

CENSUS OF INDIA, 1961

MADHYA PRADESH

GLOSSARY

ON

SCHEDULED TRIBES

OF

MADHYA PRADESH

By

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1969

Preface

In the 1961 Census it was originally proposed to prepare ethnographic notes on all the principal Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of Madhya Pradesh. Some work had been done in this direction and notes on some tribes were also prepared. However, for various reasons the project on ethnographic notes could not be completed.

We in the State Census Office thought that whether or not the ethnographic notes are prepared, compilation of a glossary on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes would be very useful to all concerned. It will show the population for all Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and synonymous groups listed in the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification) Order, 1956 which information is not available in the Census publications and it will help to briefly introduce all such Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and synonymous groups. The glossary, it was thought, would be more welcome to general administration than the detailed ethnographic notes.

Thus, the preparation of glossary on Scheduled Tribes was taken in hand in 1963 and it was completed in 1964. Because of various other pre-occupations a similar glossary on Scheduled Castes could not be prepared.

The glossary prepared at the State Census Office was submitted to the Social Studies Section of the office of the Registrar General. It was scrutinised there and the suggestions received from the Registrar General were incorporated in the glossary. The revised glossary has now been approved by the Registrar General.

The glossary presented here contains all the names of tribes and synonymous groups that are given in the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification) Order, 1956. These names are arranged in alphabetical order. The figures in bracket represent the population of the tribe or the group as the case may be in the State and districts as it was returned at the Census.

Due to shortage of plates for undertaking the vari-typing work, the Registrar General kindly suggested that the glossary may be cyclostyled and circulated with a printed cover. It is, as such, being circulated in the present shape. It is hoped that the glossary would be useful to all Institutions and Scholars interested in the Scheduled Tribes of the State.

It is quite possible that on scrutiny of the glossary, the Scholars and others concerned with administration may have some useful suggestions to make. Such suggestions would be very much welcome and the author would be very happy to receive them.

Thanks are due to Shri M.G.Mohril, M.A., and Shri H.C.Jain, M.A.LL.B., Investigators, who assisted in the preparation of the glossary at all stages. The author is also grateful to Dr.B.K. Roy Burman who took the trouble of scrutinizing the first draft and suggested modifications.

Bhopal,
The 24th February 1969 K.C. Dubey

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SCHEDULED TRIBES A GLOSSARY

1. AGARIA

(M.P. 30,282; Surguja 9,552; Shahdol 6,792; Sidhi 4,979; Bilaspur 4,139; Raigarh 2,407; Mandla 1,734; Jabalpur 250; Raipur 212; Balaghat 122 and rest in Chhatarpur, Rewa, Satna and Durg).

In the Scheduled Tribes (Modification) Order, 1956, the tribe (spelt 'Agaria') is recorded as sub-tribe of Gonds in Mahakoshal districts whereas it (spelt 'Agariya') is shown as an independent tribe in the former Vindhya Pradesh districts. (The spelling of the name of this tribe in Crooke's Tribes and Castes of N.W. Province and Oudh is 'Agariya'; in Russell's Tribes and Castes of C.P. and in Monograph by Elwin it is 'Agaria').

In Bilaspur the tribe is scheduled only in Katghora and Bilaspur tahsils and in Durg district, in Durg and Sanjari-Balod tahsils. Some Agarias are found in Mungeli tahsil of Bilaspur district but they have not been returned as such in the present Census since they are not 'Scheduled' there.

Agaria are a primitive tribe of indigenous iron-smelters, the name having probably come from ag meaning fire or still more probably from Agar meaning local iron-mines. Though the tribe is regarded in the President's Order as a Gond sub-tribe, they repudiate this affiliation. The term Agaria is loosely applied to primitive iron-smelters and in the past Census has also been confused with Agharia, a cultivating caste.

2. AGARIYA (See Agaria)

3. ANDH

(M.P. 4; Betul 1; Surguja 2; Bastar 1).

A 'low' cultivating caste found in Berar, referred to in Sherring's Hindu Tribes and Castes' as And Gond and described as cultivators. The tribe (if it can be so called) is found in Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. The large number of exogamous septs among them have all Marathi names.

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4. ARAKH

(M.P. 3; Jabalpur 2; Seoni 1).

Caste of cultivators and labourers found principally in Chanda and Berar districts of Maharashtra. Russell and Hiralal remark, "The Arakhs are considered to be an offshoot of Pasi or Bahelia caste of hunters and fowlers." (Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol.II, p.40).

5. ARRAKH (See Arakh).

6. ASUR

(M.P. 193; Surguja 68; Raigarh 125).

A small primitive tribe of iron-smelters found in Chhota Nagpur plateau and in adjoining areas. They are also loosely referred to as Agaria and a section of them is Agaria-Asur.

7. BADE MARIA (See Badi Maria)

8. BADI MARIA

(M.P. 188; Bastar 186; Bilaspur 2).

Etymologically means the 'Big Maria' or the 'Elder Maria'. This is a section of the Marias of Bastar. The name probably refers to the sophisticated Marias who have adopted it in the recent past.

9. BAHELIA

(M.P. 458; Surguja 161; Mandla 112; Seoni 50; Chhindwara 46; East Nimar 28; Jabalpur 20; Bilaspur 19; Raigarh 12; Bastar 9; Durg 1).

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A cast of hunters and fowlers. The Bahelia is a synonym for Pardhi in the Mahakoshal region of the State from which group the Bahelias are indistinguishable. In the Scheduled Tribes Order, the tribe is shown as a synonymous group with Pardhis in Mahakoshal districts.

10. BAHELLIA (See Bahelia)

11. BAIGA

(M.P. 144,005; Shahdol 71,061; Mandla 31,769; Sidhi 20,624; Balaghat 8,738; Surguja 7,480; Bilaspur 2,916; Seoni 697; Jabalpur 399; Rewa 285 and rest in Chhatarpur, Satna, Chhindwara, Durg, Raipur and Bastar).

In Bilaspur district the tribe is not scheduled in Mungeli tahsil and, similarly in Durg district, it is not scheduled in Kawardha tahsil. Both these tahsils, being contiguous to Mandla district, have a good number of Baigas. In 1931, there were 2,404 Baigas in Bilaspur and 3,329 in Durg district. The 10 Baigas returned in this Census from Raipur (3), and Bastar (7) do not appear to be members of Baiga tribe, they are all probably Gonds who act as village priests who are also called as Baigas.

Baigas are a primitive tribe known principally for their shifting cultivation Bewar. A separate area - Baiga Chak - has been reserved for them in Mandla district where the practice of Bewar is allowed. It is however difficult to say if Bewar is restricted only to this area. They have traditional aversion for ploughing and their Bewar cultivation does not require the use of plough and bullocks.

Russell and Hiralal remarks, " There appears to be considerable reason for supposing that the Baigas of the Central Provinces are really a branch of the Bhuiyas. Though the Baigas are now mainly returned from Mandla and Balaghat, it seem likely that these Districts were not their original home, and that they emigrated from Chhattisgarh into the Satpura Hills on the Western borders of the plain." (Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol.II, p.310). They have been considered to be allied to Binjhwars, Bhainas, Bhunjias, and Bhuiyas but the affiliations of these tribes remain to be established scientifically. The Baigas have no distinctive language but speak a form of Chhattisgarhi known as Baigani.

The Baigas are divided into 3 branches - the Binjhwars, the Mundias or Mundiyas and the Bharotias. The Binjhwar Baigas are the landholding section of the tribe; the Mundias are so called because the men of this branch have their heads clean-shaven but for a solitary lock. The Bharotias wear their hair long. The Baigas are a manly race with an erect posture, fearless, trustworthy, and ready to come out with their opinions.

12. BARELA

(M.P. 159,686; West Nimar 158,706; Dhar 980).

A branch of the Bhils. The name of this branch of Bhils does not appear in 1901 Report of Central India Census, in Crocke's Tribes and Castes of the N.W.Province and Oudh' or in Russell's Tribes and Castes of C.P.' A mention is, however, made by Venkatachar in his Central India Report of 1931 Census wherein he records 38,625 Barelas, all being returned from erstwhile Indore State. If both the figures of 1931 Census and those of 1961 are correct, this section of the Bhils has registered an increase of 313.4 per cent in 30 years which is rather unlikely as a natural increase however prolific the tribe may be supposed to be. In 1931, all of them except 108, have been shown as Hindus: 108 of them have been shown as tribal.

It appears that the Barelas are a Hinduized section of the Bhils and since the name is considered to be more sophisticated, quite a good number of Bhils in the two district - West Nimar and Dhar - have returned themselves as Barelas.

13. BARIA

(M.P. 16; West Nimar 16).

Baria is one of the 122 septs of the Bhils.

14. BHAINA

(M.P. 19,941; Bilaspur 14,914; Raigarh 3,864; Mandla 900; Hoshangabad 97; Betul 65; Raipur 41; Surguja 38; Balaghat 11; Bastar 4; Narsimhapur 4; Durg 2; and Jabalpur 1).

The Bhainas are a comparatively civilized tribe found principally in Bilaspur district and adjoining areas. Russell and Hiralal observe, " That tribe is of mixed descent and appears to have been derived principally from the Baigas and Kawars, having served as a city of refuge to persons expelled from these and other tribes and the lower Castes for irregular sexual relations. (Russell and Hiralal 1916, Vol.II, p.225). The Bhainas are employed as village priests (Baiga) and their principal deity is Nakti Devi (Noseless Goddess). The tribe has adopted many Hindu customs and usages. They live in open country and practise settled cultivation.

Presence of Bhainas as westwards as Hoshangabad and Betul is very unlikely and it appears that the figures (97 for Hoshangabad and 65 for Betul) relate to Bahna caste and not to Bhaina tribe. (The Bahna of Sagar district refer to themselves as Bhaina while speaking the local tongue).

15. BHAR (M.P. Nil).

A Dravidian Caste found in the eastern parts of Uttar Pradesh about whom Crooke says: " The most probable supposition is that the Bhar were a Dravidian race closely allied to the Kols, Cheros, and Seoris, who at an early dat succumbed to the invading Aryans. This is borne out by their appearance and physique, which closely resemble that of the undoubted non-Aryans aborgines of the Vindhyan-Kaimur plateau." Russell and Hiralal, (1916, Vol.II,p.243) regard the Bharias and Bhars to be the same and says that the Bharias in Madhya Pradesh have been commonly considered to belong to the Gonds.

16. BHARIA-BHUMIA

(M.P. 19,252; Chhindwara 9,805; Bilaspur 3,543; Narsimhapur 2,072; Mandla 1,593; Seoni 973; Hoshangabad 651; Jabalpur 588; Surguja 23; and Raipur 4).

The proper name of the tribe is Bharia but they are also called Bharia-Bhumia since many of them serve as village priests. Bharias, styled as Bharia Bhumia have been wrongly considered synonymous with Bhuinhar-Bhumia which is an entirely different tribe. The Bharias are a mixed tribe as is suggested from the names of their exogamous groups e.g. Agaria, Ahirwar etc. As mentioned in Russell's 'Tribes and Castes' the tribe resided

principally in Jabalpur district but now they are mostly concentrated in Chhindwara, Bilaspur, Mandla and Narsimhapur, almost half of their numbers having been returned from Chhindwara district.

The tribe was discovered by Scanlan in the Satpura hills and he classified it as belonging to the Gond family of tribes but Russell and Hiralal consider that the Bharias are merely the Bhar tribe with a variant of the name.

17. BHATOLA

(M.P. 31; Raigarh 21; Bastar 10).

None of the earlier writers like Dalton, Sherring, Crooke and Russell, mention this sub-tribe of Gonds which is mentioned as such in the President's Order.

18. BHATTRA

(M.P. 72,274; Bastar 72,226; Raipur 43;Narsimhapur 5).

Practically all of them concentrated in Bastar district, the Bhattra are found in the area north of Jagdalpur and mostly confined to the north-east corner of Jagdalpur tahsil. " Nothing is known of their origin except a legend that they came with the Rajas of Bastar from Warangal twenty-three generations age." (Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol.II, p. 271). The word Bhattra is said to mean a servant and the tribe are employed as village watchmen, village priests and household servants. There are 3 sub-divisions of the tribe - the Pit, Amnait, and San Bhattra who rank one below the other. Though 5 in number, it is curious to find the Bhattras in Narsimhapur district.

19. BHIL

(M.P. 574,125; Jhabua 277,300; Dhar 163,760; West Nimar 71,866; Ratlam 57,874; Sehore 1,527; Raisen 746; Panna 172; Satna 100; Tikamgarh 97; Hoshangabad 79; Shahdol 58; Jabalpur 54; Durg 27; Betul 22; Mandla 21; and the rest in Datia 5; Rewa 2; Sidhi 2; Vidisha 10; Narsimhapur 13; Chhindwara 1; Seoni 2; Surguja 2; Raipur 9 and Bastar 17).

The tribe is distributed in 25 districts of the State. The main concentration however is in the south-western corner of the State in the districts of Jhabua, Dhar, Ratlam and West Nimar. The figures given here relate to only those who have returned themselves as Bhils. A substantial number of them have returned themselves as member of sub-tribes e.g. Baria, Barela, Mankar, Patelia, Rathia, Tadvi and Nihal, these have been described here separately. Combining these together, the Bhil population of the State would come to be 805,535.

The name Bhil is supposed to be derived from the Dravidian word for a bow (Tamil and Kanarese - vil). Sir J. Malcolm thinks (Central India, Vol. I, p. 519) that they have emigranted from Jodhpur and Udaipur to their present territory. It is difficult to say whether they are autochthonous or not. But there is no doubt that they represent a race which inhabited India earlier than the Aryans or the Dravidians. Venkatachar records that " In common with the various Munda tribes, such as the Kols, Sentals etc., the tribal name is not used by the members of the Bhil tribe among themselves." 122 Bhil septs have been recorded by Venkatachar in his report of 1931 Census. Many of the sept names mentioned by Venkatachar like Chawan, Khandedia, Charel, Gelot, Rathor, Parmar, Bamnia, Wania, Solanki, Navi, Hada and Jhala, suggest a very mixed origin of the tribe.

The language of the Bhils is known as Bhili : this is mainly derived from Gujarati but is influenced by Marathi and Marwari. It however contains words some of which appear to have come from Mundari and others from Dravidian languages.

20. BHIL-MINA

(Nil) Mina are a separate tribe altogether and returned as such in the Census. It is not known what tribe this name occuring in President's order refers to. For want of information it cannot be stated if the Bhil-Mina are the same as Mena sept of the Bhils. The tribe may be of mixed origin descended from the Bhils and Minas.

21. BHILALA

(M.P. 424,395; Dhar 143,256; West Nimar 141,997, Jhabua 129,102; Sehore 4,978; and Raisen 62).

" The original term was not improbably Bhilwala may have been applied to those Rajput Chiefs a numerous body who acquired small estates in the Bhil country, or those who took the daughters of Bhil Chieftains to wife" (Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol. II, p. 293). The tribe is, in all probability, of a mixed origin formed from the union of Rajputs and Bhils and have been shown by Venkatachar as a section of the Bhils. They in fact appear to be the aristocratic section of the Bhils though they repudiate affiliations with the latter tribe. Several Bhilala families are substantial land-holders and hold the title of Rao or Rawat.

The head of their caste-Panchayat is known as Mandloi. The Bhilalas are usually cultivators, farm-servants, field-labourers and village watchmen.

22. BHIMMA

(M.P. 406; Surguja 188; Mandla 139; Raigarh 52; Seoni 14 and Balaghat 13).

The Bhimma have been classified in the Scheduled Tribes List, 1956, as a sub-tribe of Gonds. Russell and Hiralal have not mentioned this sub-tribe and Sherring has described them in one line. Bhimma, like the Koilabhuta section of Gonds, are the professional dancers, and singers and sometimes act as Gond Priests.

23. BHUMIYA

(M.P. 57,155; Jabalpur 31,250; Panna 14,101; Shahdol 5,423; Bilaspur 2,029; Satna 1,918; Raigarh 907; Mandla 504; Surguja 495; Chhindwara 165; Bastar 139; Seoni 93; Balaghat 83; Narsimhapur 13; Hoshangabad 12; Sidhi 11; East Nimar 6; Chhatarpur 4; and Rewa 2).

In the Scheduled Tribes (Modification) Order, 1956, Bhumiya occur at two places; in the Mahakoshal districts the name occurs with the tribes Bharias and Bhuinhars as Bharia-Bhumia and Bhuinhar-Bhumia and in the districts of former Vindhya Pradesh region, it occurs as an independent tribe including Bharia and Paliha.

The Bhumia tribe has been described by Sherring as " a wild tribe inhabiting the remote tracts of Chhattisgarh" who carry on shifting Cultivation. Ward states that the

two words Baiga and Bhumia are, in Mandla district, interchangeable, and on this basis Sherring thought them to be one and the same tribe. In the Central Provinces Gazetteer Grant refers to Bhumia-Baigas and Bhumias separately, the latter being associated with the Raigarh area. Russell and Hiralal have given Bhumia as a synonym for Bhuiya and Bhuinhar whereas Stephen Fuchs regards them to be the same as Baiga. In Jabalpur district, the Bharia tribe has adopted the name Bhumia since it is more respectable.

The term Bhumia means " Lord of the soil " and as the foregoing account shows, it is adopted by many tribes the Baiga, the Bharia, the Bhuiya and the Bhuinhars. As such these figures given above have to be cautiously read since they relate to many different tribes.

24. BHUINHAR

(M.P. 19,009; Raigarh 11,217; Surguja 7,713; Bilaspur 169).

Crooke gives separate descriptions for Bhuiyas and Bhuinhars but Russell and Hiralal treat them together. Dalton has also described them separately. The word Bhuinhar means 'Land-holder.' The tribe is restricted to the eastern part of the State in Bilaspur Division, the largest number having been returned from Raigarh district (Jashpur tahsil). The Bhuinhars around Pathalgaon in Raigarh district stoutly deny that they are the same as Bhuiyas. Their grouping in the Scheduled Tribes (Modification) List with Bharias and Pandos is not correct.

In the days of Dalton, the tribe was " about the lowest types of human being", but the process of time has brought about good many changes in them. " A Dravidian tribe in the hill country of south Mirzapur. They are also known as Beonriha from Beonra which is a local term for the dahya system of cultivation by which patches of jungle are periodically burnt down and brought under the plough." (Crook, 1896, Vol. III, p. 85). The tribe should not be confused with a caste of the same name found in Bengal and Banaras.

25. BHUNJIA

(M.P. 5,235; Raipur 5,129; Bilaspur 48; Durg 25; Bastar 13; East Nimar 10; Chhindwara 6; Jabalpur 2 and Surguja 2).

A very small tribe principally inhabiting Raipur district (Bindranawagarh tahsil). The term Bhunjia has probably been derived from Bhunina (to roast). The tribe is divided into 2 endogamous subsection - the Chinda-Bhunjias and the Choukhutia Bhunjias who are more or less separate tribes now.

In the past Census, notably that of 1931, the Bhunjias seem to have been confused with Bharbhunjia or Bhunjia meaning grain-parchers. This may explain the presence of Bhunjias in districts like East Nimar. Though only 10 in number the Bhunjias returned from East Nimar are definitely not the Bhunjia tribe.

The Choukhutia section of the tribe have a system of token pre-puberty marriage known as Kand-byah or arrow-marriage wherein a girl is married to an arrow.

The language of the tribe is known as Bhunjia which has been regarded by Grierson as a sub-type of Halbi.

26. BHUTA - Same as Koilabhuta

27. BIYAR

(M.P. 2,385; Sidhi 2,378; Rewa 4; Shahdol 2; Datia 1)

Also spelt as Biar, the tribe is sheduled only in the 8 districts of former V.P. and is practically all of it concentrated in the North-eastern corner of the State in Sidhi district. The word Biar means a " seed-bed " and the name of the tribe may have come from its principal occupation of rice cultivation and construction of tanks and embankments. Biyars are principally cultivators and labourers. They are also found in Mirzapur district of Uttar Pradesh.

28. BINJHWAR

(M.P. 48,804; Raipur 25,704; Bilaspur 14,219; Raigarh 8,001; Surguja 671; Seoni 99; Balaghat 97; Mandla 9 and Bastar 4)

A civilized land-holding caste who have lost all tribal characteristics and are principally confined to Raipur, Bilaspur, Surguja and Raigarh districts. The Binjhwars also returned from Seoni, Balaghat and Mandla.

Writing about them in 1916 Russell and Hiralal state : " A comparatively civilized Dravidian tribe or caste formed from a tribe." Contrary to popular notions the Binjhwara have a high level of social development so much so that in some areas one often wonders whether they should be scheduled at all.

29. BIRHOR

(M.P. 513; Raigarh 440; Surguja 57; Chhindwara 13; Balaghat 3).

A very small tribe in Madhya Pradesh found principally in Raigarh and Surguja districts but found in greater numbers in adjoining areas of Orissa and Bihar. Colonel Dalton's description of the tribe was "a small dirty miserable looking race, who have the credit of devouring their parents." Birhors were accused in the past of cannibalism by Dalton (Dalton 1872, para, 220). The tribe has still not been able to find a good economic footing. Birhul is a synonym of Birhor.

30. BIRHUL : See Birhor.

31. BISON-HORN MARIA

(M.P. 9,791; Bastar 9,791).

Bison-horn Marias are that section of the Marias who wear the characteristic bison-horn head-dress during their dances. Their country is to the south of Indrawati river in Bastar district in Dantewara, Jagadalpur, Konta and Bijapur tahsils. It must be remembered that Bison-horn Maria is not the term by which the tribe calls itself: it is the invention of anthropologist W.V. Grigson which has become entrenched in literature. The tribe is known as Dandami Maria, Dandami Koitor or as Sing Maria.

There are 9,791 Bison-horn Marias in Bastar now. But these figures do not give the current strength of the tribe. In 1938 Grigson estimated their strength to be 156,058 though the 1931 Census figure was much less. There is a distinct tendency in these Marias to return themselves by various names like Murias, Koyas and Gonds.

The Scheduled Tribes (Modification) Order, 1956, contains both the terms - Bison-horn Maria and Dandami Maria and there are returns for both. There are 669 Dandami Marias in the State which added to the figures for Bison-horn Marias raises their strength to 10,460. But many of them must have been returned simply as Marias, and it is not possible now to ascertain their correct strength. The Schedule of Tribes on account of the way it has been presented makes it difficult to assess the correct strength of Maria, Bison-horn Maria and Dandami Maria.

The Bison-horn Marias are known for a high incidence of homicide and suicide. A more detailed note regarding them may be seen under 'Maria'.

32. BONDHI (M.P. Nil)

Shown in the Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification) Order, 1956, as a synonymous group of the Korku. There is no mention of this group of Korkus in Russell's Tribes and Castes.

33. BONDEYA (M.P. Nil)

Shown in the Order as a synonymous group of Korkus, has been incorrectly spelt ; the correct spelling is Bondoya. The Bondoyas (Bondeya of the List) are a territorial sub-division of the Korku tribe who reside in Jitgarh and Pachmarhi tract. The Bondoyas are also called Bhoydaya and Bhopa.

34. BOPCHI (M.P. Nil)

As was pointed out in connection with Bondoya, Bhopa are a synonymous group of Bondoya and the name Bhopa has been corrupted into Bopchi in Wardha district of Maharashtra State.

35. CHATTRI (M.P. Nil)

In the Scheduled Tribes List, Chattri is shown as a synonym of Kawar and same as Tanwar (Tanwar or Chattri). There is no return of Chattri in this Census. More information regarding them may be seen under 'Tanwar'.

36. CHERWA

(M.P. 23,954; Surguja 22,893; Raigarh 544; Bilaspur 497; Balaghat 20).

The Cherwas are one of the 8 endogamous divisions of Kawars. (Russell and Hiralal, Vol. 1916, Vol.III, p.390). The word 'Cherwa' appears to be related to 'Chero', the name of a tribe of Chhota Nagpur and the Cherwas are regarded to be a hybrid group descended from connections formed by Kawars with girls of the Chero tribe of Chhota Nagpur. (Russell and Hiralal 1916, Vol. III, p.391). Most of them are concentrated in Surguja district.

37. CHITA PARDHI (M.P. Nil)

Chita Pardhi have been listed as a synonymous group of Pardhi tribe. The word Chita Pardhi means "Leopard Pardhi" and has come to be so used since this sub-division of the Pardhis hunt with a tame leopard. Another name for them is Chitewale. The Chita Pardhi are a rare group now and there is no separate return of them in 1961.

38. CHOTA MARIA (M.P. Nil)

The correct name of this 'tribe' should be "Chhota Maria" as opposed to 'Bada Maria (Bada means big or elder; Chhota means small or younger). The prefix Chhota is often used in various tribes to refer to persons born of union between the members of that tribe and some other tribe. It is not quite certain that the Chota Maria is a separate tribe and entitled to be enlisted as a separate tribe in the schedule.

39. DAHAIT (M.P. Nil)

Separate figures for Dahait are not returned in 1961. In the Lists, Dahait has been given in brackets against Kol in the districts of former V.P. region where the strength of Kols is : 303,988; Datia 1; Chhattarpur 44; Panna 2,435; Satna 71,353; Rewa 95,014; Sidhi 54,079; Shahdol 81,062. Dahait have been mentioned by Crooke which, he says is a sub-division of the Kols, but there is no mention in Russell and Hiralal and it is therefore probable that this division occurs only in Bundelkhand region and in Uttar Pradesh.

40. DAMARIA (M.P. Nil)

This name is not found in any of earlier works like those of Crooke, Sherring and Russell. The term given in the List is a wrong name of some caste or tribe. There is no return for them Damaria have been shown in the Lists to be a synonym of Damor in Sironj sub-division of Vidisha district and more information on them is contained in the note on Damor Below.

41. DAMOR (M.P. Nil)

Damor are a Scheduled Tribe in Sironj sub-division of Vidisha and Damaria have been shown as synonymous group thereof. There is no return for either of these and there is no mention of these names in Sherring's: " Hindu Tribes and Castes", Vol.III, which describes the Castes and Tribes of Rajputana; wherefrom Sironj sub-division has come to M.P. as a consequence of area transfers. It cannot be said definitely if the word Damor is a misprint of Domra who are a synonym of Doms, a menial caste, regarded by Dr. Caldwell and Sir, H.M. Elliot to be one of the original tribes preceding the Dravidians.

42. DANDAMI MARIA (M.P. 669; Bastar 669).

Dandami Maria is another name for the so-called Bison-horn Maria. In Bastar, this term is not universal and is used to refer to those of the Bison-horn who live in the immediate neighbourhood of the Hill Marias who refer to them as Dandami Koitor. For all practical purposes, their figures should be merged with those of the Bison-horn Marias.

43. DAROI (M.P. Nil)

In the Scheduled Tribes List, the Daroi are shown as alternative name for the Gonds in Raisen and Sehore districts. There is no such name in any of the earlier works. Hislop and Crooke mention Dadave as one of the twelve-and-a-half divisions of Gonds.

44. DHANGAD

(M.P. 1,749; Raigarh 1,611; Bastar 81; Raipur 33; Bilaspur 24).

Dhangad are shown as a synonymous group with the Oraon tribe. The spelling of this tribe as given in Russell and Hiralal's Tribes and Castes is Dhangar. Dhangar means a farm-servant and it is one of the names by which the Oraon are known to outsiders. Describing the Oraons, Dalton states: " The Khurukh or Oraons of Chutia Nagpur are the people best known in many parts of India as 'Dhangars' a word that from its apparent derivation (dang or Dhang, a hill) may mean any hillman." It is stated by Crooke that " in Bilaspur, in the Central Provinces, they are regarded as a sub-division of the Kanwar, who are the largest sections of the aboriginal population". Sherring describes the Dhangars as an independent tribe and states: " These are apparently a branch of the Kols of Chota Nagpore. There is a large colony of them in Sambalpur, and a few in the district of Bilaspur where they are mostly in service."

45. DHANKA

(M.P. 1,762; Narsimhapur 1,593; Hoshangabad 133; Surguja 26; Chhindwara 9; Betul 1).

In the Order, Dhanka have been shown as a synonymous group of Oraon. This name is not found either in Sherring's Hindu Tribes and Castes or in Russell's Tribes and Castes. In any case, except the figures of Dhanka returned from Surguja, none of the figures relate to Dhanka.

46. DHANWAR

(M.P. 21,137; Bilaspur 15,933; Raigarh 3,181; Surguja 1,920; Raipur 47; Balaghat 24; Narsimhapur 15; Chhindwara 9; Durg 5 and Bastar 3).

Found principally in the eastern districts of the State, the Dhanwars are mostly found in the Katghora tahsil of Bilaspur district. They are also known as Dhanuhar which term means a bowman. Till recently the tribe earned their livelihood mainly by hunting. Many of them have now taken to settled cultivation and farm-servants and they also make bamboo-matting and dholai or big basket for storing grain. The Dhanwars do not make small baskets since this is supposed to be derogatory, being the profession of low-castes like Basor. (Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol.II, p. 501).

The Dhanwars are probably an offshoot of either the Gond or the Kanwars or of the both and these tribes regard them as lower to themselves. Regarding them Russell says: " The Dhanwars are almost certainly not connected with the Dhanuks of Northern India, though the names havethe same meaning." Though only 15 in numbers in Narsimhapur and 9 in Chhindwara, their presence in the districts is unlikely and it is probably that here the returns relate not to Dhanwar tribe but to Dhanuks.

47. DHOBA

(M.P. 2,944; Mandla 2,239; Raigarh 453; Bastar 150; Bilaspur 67; Raipur 23; Surguja 7 and Jabalpur 5).

This is probably the first time when the Dhobas have been separately enumerated in a Census. In the past they were always amalgamated with the Dhobi or washerman with whom they have no connection whatsoever. They are a small caste belonging principally to Mandla district and apparently an offshoot from one of the primitive tribes. In the Order, the Dhobas have been regarded as a sub-tribe of Gonds. The Dhobas act as priests of the Gonds and are also cultivators. They regard themselves superior to Gonds. The head of their caste a-lways belongs to the Sonwani sept and it known as Raja. The figures of Dhobas in Bastar relate probably to the Dhobis and they are not the same as Dhobas. The Dhobas live with the Baigas and Gonds and are also seen in the Baiga-chak of Mandla where they carry out settled cultivation.

48. DHULIA

(M.P. 3,296; Mandla 2,862; Bilaspur 247; Balaghat 126; Seoni 57; Surguja 2 and Raigarh 2).

The Dhulias are regarded as a substribe of Gonds. The proper name of the substribe appears to be Dholia from Dhol, a musical instrument. The Dhulias are the musicians of the Gonds like Nagarchis (See infra). They also make big baskets for holding grains, called Dholi and the name of the tribe may well have come from this occupation. They are principally found in Mandla district.

49. DHURU (M.P. 34; Bilaspur 34).

In the Scheduled Tribes List (Modification) Order, 1956, Dhuru or Dhurwa have been kept together as a sub-tribe of Gonds. Gonds have a section known as Dhur-Gonds (Dhur meaning dust). By Dhur Gonds is meant the ordinary Gonds in most districts who form an endogamous group. By Dhur Gonds may also mean the 'common' Gonds. These Dhuru are the same as the Dhur section and these are certainly not the same as Dhurwa. These two names should be separated.

50. DHURWA

(M.P. 39,620; Bastar 39,599; Raipur 20; Surguja 1).

In the List the Dhurwa have been kept with Dhuru as a sub-tribe of Gonds. There is nothing in common between the Dhuru and Dhurwa and they should be separated. The Dhurwas are found in Bastar district. Dhurwa is in fact an alias of Parja. The Dhurwas resent the designation of Parja which they think to be derogatory. Their language is called Dhurwi which is nothing but Parji.

51. DORLA

(M.P. 21,384; Bastar 21,382; Bilaspur 2).

The Dorla are all confined to Bastar and are found in the southern and south-western part of the district, in Bijapur and Konta Tahsils. In the past Censuses, they are found recorded asKoya. The term 'Dorla' appears to be form the Telugu word dora meaning lord. The low-land koi or Gonds in Andhra Pradesh are called Koi Dorla. In the Telugu country the Rai Gond is known as Durla or Durlasattom and this term may have been taken by the Bastar Koyas. Grigson suggests another origin for the term. According to him the word Dorla is a corruption from Dor Koitor and the Dorla tract is referred to by the Marias as Dorbhum. The Dor Koitor became Dor Koi and finally Dora or Dorla. The Dorlas are more advanced than the Marias and speak their distinctive dialect - Dorli. They are settled cultivators now and those of them that take to blacksmithy are known as Kammar.

52. GADABA (See Gadba)

53. GADBA

(M.P. 1,128; Bastar 1,063; Bilaspur 58; Raipur 5; Surguja 2).

The Gadba are also spelt as Gadaba, though the pronunciation is the same. The tribe calls themselves Guthau. The word Gadba probably means 'a person who carries loads on his shoulders'. The Gadbas speak a Mundari dialect known as Gadbi.

In 1938, Grigson mentioned that the tribe was gradually dying out, their numbers having fallen from 721 in 1901 to 398 in 1931 though the figure of 1931 would probably be 451 because this was the return of Gadbi dialect. The tribal organisation of the Gadbas is not very strict and a Bhattra, Paria or Muria or a member of any supposedly superior tribe may become a Gadba by a simple ceremony. The Gadbas are cultivators and labourers. Their significant ornaments are the large rings in the ear-lobes.

54. GAIKI

(M.P. 114; Balaghat 76; Seoni 32; Mandla 6).

In the 1931 Census, Gaiki were classified as Gowari and Gayaki has been shown to be a sub-caste of Pardhis. In the President Order, the Gaiki is listed as a sub-tribe of Gonds, but no such reference is found in any earlier work.

55. GAITA (M.P. Nil)

The Gaita are a sub-tribe of Gonds found only in Chanda District of Maharashtra. The word Gaite or Gaita means a village priest or headman. Since the Gaitas are not found in this state the name needs to be struck off from the M.P. List of Scheduled Tribes.

56. GARASIA (M.P. Nil)

The tribe is 'Scheduled' in Sironj sub-division in Vidisha District only (which has come as a result of area transfers between Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh).

In Rajputana, the term Grassia is applied to denote the offspring of Bhils and Rajputs. The Grassias (spelt Garasia) associate closely with the aboriginal Bhils and frequently marry Bhil girls. There is no return of Garasia in 1961 from Vidisha district and the name may be omitted from M.P. List.

57. GATTA OR GATTI (M.P. Nil)

The name as given in the Lists is not correct the correct name being Gotte or Gattu. These Gotte or Gattu are the hill Gonds of Chanda and are actually not a sub-tribe of Gonds. (Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol.III, p. 64).

58. GOND

(M.P. 2,547,478; Mandla 347,521; Bastar 235,265; Chhindwara 227,889; Surguja 222,278; Shahdol 206,019; Raipur 199,472; Bilaspur 197,924; Seoni 177,603; Betul 121,748; Durg 119,599; Sidhi 89,327; Balaghat 74,223; Jabalpur 64,094; Raisen 49,628; Raigarh 46,379; Narsimhapur 44,064; Hoshangabad 36,080; Satna 20,191; Panna 19,579; Dewas 13,120; East Nimar 8,979; Rewa 5,344; Chhatarpur 2,848; Vidisha 2,628; West Nimar 928; Guna 635; Mandsaur 525; Indore 272; Ratlam 121; Bhind 108; Ujjain 107; and rest in Gwalior 80; Rajgarh 70; Shajapur 39; Tikamgarh 30; Morena 3; Shivpuri 2 and Jhabua 1).

The Gonds are the most widely diffused tribe in Madhya Pradesh, being found in 39 out of 43 districts, they are not scheduled in Sagar and Damoh though found in large numbers there and absent in Datia and Dhar districts. There are only 2 districts - viz. Datia and Dhar where Gonds are not found and their population in other 3 districts Morena, Shivpuri and Jhabua is negligible.

In the Scheduled Tribes List, Gonds are shown at 4 places - (i) in the former Madhya Bharat region Gonds without any sub-tribes; (ii) in Mahakoshal districts, Gonds including 40 sub-tribes; (iii) in former Vindhya Pradesh region Gond including Pathari and (iv) in former Bhopal State region, Gond or Dardi.

The section of Gonds in former Vindhya Pradesh region, who are called Pathari is not mentioned in any of the earlier works and so the Dardi of former Bhopal State.

There are different views regarding the origin of the word 'Gond'. Cunnigham considered the name to have come from Gauda the classical term for eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bengal. This view is highly improbable. Hislop regarded the word to have come from Kond or Khond because of the interchangeability of 'K' and 'G' and among the many reasons advanced to prove this derivation, the strongest was that the Khond pelple are referred to as Gond or Kod. But till recently, Gond was the term by which other people referred to the tribe; the tribe calling themselves Koi or Koitur. The Maria Gonds of Bastar still call themselves as Meta Koitor and Dandami Koitor.

The origin of the Gonds in Madhya Pradesh is also uncertain. The prevalent view being that they have come from the south through Chanda and Bastar. What drove them north from their original home is not known and it appears that the probability of their having come from the north has never been seriously explored, though there are some traditions in the tribe which indicate this.

During the fourteenth century and afterwards the Gonds established dynasties: in Chhindwara, Betul, Garha-Mandla and Chanda but they were subjugated by the Marathas in the 18th century. It was at this period that the Gonds took to the forests.

By and large, the Gonds are very much more civilized than many sub-tribes shown with them and these sub-tribes adopt Gond as indicative of their caste in an attempt at social climbing. The Gonds range from substantial land-holders and ex-zamindars and feudatory chiefs to ordinary cultivators and their economy is better developed than other tribes.

In Madhya Pradesh, if a north-east-south-west running line is drawn from the southern boundary of Dhar district to the southern boundry of Tikamgarh district, the Gonds would be found to be numerous to the south of this line and very much less to the north.

In some districts, e.g. in Bastar other tribes have a tendency to return themselves as Gonds and this tendency seems to have inflated the Gond figures. In Bastar, there is 125 per cent increase in the Gond population since _____ This increase is partly due to other tribes being returned as Gonds which is regarded as an honorific term.

59. GOND GOWARI

(M.P. 1,222; Seoni 700; Balaghat 488; Durg 25; Bilaspur 9).

This is a small hybrid caste formed from alliances between Gonds and Gowari or herdsmen of the Maratha districts. Russell advocated their being regarded a distinct caste and ranked them as lower to both - Gonds and Gowaris. The Gond Gowaris admit women of other castes into their fold. The tribe consists principally of cultivators and labourers.

60. HALBA

(M.P. 130,123; Durg 79,120; Bastar 40,168; Raipur 9,281; Seoni 885; Chhindwara 424; Balaghat 196; and the rest in Bilaspur 18, Mandla 13; Surguja 11; Betul 3; Jabalpur 3 and Raigarh 2).

The tribe is principally concentrated in Raipur Division where about 98.8 percent of their entire population is located.

The Halbas are a caste of cultivators and farm-servants and their name is supposed to be derived from the Hindi word Halna or to move or swing. The name is also supposed to be derived from an old Canerese word Halbar or Halbaru meaning 'old ones or ancients' or 'primitive inhabitants'. (Russell and Hiralal Vol.III, p. 183-184). The Halbas occupy an honourable position in Bastar and are the highest caste there with the exception of Brahmins and Dhakars.

Grigson considered them to be the descendents of the old Paik militia garrisons of the headquarters villages of the old garhs. The caste has local divisions known as Bastariha, Chhattisgarhia and Marathia Halbas, of these the Bastariha-Halbas have formed an endogamous caste. The Halbas are divided into 2 groups - pure and mixed called locally as Purait and Nekha. The names of their exogamous septs suggest a mixed origin of the cast.

The dialect of the tribe in Bastar is Halbi, a curious mixture of Uriya, Chhattisgarhi and Marathi. Grierson has classed this as a dialect of Marathi but it could as well be a dialect of Eastern Hindi. In other

areas the Halbas have no dialect of their own but speak Chhattisgarhi. In Bastar, their language has become the lingua-franca of the district.

The Halbas are good cultivators and their economic condition is far better than that of other tribes in Bastar. Elsewhere they are regarded to be prosperous cultivators. Prior to abolition of Proprietory Rights in 1951, the Halbas held many villages in Durg district.

61. HALBI (See Halba)

62. HILL MARIA (M.P. 5; Bastar 5).

The Hill Marias are one of the least affected tribes of the State. In common parlance in Bastar they are also known as Abujhmarias. They live in a comparatively inaccessible tract of Bastar known as Abujhmarh which extends over three tahsils of Bastar, Narainpur, Dantewara and Bijapur.

It must be remembered that Hill Maria is a term coined by Anthropologists and this term is unknown to the tribe. The tribe call themselves, Meta Koitor or simply Maria. The President's Order does not have any synonym for Hill Maria.

The population figures of Hill Marias as returned in 1961 are unbelievably low. In 1931 Grigson estimated their population to be 11,500, and so what seems to have happened is that the Hill Marias have been simply returned as Marias. According to 1931 Census, the total of Marias was 146,070. In the present Census, the total of returns of all Marias comes to be 115,624, so it is clear that many Marias have returned themselves by some other name - more probably Gond and Muria. This tendency to give names other than Maria is not seen among the Hill Marias and it is also likely that the enumerators not knowing the termx Hill Maria have recorded the Hill Marias as simply Marias. This has been verified by a study of Census slips.

Hill Maria villages are inhabited almost cent percent only by members of this tribe save for a household or two of Rawats and Kalars in bigger settlements. There were 160 villages in Bastar in 1961 where the Hill Marias live and presuming that the Scheduled Tribe returns from these villages are all Hill Marias, the population of them comes to 11,746. This population trend and a detailed

note on the Hill Marias have been given elsewhere in this volume.

The Hill Maria villages are shifting in nature. They do not have settled cultivation and carry out varieties of shifting cultivation. There is no land-record system and no land-revenue system in the Hill Maria villages and a poll-tax is levied on all able bodied males. The Hill Marias are in an extremely undeveloped state from the point of view of modern facilities, and are probably the most interesting tribe in the State.

63. KALANGA

(M.P. 2,578; Raigarh 2,205; Raipur 356; Surguja 17).

In the Scheduled Tribes Lists, the Kalanga are shown as a sub-tribe of Gonds. They are mostly returned from Raigarh and Raipur districts. Russell and Hiralal and Sherring have not given Kalanga as a Gond sub-tribe and Russell and Hiralal have given a separate article on this tribe whom they describe as a cultivating caste in Chhattisgarh. The name Kalanga appears to have come from Kalinga, the name of the sea-board of the Telugu country. These authors suggest that the Kalanga may be a branch of the great Kalingi tribe of Madras and in Chhattisgarh, they have mixed much with the Kawars. They have 3 branchs- the Kalingia, the Kawar, and the Chero Kalanga. Their tradition of origin is the same as that of Kanwars. They speak Chhattisgarhi - the dialect of the region. Russell and Hiralal regarded them to be a Dravidian tribe who took up military service.

64. KAMAR

(M.P. 11,795; Raipur 11,008; Bastar 746; Raigarh 25; Surguja 6; Bilaspur 5; Seoni 4 and Durg 1).

The Kamars are found principally in Mahasamund, Dhamtari and Bindranawagarh tahsils of Raipur district, majority of them being found in the last named tahsil. The Kamars are like the Marias, one of the least affected tribes of the State and are in an extremely undeveloped condition.

The areas where Kamars are found is restricted to Raipur district and adjoining parts of Orissa State. In the present Census, the figures of Kamars returned from Bastar, Raigarh, Surguja, Bilaspur and Seoni are doubtful; in all probability they relate to Castes and Tribes other than the Scheduled Tribe - Kamar. There are 3 or 4 different aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes and professional castes who have the designation Kamar. In Bengal and Chhota Nagpur the term Kamar is mainly occupational, implying a worker in iron; in telugu country Kamala is a designation given to the five artisan classes. Among the Dorlas of Bastar, the Blacksmith section of that tribe is known as Kamara. In the Hill Reddi country also, a few families of aboriginal blacksmiths are also known as Kamars. Most of the Kamars returned from Bastar District are probably of the Kammara section of the Dorlas; the Kamars returned from Raigarh and Surguja refer to the blacksmith Kamars of Chhota Nagpur.

The Kamars who are included in the Scheduled Tribes Lists are not the blacksmiths nor does their tradition relate them to blacksmithy. Their economic condition is still very backward, because, rooted out from their shifting cultivation, they have yet to take to settled cultivation. Dahi and Beera which are the names of their shifting cultivation, are still stealthily practised in the interior.

65. KANDRA

(M.P. 90; Surguja 46; Durg 24; Raipur 13; Bastar 4 and Seoni 3).

In the Scheduled Tribes List, the Kandra are shown to be a sub-tribe of Gonds, which appears to be incorrect. The Kandra are a very small tribe whose main occupation is basket-making and working in bamboo. In 1931 Census these were classified with Basor caste.

66. KANWAR

(M.P. 302,072; Raigarh 121,059; Bilaspur 78,093; Surguja 68,935; Raipur 26,117; Durg 7,328; Bastar 444; Mandla 83; Jabalpur 8 and Seoni 5).

Kawar, Kanwar, Kaur, Cherwa, Rathia, Tanwar and Chatri, all refer to one and the same tribe. (President's Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes List (Modification) Order, 1956). The Kanwars are preponderant in the eastern

districts - Surguja, Raigarh, Bilaspur, Raipur and Durg. In Bilaspur, as Russell states, the name of the tribe is pronounced with a nasal as Kanwar. A detailed note about them may be seen under 'Kawar.'

67. KARKU (M.P. Nil).

In the Scheduled Tribes List for Raisen and Sehore districts of former Bhopal State, the tribe Karku is evidently a spurious name; the name should be Korku. It needs correction. In the present Census, the returns from the districts were for Korku but they have been shown under Karku in consonance with the President's Order. To remove confusion, the name should be immediately corrected. The figures of Karku shown in tables against Raisen and Sehore districts may be read with Korkus.

68. KAUR

(M.P. 1,019; Surguja 304; Bilaspur 295; Raigarh 160; Durg 100; Raipur 84; Betul 35; Hoshangabad 18; Bastar 11; Chhindwara 9 and Seoni 3).

In 'Hindu Tribes and Castes', Sherring described the Kaurs separately from Kanwars but Russell and Hiralal described them as a synonym of Kanwars or Kawars, which is probably correct. Writting about them Sherring says - " The Kaurs are usually regarded as aborigines, although claiming to have been originally connected with the Tuar tribe of Rajputs in the North-western Provinces ..... The Kaurs are good and industrious cultivators."

The Kaurs are practically all settled in the urban areas - (only 21 out of 1,019 are settled in rural areas).

69. KAWAR (M.P. Nil)

This is a synonym of Kanwar tribe who have been described by Sherring in 1879, as " a large and influential tribe" .... The tribe had substantial landowners and also some Zamindars.

The Kawars trace their origin from the Kaurvas of Mahabharata. They have eight endogamous divisions : Tanwars, Kamalbansi, Paikara, Dudh-kawar, Rathia, Chanti, Cherwa and Rantia. Out of this, Tanwar, Rathia and Cherwa have succeeded in getting a separate caste-status though recorded together with the Kanwars in the Scheduled Tribes

List. In the present Census separate returns were available and this shows the tendency in the Kanwars or Kawars tribe to dissociate itself from its tribal roots.

The Kawars also held an important status in the historical part also. The Chief counsellers of the Halhaibansi chiefs of Ratanpur were Kawars and it was to them that the Haihaibansis entrusted the hill fortress of Bilaspur (Hewitt, 1869). The assistance rendered by the Kawars in the conquest of the south of Raipur and Bastar was rewarded by large grants of land which they held as Zamindars. The Kawars have always claimed to belong to the Rajput caste and there is at least one instance of a marriage between Kawars and Rajputs.

70. KEER

(M.P. 4,346; Sehore 2,757; Raisen 1,589).

Keer have been treated as a Scheduled Tribe in the districts of Raisen and Sehore though they are found more numerously in the adjoining Hoshangabad district. Actually speaking, the Keers should not be treated even as a tribe, let alone their being considered as a scheduled tribe. Russell regarded them as akin to the Kirars and the name Kir is probably a corruption of Karar meaning a river bank. Their exogamous sections are called Gotra and there are 12½ of such Gotras. Of these 12½ names, seven are based on other castes as Baman, Bania and so on and the Keers appear to be a mixed caste.

The Kirs live on river-banks and grow melons in the sand and vegetables in the alluvial land.

71. KHAIRWAR

(M.P. 35,523; Surguja 19,460; Sidhi 6,382; Bilaspur 2,832; Shahdol 2,354; Raigarh 1,828; Satna 1,087; Raipur 422; Panna 287; Jabalpur 245; Tikamgarh 235; Chhatarpur 191; Rewa 180; Seoni 11 and Balaghat 9).

Dalton regarded the Khairwars to be closely related to the Chero tribe and also to Santhals. The etymology of the term Khairwar is variously attributed. According to one, it is derived from the principal occupation of the tribe - making of catechu (Khair). According to another view the name has come from Khairagarh - a place in Hazaribagh district of Bihar. (Crooke, 1896, Vol.III, p.237).

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Sophisticated Khairwars disclaim catechu making and despise those who do it. Like backet making and blacksmithy the occupation is looked upon with disfavour. (Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol.III, p. 430). Russell considers that the Khairwars of Chhota Nagpur are an occupational offshoot of the Cheros and Santhals and those of Kaimur hills are a similar offshoot of the Gonds and Saonrs.

The four sub-divisions of this tribe mentioned by Dalton, viz. Bhogta, Mahto, Rawat and Manihi suggest the tribe to be a mixed group. The Khairwars have an aristocratic division known as Suraivanshi or Janeudhari who wear sacred thread, and have become an endogamous group.

72. KHARIA

(M.P. 19,107; Raigarh 15,793; Bilaspur 1,481; Raipur 1,379; Surguja 222; Chhindwara 219; and Mandla 13).

Concentrated mainly in the eastern part of the State in Raigarh, Bilaspur, Raipur and Surguja districts, the Kharias are one of the backward tribes. Their principal habitat in the State is Jashpur and Raigarh tahsils. According to Hiralal, the name Khairia is derived from Kharkhari, a palanquin or litter and the original name Kharkharia is contracted into Kharia. He states that in the Uriya country, the Oraon palanquin-bearers are also called Kharias.

In Raigarh the Kharias have two sub-tribes - Dudh Kharia and Delki Kharia, the latter said to be of mixed origin. The principal deity of the tribe is Banda.

The Presence of 219 Kharias in Chhindwara district is a little difficult to explain. It appears that these figures relate to Bharias. 219 should be deducted from the Kharia figures and added to the figures of the Bharias. This would mean that the Kharia population of the State is 18,888.

73. KHATOLA (M.P. Nil)

In the Scheduled Tribes (Modification) Order 1956, the Khatolas have been regarded as a Gond sub-tribe in the Mahakoshal districts of the State. The Khatolas like the Raj-Gonds are one of the two aristocratic sub-divisions of the Gond tribe, (Russell and Hiralal 1916, Vol.III,p. 63).

The word Khatola has come after Khatola State of Bundelkhand which is said to have been once governed by a Gond ruler but it is no longer in existence. In Sagar district the Khatolas rank equally with the Raj-Gonds but in Chhindwara, ordinary Gonds despise them.

A section of the Gonds known as Khatolwar-Gonds were described by Sherring as below: "These have the same family names as the Raj Gonds. Their ambition is to bear the dignity of Rajpoots, and to be reckoned as Hindus. They wear the sacred thread in imitation of Hindu of high caste. Those in Chanda came originally from Raepore. They are found in the north-east of Chanda." Since the Khatolas have not been returned in this Census, the name can be omitted from the Scheduled Tribes Lists.

74. KHIRWARS

(M.P. 45; Bilaspur 26; Raipur 19).

This tribe - Khirwar - seems to appear in Ethnographic literature for the first time. In the Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification) Order, 1956, the Khirwar or Khirwara have been shown to be a sub-tribe of the Gonds but they have not been so mentioned by Hislop, Sherring, Crooks and Russell. Since no previous mention of them is available, there is nothing that may be said about this sub-tribe of Gonds.

75. KODAKU

(M.P. 1,331; Bastar 848; Raipur 461; Raigarh 14; Bilaspur 8).

Kodaku, written by Russell as Korku, are a sub-tribe of the Korwas. The habitat of the Kodaku is Surguja district, but surprisingly there are no returns of this tribe from Surguja district. In 1931, Shoobert writing about the Korwas in his report stated that the Khoraku division is not found in Jashpur or Udaipur and is apparently confined to Surguja." In Table XVII of the C.P. Tables were shown 5,995 Korkus in Surguja district (then constituted as 3 feudatory States) and there was a foot-note regarding this as : " probably a sub-tribe of Korwas."

The tribe Kodaku occures in the Scheduled Tribes List and all the 14,768 Korkus returned in Surguja district in 1961 Census should be treated as Kodaku.

The presence of 848 Kodaku in Bastar and 461 of them in Raipur district appears to be doubtful - and these figures probably refer to some tribe other than the Kodaku. The Kodakus have been described by de Brett as below:-

" The Khorakus consider themselves a different people form the korwas but admit that the difference is not great. In appearance it is almost impossible to distinguish one form the other. As a rule the Khorakus are somewhat better clad than the korwas, and have perhaps a slightly more civilized appearance..... The Korwas claim that their speech differs from that of the khorakus but they could give no example of this, and on enquiry from the people who know them well it would appear that the difference is merely that the Khorakus, who live nearer to the cultivating tribes of the plains, have adopted into their speech Hindi words and expressions. Both tribes eat every kind of animals, including dogs, an article of diet which the Diharia Korwas of Khuria repudiate and contemptously charge the Paharia Korwas with indulging in this luxury. The male members of both tribes can and do frequently eat together, but the females of the two tribes are not allowed to do so. Both tribes strenuously denied that they can intermarry and refused to admit that any such marriage take place. Apparently the only animals they refuse to eat are the poisionous classes of snakes."

76. KOILABHUTA

(M.P. 65; Mandla 63; Raigarh 2).

This is a sub-tribe of Gonds and has been so shown in the Modification Order, 1956. Most of them have been returned from Mandla. They are those Gonds who earn their livelihood by dancing and putting up entertainments. (Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol.III, p. 62). The women of this sub-tribe are dancing girls and they practise their profession chiefly among other castes.

77. KOILABHUTI (See Koilabhuta)

78. KOITAR

(M.P. 32; Seoni 32)

Koitar have been shown to be a Gond sub-tribe in the President's Order. It is evidently a wrongly spelt name for Koitur, the name by which the Gonds call themselves.

79. KOL

(M.p. 386,009; Rewa 95,014; Shahdol 81,062; Satna 71,353; Jabalpur 56,733; Sidhi 54,079; Mandla 15,760; Surguja 2,857; Bilaspur 2,611; Panna 2,435; Narsimhapur 1,242; Raisen 738; Chhindwara 695; Raigarh 598; Hoshangabad 582; and the rest in Balaghat 88; Seoni 62; Chhatarpur 44; Durg 21; Bastar 17; Sehore 11; Raipur 4; Betul 2 and Datia 1).

A great tribe of Chhota Nagpur from where they are considered to have spread to United Provinces and Madhya Pradesh and possibly also upto Gujarat. The word Kol is probably the Santhali har or a man. This word is used in various forms as har, hara, ho and Koro by most Munda tribes in order to denote themselves. The change of 'r' to 'l' is familiar and does not give rise to any difficulty (Linguistic Survey, Mundas and Dravidian Languages, Vol. VI, p. 7).

Thus Koro seems to have become Kol. The Kols are considered to be the parent tribe of many other tribes and castes.

The Kols have various sub-castes like Kautia, Rautele, Thakuria, Kagwaria and Desaha. The last name belong principally to Rewa. Many other tribes like Bharia, Savara and Khairwars sometimes designate themselves by the name Kol. The Kols of Madhya Pradesh have practically abandoned their original language and speak the language or dialect of the region in which they reside. The Kols are engaged on a variety of occupations now like cultivation, labourer, cutting and selling wood, collecting forest produce and masons, but they are principally engaged on cutting and selling wood.

The Kols are principally found in the north-eastern sector of the State in the districts of Rewa, Shahdol, Satna, Jabalpur, Sidhi, Mandla, Surguja, Bilaspur and Panna.

80. KOLAM (M.P. Nil)

The Kolams are a tribe restricted to Wardha, and Yeotmal districts of Maharashtra, some of them also found in Amraoti and Chanda districts of that State.

In the President's Orders, they have been regarded as an independent tribe. Since the tribe is not found in Madhya Pradesh, the name can be removed from the List of Scheduled Tribes.

81. KONDAR

(M.P. 8,728; Panna 4,049; Chhatarpur 3,995; Sidhi 342; Shahdol 279; and Rewa 63).

Kondar is regarded as a synonym or sub-caste of Khairwar tribe in former Vindhya Pradesh Unit. Venkatachar, in his 1931 Report regarded them as a possible occupational offshoot of the Sonrs and he kept the Kondars with Sonr and Saharia in Savara section whereas the Khairwars were kept by him in Kol section.

82. KONDH

(M.P. 4,525; Raipur 3,003; Raigarh 1,493; Bastar 29).

The name of the tribe has 3 synonyms in the Order Kondh, Khond, or Kandh, the latter two names having been given by Russell. The Kondh are a small Dravidian tribe in Madhya Pradesh found in the eastern Uriya speaking tract. They are more numerous in Sambalpur, Patna, Khariar and Kalahandi areas of Orissa State. The tribe call themselves by the name Kuiloka or Kuienju which word may be of Telugu origin, Ko or Ku in that language meaning a mountain. The Kondhs held many Zamindari estates in Orissa. There is no strict endogamy in the tribe and they are divided into 2 main division - Kutia Kondh or the hill Kondh and Plain - dwelling Kondh, the latter have some divisions like Rai-Kondh, Dal Kondh, Adi Kondh etc. These divisions are said to be endogamous. (Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol.III, p.464-465).

The proper name of the tribe is Khonds, and they are cultivators; turmeric growers and graziers. The tribe had become notorious in early days of British rule as indulging in human-sacrifice and a mention of them is made to in Frazer's " The Golden Bough." These sacrifices were known as Meriah sacrifice. The language of the tribe is known as Kui.

83. KORKU

(M.P. 154,245; Betul 54,345; East Nimar 42,377; Dewas 21,525; Surguja 14,768; Chhindwara 13,213; Hoshangabad 7,183; West Nimar 249; Bhind 196; Indore 141; Ratlam 68; Gwalior 67; Vidisha 66; Raigarh 21; Ujjain 11; Morena 5; Shajapur 4; Bilaspur 2; Rajgarh 2; Guna 1 and Narsimhapur 1).

The Korku tract of Madhya Pradesh principally lies in the southern sector of the State extending from Chhindwara to Dewas. As stated earlier in the note on Kodaku, the figures of Korku returned from Surguja district, do not relate to the Korkus but to Kodaku sub-tribe of the Korwas and as such the population of the Korkus in Madhya Pradesh would actually be 139,477 and not 154,245 as is shown in the tables.

The Scheduled Tribes List of Madhya Pradesh contains 6 other synonyms of the Korkus, all of which have been separately described in this section. Russell and Hiralal have described the region to the west of Satpura mountains as being the habitat of the Korkus. The tribe is also found in the Berar districts of Maharashtra and in Sehore and Raisen districts, the tribe is incorrectly named in the Scheduled Tribes List as Karku and the figures for Karku should therefore be merged with the Korkus.

The word 'Korku' simply means man, Koru being the term for man and Ku being a plural termination. The tribe has a language of its own. Formerly the tribe used to have 2 big divisions - the Raj Korkus and the Potharia, but these have become obsolete now and have been replaced by four sub-castes viz. Mowasi, Bawaria, Ruma and Bondoya. There is a tendency among the tribe to return themselves by these sub-castes rather than by the name of the tribe. (Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol.III, p. 554). The tribe has 2 kinds of priests - the Bhumka and the Parihar (Russell and Hiralal 1916, Vol.III, p. 560). The Korkus are cultivators, farm-servants, and workers in the forests collecting forest produce and animals. The Korkus have custom of erecting memorial tablets, known as Gatha for the dead.

84. KORWA

(M.P. 40,725; Surguja 20,414; Raigarh 19,010; Bilaspur 1,260; Mandla 31 and Narsimhapur 10).

Located principally in the eastern half of Surguja and Jashpur (tahsil of Raigarh district) the Korwas are one of the backward tribes of the State. A few of them are also found in Katghora tahsil of Bilaspur. It is difficult to comment on the presence of 10 Korwas in Narsimhapur district. The tribe is divided into 2 sub-divisions - the Dihariа or Kisan Korwas and Paharia or Pill Korwas. Dihariа (from Dih, a village) Korwas are those who live in villages and the Paharia (from Pahar, hill) Korwas live on the hills and are also called Benwaria (from Benwar, shifting cultivation) (Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol.III, p. 573). There are also two minor groups - the Koraku, spelt as Kodaku in the Scheduled Tribes List, and Birjias. In Surguj in addition to these, there is one division - the Bhadiya Korwas.

During the erstwhile State regime in Surguja, the Pahari Korwas were regarded simply as a wandering gang of looters and so the State authorities compelled them to come down to the plains. They were supplied with land, plough-cattle and seed, but they used to pass their time roaming about in the forests and eating tubers and roots and the animals they killed. Even now, the economy of the Paharia Korwas is extremely poor.

The other divisions of Korwas are more civilized and have evolved a legend of their origin form the Kaurvas of Mahabharat.

85. KOYA

(M.P. 169; Bastar 168; Bilaspur 1).

Koyas are actually speaking the Marias found along Andhra Pradesh border of Bastar. Grigson wrote in 1938: " Generally speaking, all the riverain tracts of Bhopalpatn Zamindari, Bijapur tahsil, Kotapalli - Pamar Zamindari - an southern Konta tahsil are Dorla villages, though here and there will be found Gottor Koya, i.e., Bison Horn Maria villages in Konta Dorla country such as Tokanpalli, Burkapalli and Chintaguppa."

86. KUBUTAR (M.P. Nil)

One of the synoymus of Nat, regarded as a Scheduled Tribes in the districts of former Vindhya Pradesh regions. There are no returns.

87. KUCHA MARIA (M.P. Nil)

It is not known how this term has come in the Scheduled Tribes Lists. The term Kucha Maria has not been mentioned by any of the earlier writers.

88. KUCHAKI MARIA (M.P. Nil)

Like Kucha Maria, this term also has not been mentioned by any earlier writers.

89. LANGOLI PARDHI (M.P. Nil)

This is a wrongly-written name in the President's Order, the correct name being Langoti Pardhi (Loin-cloth Pardhi), so called because they wear only a narrow strip of cloth round the loins (Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol.IV, p. 360). There are no Langoti Pardhis (Langoli Pardhis) in the State now.

90. MAJHI

(M.P. 482; Datia 289; Panna 136; Rewa 42; Sidhi 8; Chhatarpur 6 and Shahdol 1).

The correct spelling of this tribe should be Manjhi as mentioned by Russell and Hiralal the word being spoken with a nasal. The tribe-name is actually a synonym of the Majhwar or Majhia.

The Majhis are 'scheduled' in the districts of former Vindhya Pradesh region. The word Manjhi is spoken as a respectful term amongst many tribes and as suggested by Russell, means the headman of the tribal sub-division. The Majhis appear to be Kols who have taken to fishing and are looked down upon by the other Kols on this account (Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol.IV, p. 150). The etymological origin of this word may be from Machh, a fish. The Majhis of these districts may as well be derived from the Gonds and they have

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five sub-divisions, the names of four of which appear to be the same as those of Gonds. Elsewhere, the Majhis are supposed to be derived from the Kawars. The traditional occupation of fishing has been given up by the tribe.

91. MAJHWAR

(M.P. 27,476; Bilaspur 11,124; Surguja 10,096; Raigarh 6,255; Jabalpur 1).

The Majhwars are a scheduled tribe in Mahakoshal area The tribe has two other synonymous groups - Majhis and Majhia. The tribe is concentrated in the three northeastern districts of the State - Bilaspur, Surguja and Raigarh. It is a mixed tribe who have appearently originated from the Gonds, Mundas and Kawars (Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol.IV p. 151). Their traditional occupation is fishing.

It is somewhat difficult to say what the parentage of this tribe exactly is. They may have been derived from the Gonds, Kols, Santhals or Kawars or from all of these. Crooke regarded the Majhwars of Mirzapur to have come from the Gond stock whereas Raigarh Majhwars seem to have come from the Kawars and Kols.

92. MANA (M.P. Nil)

In the Scheduled Tribes List, the Manas are regarded to be a Gond sub-tribe. They are actually speaking, a Dravidian caste of cultivators and labourers belonging to Chanda district of Maharashtra (Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol. p. 172).

In his Tribes and Castes published in 1916 Russell mentions : " Owing to their general adoption of Maratha customs, the Manas are now commonly regarded as a caste and not a forest tribe, and this view may be accepted." They have however been regarded as a scheduled tribe in the Modification Order 1956, but since there are no Manas in Madhya Pradesh the name deserves to be dropped from M.P. List.

93. MANKAR

(M.P. 15,993; West Nimar 9,119; Dhar 6,482; and Jhabua 392).

Mankars are a division of Bhils whose population in Central India Agency in 1931 was 20,479, principally returned from erstwhile Indore State. The term Mankar is an occupational one, these men being under the orders of village headmen. The Mankars are a class famous as trackers. They are also called Dhankawas (from Dhanukh, a bow) by other Bhils but among themselves they are known as Nahal or Naik, (Census of India, 1931, Vol.XX. Part I, p. 250).

The Mankars are divided into two endogamous groups - the Chokaria Mankars and the Nahal-Mankars.

94. MANNEWAR (M.P. Nil)

Wrongly spelt in the Modification Order, 1956, as Mannewer.

This is small tribe belonging to south or Telugu speaking portion of Chanda district of Maharashtra. The home of this tribe is in Andhra Pradesh and the tribe should not have come in Madhya Pradesh List.

The name Mannewar is derived from a Telugu word Mannem meaning forest while war is the plural termination. The name thus means 'the people of the forest'. The tribe appears to be an inforior branch of the Koyas, the upper branch being Koya Doras or Dorlas. (Russell and Hiralal,1916, Vol.IV, p.195).

95. MARIA

(M.P. 104,971; Bastar 104.801: Seoni 166: Raipur 4).

The name has two spellings in the Modification Order, the other being Madia. The Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification) Order, 1956, contains 9 names for the Maria tribe, these being Badi Maria or Bada Maria, Bison-Horn Maria, Chota-Maria, Dandami Maria, Hill Maria, Kucha Maria, Kuchaki Maria, Maria, and Wade Maria, or Vade Maria. The total population of all of these comes to be 115,624 and to this should be added the population of Koyas (196): the figure comes to 115,793.

In 1931 the Census total of Marias was 146,070 but Grigson regarded this figure to be incorrect and estimated that 15,000 Marias and Koyas had been wrongly enumerated as Murias and he estimated the population of the Marias to be

161,070 out of whom 11,500 were Hill Marias and 146,070 Bison-Horn Marias. He added the figures of Kovas to the Bison-Horn Maria and estimated the strength of the Bison-Horn Marias to be 156,058 the total population of the Marias according to Grigson, being 171,058. In the present Census the population of the Marias has been returned to be 115,793; a decrease of 55,265. It is, therefore, clear that again the Marias have been returned by names other than Maria. The Gond population of Bastar district has shown an increase of 163 per cent in 1931-61 and in the same period the Murias have recorded an increase of 148 per cent. The increases in both these tribes are more than what may be normally expected and it is very likely that in this Census also, a good number of Marias have been returned as Murias and Gonds as designation by these two names is supposed to be indicative of higher status. What has been the quatum of this, cannot be ascertained now, but that it has taken place is very clear.

The Marias are generally divided into two main-divisions - the Hill Maria and the Bison-Horn Maria. It must be remembered that both these terms are the inventions of anthropologists - they are not the terms by which the tribe refer to themselves. The name by which the tribes refer to themselves have not been included in the Modification Order, 1956.

The term Maria is probably derived from Marh, hilly land, whereas according to Hislop, it may have come from Mara, the Gondi word for a tree. The Hill Marias are mostly shifting cultivators and their villages are also largely shifting in nature. The Bison-Horn Marias have taken to settled cultivation though shifting cultivation is still practised by them. The language of the Bison-Horn is more guttural than the ordinary Gondi but even the Bison-Horn Marias cannot understand the Marhi spoken by Hill Marias, who according to them speak like crows.

The Marias, both Hill and Bison-Horn, are one of the most interesting tribes of this State.

96. MAWASI

(M.P. 8,601; Satna 4,587; Panna 3,209; Shahdol 805)

Mawasi have been shown to be an independent tribe in the districts of former Vindhya Pradesh region and have been returned from three districts - Satna, Panna and Shahdol. Actually speaking, the Mawasis are reputed to be a fighting section of the Kols (Venkatachar, 1931) and Russell and Hiralal have classified them under the Korkus.

According to them " some Korkus or Mowasis are found in Chhota Nagpur and Colonel Dalton considered them a branch of the Korwas." Elsewhere they say that Mowasia form the largest sub-division of the Korkus and this term, probably means robbers. Rev. Hislop supposed the term to have come from Mahua tree. Dalton regarded the Mawasis (termed by him as Muasi) of Rewa to be a link in the chain of Kolarion tribes from Chhota Nagpur to Chhindwara and further west. Mawasi is also a section of the Korwas.

97. MINA

(M.P. 296; Vidisha 296).

The Minas are scheduled only in the Sironj sub-division of Vidisha district. The Minas are one of the ex-criminal tribes. They are divided into 2 classes - " Ujle " and"Maile", the former approaching more nearly the Indo-Aryan type and the latter the Bhil type (Gayer, 1910, p.1). The Minas have now taken to settled agriculture.

MOGIA

(M.P. 373; Sehore 527; Raisen 292; Durg 40; Raipur 10; Bastar 4).

The tribe is scheduled in erstwhile Bhopal region and in Mahakoshal areas but is more or less concentrated in Sehore and Raisen districts. The tribe is bracketed with Badak in 'A guide to Criminal Tribes." Bagri is a synonym of Badhak tribe and Venkatachar, in his 1931 Report, describing Bagri writes: " This caste is also known as Moghias..... The Bagris or Moghias are a well known tribe of thieves and robbers..... The Bagri or Moghia is now a poor creature. The origin of the term Mogia may be explained from Moonga or coral-beads, by which term they are said to have been complimented by the Chief of Mewar. Another meaning of the term is that the Rajputs who married low caste women become separated as Mogias.

99. MOGHYA (M.P. Nil)

Same as Mogia.

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100. MONGHYA (M.P. Nil)

Same as Mogia.

101. MOUASI (M.P. Nil)

This is shown as a synonymous group with Korkus in the Mahakoshal areas. Mouasi is the same as the word Mowasi which is one of the largest sub-divisions of the Korkus and the name is sometimes applied to the whole tribe (Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol.III, P.551). One commonly accepted derivation of the word is that it signifies "The troubled country', and was applied to the hills at the time when bands of Korku free-booters, often led by dispossessed Rajput chieftains harried the rich lowlands of Berar from their hill forts on the Satpuras exacting from the Marathas what is known as Tankha Mowasi (salary of the Mowasis) (Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol.III, p. 551). The Korkus found in Chhota Nagpur, and the Korwas are also known as Mowasi or Mawasi. Hislop derived the term from Mahua tree. To the Marathas, the Mowasi meant a robber.

Though the Mouasis are found in Chhindwara, they prefer to return themselves by the designation Korku and this name can easily be dropped from the List.

102. MUNDA

(M.P. 4,114; Raigarh 2,797; Surguja 697; Raipur 490; Bastar 98; Bilaspur 20; Chhindwara 11; Durg 1).

In the 1931 Census, the Mundas have been referred to as a minor tribe. The name Munda is better known as the nam of language rather than a tribe. The term Munda is an old word and is used in Sanskrit literature. It is found used for the people not only in the Mahabharata but also in the Vayu Purana. The Mundas are a tribe described with Ho and Bhumij by Dalton, and form an important tribe in Chhota Nagpur but in Madhya Pradesh Nagbansi and Nagasia are the terms often used by the Mundas to designate themselves. In the Scheduled Tribes List for Madhya Pradesh, however, Nagwansi have been shown as a sub-tribe of Gonds whereas Nagasia and Munda have been shown as independent tribes.

Dalton mentions that the exogamous septs of the Mundas are called Kili. In Chhota Nagpur, the Mundas are numerous in Lohardaga tract.

103. MURIA

(M.P. 310,686; Bastar 310,676; Surguja 6; Raigarh 4; Durg 1).

A very colourful and lively tribe of Bastar, the Murias have increased by 148 per cent between 1931-61. To the outsider and casual visitor all tribes of Bastar are Murias, and there is a tendency among the Marias to return themselves as Murias. This may explain the high increase of the Murias and the decrease in the Maria population of Bastar.

The term Muria has been suggested to have been formed from Mur meaning aboriginal. Another derivation suggested is from Mur, Palas (Butea frondosa) tree. The former derivation, however, appears to be more likely and it may also mean 'permanent.'

The Murias of Bastar are divided into 3 divisions - (i) Raja Muria or Jagdalpur Muria; (ii) Jhoria Muria and (iii) Ghotul Muria. The Raja Murias are found around Jagdalpur and their area in the north extends a little to the north of Bhanpuri, in the west upto Chitrakot waterfall and in the south upto Darba. They are different in many ways from the Murias of Kondagaon tahsil to whom they consider themselves superior. Elwin regarded them to be the least attractive people in Bastar. They have been very much exposed to external influence. Grigson estimated that there were about 32,000 Raja Murias in 1931. The Jhoria-Muria have been considered by Elwin to be the Hill Maria who have descended from the Abujmarh mountains and came into cultural contact with the Murias of the plains. These Murias have the dormitory system - known as Ghotul though they deny that the girls share there dormitories with the boys..... Their agriculture is very much more advanced than that of the Hill Marias. The Ghotul Muria area extends from the middle of the Kondagaon tahsil, part the hills of Bara Dongar, across the main road and away to the east and south towards Orissa State boundary. They names of the tracts are Paralkot Kalpatti; Bandadesh; Bhrangal; Kalpatti; Surebahi; BhomraBandadesh; Antagarh and Amabera and major part of Kondagaon tahsil. These Murias are distinguished by their Ghotul system i.e. dormitories where the unmarried of both sexes live together. A full account of the Ghotul system may be found in Elwin's Book on the subject.

In the Censuses, the Muria returns have always been vitiated by inclusion of other tribes - like Kovas and Marias who are known to the Non-Koitors only as Murias.

104. NAGARCHI

(M.P. 4,115; Seoni 1,835; Raipur 1,570; Balaghat 386; Mandla 126; Durg 107; and Bilaspur 91).

In the Scheduled Tribes (Modification) Order, 1956, the Nagarchis have been shown as a sub-tribe of Gonds. Hislop and Sherring regard the Nagarchis as a sub-division of Dholiya Conds (spelt Dhulia in the President's Order). The Nagarchis have one synonym - Chherkya. The tribe is the traditional drummers of the Gonds and this is their occupation at present also in addition to cultivation. They are also employed as goat heards and their women act the part of accoucheurs in Hindu as well as Gond families.

The Nagarchis are principally found in Seoni, Mandla, and Balaghat districts and also in Chhindwara, though not returned in this Census. There can be little doubt that 1,768 Nagarchis returned from Raipur, Durg and Bilaspur are not members of the Nagarchi sub-division of Gonds, but Gandas who are also known as Nagarchi.

105. NAGASIA

(M.P. 46,850; Surguja 28,172; Raigarh 18,078; Bilaspur 599; Raipur 1).

The Nagasia, also spelt as Nagesia, are all concentrated in Surguja, Raigarh and Bilaspur. The Nagasias may be an offshoot of the Munda tribe. Dalton mentioned them as Nagesar Kisan. There is a difference between the Nagasias of Udaipur tahsil and Jashpur tahsil of Raigarh district. The latter are also known as Kisan or Kisada. The Nagasias of Jashpur have 2 sub-tribes - the Senduria and the Telia. These Nagasias have probably no exogamous septs, whereas the Nagasias of Udaipur have no sub-tribes but have 24 exogamous divisions. Hunter in his statistical account of Bengal, Vol.XVII, calls them Nageswar or Kisan. Agricultur is the main source of livelihood.

106. NAGWANSHI

(M.P. 23,498; Raigarh 16,980; Surguja 5,720; Bilaspur 793; Raipur 2; Seoni 1).

The Nagwanshis are regarded as a sub-tribe of Gonds, though they repudiate this affiliation. This fact has also been mentioned by Shoobert in his note on this tribe in 1931 Census Report. He on the other hand suggested that they may merely be a division of the Senduria Nagasia or of Kharias. The Nagwanshi disclaim all these affiliations at present.

Nagwanshi means 'descendents of the snake' and the tradition in the tribe is that they have migrated to these areas in Madhya Pradesh from Chhota Nagpur and are the descendents of a dynasty which had once ruled the areas. The Nagwanshis put on the sacred-thread after marriage. Dalton classified them as "Hinduized Aborigines and Broken Tribes."

107. NAT

(M.P. 1,652; Chhatarpur 477; Rewa 436; Datia 124; Shahdol 84; Tikamgarh 81; Panna 68; Sidhi 48).

Nats have been treated as scheduled tribes in the districts of the former Vindhya Pradesh region, whereas they are regarded as a scheduled caste in the former Madhya Bharat region. In the Mahakoshal districts and in the districts of former Bhopal State, they are neither a scheduled caste nor a scheduled tribe. The population of scheduled tribe Nats in the State is 1,652.

The term Nat has probably come from the Sanskrit Nata meaning a dancer. The tribe has many synonymous groups - like Sapera, Kalbelia, Navdigar and Kubutar; according to the President's Order 1956. Badi, Dang-charha, Karnati, and Bazigar are the other synonyms mentioned by Russell and Hiralal. The term Nat is applied indefinitely to a number of groups of Vagrant, acrobats, and showmen, especially those who make it their business to do feats on a tight-rope or with poles, and those who train and exhibit snakes. It is considered that the Nats really belong to the Kanjar or Beria gypsy castes.(Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol.IV. p. 286).

108. NAVDIGAR

(M.P. 4; Sidhi 4).

The Navdigar are a synonymous group of the Nat tribe in former Vindhya Pradesh region. The name of this group has not been mentioned by Russell and Hiralal.

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109. NIHAL (Bhil)

(M.P. 7,856; West Nimar 7,829; Dhar 27).

In 1931, there were 12,231 Nihal Bhils in the Central India Agency. The term Nihal appears to be a corrupt form of Nahal by which term the Mankar Bhils refer to themselves. The term Nahal means 'one of mean appearanc The Nahals or Nihals like the Mankars are probably descendents of Bhils and Bhilalas. (Note on Mankar may also be seen).

110. NIHAL

(M.P. 2,880; East Nimar 2,239; Betul 584; Raipur 41; Chhindwara 8; Hoshangabad 4; Bastar 4).

In the Mahakoshal districts, Nihal or Nahul have bee shown to be a synonymous group of Korku tribe and Nihal is also shown as an independent tribe. Nothing is known about the Nihal tribe except that this is a small backward tribe, which was considered in 1891 to have ceased to exist as an independent tribe.

Russell and Hiralal have not mentioned the Nihal sub-division of the Korkus nor has it been mentioned by Sherring. The following note occurs about Nahals in 1891 Census Report : "The Nahals 8,766; are returned principally from Hoshangabad 3,383, and Nimar 3,502. They are now for the most part village-drudges and have almost ceased to exist as a separate tribe. They mix much with the Korkus, talking their language in the more hilly parts, but are considered inferior to the latter in the social scale."

111. OJHA

(M.P. 2,341; Seoni 1,039; Mandla 594; Bastar 331; Balaghat 302).

Ojhas are a sub-tribe of Conds. They are the bards or minstrels of the Conds, and also of the Korkus. They follow two occupations - that of bards, who act as musicians, dancers, and beggers and the other that of fowlers, and snarers (Fislop papers, p.6). Their women tattoo the arms of Hindu women. The first two divisions of Ojhas are commonest and intermarry. Among them, it is only the men who dance.

One of their sub-divisions is Mana Oiha these refuse to eat with Gonds or even Brahmins and their occupation is manufacturing rings and bells. The Mana Oiha women throw the long cloth of their Sari over the right shoulder, while other Gond women throw it over the left.

112. ORAON

(M.P. 279,562; Raigarh 167,700; Surguja 106,160; Bilaspur 4,938; Raipur 497; Durg 127; Mandla 109; Seoni 20; Bastar 7; East Nimar 3; Chhindwara 1).

The Oraons are an important tribe of Chhota Nagpur and are found in Madhya Pradesh principally in the three eastern districts - Raigarh, Surguja and Bilaspur, being most numerous in Jashpur tahsil of Raigarh district. They have many synonymous groups - like Uraon, Kurukh, Dhangar, Dhanka, Kuda and Kisan. They are commonly known as Dhangar or Dhangar-Oraon and are also commonly known as Kuda. Their original name is supposed to be Kurukh and this is the term by which the Oraon generally designate themselves. The term Oraon probably coined by other people, has come from Orgoran or a hawk but Sir George Grierson thought that the word may mean man; Urupai of Kaikari, Urapo of Burgandi and Urang, all of which would mean a man.

The Oraons have no sub-tribes in this State, and the Kuda and Kisan now claim to be separate endogamous castes. Sir Risley gave five divisions among the Oraons of Bengal. The Dhangar and Dhanka are probably the same group. The principal festivals of the tribe are Sarhul, Karma and Kanihari. They speak a language called Kurukh and are cultivators, farm servants and workers in forests. The Oraons have been very much affected by Christian Missionary activities and a large number of them have become Christians.

The Oraons have been referred to in previous works as a cheerful and prolific people. Squirrels are supposed to be inauspicious to Oraon wedding parties in some villages. They had a dormitory system - known as Dhunkuria for the bachelors but this system has largely fallen into disuse.

113. PALIHA

(M.P. 1,540; Shahdol 1,503; Sidhi 37).

The Paliha are shown as a synonymous group of the Bhumias in the districts of erstwhile Vindhya Pradesh region. The name of this tribe or this division of the

Bhumia (or Bhuiya, Bhuinhar) has not been mentioned by any of the early writers. In 1931 Census, they were classified in C.P. as Bhuinhars. The Palihas appear to be a sub-division of the Bhumiyas or of Bhuinhars. In 1931, there were 548 Palihas in Central India Agency. The Palihas appear to be the same as Palia or Koch of West Bengal who are the original residents of Kooch-Bihar and are regarded as a Dravidian tribe with suspected admixture of Mongolian blood (Mitra 1953, p. 73). The life rituals followed in this tribe are like those of Bhuinhars. The Palamu Parahiya were supposed to have descended from unions between Hindus and Mundas (possibly Korkus).

114. PANDO

(M.P. 19,604; Surguja 18,707; Bilaspur 893;Raigarh 4)

Pandos have not been referred to in any of the earlier ethnological literature before 1931 when Shoobert gave a note on them in his 1931 Report of C.P. and Berar Census. In the Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification)Order, 1956, the Pandos have been shown as a synonymous groups of the Bhumia and Bhuinhar-Bhumia. As Shoobert has mentioned, the figures of Pandos were amalgamated in 1921 with those of the Bhuinhars but the Pandos do not acknowledge any connection with other tribes in the Chhota Nagpur plateau and they do not resemble the Bhuinhars. Hiralal suggested that they may be akin to the Kawars but Shoobert notices a marked similarity in them and the Korwas. He felt that until further evidence is forthcoming, the Pandos should be regarded as a separate tribe.

The Pandos have two territorial sub-tribes viz. Utarha and Surgujiha, which have exogamous septs as usual. The chief deity of the Pando is Baraihan. The Pandos also had the dormitory system and separate dormitories, known as Bhangra, existed for (Census of India, 1931, Vol.XII, p.420-421).

115. PANIKA

(M.P.36,498; Shahdol 20,726; Sidhi 15,659; Satna 58; Rewa 54; and Chhatarpur 1).

The Panika have been treated as a scheduled tribe in the districts of former V.P. region. In the Mahakoshal district, the Panika or Panka have not been regarded even as Scheduled Castes.

The Panikas are the occupational caste of weaver. They have adopted the tenets of Kabirpanth as their religious faith.

116. PAO

(M.P. 23,496; Shahdol 22,200; Satna 1,191; and Sidhi 105).

In 1931, there were 16,252 Pao in erstwhile Rewa State out of whom only 17 were tribal in religion. The tribe is Scheduled only in the districts of former V.P. region.

117. PARDHAN

(M.P. 51,420; Seoni 16,488; Mandla 14,920; Chhindwara 8,746; Betul 2,857; Balaghat 1,858; Bastar 1,645; Narsimhapur 1,392; Hoshangabad 1,249; Bilaspur 1,017; Jabalpur 840; Raigarh 142; Durg 117; Raipur 82; East Nimar 35; Surguja 32).

The Pardhans are considered to be an inferior branch of the Gond tribe whose occupation is to act as priests and minstrels of the Gonds. The name Pardhan may be a corrupt form of Pradhan meaning Minister or Agent. There is a tradition that they were employed as ministers by the Gond Kings. Other names of the tribe are Pathari, Desai, and Parganiha and in Balaghat they are also known as Mokasi.

The Pardhans have many endogamous divisions, the principal among which are Rai Pardhan, Ganda Pardhan and Thotiya Pardhan. Other groups are Mades i.e. of Bastar, Khalotias i.e. of Chhattisgarh, Deogarhias i.e. from Chhindwara, and so on. One of their divisions, is Kandra which has been regarded to be a Gond sub-tribe (Russell and Hiralal, 1916 Vol.IV, p. 354).

Though the Pardhans have been regarded in ethnological literature as a Gond sub-tribe, they claim to be an independent tribe now and have been so treated in the President's Order.

118. PARDHI

(M.P.4,733; Bastar 2,139; Durg 691; Sehore 650; Raisen 388; Raipur 371; Bilaspur 171; Seoni 86; Mandla 78; Narsimhapur 58; Hoshangabad 45; Surguja 26; Jabalpur 13; Betul 9; Balaghat 8).

The Pardhis have been treated as a scheduled tribe in Mahakoshal districts and Sehore and Raisen Districts of former Bhopal State. They are a low-caste of wandering fowlers and hunters who have partially taken to settled life. The word Pardhis is derived from Marathi Paradh meaning hunting. The caste is probably a mixed group made up of Bawarias or other Rajput sub-castes, Gonds and social derelicts from all sources. They are dirty in their dress and appearance (Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol.IV, P. 359).

In the list of Mahakoshal district the tribe has been shown to have a large number of synonymous groups, many of which are nearly sub-divisions of the tribe.

119. PARJA

(M.P. 525; Bastar 388; Raigarh 116; Narsimhapur 7; Raipur 6; Jabalpur 3; Durg 3; Chhindwara 1; Surguja 1).

In 1931, there were 17,602 Parias in M.P., 17,568 being returned from Bastar and 34 from Durg, and this decrease in population is due to the fact that the Parias now call themselves Dhurwa and resent the designation Paria. The name Paria appears to have come from the Sanskrit and Hindi word Praja meaning subject and is disliked by the people possibly because it is in contradistinction to a free willman. Russell regarded the term not to mean a tribal denomination but a class denomination and he regards them as akin to Khonds of the country further south. The term Dhurwa is considered by them to be more attractive since it conveys the sense of a head-man of a village. The tribe has 3 sub-divisions and the one found in Bastar is Thakara or Tagara division. The Parias live principally in the south-east of Jagdalpur tahsil, north and south of the Kanker forest reserve and a long Kolab-sabri valley in the Sukma tract.

120 PATELIA

(M.P. 39,474; Jhabua 28,894; Dhar 9,362; West Nimar 1,217; Ratlam 1).

The Patelia are a sub-tribe of the Bhils and the term was spelt by Venkatachar in 1931 Report as Patlia. They are principally found in Jhabua and Dhar districts and their number in 1931 was 19,408. The Patlias or Patelias are almost on the same footing as the Bhilalas and have an admixture of Rajput blood in them. In appearance they are more akin to the Bhilalas than the Bhils.

The name Patlia is derived from bitle or polluted owing to their being outcastes. The Patlias from a single endogamous group divided into exogamous septs. Nearly 12 of their sept names have Rajput appellations with local affixes like Pipra Parmar, Tandia Parmar and so on.

121. PATHARI

(M.P. 1,111; Surguja 351; Bilaspur 262; Mandla 201; Durg 154; Raipur 75; Bastar 49; Raigarh 10).

Patharis are a synonymous group of the Pardhans. They are like the Pardhans, the bards, geneologists and minstrels of the Gonds. The word Pathari means a bard or geneologist and according to another derivation, a hill-man. On the Satpura plateau and Chhattisgarh, the Pardhans are known as Pardhan Patharia. In Raipur and neighbouring districts the Patharis are said to be the off-springs of Gonds by women of other castes.

122. PATHARI (Gond) (M.P. Nil)

In the districts of former V.P. region Pathari has been shown to be a synonymous group with Gonds. The term Pathari has, in this case, evidently come from Pathar, a plateau and signifies hill man. There are no return for these.

123. PHANS-PARDHI

(M.P. 36; Raigarh 36).

The Phans-Pardhis are one of the sub-divisions of Pardhis. The prefix Phans means 'to trap' and the Phans-Pardhis are those Pardhis who hunt with traps and snares. They hunt all kinds of birds and smaller animals with the Phanda or snare.

124. RAJ (M.P. Nil)

The Raj have been shown as being a Gond sub-tribe. who they are, is not known and it cannot be said if they are the same as Raj Gond. The Raj Gonds are one of the two aristocratic sub-divisions of the Gonds and are probably descendents of alliances between Rajput adventures and Gonds. (Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol.II. p. 63). They are mostly found in Maharashtra and in the district of Sagar.

125. RATHIA (Bhil)

(M.P. 2,341; West Nimar 2,341).

The Rathias are a section of the Bhil tribe. (Census of India, 1931, Vol.XX. para I. P. 250). In 1931, they were exclusively returned from erstwhile Barwani State, numbering 37,260. The origin of the name may be from their long sojourn in the Rath country which forms a great part of the Alirajpur sub-division of Jhabua district. The Rathias are usually armed with bows and arrows.

126. RATHI (Kanwar)

(M.P. 196; Bilaspur 196).

Rathia is one of the eight endogamous divisions of the Kawar or Kanwar tribe. They are a territorial group, being immigrants from Rath, a wild tract or Raigarh district.

127. SAHARIA

(M.P. 174,320; Shivpuri 54,060; Guna 41,550; Morena 39,965; Vidisha 18,215; Gwalior 12,324; Raisen 3,256; Datia 2,016; Sehore 1,703; Rajgarh 907; Bhind 172; Dewas 108; Ratlam 30; Tikamgarh 12; Rewa 4; Indore 4).

The Saharia or Sahariya have been mentioned under different spellings in the lists of different units and thei figures are found under these different spellings. These names used in the Modification Order are:-

1. Former M.B. Region - Seharia
2. Former V.P. Region - Sahariya
3. Former Bhopal Region-Saharia
4. Former Rajasthan Region
   (Sironj Sub-division of
   Bhelsa District) - Sehria, Sahariya.

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Moreover in the former Bhopal State, Sosia and Sor have been shown as synonymous groups of the Saharias. The spelling of the tribe-name as given by Turner in his 1931 Report of Uttar Pradesh is Saharia or Saheriya and this is exactly how the tribe is known. The common mode in which they refer to themselves is Seher or Sair (Serr).

Statements are found in some of the previous works that the Saharias are Sonrs or Saurs but nothing can be said about this affiliation.

The principal occupation of the Sahariyas is working in the forests; wood and grass cutting and selling and working as farm servants. The Saharias have been largely affected by the dominant Hindu culture and retain very little trace of tribal characteristics. In Uttar Pradesh they have mostly changed to a caste and completely lost tribal characters and Turner wrote about them: "The Saheriyas of today must be classed as a low Hindu Caste wh have like Ahirs, Chamars, Gadariyas, Bhangis etc. their own traditional occupation, their own place in the vast web of the Hindu Caste system to which they have fully adopted themselves."

128. SAONTA

(M.P. 6,101; Surguja 4,633; Bilaspur 935;Raigarh 533).

The Saonta have been regarded as an independent tribe in the Scheduled Tribes List. Shoobert described them as below: " This tribe or sub-tribe offers a curious example of degradation due to economic reasons. They state that they are simply Kisan Manjhi who migrated from Surguja where there are large numbers of their relatives. They have taken to basket work and are therefore classed with the low caste Turis, and have changed their name to Saonta. They are related to the Majhis of Chiro village and intermarry with them. The title Manjhi "village head-man" is invariably adopted by the Santals (Saontas) in some tracts. The Saontas dine with Majhis but not with Majhwars which confirms the claim of the Majhwars that they are distinct from Majhis."

129. SAPERA

(M.P. 897; Tikamgarh 248; Panna 215; Shahdol 180; Chhatarpur 141; Satna 113).

The origin of word Savara is disputed. Cunningham thought that it came from Sagar, on asee, and 'g' and 'v' being interchangeable became Savar. Crooke considered to have come from Sava, a corpse, the root being Sav, 'to cause to decay.'

The occupation of the Sawars is cultivation, working as farm servants and collection of forest produce. They speak the dialect of the region in which they live i.e. mostly Chhattisgarhi and Uriya.

There was a difference of opinion whether the Sawars belonged to the Kolarian group or the Dravidian group, terms which have become out of date now. Dalton considered them to belong to the latter group while others classed them as a Kolarian tribe, and this view was regarded as more correct.

134. SEHARIA (See Saharia)

This is the spelling adopted for the Saharia tribe, in the list of tribes in the former M.B. Region.

135. SEHRIA (See Saharia)

This is the spelling adopted for the name Saharia in the Sironj sub-division of Vidisha district, which has come as a result of area transfers from Rajasthan.

136. SHIKARI

(M.P. 734; Bilaspur 483; Raigarh 133; Durg 67; Seoni 32; Raipur 16; Bastar 3).

Shikaris are a synonymous group of the Pardhis, and are, with the latter, regarded as a scheduled tribe, in the Mahakoshal districts. The word Shikari (from Shikar, hunt) is the common term for a hunter and is very much used by the tribal people for those members who own guns. This name is an alternative name for the Pardhis, but particularly applied to those who use firearms. The Shikaris are also known as Bhil Pardhi. (Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol.IV, p.360).

In the districts of former V.P. Region, the Saperas as a synonymous group of Nat, are regarded as a Scheduled tribe, but in former M.B. Region, they have been classed as a scheduled caste. In this connection the note on Nat may be seen.

The Saperas are that group of the Nat caste who practise snake-charming.

130. SAROTI (M.P. Nil)

In the Scheduled Tribes Lists, the Saroti are shown as a synonymous group with Pardhans and Patharis. This name or group of Pardhans has not been mentioned by Russell.

131. SAUNTA : See Saonta.

132. SAUR

(M.P. 16,576; Tikamgarh 10,338; Chhatarpur 5,066; Panna 1,126; Datia 46).

In the Modification Order, 1956, the Saurs have been treated as an independent tribe from Sonrs. This is actually the same tribe as Sonrs and the figures for these may be merged with those of the Sonrs for purposes of ethnological study. The note on Sonr may also be seen for their detailed description.

133. SAWAR

(M.P. 48,584; Raipur 24,062; Raigarh 23,629; Bilaspur 462; Bastar 360; Seoni 34; Durg 33; Surguja 4).

The name Sawar is also written as Sawara, which term is given as a synonymous group in the Modification Order, 1956, and Savar, Savara. In ethnological literature Sonrs have also been given as a synonymous group of the Sawars; this is however uncertain and needs verification.

The Sawars are practically all returned from Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh. It appears that in the early writings (between 800 B.C. to 1200 A.D.) the term Savara or Saora was used to denote all primitive tribes. The name finds mention in the writing of Pliny and Ptolemy and in Mahabharata as well as in Bana's Harshcharita.

137. SONJHARI JHAREKA

(M.P. 120; Bilaspur 58; Balaghat 50; Durg 12).

In the Modification Order, 1956, the Sonihari Jhareka have been classed as a sub-tribe of Gonds. This classification however, does not find any support from any of the earlier works.

The word Sonihari means washing gold and this caste (not a Gond sub-division) is found chiefly in Seoni, and Bilaspur and in Bhandra and Chanda districts of Maharashtra Most of this gold-washing was done in the Wainganga and Mahanadi.

Among Gonds, very few people used to practice gold-washing and they are also called Soniharas.

138. SONR

(M.P. 17,541; Tikamgarh 10,329; Chhatarpur 4,442; Panna 2,755; Rewa 13; Shahdol 2).

In the Modification Order, 1956, there are three names for this tribe - Saur and Sonr in the districts of former V.P.Region and Sor in the former Bhopal Region. In the latter region, the Sor have been shown as a synonymous group of Saharia and Sosia whereas in the districts of former V.P.Region Saur and Sonr have been shown as independent tribes. There can be no doubt that the Saur and Sonr are one and the same tribe and the common pronunciation of the name is nasal as in the latter case. The fact that separate figures have been given in this Census, does not mean that they relate to two ethnic grou and a mere presence of absence of a dot (halata) in the Hindi name of the tribe has been a reason good enough to classify that slip as Saur or Sonr. For all purposes, th figures of Sonr and Saur should be combined and the picture would them be -

M.P. 34,117; Tikamgarh 20,667; Chhatarpur 9,508; Panna 3,881; Datia 46; Rewa 13; Shahdol 2.

The Sonrs have been regarded in ethnological literature to be the same as the Sawar or Sawara, a tribe found in the Chhattisgarh districts. This classificatio it appears, has been mostly based on the similarity of names - Sawar and Sonr (Saonr). It is however doubtful

the Sonrs and Sawars are the same, and the Sonrs may actually be ethnically more akin to the Saharias.

The Sonrs are principally wood-cutters, workers in the forest and field labourers. They have been very much more detribalized and affected by culture-contact than the Sawars of the east. The Sonrs are also found in the adjoining districts of Sagar and Damoh where they are not scheduled.

139. SOR (M.P. Nil)

Sors have been shown as a synonymous group with the Saharia and Sosia in the districts of former V.P. Region. Note on Saharia may be seen.

140. SOSIA (M.P. Nil)

The Sosia have been shown as a synonymous group with Saharia in the list of former V.P. Region. It is probably a sub-division of the Saharias but there are no returns.

141. TADVI

(M.P. 6,044 ; West Nimar 6,025; Jhabua 19).

The name Tadvi is derived from Tad, meaning a separate branch or section and was formerly applied to a Bhil headman. Russell thought the name applied to Mohameddan Bhils. This sub-tribe of Bhils was not returned in 1931 because, as Venkatachar states, the Tarvi Bhils do not return themselves as Tarvi. The Tadvi (or Tarvi) Bhils have two further sub-divisions - the Rathvi Tadvi and Bhagori Tadvi, the former came from Rath and the latter from Dohad. The former speak Rathvi and the latter Gujarati.

The Tadvis are divided into two endogamous groups - the Tadvi and Patra-Tadvi

142. TAKANKAR (M.P. Nil)

This is a sub-division of the Pardhis and has been shown in the Modification Order as a synonymous group of the Pardhis in Mahakoshal districts: hence a scheduled tribe. There are no returns for this group.

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This synonymous group of the Pardhis should not have been included in the Madhya Pradesh List. Takankar is the name of a small occupational off-shoot of the Pardhis in Berar region, who travel from village to village and roughen the household grinding - stones. The word Takankar is derived from Takna, to tap or chisel. The Takankars were formerly included in the list of criminal tribes.

143. TAKIA (M.P. Nil)

Shown in the Modification Order as a synonymous group of the Pardhis the Takias are the same as the Takankars. The word Takia comes, as Takankars from Hindi word Takna, to tap of chisel & their occupation is the same as that of Takankars. They are restricted to Berar region of Maharashtra (Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol.IV, p.359)

144. TANWAR

(M.P. 1,472; Bilaspur 1,468; Durg 4).

The Tanwars are one of the eight endogamous groups of the Kanwar or Kawar tribe. They are also known as Umrao and are the wealthiest section of this tribe. They are the class to which the ex-zamindars belonged, and there is no justification to keep them as a scheduled tribe.

The name Tanwar has been adopted in imitation of the Tonwar or Tomar Rajputs. They wear the sacred thread prohibit widow remarriage and do not eat fowl or drink liquor. They have also changed their sept names to make them resemble those of eponymous Brahminical gotra i.e. Dhangar has been changed to Dhananjaya, Telasi to Kirava.

The Tanwars are practically all returned from Bilaspur district. They are substantial landholders and principally cultivators, most of them having migrated to urban areas.

145. THATIA

(M.P. 2; Jabalpur 2).

The Thatia, also referred to as Thotya in the Modification Order, 1956 are one of the twelve-and-a-half sub-divisions of the Gonds as referred to by the Gonds

themselves. They have been referred to in Hislop's and Sherring's books as Thotyal. They are also known as Pandabarya. The Thetya means 'Maimed' or inferior class and they are the wandering minstrels who sing in honour of Mata, the Goddess of small pox. They are also referred to as Matyal but they usually refer to themselves as Thakurs. The Thatia also do bamboo-work and make baskets and their women practise as quacks. The low figure returned for them may be due to the reason that they do not call themselves Thatia or Thotia.

146. THOTIA (See Thatia)

147. VADEMARIA (M.P. Nil)

This is evidently a spurious name and deserves to be removed immediately from the Modification Order. The name is the same as Bade Maria. It is a well known fact that the Maria Gondi spoken by the Bison-horn Maria is much more guttural than the crudest Gondi spoken elsewhere but even the Bison-horn Maria becomes amazed at the gutturals of the Hill Maria. This Vade Maria is exactly how a Hill Maria or a Bison-horn Maria would pronounce Bade Maria. The name does not indicate any tribe or sub-division of Marias except Bade Maria (Badi Maria of the Modification Order).

148. WADE MARIA (See Vade Maria)