religious and social organisation; and fourthly those like Bhils and Nagas who retain much of their original tribal life and have won the battle of cultural contact. The main problem was correctly envisaged by him to consist of arranging for the transition of various groups into the fourth group category without the despair and degradation that was visible in some tribes.

Various improvements have been made on the above classifications, one of the most noteworthy attempt is that adopted by the anthropologists who met at Calcutta in 1952 at a meeting of the Indian Conference of Social work. The committee classified the tribes into (i) Tribal Communities, (ii) semi-tribal communities, (iii) acculturated tribal communities and (iv) locally assimilated tribes. This classification is, however, of limited importance, except in the case of tribes which are living in forests and in isolated areas, there are now in India scarcely any area or tribe, which have not been in some type of direct or indirect contact with the non-tribal people or their methods of living. The other types are all more or less tribes in transition, just as there are non-tribal groups in transition; we must also remember two factors which have come recently into operation: one is the

spirit of voluntary help created in several places by community development projects and National extension service Blocks where the village level workers tend to form a bridge between the tribal and non-tribal people. The second, is the activities of voluntary welfare associations, which, where they exist, serve as shock absorbers for the transmission of modern changes in the social life of the tribal people.

The rapid development of the state and railway transport has increased the contact of tribal people with the modern world and eased off the shock involved in large cultural changes. Further the ameliorative measures adopted by a sympathetic administration, including guaranteeing seats in Parliament and in the colleges, schools and hospitals, with scholarships and hostel facilities have eased the difficulties of the transition. In view of these facts, the simplified classification of tribes on the cultural level suggested by Dr. D. N. Majumdar has definite merits.[3] He mentions two types of tribal cultures, viz. assimilated and adaptive, the latter type consisting of tribes in transition, which may be accomplished by economic or cultural contacts arising out of modern conditions. The adaptive type of traditional culture leads to common economic pursuits and sometimes to symbiotic interdependence and may lead to acculturation based on one way traffic in culture traits. These may be all considered as tribes in transition. The assimilated tribes include groups of the Bhils, Gonds, Nagas, Santals, a great number of whom have overcome the crises in culture and have learnt to stand on their own. The Bihar Santals working in tea gardens of Assam, the Hos who represent ten per cent of the industrial workers of Jamshedpur, the Bhils who work in the Railway workshops at Dohad, and the mixed tribal population of Dhodias, Dublas, Naika and Chodras working in factories at Surat, Bulsar, Billimora and Navsari also belong to this group. The position of the Dubla among them is characterised by the fact he has had to pass through the stages of the life of an agricultural and domestic serf like the Kolta of Jansar Bauvar in Uttar Pradesh. He still maintains a tribal temperament created by centuries of family and feudal servitude from which he is coming out

slowly and without undue shocks and disturbances.

6. *Scientific Basis for Physical Racial Types.* Taking the physical evolution of man and studying his fossils remains, we cannot help the conclusion that the measurement of certain invariable human characteristics provides a most effective means of classification of human tribes. Such a classification of the Indian people on the basis of anthropometric measurements, initiated by Sir Herbert Risley in 1891 is being placed on more scientific lines every year by a number of investigators who are busy on these measurements and by a number of critics who seek to improve the method and interpretation; and yet further measurements for various groups, types, and regions are still necessary before standard classification of racial types can be finally determined. Risley's classification of racial types in India into seven viz. Turko-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Scytho-Dravidian, Aryo-Dravidian, Mongolo-Dravidian, Mongoloid and Dravidian has not stood the test of time. The attempts of Sir William Crooks and A. C. Haddon have led to important results which are however neglected. Dr. Guha's six main races The Negrito, The Proto-Australoid, The Mongolian, The Mediterranean, The Western Brachy-Cephalic and the Nordic, give us valuable data. The Map attached to 1931 Census colours the whole of Western India as Brachycephalic with affinities to Alpine and Dinaric stocks of middle Europe. Dr. Irawati Karve's steady work on the population of Maharashtra, Karnataka and Orissa has thrown new light and vigour on this difficult and neglected subject. Dr. D. N. Majumdar of Lucknow has placed Anthrometry on sounder footing in India by his pioneer surveys in Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat. The discovery of the prehistoric human remains in Indus Valley, Sabarmati and Narmada Valley and the later discoveries of the seals similar to Harappa seals at Lothal in Ahmedabad district point to two important types of races viz. those who lived in the Indus-Valley and allied culture, (about 3000 B.C.) and those who used microlithic implements etc. in Narmada Valley and Sabarmati Valley about 250,000 years ago. The seven human skeletons found in the latter region point to Hamitic Negroid

racial characteristics. These data are yet to be further fully examined and equated, and correlated with other results obtained by the anthropometrists working on modern man, before final conclusions can be drawn.

Even though some anthropologists shake their heads in doubt at the valuation of physical racial types, it must be admitted that while geographical and linguistic and cultural level classifications rouse feelings of superiority and domination, and physical type description will secure a higher scientific and objective classification free from jealousy and animosity. It would be safer to describe a person or a group as broadheaded or longheaded, or straightnose or hooked nose or chubby nose type, or those with black, wavy or curly hair or with certain blood group affinities than by the word Alpine or Mongolian or Dravidian or acculturated or assimilated or adaptive groups. The emotional problems arising from Racial classifications based on linguistic or cultural considerations will stimulate disagreements and politicians may fan these emotions into fire, but let anthropologists remain cool and unperturbed by adopting colourless physical type classification when discussing the problems of the tribes or human groups. When maps for physical types and for blood groups are prepared for the whole world and when they are tested with maps and other characteristics of racial groups, (as in Kroebers Anthropology, in Mourant's Blood groups or Boyd's Genetics it will be possible to make a proper use of the evidence so collected in determining the history of racial migrations, and the inter-relations of racial types. A great deal of work is awaiting anthropologists in India in these fields.

7. *The Anthropometry of the Gujarat Region.* Though Risley had measured some Nagar Brahmins and various types about fifty years earlier, Dr. Guha[4] measured in connection with the census of 1931, 105 Nagar Brahmins, 99 Banias, 93 Audich Brahmins, 40 Kathis, and 31 Brahmakt-shatrias—a total of 388 persons. He excluded the tribes. He found the people to be generally of brachycephalic type.

Subsequent researches of Dr. Majumdar[5] were conducted at the instance of Gujarat Research Society in 1946, when

he took the measurement of 3000 persons and examined also their blood. He covered 26 castes and tribal groups spread throughout Gujarat, Saurashtra and Cutch, along a more comprehensive field which included a somatalogical, serological and health survey. The extension to tribal groups, which included Bhils, Waghers, and Dublas and similar groups, brought out among other things that the Dolicocephalic element of the Gujarat population was not negligible.

The conclusions of Dr. D. N. Majumdar are summarised as follows:—

(b) Cultural Gujarat is radically a homogeneous area. Whatever may have been the racial complexion of Gujarat in earlier days, today the various strains have got merged up and that is why Gujarat stands out as a meso-cephalic (medium-headed) province.

(b) Though there are two dominant racial types in Cultural Gujarat, one brachycephalic (round-headed) and leptorrhine (narrow-nosed) and the other dolichocephalic (long-headed) and mesorrhine (medium-nosed), the latter resulting from a mixture with a dolichocephalic platyrrhine type, being the substratum, while between the two types are found a large number of mixed ones. Higher castes show more of brachycephally than the lower castes, the tribal groups being predominantly dolichocephalic.

(c) The anthropometric results based on the reduced coeffecient of racial likeness for the various measurements taken leads to a division of the twenty-four groups into four main clusters: (a) Bhangi, Bhil and others; (b) Koli, Artisans, Machhi and Kharava; (c) Kunbi Patidar, Sunni Bora, Luhana, Memon, Khoja, Rajput, Nagar Brahmin, Audich Brahmin and Oswal Jain; (d) The Mehr, Rabari, Wagher and Miana; The Parsi, Bhatia and Bhadela.

(d) The serological evidence is almost similar to the above. The tribal groups, the Mehrs, the Waghers and the Rabaris can be isolated from the higher castes and the Parsis.

(e) So also the results of the health survey based on the surface area and basal metabolic rate point to a similar classification (1) The Parsis, the Bhatia, the Bhadela and the Luhana come at the top; (2) the Audich Bramin, Nagar

Bramin, Oswal Jain, Rajput and Kunbi Patidars occupy an intermediate status; (3) while Kolis, Machhis, the Artisans and the Bhangis are at the bottom.

8. *The Anthropometric Survey of the Dublas* was also conducted under the general directions of Dr. Majumdar of Lucknow with the help of a trained anthropometrist Dr. Daman Singh and the field staff of the Gujarat Research Society. Most of the Dublas were taken from Varad and neighbouring villages in Surat district. The samples were collected and examined by the standard methods adopted in the Lucknow anthropological Laboratory. A lengthy detailed report together with all the tables and charts is being published separately but the main results all summarised below.

The measurements cover the same physical traits studied previously by Dr. Guha, Majumdar, and Karve[6] and thus afford facilities for evaluation of the collected material on a uniform basis.

9. *Comparative Study of the Mean Values and Reduced Co-efficient of Racial Likeness.* The mean values and R. C. R. L. for Dublas have been compared with other groups of Gujrat studied in 1949.[5] When we arrange the mean values for Dublas for different characters in the ascending order it is noticed that

(a) For least Frontal Breadth, the mean value for Dublas (100.00) is the lowest, followed by Bhils and others (100.70), Bhangi (101.22), Bhil (101.90), Miscellaneous Group I (103.20), Artisans (103.70), Koli (104.10) with Miscellaneous Group II (104.28) at the end arranged in ascending order.

(b) Auricular Height is another character for which the mean value for Dublas is the lowest. The Bhangi with their mean value 12.19, Artisans 12.25, Koli 12.41, Miscellaneous Group I 12.46 and Oswal Jain 12.47 occupy a position close to Dublas 12.00 arranged again in the ascending order.

(c) For sitting Height, though the position occupied by Dublas (81.80), is not the lowest in the scale of mean values. They are grouped with Artisans (81.59), Machi-Kharwa (81.42), Koli (81.50), Miscellaneous Group I (81.74), and

Bhangi (82.03) who go to form one cluster. This whole set of groups has mean values in the close neighbourhood of 82.00 cm.

(d) In the case of Upper Facial Length, Dublas (67.00) stand isolated though here, the maen value is not the lowest, rather it is the higest as compared to other groups of Gujrat.

In this way we see that Dublas show a tendency to behave as an isolated and foreign element in the population of Gujrat as revealed by the Anthropometric measurements on about twentyfive ethnic groups. This isolation is more prominent in case of Minimum Frontal Breadth, Auricular Height, sitting Height and lastly the Upper Facial length.

10. As regards other characters, Dublas have lower, if not lowest mean value for stature (159.80). In this character they stand nearest the Bhangi who stand 159.72. Next come Machhi-Kharwa with a value of 159.63 and the third are Bils with 159.58. Again Bhils and others (160.05) Misc. group I (160.37), and lastly Koli (160.80) are nearer to Dublas than others. The mean value for Total Facial Length (110.00) shows that Dublas are not so much out of the way, rather occupy an intermediate position, but for Upper Facial Length the mean value for Dublas (67.00) is highest and as regards the Nasal length they have comparatively lower mean value (49.00). This high value for Upper Facial Length with lower value for Nasal length which is included in the former measurements indicates that Dublas have longer alveolar region. Further higher value for Upper Facial length with value for Total Facial Length (100.00) occupying the intermediate place in the scale goes to show that Dublas have lower jaws with chin less high.

11. *Nasal Breadth* which according to Anthropologists, is a very useful character, for taxonomic purposes, indicates that Dublas (38.00) show affinity with Parsi (36.95), Bhadela (37.88), Kunbi Patidar (38.70) and Oswal Jain (38.30) but with regard to Nasal length (49.00) they do not resemble with Parsi 54.60) Bhadela (51.51) and Kunbi Patidar (51.40) which have longer nose. However, the nasal length of Dublas takes them closer to Oswal Jain (49.25) in addition to Artisans (48.89) Miscellaneous Group I (49.70)

Bhangi (49.50) and Machhi Kharwa (49.38).

12. A combined study of the Head Length, Head Breadth, Bizygomatic Breadth and Bigonial Breadth indicates that Dublas occupy the same position on the scale of mean values as Artisans, Miscellaneous Group I, Miscellaneous II and Bhangi, for Gujrat.

13. Dublas do not show any tendency to resemble other tribal population of Gujrat, rather they show some affinity with the mixed up groups as mentioned above. As far as close affinity among the miscellaneous groups is concerned it can be explained but the fact that Dublas resemble with them is something which needs further enquiry on an extensive scale with regard to their origin and extent of rigidity in sex-relations.

14. Using another useful tool for classification, very popular among Anthropologists, the Reduced Coefficient of Racial Likeness, we arrive at values which have been shown separately. Here all the characters have been simultaneously used to give a complete measure of likeness (as the name itself indicates). The values for Dublas give a very pessimistic picture when studied in context with other groups. The values are very high and significant showing that when all the characters are taken together, Dublas stand as an isolated group, indicating no resemblance with any group whatsoever. The probable reason is that the characters, Minimum Frontal Breadth, Auricular Height, Sitting Height and Upper Facial length have contributed to a good deal to show that *Dublas stand as an isolated element in the population of Gujarat.*

1. Kroeber's Anthropology—p. 132, p. 153.

2. Biography of Words: the Aryans, Maxmuller, p. 120, London 1888.

3. Introduction to Social Anthropology Dr. D. N. Majumdar p. 233.

4. Census of India 1931. Vol. I India Part III Elhnographical, Racial Affinities of peoples of India by Dr. B. S. Guha. 1935.

5. Race relations in Cultural Gujarat D. N. Majumdar Pub. Gujarat Research Society 1950; also Vol. IV P. 236. JGRS Vol. IX and Vol. X 1949 and 1950 of Journal of Gujarat Research Society also Vol. XVIII No. 1 of 1956.

6. Karve Dr. Irawati and Dandekar V. M. Anthrpometric Measurements of Maharashtra 1951. For Karnatic and Orissa. See J. Anthropolical Society, Bombay, March 1954.

Chapter XX

PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTING OF DUBLAS

1. *Psychology and Social Change.* All social change is dynamic and, however, slow may be the appraisal of these changes in the fields of culture and personality, the transformation proceeds continuously. When the slash and burn method of cultivation was changed into a settled form of agriculture, the nomadic type evolved himself into a steady farmer. In all societies, the pioneers became the owners and the followers became servants or serfs. The social and ecological considerations converted a habitual debtor into a serf, who for sometime at least was happy. In an atmosphere of carefree life with the social protection of a feudal or Dhaman the Dubla labourer enjoyed his drinking bouts, with song and dance, with few restrictions regarding dress or cleanliness, and was content and happy. But the impact of the Hindu community and of the life in the towns and cities, with the breaking up of the solidarity of his social organisation and of the cultural ties, the Dubla has undergone great social changes.

In all studies of social change, the personality of the individuals, his culture and the society play an important part and whatever social or cultural anthropologists may say, the assessment of these changes by quantification methods becomes increasingly imperative. Sociometry and Psychometry like anthropometry and serology, have become useful adjuncts in all studies of social change. The extensive development of quantification has become necessary for objective determination of relative rates of acceleration between various aspects of culture and between individuals in a given society, to establish types and classes, and to provide better comparative method. Quantification should be developed in close relation to the advance of structural and functional types of analysis.[1]

2. The quantitative valuation of the intellectual capacities of the Dublas was attempted in 1955 under the aus-

pices of our Tribal Research Unit with the help of a team of experts loaned by the authorities of the M. S. University of Baroda, working under the instructions of Professor T. K. N. Menon, the Dean of the Faculty of Education and Psychology who worked out the details. Shri J. A. Bhagatwala, Shri M. M. Patel and Kumari F. M. Gandhi the Research associates of the Faculty carried out the testing programme under the guidance of Shri T. P. Lele. The workers were stationed at Kasturba Sevashram, Maroli Station and helped by research staff of the Society. They began their work on 22nd May 1955 and continued it up to 1st June, and worked for eleven days and tested the children of the following villages:

(1) Mahuwar, (2) Kolasana, (3) Dhaman, (4) Kadoli, (5) Chhinam, (6) Maroli, (7) Dabhel, (8) Nadod, (9) Pansra, and (10) Hansapore.

3. *Subjects.* The age of the children tested was between 7 and 14 years, and the total number of children tested was 206.

The following table gives the distribution of the children tested, according to their ages, from each village:

Name of the Village	Ages in Years								
	7	+8	+9	+10	+11	+12	+13	+14	Total
Mahuwar	4	2	2	1	1	1	0	1	12
Kolasana	5	9	1	0	0	0	1	2	18
Dhaman	13	10	0	3	3	2	4	3	38
Kadoli	2	3	0	3	0	1	1	4	14
Chhinam	15	2	2	8	2	3	1	7	40
Maroli	7	1	3	1	2	3	3	2	22
Dabhel	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	4
Nadod	2	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	8
Pansra	5	0	2	2	1	0	0	4	14
Hansapore	7	8	7	3	3	3	2	3	36
Total	60	39	19	23	12	13	12	28	206

4. *Type of tests used for investigation.* As very few children attend schools regularly, it was decided to use performance tests instead of verbal tests. The following tests were, therefore, used for assessing their intellectual ability.

(1) Goodard Form-Board, (2) Alexander's Passalong Test, and (3) Kohs' Block Design Test.

5. *Method of administration.* (a) Every child who was tested with Goddard Form-Board Test was given three trials. The total time taken by each child for the three trials as well as the shortest time was noted down in seconds.

(b) Pass-along test and Kohs' Block Design test were carefully given to each child and the authors directions for administering the tests as well as the methods for scoring them were strictly followed.

(c) The following table shows the number of children tested with each test, according to their ages:

	Age in years								
Name of the test:	7+	8+	9+	10+	11+	12+	13+	14+	Total
Goddard Form Board	59	35	18	22	9	12	7	17	179
Pass-along	44	29	16	20	10	13	11	24	167
Kohs' Block Design	4	9	3	6	5	5	2	11	45

6. *Difficulties in recording exact chronological age.* A large majority of the Dublas live from hand to mouth. As they find it very difficult to maintain themselves and their family, children have also to go to work along with the parents. Children are employed in doing petty household works, looking after grazing village cattle, or helping the farmers in their work in fields, especially in the harvest season. Illiterate as these people are, they are not in the habit of keeping records of the birth-dates of their children. So it becomes very difficult for a research worker to ascertain the chronological ages of the children tested. The ages given in this investigation are, therefore, only approximately correct.

7. *Results.* The results of the investigation can be summarised as follows:—

(A) *Goddard Form-Board* (Total Score—Total time taken in seconds for all the three trials.)

Chronological Age in Years.	Mean Score	Standard error of the Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard error of the standard Deviation.	American Means for the same ages.	Mental Ages according to American norms.	Mean I.Q. according to American Norms.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
7+	143.4	18.8	50.8	4.7	90	4.5	64
8+	119.85	20.3	28.8	3.4	77	5.25	65
9+	101.66	23.9	19.9	3.4	68	6.25	69
10+	100.45	21.4	19.6	3.02	61	6.25	62.5
11+	89.66	29.9	12.12	3.03	55	7	63
12+	87.5	25.2	19.85	4.23	49	7.25	60
13+	87.5	33.1	13.85	3.99	43	7.25	56
14+	80.73	19.5	12.55	2.21	39	7.75	56
(B) Goddard Form-Board (Shortest of the time taken in 3 trials in seconds.)							
7+	39.61	5.2	13.15	1.2	23	4.5	64
8+	33.92	5.7	8.3	1.0	20	5.25	65
9+	29.16	6.8	6.3	1.08	18.5	5.75	64
10+	27.95	5.9	3.54	0.54	16.5	6	60
11+	25.61	8.53	2.98	0.74	15	6.5	59
12+	24.16	6.97	5.64	1.2	14	6.75	56
13+	24.21	9.15	2.9	0.83	13	6.75	52
14+	22.97	5.57	3.78	0.66	12.5	7.25	52
(C) *Pass-along Test:*							
7+	10.84	1.6	6.57	0.7	11	7	100
8+	13.65	2.5	8.34	1.1	13	8	100
9+	14.06	3.5	6.33	1.15	16	8	89
10+	13.65	3.05	7.83	1.2	19	8	80
11+	16.8	5.3	8.7	2.05	21	9	82
12+	17.3	4.8	8.79	1.79	24	9	75
13+	13.63	4.1	8.22	1.83	27	8	61
14+	17.37	3.5	7.62	1.12	29	9	69

(D) *Kohs' Block Design Test:*

Chronological Age in years	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
7+	21.2	16.585
8+	26.1	15.9
9+	27.6	8.15
10+	28.3	13.05
11+	33	20.1
12+	34.4	21.1
13+	35.0	-
14+	39.8	18.4

8. The correlations between various tests were then worked out. The results are as follows:—

A. Goddard Form-Board (Total time taken for all 3 trials in Seconds.)

B. Goddard Form-Board (Shortest of the time taken in 3 trials in seconds.)

C. Pass-along Test.

D. Kohs' Block Design Test.

Chronological age in years.	rAB	rAC	rAD	rBC	rBD	rCD
7+	0.92	0.38	0.62	0.36	0.81	0.87
8+	0.87	0.35	0.59	0.26	0.63	0.69
9+	0.93	0.54	0.43	0.49	-	-
10+	0.65	0.26	0.66	0.82	0.34	0.74
11+	0.71	0.69	-	0.78	-	0.35
12+	0.93	0.28	—0.24	+0.21	—0.11	—0.24
13+	0.28	0.03	-	—0.83	-	-
14+	0.94	—0.15	0.21	—0.23	—0.08	—0.68
For all ages combined:	0.93	0.46	0.44	0.56	0.49	0.32

rAB is the correlation between Goddard Form Board (Total Score) and Goddard Form-Board (Shortest of all the 3 trials.)

rAC is the correlation between Goddard Form-Board (Total Score) and Pass-along Test, and so on.

9. *Conclusions and remarks.* From this investigation, the following conclusions can safely be drawn:

(i) While testing, it was found that some children—quite a few—had studied in primary schools for three to four years and that such children fared better in these tests than others who never attended schools. So it can be concluded that academic training influences the results even in these non-verbal tests.

(ii) The mean I. Q.^{s} (according to American Norms) obtained in this investigation vary from 52 to 69 in Goddard Form-Board test. This shows that our children take more time for performing the test than American children of the same ages do. Still, however, when I.Q.^{s} of individual children were seen, it was found that *a few of them who had attended schools had I. Q.^{s} nearing 100.* Again, a few young children of ages 7 and 8 were found very slow in grasping the geometrical forms involved in the test. Had they seen such forms before, they would have done better in the test and the mean I. Q. would have been higher.

(iii) The mean I. Q.^{s} according to American Norms) obtained in this investigation vary from 61 to 100 in Pass-along test. From the table given above, it can be seen that children of the ages 7 and 8 had mean I. Q.^{s} of 100, while other children had mean I. Q.^{s} of less than 100, and that the mean I. Q. went on decreasing as the chronological age went on increasing. This shows that in our country small children are not deficient in their native intellectual capacity but that as they grow old they lag behind children of other countries. This may be due to the reason that the children are slow in devloping their inborn intellectual capacity. They do not make use of the educational facilities already available to them for the purpose.

(iv) It was found that most of the children tested were not able to work with Kohs' Block Design Test.

That is why only 45 children out of the total of 206 could work with this test, and this number when sorted out according to the chronological ages of the children became so small that it became practically impossible to do any statistical work beyond the mean and standard deviation. If the children had undergone pre-primary or primary training, they would have done better in this test. Out of the 45 children who worked with this test quite a large number was found to have received training in primary schools for two or three years.

(v) A glance at the correlations' table will show that the majority of them are positive. This shows that those who score high in one test do so also in the other tests and vice versa. But to prove the reliability of the results obtained and the validity of the work done, further work in this field is necessary, because the number tested is rather small.

(vi) It is evident from this investigation that those who are attending schools score higher in the performance tests. It is therefore evident that Dublas are not intellectually inferior in early years. They must get proper opportunities and facilities to develop their potentialities. If the government takes keen inerest and if the social institutions cooperate in organising a literacy campaign, and providing better amenities of life in the form of food, shelter and clothing a day is not far off when the Dublas, free from the life of serf-dom, will be able to lead as normal a life as other citizens of the country."

General Observations. Since the above investigation was conducted, it was expected that Indian Norms for the various tests would be obtained. But as these are not still available, we have to be content with a comparison of the performance of the Dubla children on the basis of American norms. Perhaps it is too premature to come to any conclusions at all in view of the smallness of the data, but we may index that in certain circumstances the Dubla children can reach the standards attained by the American children on

the Passalong tests viz. 16 to 100 and that further testing work should be continued.

The above discussions fairly support the view of Professor Klineberg[2] that "there is no evidence for saying that races or ethnic groups differ in psychological inheritance. Of course, every racial group contains individuals who are well endowed, others who are inferior, and still others in between. As far as we can judge, the range of capacities and the frequency of occurrence of various levels of inherited ability are about the same in all racial groups."

Much more research remains to be conducted on the intellectual capacities of various tribal groups in India but there is enough evidence to expect that every tribe is capable of being raised to the level of intellectual and social efficiency expected from his neighbour, provided he is given enough help in the fields of health, nutrition and education.

1. Anthropology Today—Ed. A. L. Kroeber P. 638 Acculturation R. Beals. 1952.

2. Otto Klineberg. Race and Psychology p. 39. Unesco, Paris—1951.

Chapter XXI

EPILOGUE

The reader who has followed with me, the fortunes of a simple and yet happy serf tribe may find relief on reaching the last chapter. He may be surprised at my mixed outlook of a "student of culture" and that of what professional anthropologists describe as "a man of action bent on a welfare attitude." Even as a student of culture, I am not restricted by the specialist outlook of either a cultural anthropologist or a social anthropologist or a sociologist or of a social worker, but claim to adopt the comprehensive attitude of a social scientist studying human behaviour in all its aspects. The cultural atmosphere of the country is charged with the dynamic ideals of a Democratic Republic determined to secure to all its citizens, *Justice,* social economic and political, *Liberty* of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, *Equality* of status and of opportunity and to promote among them all *Fraternity* assuring the *Dignity* of the individual and *Unity* of the Nation. The tribal population has a definite place in the body politic and as also in the social movments of a welfare state.

As a student of culture, in a rapidly moving world of dynamic change, I have studied the quietly changing pattern of the life of a loveable and hardworking people, who were treated as serfs till recently. The concepts of culture and value, the dynamics of cultural change, the processes of cultural transfer, differences between voluntary and involuntary change, problems of cultural disorganisation, as well those of cultural reorganisation, the influence of culture change on social structure (marriage, family and other topics), technological development and economic change, folk-ways and urbanistan, language changes—all these have been kept in view in the present study. But they have been examined not from the point of a theorist but from that of an idealist "man of action" who is anxious to see the Indian

tribes continuously rise to the full status of Indian National Citizenship.

2. *The so-called shocks of Social Changes.* At this stage I would emphatically differ from the school of thought that views that the shock of a sudden change would disorganise the all backward tribes. "Anthropological works on depopulation in acculturative situations, for example, especially from the time of Rivers pioneer hypothetical statement in 1922 on social and psychological factors involved (e.g. loss of *joide de vivre,* decay of the will to live) include much discussion of cultural disorganisation and its supposed demographic consequences. Again the weakening of traditional sanction systems under conditions of dynamic change has been often referred to. Keesing[1] has documented the disorganising effects of dual codes of conduct in acculturative situations, in which an individual is forced as regards some zones of behaviour into the situation of being a delinquent in terms of indigenous rules if he obeys those imposed by outside authority and vice-versa". The disorganising effects of urbanisation and of 'colonial' administration are also known. The disturbing effects of the modernisation among the Dubla and instances of acculturation are noticed throughout this book. But in my opinion, the tribe has been able to adjust itself to modern conditions of life without undue disturbance and what is remarkable there is a steady increase in population in spite of poverty, bad housing, disease, and ignorance.

In this view, I am supported by the independent anthropologist thinker Dr. Margaret Mead[2], whose opinion, based on a study of cultural transformation from 1928 to 1953 among the modernised Manu families of New Guinea, is in favour of rapid modernisation. Her general conclusion is that the conservative tendencies in anthropological advice hitherto has been wrong. Instead of the attempt to preserve as much as possible of the past as a counterpoise to change, she now feels that Paliau the leader of the Manus and his people were right in discarding the past *en block* and attempting a total modernisation. She feels that it is easier simply to drop one culture pattern and adopt another inte-

grally than to pass through mixed intermediate phases. It is the slow partial change that causes the stresses and strains and maladjustments; total rapid change may leap over the difficulties."

3. *The Culture Change among the Amer-Indians.* The exaggerated fears in the mind of some anthropologists regarding modernisation of tribal people may have arisen from a general want of sympathy between the administration and in the tribes in those countries. I would like to record my experience of the methods of administration adopted in America in the case of the American Indian tribes. I have visited the Bureau of Internal Affairs at Washington in 1952, and studied the literature available. I have also visited the National Institute for Indigenous People of Mexico (Institute National Indigenista) which is worked under the guidance of an able and sympathetic anthropologist Dr. Alfonso Caso, who has become a friend. My general experience is that in both these administrations, the inherent differences between the white American and the Amer-Indian, the white ruling Spanish community and Indian Mexican community still persist. In both cases, the tribal people were, a few hundred years ago, the owners of the land and masters of the country. The White administrators in spite of the best of intention and the avowal of policy have not been able to absorb the indigenous population into the American Nation e.g. the white administrators of the reservations live in houses away from the Amer-Indian colonies and complete assimilation has not been either intended nor is it in sight at present.

"The position in Mexico is[3] is slightly different. There is a conscious and conspicuous positive valuation of the Indian heritage on the part of Mexico's political and intellectual leaders. The socio-cultural system there is open for the ambitious and talented individual like Benito Juarez who began his career in an isolated Zapotec village and went on to become one of Mexico's greatest Presidents. In the states on the other hand, the path to the full acculturation is confusing and frustrating and the ultimate ceiling is still firmly clamped down by our persisting Anglo-American "racial" attitudes."

In 1956, the congress[4] under the guidance of President Eisenhower has called for termination of federal supervision over the Amer-Indians as soon as possible, and has assured them of equality in the enjoyment and responsibilities of complete national citizenship. Acculturation, assimilation and integration have been observed in various stages but the complete political freedom is not possible until all restraints on the Amer-Indians are ended and all the rights and prerogatives of pertaining to American citizenship are granted. The effects of the last political change are yet to be observed, for it is feared that with the termination of federal responsibility the policy of the individual states may not be as liberal. The Pan-Indianism movement (in which increasing numbers of Amer-Indians are participating in customs and institutions that are describable only as Indian) and the National Congress of the Amer-Indians which is becoming an important minority group in the United States Congress, both represent a strong and effective movement towards unification of Amer-Indian culture. Yet the general conclusion is that the assimilation and integration of the Amer-Indians is taking place even though many of them continue to live in separate communities on reservations (homelands) with same distinctive cultural patterns. I quote below my views on the subject reproduced from the Journal of Anthropological Society of Bombay for March 1954:—

"The future for the Amer-Indian, even though it appears to be dark and gloomy in view of the limited progress of the past few years, is bright if their own co-operation is forth-coming to an increasing extent. For the inherent capacity of Amer-Indian has proved to be high; and as the nation of 175 millions is prepared to absorb the 400 thousand original inhabitants of the land, the latter have only to agree to take up full responsibility of the tasks of education, health measures, agricultural extension, industrial expansion by taking advantage of the existing opportunities by means of regularity of work and attendance. My vision of the future of the Amer-Indian is that gradually an increasing number of them will be fully absorbed in the American nation just as the French, Italian, German, Swede, Norwegian or the

English have accepted the standard pattern of American culture; the balance that is lagging behind in the reservations will slowly come forward to the normal standard of physical and mental efficiency and discipline. They will then be able to render full contribution to the National Welfare as fully efficient citizens contributing to an International world-wide democracy."

4. *Culture Change in India: Social Workers as Shock Absorbers.* The above quotation explains my conviction that under satisfactory conditions, it is possible to bring up the standard of life of a tribal group to the norms prevailing in similar ecological and social surroundings and that this can be done without causing a cultural crisis, if the problem is approached in a proper spirit of sympathy and goodwill. No apprehensions need be felt that the welfare measures will cause a loss of nerve, if they are administered through trained Social Workers, and experienced anthropologists, who serve as cushions for the transmission of the social and cultural changes. And this is what has happened in India in spite of the comparative poor resources of the country.

The system of voluntary workers among tribal areas was created by the far-seeing genius of the father of the nation Mahatma Gandhi and his able and conscientious colleague Thakkar Bapa, both of whom are loved and worshipped by tribal population throughout India. The system of Ashram Schools, residential mixed schools for young children of both sexes, from the age of six selected from various villages in the area, form the training ground for leaders of the local units, has been successful even though it has been found to be too expensive to be made universal. Another significant feature of the Indian system is the provision of the self sacrificing voluntary workers who are pledged for life to the noble cause of tribal welfare. This system has resulted in greater confidence in the movement for amelioration of the tribes, whereas the governmental organisations in the Americas does not inspire such a complete response. Our voluntary staff belonging to the majority community and also these recruited from the educated members of the

tribes themselves stay with their families, with the students, eat with them, live with them, play with them and ensure such a complete acculturation that eventually assures assimilation of a satisfying character. The system of voluntary workers based on the principles of dedication and service was recently put on an all India basis of permanent and continuous employment.

The above description need not lead the reader to suppose for a moment that the situation regarding Indian tribes is in every way satisfactory or that there are enough volunteers or that there are no inefficient ones among them. All that is sought to be made out is that the possibility of absorbing social and cultural changes by the tribal people in India is greater because of the shock-absorbing character of the atmosphere of Social Work in India. Even the few mistakes, if any, committed by the Social Workers, are capable of easier adjustment through sympathetic and responsive friendly advice.

5. *Historical Background of Tribes of India.* We might here recognise that the tribes of India are numerous and have passed through various vicissitudes of foreign contacts and are in different stages of culture and social organisation which have been both affected by the pattern of the government.

The tribes of Ancient India[5] described in the Rig-Veda and Atharva Veda and in Mahabharata, Padma, Skanda and other Puranas. The Dasyus (Dahyus of Iran) Nishadas, Kiratas, Bhils, Nahalakas, Bhramaras, and Pulindas were considered Mlechha tribes. The Shabaras described in Ramayana, where Shabari the famous devotee of Rama who reserved for him only sweet fruits after tasting each with her mouth; the mystic story of a Bhil damsel who allured the ascetic Mahadev; and the mention of other tribes like Pulindas—all convey the recognised importance of tribal life in ancient India. The nishadas formed an aboriginal tribe during the Vedic Period who were persuaded to sit near the sacrificial grounds to protect and not to harass the Aryan immigrants. If Aryan culture is considered to have been brought into India by the nomadic Vedic Aryans, it

would be far fetched to imagine that the tribal people were original Aryans, (as is proposed by some writers) and then pushed into the hills and forests, though it is possible that subsequent hordes of Indo-aryan immigrants may have driven the earlier ones into the forests after they had lost virility. On the other hand there are great chances of the flat nosed aboriginal being of Dravadian origin and spread over large parts of India.

Whatever be the ethnic origins of the tribes, they have been generally turbulent and described as wild and unsettled. They have thus caused difficulties in government and have been subjected to different treatment throughout history, whether ancient, medieval or modern. The Abhiras (who plundered Arjuna escorting back the Yadava families from Dwarka or Muttra, the Gurjars, the hordes of Huns, the turbulent Kathis (after whom the distressed Moghul kings named their land Kathiawar), the Bhils, the Naikas—have all had disturbing effects on the mind of the rulers. During the three hundred years of the Muslim and Maratha rule over Western India, the tribes were treated with a strong hand and kept under check for the purpose of permitting the movements of the conquering troops. The tribes often provided recruits and also helped the movements of troops employed in restoring normal conditions.

During the British period of occupation when law and order were enforced ruthlessly, the tribes came under continuously increasing control. The systems of land tenure and the forest laws were enforced in a manner which caused great hardships to tribal population; but this perhaps could not be avoided if peaceful conditions were to be restored throughout the country and trade and industry to be encouraged. The turbulence of the Hill Paharias of Rajmahal Hills in Bengal (1782), the revolt of the Santals in 1855, the Bhil resings in Khandesh and in Gujarat, of the Naikda and other tribes in Gujarat, and the frequent inroads of criminal tribes like Pindharis—all required military steps which naturally affected the cultural life of the tribes. Though there was a general policy of *laissez faire*, and though a policy of pacification followed after a tribe was subdued

under force of arms, the enforcement of forest and other laws often led to an unnecessary and harmful segregation. The situation remained uncontrolled until under the Government of India act of 1919 following the Morley-Minto Reforms provided a more definite policy for tribal people who were placed under the special charge of the Governors, and thus excluded from the control of the new elected ministries. The Government of India Act of 1935 did not make many formal changes in the position but the popular ministries devoted increasing attention to tribal welfare, and the appointment of several tribal enquiry commitees led to the growth of the tribal welfare movement. The position is entirely changed in the Constitution of India 1947.

6. *Tribes in the Indian Republic.* The special provisions of the new Constitution regarding the tribes of India which were scheduled into separate lists for each province and which are protected from social unjustice and exploitation. Apart from the general provisions guaranteeing social, economic and political justice to all inhabitants of India, freedom of thought faith and worship (which guarantees the freedom and liberty to the tribal region) equality of status and opportunities (to tribal population) have given a new status to the Adivasis and the tribals. The cultural and educational and rights of minorities are protected; illegal traffic in human being and forced labour have been abolished. Apart from the specific tribes which are scheduled for protection, there are specific areas, where the tribal population exceeds fifty per cent of the total, which have been also scheduled for special administrative provisions. To guarantee continuity and stability to the measures proposed, statutory provision of finances has been made by the earmarking of special funds for better administration, for the measures of protection and for amelioration of the tribes. A special officer, Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes has been created with large power and proper staff and it is lucky that the first incumbant was is not a professional administrator of the I. C. S. or I. A. S. category, but an experienced worker Shri L. M. Shrikant who has put his heart and soul into the tribal welfare movement.

There is thus enough strength in the will and mind of the nation, enough activity in a well-determined and well-planned welfare state to ensure that the future of every tribe in India is assured and certain, even though the progress in an under-developed and under-educated country may be slow and even though there may be a lag between the expected and actual efficiency of the administration. The expression "defect of administration" used by Thakkar Bapa as one of the problems of the tribal population, requires still to be remedied. The problems of delays and inefficiency are studied in a special volume[6] and the suggestion made therein for improvements in the defects of administration deserve early attention.

7. *Contribuation of Thakkar Bapa.* It is a memorable fact that in the history of tribal welfare movement, the pioneer work was initiated by Shri Thakkar Bapa[7], a civil engineer weaned from the routine of building roads for the city of Bombay to the noble task of uplifting the depressed classes of India. From his biography, plenty of material is available that it was he who drew the attention of Mahatma Gandhi to the problems of Adivasis (tribes) of India. One of the earliest attempts touching the subject 'the aboriginal tribes of India' was his short paper in 1927[8]. In pathetic words of wisdom, he wrote that "there is nothing so grinding and corrosive as fear, and fear forms the stuff of life and belief of these tribes. Fear has degraded many of them to the deepest depths of misery and abasement. Unacquainted with the more civilised methods of agriculture and industries and ignorant of the ways of trade and commerce, their life is hard pressed by poverty: and the rigor of starvation often drives them to occasional acts of crime and violence. Not infrequently the poor aborigines bind themselves for small cash to work as field labourers to well-to-do cultivators or money-lenders. The Kamia system, passing under different names in the different provinces of India and which amounts to serfdom in practice, counts among its victims a very large population of aborigines. The writer recalls listening to Gond Kamias in a village in the interior of the Central Province. One of them related how he had bound

himself to serve as a labourer to a money-lender until he paid back Rs. 30/- in cash, and 6 maunds of paddy which he had received from him. He said that he had served for eleven long years, yet the end was not in sight, for he could never get together enough cash to pay back his creditor to his satisfaction."

In 1941 when Shri Thakkar Bapa read a paper on the "Problem of Aborigines in India"[9] at Poona, he mentioned "the same helplessness of the many aborigines who are reduced to the position of serfs. Bethi or Vethi or forced labour is exacted from them without any payment or with only a nominal payment by the jamindars." Mr. Symington[10] also mentions several cases of bonded agricultural labour bordering in serfdom.

Since the above words were written, the great changes have taken place regarding the facts about tribal life and opinions about tribal welfare. But the main problems may be summarised in Thakkar Bapa's words "The problem of the aborigines may be analysed into (i) poverty (ii) illiteracy (iii) ill-health (iv) inaccessibility (v) defects in administration and (vi) lack of leadership."

Thakkar Bapa had a characterstic insight into the conflict between the "policy of isolation" of tribal population from non-tribal population, advocated by some anthropologists and administrators on the side, and of "assimilation" advocated by indigenous social workers. In eloquent terms, he declared that "the aboriginals should form part of the civilised communities of our country, not for the purpose of swelling the figures of the followers of this religion or that, but to share with the advanced community the privileges and duties on equal terms in the general social and political life of the country. Separatism and isolation seem to be dangerous theories and they strike at the root of national solidarity. Safety lies in union and not in isolation." His wisdom is now fully appreciated and the Government has now decided to carry out most of the ameliorative measures through the voluntary welfare agencies who take tribal welfare work as a labour of love, who treat the tribes with brotherly affection and sympathy. Weaning away the abori-

ginals from alcoholic drinks and non-vegetarian food may be considered by some to affect the vitality of these people; but these changes are welcome being voluntary; what is more remarkable is the persistence of joy and happiness in the daily life through dance, song and a community life are secured in the Ashram schools, and in other activities.

8. *Implementation of the Constitution.* There is ample evidence that the provisions of the constitution have been liberally implemented by the Central and the State Governments as can be seen from the Tribal Welfare Programmes of the respective Governments. For example, the Chapter 28 of the Second Five Year Plan 1956 prepared by Government of India Planning Commission is a thoughtful and comprehensive exposition of the State Policy in this respect. For 19 millions of Scheduled tribes and 4 millions of what are called "released" (ex-criminal) tribes, schemes costing Rs. 47 crores have been provided for in the Central and the States Plans for the 2nd Five Year Period, whereas in the previous five year plan only Rs. 25 crores were reserved for this work. Out of the Rs. 47 crores, Rs. 11 crores are to be spent for development of communications, bridle and hill paths, roads and bridges; Rs. 12 crores on development of land, distribution of agricultural implements and pedigree bulls, multi-purpose co-operative societies, cottage industries; Rs. 8 crores on education and culture in the shape of educational facilities, ashrams schools, scholarships and stipends and tribal research centres; Rs. 8 crores reserved for public health and water supply are to be spent on dispensaries, mobile health units and drinking water wells, training of nurses and midwives etc.; a sum of Rs. 8 crores is reserved for housing and rehabilitation and other activities.

The above enumeration of the facilities available for the amelioration of the tribal population is made not with a purpose to express either complacency or satisfaction (for has it not been frequently asserted by tribal Members of the Parliament that the five year plan provides only Rupees three per annum per head of the tribal population) but to express a Social Scientist's view that the amelioration and

integration of the tribal population in India is not likely to cause any large shocks to the vitality of the people. It is also a hopeful sign that anthropologists like Elwin are absorbed in the tribal welfare organisation and are available in increasing numbers in the Universities for consultation and advice. The Tribal Welfare Conferences that are being held every year have riveted the attention of the people at large on the tribal problems, for they bring together not only the tribals but also anthropologists, social workers and administrators, who try to solve the problems and suggest remedies; with a guaranteed representation in the state and central legislature and in the Central and State Tribal Advisory Councils, a time is sure to come when the tribal population will learn to come forward, after education and preparation, and to solve their own problems themselves. That is the aim of acculturation, assimilation or integration by whatever name the process is academically described.

9. *President Dr. Rajendra Prasad's views.* The President of the Indian Republic is vested with special powers in the Constitution in regard to the tribal population. It is a matter of singular good fortune for the Indian tribes, that Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who has been himself a great social worker and a Statesman is familiar with the vicissitudes the difficulties of these people with deep insight and wisdom. In words[11] of sympathy and sincerity, he has "pressed for a right approach in the spirit of service, leaving it to a group to decide whether it wants to be assimilated and absorbed or prefers to maintain its separate tribal existence. This is a true spirit of self-determination which will lead to a correct determination of responsibility and self-confidence."

"The question arises—what is the kind of advancement and progress that we advocate for them? Will it be regarded as a progressive step if they become assimilated with the rest of the society, or is it desirable to provide facilities for their economic and other development in their own line, maintaining their own customs, mode of living and culture? Whatever the line that may be adopted, one thing should be accepted and adhered to in all circumstances. There can be, and should be, no idea or intention of forcing anything on

them either by way of religion, language or even mode of living and customs. Even where we feel that the religion or the life that is offered is better than theirs, there is no justification for forcing it upon them against their will. My own idea is that facilities for education and for general improvement in their economic life should be provided for them and it should be left to them to choose whether they would like to be assimilated with, and absorbed by the surrounding society, or would like to maintain their own separate tribal existence. In India with its variety of life, there is enough room for tribal people to carry on their separate social existence if they so desire. If they find however that from their own point of view it would be better for them to get assimilated, they will do it without any large-scale effort on the part of others. In other words, personally I am for service to them uninfluenced by any consideration of winning them over for particular groups, religious or other. It is only in that way that we can win their confidence, and even for raising their standard of living and improving them educationally, it is necessary to win their confidence first."

10. *Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's views.* In this policy of progress the dangers of exploitation of tribal people are not to be overlooked. As the Prime Minister[12] put it, "Inevitably, these tribal people will come more and more in contact with the ways of the modern world. That will have to be and it may do some good, but I fear sometimes that it will do some harm also. To some extent, these people are child-like and there are many who might seek to exploit their simplicity in the desire for profit and gain. We have to prevent that. We have to make them feel their oneness with the magnificent land of India. We have to refrain from interfering with their customs which bring grace and joy to their lives. At the same time we have to help them to grow according to their own genius and culture. Nothing would be more unfortunate than to try to impose ourselves upon them in any way."

"For all of us, the first thing to do is to try to understand them. That is no easy matter because we live in our

shells and are seldom receptive to something to which we are unaccustomed. We have to come out of those shells, be receptive, develop understanding and then approach these people in a spirit of comradeship. It is that spirit that counts and not so much the various organised aproaches that we might make."

"If you approach the tribal people with affection, go to them as a liberating force and as a friend so that they may feel you have come not to take away something from them but to give them something: that is the *right integration.* But if they feel you have come to impose yourself, to interfere and come in their way, to try to change their methods of living, to take away their land, to push some of your businessmen there who will exploit them, then it is all completely wrong. The less we hear of this type of integration and consolidation of the tribal areas, the better."

"One had to be careful in appointing officers and social workers in the tribal areas. We ought to be careful in appointing officers anywhere. But we have to be doubly careful in appointing officers in the tribal areas, because an officer in the tribal areas is not merely a man who has passed an examination or gained some experience of routine work. He must be a man or woman whose mind, and even more so whose heart, understands the problem; who is an enthusiast in this business, who does not go there just to sit in an office for a few hours a day and for the rest curse his luck at being sent to an out of the way place. That is the type of man who is completely useless. It is better to send a totally uneducated man who has passed no examination, but who goes in friendship and affection to these people and lives with them. Such a man will produce better results than your highest intellectual who has no heart or understanding of the problem. The man who goes there as an officer or social worker must be prepared to share his life with the tribal folk. He must be prepared to enter their huts, talk to them and eat with them and smoke with them, if necessary, live their lives and not consider himself as something superior or apart, and thereby gain their confidence and respect and then advise them."

11. *Bombay State Plan.* Bombay State plans for the welfare of Scheduled tribes and scheduled Areas are summarised in an annual publication printed for official use, and cover a large ground. The proposals are summarised in the following extract from the Second[13] Five Year Plan:—

"Although some work has been done for the welfare of the backward classes in the First Five Year Plan, a considerable leeway is yet to be made. The percentage of literacy among backward classes is 10.67 per cent as against 24 per cent in the general population. Their economic condition is still far from satisfactory. It is, therefore, necessary to intensify the programme for their amelioration during the Second Five Year Plan as well. The two Government hostels at Poona and Ahmedabad are proposed to be extended and a Government hostel for girls is to be started. In addition, voluntary agencies will be encouraged to start hostels. The backward classes are being given Government waste lands wherever possible. It is now proposed to give them financial assistance on liberal terms for reclamation of these lands. A provision of Rs. 28 lakhs is proposed to be made for the purpose. To improve their housing conditions, assistance in the form of subsidies will be given to 162 cooperative housing societies of backward classes for which a provision of Rs. 24.34 lakhs is being made in the Second Plan. Loans and subsidies amounting to Rs. 2 lakhs are proposed to be given on personal security to backward class artisans trained in various industrial schools. In addition, special schemes which are meant for all Backward Classes, special schemes for the benefit of scheduled tribes and excriminal tribes who, among the backward classes, are relatively backward are proposed to be undertaken. It is proposed to open 23 additional Ashram schools for scheduled tribes and three more such schools for criminal tribes at a cost of Rs. 26.73 lakhs and to develop some of the existing Ashram schools at an additional cost of Rs. 23.42 lakhs. The importance of Ashram schools cannot be over emphasised. In fact the Ashram school is the only long term solution not only to the educational problems of these communities, but also to their general welfare. Provision for scholarships,

books and slates for excriminal tribes pupils is being increased. Short term courses designed to enable the teachers in scheduled areas to handle efficiently the problem of the scheduled tribes are proposed to be organised at the cost of Rs. 1.25 lakhs. The poor scheduled tribes agriculturists, whose financial conditions are very unsatisfactory, will be given a special assistance of Rs. 1.5 lakhs for their uplift. Similar assistance to the extent of Rs. 1.75 lakhs will be given to excriminal tribes cultivators. Considering the meagre medical facilities in the scheduled areas, it is proposed to start 15 mobile dispensaries in those areas at an additional cost of Rs. 10.64 lakhs. Five model colonies of the scheduled tribes are proposed to be organised at a cost of Rs. 5 lakhs.

"In order to encourage scheduled tribes to form more forest labourers cooperative societies, it is proposed to give financial assistance to 125 societies at the rate of 25 societies per year and also to aid some of the existing societies. A provision of Rs. 7.5 lakhs has been made for the purpose. It is also proposed to provide an amount of Rs. 23.5 lakhs for the development of scheduled areas and under-developed areas. The amount is meant for special measures like construction of irrigation wells and bunding for scheduled tribes agriculturists and for village approach roads."

WHAT NEXT?

12. *Immediate Needs of the Dublas.* Enough has been stated in preceding paragraphs to indicate that the Tribal Welfare movement in India is already receiving considerable attention of the Government and also of the public. The previous Chapters also give description of the present socio-economic condition of the members of the Dubla Tribe. Let us now pause and discuss what are the actual achievements as judged by the results secured and what are the immediate requirements that demand attention.

Housing. One of the most essential condition for raising the standard of living or the minimum sign of amelioration lies is in the matter of housing. The state of housing in

this community is described in chapter 13 of this book, and photographs as also a special table of statistics give a vivid picture of the wretched, unhealthy and crowded state of their houses.

The importance of this subject has been officially realised by government of Bombay several times, but the policy has lacked continuity and consistency. In 1949 an excellent Halapati housing scheme was sanctioned for a period of only five years. It provided for (1) land at a concession rate (2) interest free loan of Rs. 400 for cottage (3) subsidy of Rs. 100/- in cash (4) subsidy to the extent of 50 per cent of the cost of building materials like wood and bamboos. Unfortunately it was not continued beyond 1954.

The second five year plan contains a provision of 30 lakhs for housing and it was a characteristic statement made by the Minister[14] for Social Welfare in the Bombay Assembly on 26th February 1958: "Effective steps are being taken by the Government to free the members of the Dubla Community in Surat District from serfdom. This could be achieved by providing them houses and therefore Government of Bombay has made a provision of Rupees seven lakhs in the second plan."[14] The average cost of the house is expected to be about Rs. 1,000/-; of which Rs. 750/- will be given as subsidy and the balance as the contribution in the form of manual labour.

The scheme will provide for only 700 houses for about 3,000 persons and will take five years. In the meantime, considerable relief can be secured if the materials used at present in thatching and walling the huts are treated chemically to preserve them against the inroads of the insects, sun and water.

The improvement of housing cannot however be sustained without a steady improvement in the economic condition. For the average Dubla's earning capacity is so small that, it is observed, he is often unable to repay the instalments of even the interest free loan. He has to be enabled to earn more to work more and to save more to prevent him from getting permanently indebted even to the co-operative money-lender.

13. *Economic conditions.* Another important problem that affects the future of the Dublas is their economic condition, to which is also attached the problem of their social position resulting from the old but abolished system of bonded agricultural labour verging on serfdom. If the Dubla can be given facilities to earn more, and if he can be made self-supporting and self-reliant, all his other problems will get solved easily.

The problem of agricultural landless labourer in the Dublaland has to be understood with reference to the conditions affecting agricultural labour on an All-India basis The latter problem is summarised admirably by Dr. Saxena in the following words:—

"It must be admitted that the present conditions of agricultural workers in India are extremely unsatisfactory. Gainfully employed for only six months in the year, housed with cattle and beasts of burden, subsisting on starvation diet, he is an easy prey to epidemics, sahukars and forced labour on depressed wages. On the basis of an All India Survey, the average daily wages of an adult male casual worker was annas 17.5, for the country as a whole. The average of all India daily wage in the case of women labourers was about annas eleven only. About 13.5 per cent of the man days worked by men and about 56 per cent of man days worked by women, was paid for at rates less than annas ten per day. On an all India basis men formed 55 per cent of the agricultural labourers in rural India, and on an average an adult male worker secured employment for 189 days in agricultural and 29 days in non-agricultural labour in the year.[15]

Compared to the above All India position, the average annual income of a landless Dubla per head[16] is only Rs 91.2, and he scarcely gets work for more than hundred days in a year. To raise this standard of income and occupation for the Dubla, among the steps necessary are (1) the fixation of minimum wage for certain kinds of labour (ii) provision of subsidiary occupation by means of village and cottage industries e.g. Ambar charkha through the help of multi-purpose co-operative societies (iii) arrangement of migration of sur-

plus labour to other fields of employment in the same area or in the other areas (iv) securing a minmum holding of arrable land by allotment from Government or through the Bhudan Movement (v) writing off of debts more than three years old and regulation of money lending to landless persons.

The task is one of immense difficulty and requires a continuous supply of trained social workers even in carrying out of the various schemes approved by the welfare government. The tribal sense of fear and diffidence cannot be removed without the help of persons who can inspire confidence and faith. Besides, the development of a keenness for continuous work and of the regularity required in non-agricultural or industrial employment, demands the evolution of a number of proper psychological and social workers whom the Dublas cannot secure by themselves. Partly owing to illiteracy and poverty even the benefit of existing rules and privileges, cannot be fully utilised by them without the guidance of trained workers. To run forest co-operative societies which give work for only 60 to 100 days in a year or Parishramalays—where steady work under Amber Charkha or match-making or soap making can secure a daily wage of about Rupee one throughou the year, the Dublas require the help of an army of social volunteers until they themselves are educated or realise the necessity of steady and reliable out-turn of work.

A great scope exists for the educated unemployed to join such societies and undertake pioneering work in the welfare of the tribal people in rural areas. Hundreds of students graduates of both sexes turned out every year by the Universities can find profitable channels of social work, which will raise their own moral and material culture as well as those of hundreds of poor and down-trodden tribals.

There has been generally great delay in building up and registering co-operative societies, and one collector of a district complained to me that sufficient number of co-operative societies were not being registered to enable him to distribute the land he had in view for allotment for tribal housing societis. On enquiry, we learned that the delay

was partly due to the time required for fulfilment of routine conditions fixed for verifying the reliability and trustworthiness of the intending members and partly due to the insufficiency of the staff in the co-operative department.

Even if the economic condition and the earning capacity of the Dubla is raised, it cannot be expected that he will be able to remove the other disabilities from which he suffers. The conditions of his daily life will have to be improved by the efforts of the State and voluntary agencies in several ways. His wants are (i) road communications permitting him to buy and sell in reasonable markets (ii) housing in dwellings which give shelter from the weather and which are not over crowded (iii) education in village schools (iv) dispensaries for human beings and also for cattle—the tribals resort to the Bhagat only when their herbal remedies fail and are, generally prepared to give him up if a trained medical man is available. (v) Sufficient advance in agricultural and industrial occupations to ensure a constant supply of food and income (vi) a social and moral awareness of his responsibilities to the family and to the society (vii) a moral and spiritual background of faith in himself and the culture which he represents. A Dubla must feel that he is no longer a serf, but a liberated free citizen with rights of protection from the state and with duties towards his country.

The extreme poverty of the tribal population makes it difficult for it to observe the rules regarding the peoples contribution prescribed for Community Development Projects. In an area with which I am familiar, the community project officer could not make a headway as the usual fifty per cent contribution was not forthcoming; there was no response except in the form of voluntary labour and until the rate of contribution was reduced to a lower rate after months of correspondence—and even then the popular contribution was credited as adjusted in advance out of which wages had to be paid in cash daily to enable the tribal to live from day to day. The reduction in popular contribution is recommended by the report of the team for the study of Community projects.[17]

14. *Education.* In the field of education, many for-

mulas and authoritative pronouncements have been recorded and yet the fact is that education has not advanced either in quality or quantity to materially affect the progress and efficiency of the Dubla's tribal life. In the chapter on Education we have shown that both in the matter of literacy and the percentage of attendance at primary schools, the Dubla tribe is most backward as compared with the similarly situated tribes like the Gamits and Naikas. An elaborate discussion of the data is not necessary but the following suggestions of a general nature should prove helpful in carrying out the already progressive policy of the Government:—

(i) Attendance at schools can be increased only by the enforcement of the clauses of the compulsory primary education act. The associations and representatives of the Dublas have already asked for it as they think that the personal persuasion of the parents has proved insufficient.

(ii) The hours of attendance can be altered so as to permit the Dubla boys to attend to subsidiary occupation necessary to support themselves or to help their parents in getting enough to live.

(iii) Night classes are usually suitable for social education among the adults; similarly, hours of attendance for those with subsidiary occupation will have to be changed, somewhat similar to the morning hours adopted for several colleges in cities. If the Dubla boy cannot be diverted from the task of working as a gowalia or shepherd boy or an errand boy he may be permitted to attend the school in the afternoon and given facilities to complete his course in time.

(iv) The syllabus for the primary classes in tribal areas has to be adopted to suit the occupational pattern of tribal life, and made popular and attractive. These children have little interest in the teaching available in ordinary schools, and cannot develop the keenness which ensures regularity and enthusiasm. An agricultural bias, with elementary training in dairy and cattle dairy and cattle keeping, with poultry and bee keeping, with spinning, weaving and carpentry would attract a larger number of students, and parents. This may require a large variation from the standard plans of rural primary education and even basic educa-

tion, but if the tribal groups are to be weaned away from ignorance, poverty, and disease, the education has to be made firstly suitable and then popular, apart from theoretical ideas of a standard pattern of education. The Bombay Government schemes of peripatitic training schools, like the mobile medical service, have to be extended more rapidly to the tribal groups living away in the interior.

The provision for higher education by means of scholarships and reservation of seats in places of education and of employment has resulted in considerable progress. But often higher education leads to frustration and failure in life, when suitable occupation is not available. Greater coordination between the initial training and the finding of employment is necessary in the case of tribal people, if frustration is to be avoided and if the state is to secure the maximum use for the staff trained at its cost.

14. *Food, water, etc.* The food of the Dublas is poor and deficient in quantity, quality and in nutrition, causing slackness and physical inefficiency. But with the gradual disappearance of drink as a daily habit, the percentage of expenditure incurred on food is increasing. In rural areas, where Khauki Kothars or food banks have been or can be organised, and a continuity of food supply at a reasonable price can be assured throughout the year, the food and nutrition position of the Dubla is sure to improve. Some of the Dubla families have a few earthen pots to serve as a small store for foodgrains and they know the value of such store but they lack the financial and other resources to buy up the year's grain supply, when it is the cheapest at the time of the harvest. The result is that every time a guest arrives, the Dubla had to borrow money to buy the grain required for the barest hospitality. Here again the tribal nature of the Dublas require protection and encouragement at the hands of their more fortunate and capable brothers who should be prepared to help as organisers of co-operative societies and as social workers.

The requirements of the tribal people for water-supply for public health, for prevention of sickness and for cure of disease, for spread of knowledge, for opportunities for

recreation and entertainment are all sufficiently well-known. Village roads, village wells, village schools village dispensaries, (human and veterinary), maternity and child welfare centres, village open air theatres and dance platforms, village community centres, woman's clubs, housing societies, food banks and multipurpose co-operative societies are all recognised now in modern planning for tribal India. The difficulties of rapid acculturation, if any, can be overcome; and the correct attitude is to go slow and to periodically survey whether the modernisation has upset the moorings of the cultural life of any tribal group by over-enthusiasm or under-appreciation of their difficulties, or by exploitation by outsiders. But gone are the days when building of new roads were objected to, as they were supposed to take away the food supplies and to bring in money lenders and new diseases from the cities; isolation need no longer be resorted to, for modern planning provides for co-operative banking and rural credit when new roads bring in complicated economic conditions. The rapacity of the money-lender is controlled by legislation and by co-operative societies built up by the efforts of trained social workers of voluntary welfare organisations, the provision for village water wells on a co-operative or Government grant basis, and for mobile medical vans, and peripatic schools for mechanic trades or crafts or cottage industries, mobile vans for amusements and entertainments—all these prevent the tribal folk from going into a state of depression during the period of transition. The difficulties arising from slackness of individual officer or in administrative machinery affect both the tribal and non-tribal inhabitants of a locality, and should get remedied with increasingly higher standards of honesty, efficiency and reliability.

15. *Protection of Indigenous Culture.* In a welfare state pledged to a socialist pattern of society, dynamic social and culture changes are inevitable and the slackening of social organisation of the tribes is unavoidable. In any progressive society with rapidity of the spread of communications, almost every tribe is in transition, and isolation of tribal groups is not possible and is not desirable except in extremely few cases. Acculturation caused by natural causes cannot

be prevented but it should be seen that the violence of the change is cushioned off by shock absorbers suitable for each group. Further every feature of tribal culture which causes happiness or is useful must be encouraged and preserved. The main requirement is that the tribal group should lose the sense of fear and acquire a sense of self-confidence in its own culture and tradition. The latter have to fall in line with the development of the people in the neighbouring area; for example, they all deserve to be protected from the exploitation of money lenders. Such a protection is needed even in the classes of nontribal communities in the cities and the towns. The man in the city streets has to be protected from high prices and high profiteering, from the anti-social behaviour of the stock-pilers, from the greedy lawyer, from the less acquisitive doctor, from the rapacious money lender and landlord, from the trade union labour employee, from the selfish capatalist and from the resourceless inefficiency and want of sympathy of the routine administrator. With the general rise in efficiency in a rural area, even the tribal peoples of that area will obtain the courage and strength to withstand the exploiters of wealth and disturbers of cultural peace.

At this stage we must make clear what is meant by the good points of the Dubla culture which require conservation and consolidation. Surely, such practices arising from ignorance of the laws of nature e.g. superstition, witchcraft, or worship of ghosts gods and godlings to cure diseases or laxity and promiscuity in sexual relations cannot be expected to continue if modern roads, schools, libraries, dispensaries, maternity homes and electric supply get common, as a result of the general progress of the country. The sense of fear which makes the Dubla a timid tribal will disappear if cheap medical aid is available freely and frequently; if irrigation water supply and manure can assure the Dubla of his crops, he will not spend any money on pleasing the Raingod. But the practices, customs and traditions regarding folk art, folk songs, folk dances, folk history, sense of hospitality and group solidarity have to be preserved at any cost, if the vitality and the self-confidence of the tribal people

is to survive and if they are not to be subjected to a sense of frustration. No amount of money spent on training the cultural sense of the tribal groups can be considered excessive; if any cultural traits which form the only sound factors of their cultural life bring them happiness and remove tension, they should be protected by special treatment. The Fine Arts departments of the Universities, academies and other cultural organisations, have to keep permanent sections for tribal culture and to provide efficient peripetatic teachers of tribal arts, tribal handicrafts and tribal industries who can reach each tribal group, however remote it may be. This is one of the important directions in which the protection of tribal culture of the Dublas deserves special recognition. With these reservations, we may safely expect that the progress of the Dublas is safe and assured, and that the Tribe is not going either to decrease in number or in importance. There is sufficient raw material in the human resources available in this tribe that it can provide in planning for the development of the resources of Mother India in the fields either of agriculture or industry, and with adequate training in all other fields also. The erstwhile serf Dubla can be integrated into a full citizen even if it may take time and trouble.

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13. Second Five Year Plan Old Bombay State p. 122.

14. *Times of India,* dated 1st March 1958.

15. Page 166 Labour Problem and Social Welfare R. C. Saxena.

16. Vide page 190 of Chapter 13 above.

17. Report of the Team for the Study of Community Projects and National Extension Service Vol. I pp. 53-55—Leader Shri Balwantrai Mehta—published by Planning Commission, GGovernment of India—November 1957.

Table No. 1 Size and Composition of 156 Dubla Families

Name of Rural families	Total No. of members	No. of male adults	No. of female adults	No. of children	Adults per family		children per family	Average size of family
					male	female		
156	807	252	221	334	1.6	1.4	2.2	5.2

Table No. 1-B Size and Composition of 47 Dubla Families (Urban)

No. of families	Total No. members	No. of male	No. of female	No. of children	adults per family		Children per family	Average size of family
47	212	70	60	82	1.5(m)	1.3(f)	1.7	4.5

Table No. 2 Types of Families

Nature of family	No. of families	No. of members	Average size of family	Percentages of 156 families
Rural	124	673	5.4	79.5
Urban	32	134	4.2	20.5
Single	105	479	4.6	67.3
Joint	51	328	6.4	32.7

Table No. 3 Types and Nature of the Family

	Rural		Urban		Total No. of
Type of family	Single	Joint	Single	Joint	families
No. of families	82	42	23	9	156
Percentages	66.1%	33.9%	71.9%	28.1%	

Table No. 4 Sex Ratio of Dubla Family

Type of family	No. of families	No. of males	No. of females	No. of members	Sex Ratio
					m. f.
Dubla families	60	152	135	287	100 : 89
Vohra Dubla families	9	29	21	50	100 : 72
Total	69	181	156	337	100 : 86

Table No. 5

Statement of Annual Income of Dubla Families

Name of occupation Groups	No. of families	Total Annual income from subsidiary occupation	Total Annual income from main occupn.	Average Annual income	No. of families having sub-occupn.	Annual average income per family from subsidiary occupn.	Total annual income of all families	Total average income per famliy
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Land Owner . ..	2	180	837	418	1	180.0	1017	508.5
Tenant	2	-	1150	575	-	-	1150	575.0
Hali Labourer ..	26	395	10308	396	2	197.5	10703	411.7
Casual Agri. Labourer	66	1200	21917	332	9	133.3	23117	350.3
Non-farm Labourers .	17	358	7366	433	4	89.5	7724	454.4
Artisans	18	2040	9415	523	8	255.0	11455	636.4
Factory Labourers ..	10	84	9120	912	1	84.0	9204	920.4
Other workers .	15	240	12054	804	1	240.0	12294	819.6
All Groups	156	4497	72167		26	173.0	76664	291.4

Table No. 6

Statement showing number of earners and their Annual Income according to Occupation Groups

S. No.	No. of families	Name of occupation groups	No. of earners			Total number of earners	Total annual income Rs.	Average income per earner Rs.
			males	females	children			
1	2	Landowners	4	-	-	4	1017	254.2
2	2	Tenants	5	1	-	6	1150	191.6
3	26	Hali labourers	42	27	6	75	10703	142.7
4	66	Casual Agri. labourers	95	52	12	159	23117	145.3
5	17	Non-farm labourers	26	17	4	47	7724	164.3
6	18	Artisans	21	17	1	39	11455	293.4
7	10	Factory labourers	13	8	—	21	9204	438.3
8	15	Others workers like post-men, peons, etc.	21	9	4	34	12294	361.5
Total	156	All groups	227	131	27	385	76664	193.5
	Average earner per family		1.5	0.8	0.2	2.5		
	Percentages of earners to the total of 386		59%	34%	7%	100%		

Table No. 7

Statement showing number of Members, Earners & Dependents of 156 Dubla Families

No. of families		Number of members males	females	children	Total
156	Total No. of members	252	221	334	807
156	Total No. of earners	227	131	27	385
156	Total No. of dependents	25	90	307	422
	Average number of dependents per family	0.16	0.54	2.0	2.7

Table No. 8

Statement showing number of days of employment of the Earners of (156) Dubla Families

No. of days of employment in a year	Land owner		Tenant		Hali labourer		Casual Agri. labourer		Non-farm labourers		Artisans		Factory labourers		Other workers		Total %	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-100					5	6.7%	47	29.5%	10	21.3%	10	25.6%	1	4.8%	4	11.8%	77	20.0%
101-120					6	8.0%	6	3.8%	9	19.1%	7	18.0%	1	4.7%	1	3.0%	30	7.8%
121-150					1	1.3%	11	6.9%	-	-	6	15.4%	-	-	1	3.0%	19	5.0%
151-200					3	3.9%	17	10.9%	7	14.9%	4	10.9%	-	-	1	3.0%	32	8.3%
201-250					-	-	33	20.7%	5	10.6%	2	5.1%	3	14.3%	-	-	43	11.1%
251-300			1	16.7%	1	1.3%	16	10.0%	2	4.3%	2	5.1%	3	14.3%	3	8.8%	28	7.3%
Above 300	4	100%	5	83.3%	59	78.8%	29	18.2%	14	29.8%	8	20.5%	13	61.9%	24	70.8%	156	40.5%
Total No. of earners and their percentage to total	4	100%	6	100%	75	100%	159	100%	47	100%	39	100%	21	100%	34	100%	385	100%

Table No. 9

Income of Dubla Families by occupation groups

Occupational groups	0-200	201-250	251-300	301-400	401-600	601-800	801-1000	above 1000
Land Owner	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	-
Tenant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hali labourer	2	5	3	6	7	3	-	-
Casual Agri-labourer	9	14	13	15	10	3	1	1
Non-farm labourer	1	2	3	1	5	5	-	-
Artisans	-	-	-	3	7	6	-	2
Factory labourer	-	-	-	-	2	2	3	3
Other workers	-	1	1	1	3	2	4	3
Total	12	22	20	26	35	23	9	9
% to 156	7.7	14.1	12.8	16.6	22.4	14.8	5.8	5.8
		34.6%		39%		26.4%		

Table No. 10

Statement Showing Separate Income Groups of 156 Families Living in Rural and Urban Areas of Surat District

No. of families	Areas	Income 0-200	201-250	251-300	301-400	401-600	601-800	801-1000	Above 1000/-	Average income	
124	Rural	12	22	19	26	25	17	1	2	Rs.	404.6
32	Urban	-	-	1	-	10	6	8	7	Rs.	827.9
156	Total	12	22	20	26	35	23	9	9	-	-

Table No. 11.

Land data and annual income from Agricultural land of 13 Landowning Dubla families analysed by occupational groups.

Occupational groups	No. of families	No. of families having land	Area of land		Types of land			Land Revenue		Land tenure	Owner of land and area of land	Land on Tenancy	Land on Share basis	Area of Land of Landlords	Annual Income from the Agri. Land
			Wighas	Gunthas	Paddy land	Girayat land	Garden land	Rs.	As.	Rs. As.					
Land Owner	2	2	15	20	4-30	6.30	4	9.0		-	Govt. 12.0 Per. 3.20	-	-	-	347
Tenant	2	2	8	35	3-35	5.0	-	-		130.0	L. L. 8.35	3-20	-	8.35	608
Hali labourer	26	1	5	10	-	5.10	-	19		-	Govt. 5.10 Per.	-	-	-	450
Casual Agri.-labourer	66	2	3	20	1-20	2	-	17		-	Govt. 2.20 Per. 1.0	-	-	-	170
Non-farm labourer	17	1	1	0	-	1	-	3		-	Personal 1.0	-	-	-	60
Artisans	18	4	22	0	22.0	-	-	90		-	L. L. 18.0 Per. 4.0	4.0	14.0	18-0	1,450
Factory labourer	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-		-	-	-	-
Other workers	15	1	14	0	3-20	5-10	5-10	8-6		-	Govt. 14.0	-	-	-	453
Total	156	13	70	5	35-25	25-10	9-10	146-6		130	Govt. 33.30 L. L. 26.35 Per. 9.20	7-20	14.0	26-35	3,538-0
Average %		81.3%	5%	10%	2.29%	1-38%	0-28%	11-4-3		130		2.30			272-2-6 Per Family

Table No. 12.

Statement showing Monthly Expenditure in Rupees on Food and Fuel of 156 Dubla Families analysed by Occupational Groups:

No. of families	Occupational groups	Wheat	Juwar	Rice	Vegetable	Pulses	Milk	Ghee	Oil	Chilis	Fuels	Salt & Gur	Tea & Sugar	Tobacco	Miscellaneous	Total	Average expenditure per family
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
2	Land Owner	2	13	6	6	5	1	4	4	4	1	1	7	7	4	65	32
2	Tenant	-	18	20	5	7	7	-	3	2	-	1	10	10	3	86	43
26	Hali Labourer	-	224	161	60	41	29	-	21	20	16	13	74	54	6	719	27
66	Casual Agri-Labourer	-	668	48	156	91	35	-	69	47	36	20	214	166	24	1574	24
17	Non-Farm Labourer	-	231	48	57	25	31	3	21	15	20	6	54	42	5	558	33
18	Artisans	4	161	43	61	40	49	10	33	20	42	9	97	72	28	669	37
10	Factory Labourer	10	76	63	94	41	32	7	23	15	58	4	75	59	27	684	58
15	Other Workers	15	88	95	69	36	41	5	30	25	62	4	96	59	53	678	45
156	Total Rs.	31	1479	484	508	286	225	29	204	148	235	58	627	469	150	4933	
	Average Expenditure per family	0/3	9-1	3-2	3-4	1-13	1-7	0-3	1-5	1-0	1-8	0-7	4-0	3-0	1-0	32	
	Percentage of the item to total expenditure	6.6	30.1	9.8	10.3	5.8	4.5	0.6	4.1	3.0	4.7	1.2	12.7	9.5	3	100	

NOTE:—Owing to printing difficulties on a monotype machine, figures of annas and pies are rounded off to nearest figure of Rupees except in case of average per family where annas have been shown. The original table is carefully preserved for reference.

Table No. 13.

Statement of Annual Expenditures on Food Clothes etc. of 156 Dubla families analysed by Occupation groups.

Occup. groups	No. of families	Food	Clothes	Witch-craft	Social functions	Ornaments	Travelling	Medicine	Miscella-neous	Total	Average	Percentage
Landlord	2	772-8	179-8	-	20-0	—	15-0	2-0	110-0	1099-0	549- 8-0	1.52
Tenant	2	1000- 8	136-0	5-0	15-0	—	10-0	-	140-0	1306-8	653- 4-0	1.8
Hali labourer	26	8613-0	1100-4	15-0	186-0	130-0	48-0	5-0	225-4	10322-8	397- 0-3	14.22
Casual Agri. labourer	66	18864-4	2453-0	81-0	507-0	310-0	187-0	95-0	381-0	22878	346-10-0	31.52
Non-farm Labourer	17	6678-0	787-0	14-0	155-0	75-0	45-0	13-0	135-0	7902	464-13-2	10.89
Artisans	18	8004-0	1157-0	35-0	190-0	100-0	128-0	41-0	480-0	10135	563- 1-0	13.96
Factory workers	10	7008-0	788-0	39-0	95-0	—	91-0	34-0	405-0	8460	846- 0-0	11.66
Other workers	15	8136- 0	1326-0	69-0	135-0	25-0	116-0	113-0	557-0	10477	698- 7-6	14.43
Total	156	59076	7926-12	258-0	1303-0	640-0	640-0	303-0	2433.4	72580	465- 4-0	100%
Average		378-11-1	50-13-0	1-10-6	6-5-8	4-1-8	4-1-8	1-15-1	16-14-1	465-4-0		
Percentage		81.40	10.92	.36	1.80	.88	.88	0.42	3.34	100		

Table No. 14

Statement showing Assets of 156 Dubla Families Analysed by Occupation Groups.

Occupational Group.	No. of families.	BUSINESS ASSETS				DOMESTIC ASSETS				LIQUID & SEMI-LIQUID			TOTAL	Average value of Assets
		Land Rs.	Tools Rs.	Livestocks Rs.	Total Rs.	Houses Rs.	Utensils Rs.	Furniture Rs.	Total Rs.	Ornaments Rs.	Cash Rs.	Total Rs.		Rs.
Land Owner	2	4025	166/-	396/-	4587/-	1650	70/-	156/-	1876/-	300/-	-	300/-	6763/-	3381/ 8/-
Tenant	2	-	113/-	436/8	549/8	350	73/15	36/-	459/15	85/-	-	85/-	1094/7	547/ 3/6
Hali	26	-	23/4	385/8	408/12	2685	342/9	288/4	3315/13	231/-	300	531/-	4255/9	163/10/9
Casual Agri. Labourer	66	1500	126/4	1208/8	2834/12	7500	858/7	569/4	8927/11	425/-	800	1225/-	12987/7	196/12/6
Non-farm Labourer	17	800	58/12	545	1403/12	2850	138/3	249/-	3237/3	387/-	100	487/-	5127/15	301/10/3
Artisans	18	6000	33/-	1301	7334/-	1555	318/2	302/12	2175/14	206/-	1080	1286/-	10795/14	599/12/4
Factory Labourer	10	-	14/14	5	19/14	640	311/14	152/4	1104/2	79/12	150	229/12	1353/12	135/ 6/-
Other workers	15	-	42/-	133	175/-	350	535/10	300/14	1186/8	214/8	1200	1414/8	2776/-	185/ 1/-
Total	156	12325	577/2	4410/8	17312/10	17580	2648/12	2054/6	22283/2	1928/4	3630	5558/4	45154/-	289/ 7/3
Average percent of total		27.29%	1.28%	9.77%	38.34%	38.93%	5.87%	4.55%	49.35%	4.27%	8.04%	12.34%	289/7/3	
Average per family		79.1	3.69	28.26	110.98	112.69	16 98	13.17	142.84	12.36	23.27	35.62	289.51	

Table No. 15.

Statements showing Assets of 124 Rural and 32 Urban Dubla Families.

Area	No. of Families	BUSINESS ASSETS				DOMESTIC ASSETS				LIQUID & SEMI-LIQUID			ASSETS		
		Land	Tools and implements	Livestock	Total	Houses	Utensils	Furnitures	Total	Gold Silver Ornaments	Cash Deposit & Savings	Total	Average Total Assets per family	Grand Total	Percentage
RURAL:	124	12325	503	4237	17065	16460	1798	1651	19909	1666	1780	3446	32.6	40421	89.52%
URBAN:	32	-	74	173	247	1120	850	403	2373	261	1850	2111	14.3	4732	10.48%
TOTAL:	156	12325	577	4410	17312	17580	2648	2054	22282	1927	3630	5557	46.9	45153	100.00%

	Rural	Urban.	Total
No. of Families having Land:	4	-	4
No. of Families having Houses:	121	3	124
No. of Families having Livestock:	60	5	65
No. of Families having Ornaments:	59	3	62

Table No. 16.

Statement showing Debts and Causes of 91 Indebted Families Analysed by Occupational Groups.

Occupation Group	No. of families.	No. of In-debted families	Total Debts	CAUSES OF DEBTS				LENDERS					Average Debt per family	Percentage
				Marriages	Food	Illness	Misc.	Money Lender	Landlord	Sheth	Relatives	Friends		
Land Labourer	2	1	300	-	100	-	200	-	300	-	-	-	300- 0-0	3.26
Tenant	2	1	250	-	200	50	-	200	-	-	30	20	250- 0-0	2.72
Hali Labourer	26	23	3328	2660	313	50	305	-	3328	-	-	-	144-11-2	36.15
Casual Agricul. Labr.	66	34	1584	510	847	-	227	87	1005	120	100	272	46- 9-5	17.20
Non-farm Labourer	17	12	760	270	180	-	310	100	120	240	290	10	63- 5-4	8.26
Artisans	18	5	805	490	300	15	-	40	-	725	25	15	161- 0-0	8.74
Factory Labourer	10	6	460	-	410	50	-	150	-	310	-	-	76-10-8	4.99
Other workers	15	9	1720	260	1075	340	45	-	160	965	300	295	191- 1-9	18.68
Total:	156	91	9207	4190	3425	505	1087	577	4913	2360	745	612	101- 2-10	100.00
Percentage:				45.51	37.20	5.48	11.81	6.26	53.36	25.63	8.10	6.65		

Table No. 17.

Statement showing Total Debts of Rural & Urban Dublas.

AREAS	No. of Indebted families	Causes of Debts. Marriages	Food	Illness	Miscel-laneous	Money-Lenders Money lender	Landlord	Employer or Sheth	Relatives	Friends	Total Debts	Average Debt per Family	Percentage
URBAN	16	590	1535	405	45	190	-	1750	325	310	2575	151.47	27.97%
RURAL	75	3600	1940	100	1042	385	4913	610	420	302	6632	89.62	72.03%
TOTAL	91	4190	3425	505	1087	577	4913	2360	745	612	9207	101.16	100.0%

TABLE NO. 18.

Statement showing debts of 58 Rural Dubla Families analysed by Year-Groups.

Year of Debts.	No. of Indebted families.	No. of members of families.	Causes of Debts				Money Lenders					Total Debts.	Average Debt per family.	Total Annual Income of families.
			Marriages.	Food	Illness	Miscellaneous.	Money lenders.	Landlords.	Employer or Sheth	Relatives.	Friends.			
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.
1939	14	68	1855	135	—	—	1035	955	—	—	—	1990	142	4507
1947	19	105	2275	420	—	150	45	2800	—	—	—	2845	145	8418
1953	23	120	1850	650	550	460	150	3330	30	—	—	3510	153	10127
1955	38	172	1930	1647	100	740	237	3630	300	230	20	4417	116	15888

TABLE NO. 19.

Statement showing variations in the Percentages of the Debts
(Analysed by Year-Groups)

Year of Debts.	No. of Indebted families.	No. of members of families.	Causes of Debts (percentage)				Money Lenders (percentage)					Total Debts. by percentage	Average Debt per family.	Average Annual Income per family.
			Marriages.	Food	Illness	Miscellaneous.	Money lenders.	Landlords.	Employer Sheth	Relatives.	Friends.			
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs/	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	
1939	14	68	93.2	6.8	—	—	52.0	48.0	—	—	—	100%	142	321
1947	19	105	80.0	14.8	—	5.2	1.6	98.4	—	—	—	100%	150	443
1953	23	120	52.7	18.5	15.7	13.1	4.3	94.9	0.8	—	—	100%	153	440
1955	38	172	43.7	37.3	2.3	16.7	5.4	82.2	6.8	5.2	0.4	100%	116	418

TABLE NO. 20.

Statement showing housing condition of 156 Dubla Families analysed by Occupational Groups.

Name of Occupation group.	No. of families.	Ownership of Houses & Land.				Rent of House and Land.		
		Land & House owned	Land & House rented	Land rented & house owned.	Free	House Rent	Name of Land Owner	Land Rent or Revenue
Land Owner	2	2	-	-	-	-	Govt. - 0 Private Land-lord - 0	
Tenant	2	1	-	1	-		Govt. - 1	1-8-0 of one family.
Hali Labourer	26	12	1	13	4	12/- of 1 family.	Pvte. - 0 Govt. - 9 Pvte. - 5	3-14-0 of ten families
Casual Agri. Labourer	66	60	2	4	5		Govt. - 4 Pvte. - 2	4-12-0 of four families
Non-farm Labourer	17	15	2	-	1	24/- of 1 family.	Govt. - 0 Pvte. - 2	
Artisans	18	9	4	5	-	84/- of 4 families.	Govt. - 2 Pvte. - 7	52-13-6 of five families
Factory Labourer	10	-	3	7	1	84/- of 2 families.	Govt. - 0 Pvte. - 10	
Other (Urban) Workers	15	-	11	4	4	384/- of 7 families.	Govt. - 2 Pvte. - 13	26-1-3 of three families
Grand Total:	156	99	23	34	15	588/- per annum of 15 families.	Govt. - 18 Pvte. - 39 Per-sonal - 99	88-0-9 P.A. of 23 families.
Percen-tage:						Average rent per family. Rs. 37-3-3	Govt. - 11.5% Pvte. - 25.0% Personal - 65.5%	Average Land Rent per family. Rs. 3-13-11

Key for the figures for the space of the House.

(1) means an area from 1-25 sq. ft. (2) means an area from 26-50 sq. ft. (3) means an area from 51-75 sq. ft. (4) means an area from 76-100 sq. ft. (5) means an area above 100 sq. ft.

Room and Space of House.		Types of Roofs.						Types of Walls.			
No. of Rooms	Total Area of House	Tiled	Thatched.	Tin Sheet	No. of House with windows.	Ventilation A B C		Bricks & Mortar	Mud & Straw	Thatched	Tin Sheet
2 Rooms 2	(5) - 2	1	1	-	1	B	- 2	-	2	-	-
2 Rooms 2	(5) - 2	1	1	-	0	B	- 2	-	-	2	-
1 Room 13	(1) - 1	3	20	3	1	A	- 2	-	10	16	-
2 Rooms 13	(4) - 9 (5) -16					B C	- 18 - 6				
1 Room 48	(3) -19	18	42	6	0	A	- 15	1	25	40	-
2 Rooms 18	(4) -31 (5) -16					B C	- 16 - 35				
1 Room 11	(2) - 2 (3) - 3	2	11	4	0	B	- 10	-	8	9	-
2 Rooms 6	(4) - 3 (5) - 9					C	- 7				
1 Room 13	(3) - 1	10	8	-	4	A	- 5	1	7	10	-
2 Rooms 5	(4) - 5 (5) -12					B C	- 7 - 6				
1 Room 10	(4) - 4 (5) - 6	2	8	-	1	A	- 1	1	3	6	-
						B C	- 4 - 5				
1 Room 12	(3) - 2	5	6	4	6	A	- 3	6	3	4	2
2 Rooms 3	(4) - 4 (5) - 9					B C	- 9 - 3				
1 Room —109	(1) - 1 (2) - 2	42	97	17	13	A	- 26	9	58	87	2
2 Rooms — 47	(3) -25 (4) -56 (5) -72					B C	- 68 - 62				
1 Room 68.6%	(1) - 0.6% (2) - 1.3%	26.9%	62.2%	10.9%	8.3%	A	- 16.7%	5.8%	37.2%	55.7%	1.3%
2 Rooms 31,4%	(3) -16.2% (4) -35.8% (5) -46.1%					B C	- 43.6% - 39.7%				

Key for column for ventilation:—A denotes houses having sufficient air and light; B denotes houses with inadequate air and light; C denotes houses with very poor air and light.

TABLE NO. 21

Literacy Level of the Gujarat Districts—1951

District	Percentage of Literates to Total	Percentage of Literate Males	Percentage of Literate Females
1. Mehsana	25.03	34.94	15.05
2. Banaskantha	7.16	11.94	2.05
3. Sabarkantha	14.37	23.58	4.91
4. Ahmedabad	32.59	43.55	19.67
5. Kaira	29.13	40.33	16.85
6. Panch Mahals	13.40	20.38	5.95
7. Baroda	28.60	39.01	17.23
8. Broach	27.90	39.80	15.29
9. Surat	29.08	39.01	19.04
10. Amreli	29.70	39.37	19.74
11. Dang	6.37	10.38	1.79
12. Bombay State	24.55	35.46	12.85
13. Gujarat	25.08	34.90	14.60

TABLE NO. 22.

Statement showing literacy noticed among 91 Dubla families living in Rural and Urban areas.

Areas	No. of families.	MEMBER				Std. I				Std. II				Std. III				Std. IV				Std. V-VII				Std. VIII-XI				Total Literates				Percentage of Literates to Total Population.
		M	F	C	T	M	F	C	T	M	F	C	T	M	F	C	T	M	F	C	T	M	F	C	T	M	F	C	T	M	F	C	T	
RURAL	59	95	81	118	294	5	-	-		-	-	-	-	4	-	1	5	13	-	2	15	2	1	-	3	5	-	-	5	31	1	11	43	14.63
URBAN	32	43	37	55	135	3	1	1	5	3	-	2	5	3	-	-	3	5	-	-	5	2	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	16	1	4	21	15.56
TOTAL:	91	138	118	173	429	8	1	8	17	5	-	3	8	7	-	1	8	18	-	2	20	4	1	1	6	5	-	-	5	47	2	15	64	14.92

TABLE NO. 23.

Changes in tribal population: 1872-1951 in Surat District.

The great social change that is coming over the aboriginal tribes of Surat District only is reflected in the population statistics in many ways. Firstly, their number is increased by about 40 per cent as shown by the figures below:—

In 1872 the aboriginal races, the dark races (Kali-paraj) numbered 166, 565 souls or no less than 33.3 per cent of the entire population of the District. In 1951, the corresponding population was 8,54,405 out of a total population of 18,28,398 giving a percentage of 46-5 per cent: the figures are only vaguely comparable because of the merged States like Dharampur, Bansda and Sargoda having been added in 1947.

The following table from p. 194 (Surat District Gazetteer 1877) gives the figures for 1872:—

Sub-Divn.	Bhil	Dubla	Naika	Dhodia	Chodhra	Gamit	Other tribes	Total Aboriginals	Total population of district	Percentage of Aborigines
Olpad	214	8377	—	—	—	—	—	8591	66256	12.93
Mandvi	5388	4855	53		19153	4504	379	34332	48367	70.98
Chorasi	—	5159	—	—	—	—	9	5168	48435	10.60
Bardoli	78	18714	836	571	—	—	604	21803	77500	28.13
Jalalpor		9762	2318	681	—	—	—	12761	70112	18.20
Chikhli		8886	4289	16293	—	—	317	29775	59312	50.20
Balsar		7726	5206	11848	—	—	107	24887	78207	31.82
Pardi	4	7054	4940	17040	—	—	210	29248	51749	56.51
Total:	5684	71533	17632	46433	19153	4504	1626	166565	499938	33.31

SURAT DISTRICT—Total Scheduled Tribes 1951.

	Males	Females	Total	URBAN	Males	Females	Total
Rural	405542	406080	811622				
Urban:	21616	21167	42783	Surat City	6363	5666	12029
Total:	427158	427247	854405				
RURAL							
Olpad, Chorasi	58125	52319	110444	Chorasi, Kanuj	549	565	1114
Palsana, Kanuj, Maj Navsari	31176	43848	75024	Bansda, Navsari, Gandhevi	6015	5402	11417
Busda, Mhowa, Gandhevi	50362	51186	101548	Vyara, Mdvi. Sugdh. Bardoli.	6810	6456	13266
Bdli. Mdva.	126125	120388	246513				
Bulsar-Pardi	52998	53812	106810				
Chikli, Dharampur	86756	84527	171283	Bulsar, Dharampur	1879	3078	4957
Rural—Total:	405542	406080	811622	Urban—Total:	21616	21167	42783

Table No. 21

List of villages of DUBLAS in Surat District visited by the Research Staff of the Gujarat Research Society for the selection of 156 families for the Socio-Cultural-Economic life of the DUBLAS during the period January to December 1955.

TALUKA	VILLAGE	TALUKA	VILLAGE
Chorasi	Surat City	Navsari	Chhinam
"	Khatodhara	"	Kadoli
"	Katargam	"	Mahuvar
Pardi	Sarodhi	"	Sisodra
"	Dungri	Gandevi	Ajrai
"	Gruad	"	Endhal
"	Umarsadi	"	Matvad
"	Udwada	"	Pipaldhara
"	Khadlei	Chikali	Barolia
Bardoli	Bajipura	"	Alipor
"	Lumbha	"	Vankal
"	Rayam	"	Vanderwala
"	Panada	Mahuva	Anaval
"	Varad	"	Puna
Valod	Valod	Bansada	Bhinar
"	Nava Falia	"	Varanasi
"	Godadha	"	Kurelia
"	Jamania	"	Unai
"	Shiker	Dharampur	Palgabhan
"	Butwada	"	Dharampur
"	Alghat	"	Asura

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