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FOREWORD

The Constitution lays down that "the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation."

To assist States in fulfilling their responsibility in this regard, the 1961 Census provided a series of special tabulations of the Social and Economic data on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The Lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are notified by the President under the Constitution and the Parliament is empowered to include in or exclude from the lists, any caste or tribe. During the Census operations, the enumerators frequently face the problem of identifying the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In the President's notification, though, in some cases, the names of the sub-castes and sub-tribes and synonyms are given, there are many cases where such names have not been provided in the list. The Census enumerators, therefore, require guidance about the acceptance or rejection of claims that they come across during the operations of some communities to be treated as sub-castes or sub-tribes of the notified Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes. For this purpose, the Census Organisation has thought it wise to undertake detailed ethnographic studies in respect of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of India. This is also in conformity with the past Census tradition of presenting authentic ethnographic account of Indian communities.

For conducting the ethnographic studies, a number of ancillary operations are undertaken by the Social Studies Unit of the Office of the Registrar General, India, as well as the staff of the Director of Census Operations in the various States. These ancillary operations include: (i) compilation of available information on each Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe and preparation of bibliography in respect of them; (ii) preparation and interpretation of maps showing distribution of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes over time and space; and (iii) special studies on cultural, technological and economic changes taking place among the various tribal communities.

Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, Deputy Registrar General, Social Studies Unit, assisted by Shri N. G. Nag, Officer on Special Duty and Shri A. M. Kurup, Research Officer are co-ordinating all these studies at the central level. At the State level Director of Census Operations and his staff are collaborating in conducting the field investigation and preparing the reports.

When the initial investigations on the Dorlas were being carried out, Shri K. C. Dubey, Dy. Director of Census Operations, Madhya Pradesh was incharge of Special Studies in that State.

Shri M. Nageswara Rao, Investigator, Office of the Registrar General, India and Shri M. G. Mohril, Investigator of the Office of the Director of Census Operations, Madhya Pradesh conducted the field investigations on Dorla of Madhya Pradesh and prepared the draft. Shri A. M. Kurup and Dr. B. K. Roy Burman edited the report.

I avail of this opportunity to extend my warm thanks to all my colleagues who have undertaken various studies on different aspects of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of India.

A. CHANDRA SEKHAR
Registrar General, India

PREFACE

As an adjunct of 1961 Census, preparation of ethnographic monographs on a number of selected Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and ethnic groups with special status and ethnographic glossaries on all Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been taken up by the Census Organisation.

In India the Census Organisation has a long tradition of undertaking ethnographic studies. Besides, there are certain reasons why, for its own operational purposes, it is necessary for the Census Organisation to take up such studies. During census operation, the Census Organisation is required to make a complete enumeration of all the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the country. The ethnographic studies are required to establish the identity of the various communities including their segments. The social boundaries of various communities are not always rigid, they are in a state of flux. Ethnographic studies are required to keep track of these changes as well, otherwise comparison of consecutive census figures would give altogether wrong picture in respect of them. There is another aspect of study in respect of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in which the Census Organisation, as well as the welfare and planning agencies are interested—it is ethno-demography. In 1961 Census, separate tables were prepared in respect of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on the following items:

(i) Industrial classification of persons at work and non-workers by sex,

(ii) Age and marital status,

(iii) Education,

(iv) Religion,

(v) Persons not at work classified by sex and types of activity for Scheduled Castes,

(vi) Persons not at work classified by sex and type of activity for Scheduled Tribes,

(vii) Mother tongue and bilingualism for Scheduled Tribes.

The data available in these tables are to be analysed in respect of each Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe, so that the historical and cultural factors responsible for the demographic pattern can be identified and the impact of the emergent demographic pattern on the social structure can be determined.

The insight gained by the Census Organisation, through ethnographic studies of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes will be useful for interpretation of the demographic pattern for the country as a whole. Recent studies show that in India even now, it is difficult to correctly appreciate the various social and economic processes without reference to caste. On the other hand, in the interest of ultimate national goal, caste is not being recorded in census, except in case of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The insight gained through ethno-demographic studies of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is, therefore, of invaluable help for census.

At the same time, such study is very much useful for planning of development activities among the castes or tribes concerned. For instance, if the census shows that great deal of diversification of occupation has taken place among the Parayans of Kerala, it is important for the planners to know whether the community consists of a number of disconnected segments or whether it means that a great deal of individual mobility is taking place where the main focus of community is other than traditional occupation. Again, when among the Bauris of Orissa, it is found that a very high proportion of the population

is engaged in agricultural labour and next to them a high proportion is found in cultivation and also that there is considerable diversification of occupation, the following questions of sociological and practical importance arise:

(a) What is the historical relation between the agricultural labourers and the cultivators among the Bauris of Orissa? The census data suggests one of the two possible developments, namely, (1) bulk of the Bauris were cultivators and by a process of degeneration of their economy have become agricultural labourers, (2) on the other hand, it is also possible that the bulk of them were agricultural labourers and through a process of improvement of their economic condition, many of them have become cultivators.

(b) The fact that a considerable diversification of occupation has taken place, suggests that the economy has not remained in a stagnant condition. Here, it is to be examined whether the diversification is the result of upward mobility, or downward mobility, or even horizontal mobility, and what is the actual process by which the diversification has taken place.

(c) The social dimensions corresponding to the diversification in economic life have to be examined. It is also to be examined whether inspite of diversification of occupation, the ethos of particular occupation, for instance agriculture, continues to be dominant. In that case, diversification might have created problems of adjustment in values and attitudes.

Instances can be multiplied, but it is not necessary. What have been stated above, are enough to bring out the significance of ethno-demographic studies for planners.

The above dimensions of ethno-demographic studies have evolved through stages. In 1960 at the instance of Shri Mitra, Registrar General of India, a questionnaire for collection of ethnographic data was circulated among the Census Superintendents. In October, 1961, the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit was set up in the Office of the Registrar General of India, to coordinate the ethnographic studies and a few other ancillary studies, like village surveys, handicraft surveys, etc. In December 1961, a study camp was organised in Delhi, where the personnel engaged in ethnographic studies, and other social investigations in the office of the Census Superintendents, participated. In the study camp, it was considered that the ethnographic notes would mainly aim at making an objective assessment of the state of development of the different Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the context of the changes taking place in technology, economic organisation and total culture pattern of the country. It was further suggested that the primary focus of the study should not be on the exotic elements of the cultures of the different castes and tribes. It should be on the efforts of the communities concerned, to adjust to the modern conditions of life. In the light of the above decisions of the study camp rapid ethnographic studies have been carried on by the staff of the Superintendents of Census Operations as well as by the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit of the Office of the Registrar General, India, in different parts of the country. These rapid surveys have brought out a number of methodological and operational problems. In May and June, 1966, two Ethnographic Study Camps were held at Kurseong and Hyderabad, where personnel from the office of the Census Superintendents participated. In the study camp held at Kurseong, the Secretary, Tribal Welfare, West Bengal, and Director, Tribal Welfare, West Bengal, also participated. In this Study Camp, an integrated frame for preparation of ethnographic notes was discussed and adopted. A copy of the same may be seen at Annexure. In addition to the studies in respect of each Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe separately, a number of subsidiary studies were undertaken by the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit of the Office of the Registrar General, India, for

gaining insight into a number of problems of general nature, which have bearing on the different aspects of the lives of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of the country. These subsidiary studies are as follows:

1. Shifting cultivation in Santal Parganas of Bihar and Garo Hills of Assam.
2. Pattern of Rehabilitation of displaced tribals of Rourkela.
3. Socio-economic survey of the Scheduled areas of Rajasthan.
4. Socio-economic developments among the hillmen of North-East India.
5. Social structure and cultural orientation of Christians converted from Scheduled Castes.
6. Traditional rights of scavenging as claimed by scavengers in urban areas.
7. Grouping of castes and tribes with reference to occupation and intra-group comparative study on the basis of the data available in earlier censuses.
8. Social mobility movements among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

On the basis of each of the subsidiary studies indicated above, a separate monograph is under preparation. It is also proposed to prepare separate monographs on a few Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and ethnic groups with special status in each state. Besides ethnographic glossaries are proposed to be prepared in respect of all Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. For this purpose about one lakh references have been indexed.

The present report on Dorlas of Madhya Pradesh is one of the monographs included in the series of ethnographic studies. Originally the field investigation and draft report was prepared by Director of Census Operations, Madhya Pradesh. At that time Shri K. C. Dubey, Deputy Director of Census Operations, Madhya Pradesh was in charge of Special Studies in that State. Later on detailed field investigation was done by Shri M. Nageswara Rao of this office with the assistance of Shri M. G. Mohril of the office of the Director of Census Operations, Madhya Pradesh under the guidance of Shri A. M. Kurup, Research Officer, Office of the Registrar General, India. While the specific focus of the study was defined and also the design of the investigation was provided by me, I made only minor changes in the draft prepared by Shri Nageswara Rao and revised by Shri Kurup.

I take this opportunity to express my thanks to all the colleagues who collaborated in this project.

Shri H. L. Harit, Investigator, (now Research Officer) who is looking after the compilation of information from published sources in respect of all Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other special ethnic groups of India deserves mention.

Shri A. Mitra, Registrar General of India for 1961 Census, whose far-sighted initiative is responsible for social investigations in a large number of fields including ethnography, deserves thanks of all students of Indology. I have been benefited not only by his inspiration, but also by his valuable suggestions in connection with the ethnographic studies as well as the other studies, conducted by the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit.

The tradition built by Shri Mitra, has been continued by Shri A. Chandra Sekhar, the present Registrar General of India. Under his guidance, the scope of the Social Studies by the Census Organisation has been further expanded. Inspite of his other preoccupations, he has gone through the final drafts of the ethnographic notes and given a number of valuable suggestions. I avail of this opportunity to express my gratefulness to him.

B. K. ROY BURMAN

DORLA

I. Name, Identity, Origin and History

The Dorla are a tribe of South Bastar in Madhya Pradesh. They have been included in the list of the scheduled tribes vide Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Modification Order, 1956*. The word Dorla, appears to have been derived from the Telugu word *Dora* meaning Lord. In Telugu, the term *Dora* is singular and *Doralu* plural. The Koyas of Andhra Pradesh, adjoining Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh, are called *Koya Doralu* or *Koyalords*. Thurston refers to the fact that in the lowlands, the Gonds call themselves Doralu. He also says that these are referred to in Telugu as *Koi Doralu* (Vol. IV, 1909).

Hemmingway (1907) also speaks of the self importance with which the lowland Gonds of the Godavari district, knowing that the title *Dora* means lords, dislike being called Koyas. Another interpretation of the word has been offered by Grigson; (1938). He states that the people of the lowlands or plains are referred to by the Hill Marias as *Dor Koitor* and by other words, all of which mean lowland *Koitor*. According to him *Dorbhum* or *Dor Koitor* is probably the source of the expression *Dhur Koitor*, which has been assimilated as *Dhur Koitor* or *Dhur Gond*. At another place in his book (p. 55), he suggests that the word Dorla is obviously a corruption of Dor Koitor, their lands being that of the Bison-horn Marias of the Dantewara and Jagalpur plateau, *Dorbhum* or lowland. He further writes that the lowland Koya "knew he was despised by the highlander, and with the self assertiveness that is the typical fruit of the inferiority complex, palmed off his name Dor Koi or lowland Koi on the ignorant Telugu as Dora Koi; and has proceeded to object to the name Koi and demand always the name Dora or Dorla, simultaneously impressing on the Telugu how superior he is to the Highlander." (1938: 55-56).

Rev. John Cain (1879) mentioned, "The custom of calling the Kois as Doralu (Dora = Lord, in Telugu) has been traced by some (Central Provinces, Gazetteer, p. 500) to the ending *tor* in the word Koitor. This has always seemed to me to be rather doubtful as this honorific affix is not only conceded to the Kois, but also to several other castes, e.g., the (true) Vellama caste, and to all the most influential natives, in the independent or semi-independent neighbouring states. All the petty zamindars in Bastar are thus honoured, whatever may be their caste." (Vol. VIII, 1879, p. 34).

Whatever may be the interpretation of the word—Dorla—the tribe with which this note is concerned, is called by others as Dorla, Koya Doralu, Koya etc. But the people belonging to this tribe generally describe themselves by the name Koitor.

The Koitors or Dorlas, who reside in South Bastar are very much influenced by Telugu Koyas of the Godavari area, who are generally considered to be a sub-tribe of Gond. Now there is a tendency among Dorlas to call themselves as Koyas, and they (Dorlas) look down upon the Gottikoitor or the highlanders (Bison horn Maria).

Glassfourd (1868-69) connected these three people Koya, Dorla, Gotti Koitor and Maria as follows. "Along the Southern boundary we find the Telingas tolerably pure, but with a large mixture of intermediate castes, such as the Koya and Naikwars, which last the late Mr. Hislop classed among the Gonds. Proceeding inward we find the Telingas cease, and the Koyas and Gottawars became the sole inhabitants. The former also belong to the Gond family; but from their vicinity to the Telingas they have acquired many of their words, and as the latter are the superior race, the Koyas ape their manners a good deal. The Gottawars are inferior to the Koya caste; but not so in appearance nor in physical conformation where they live close to Telingas. They also have acquired many of the Telugoo words; but they do not, as the Koyas, ape Telinga manners."

"Proceeding still farther towards the interior, we find the Gottawars the prevailing class, and in the centre they appear merely to change their name; for the Maria is in no way different from the Gottawar."

So, according to him the Koya, Dorla, Cottikoitor and Maria are the same people who are known differently in different contact situations. Thus the Koitors living among the Telugus and acquiring Telugu manners and customs are called *Koidora, Koyadoralu* or *Dorlu*.

*The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists Modification Order, 1956, Government of India, 1957, 36.

The areas where this sub tribe is scheduled includes (1) Bastar, Chhindwara, Mandla, Rajgarhi and Surguja districts. (2) Balhar tehsil of the Balaghat district (3) Bilaspur and Katghora tehsils of the Bilaspur district, (4) Betul and Bhainsdehi tehsils of Betul district, (5) Durg and Sanjari tehsils of Durg district, (6) Murwara, Ratan and Sihora tehsils of the Jabalpur district. (7) Hoshangabad district, (8) Harsaud tehsil of the Nimar district, (9) Bindra—Nawgarh, Dhamtari and Mahsasmund tehsils of the Raipur District.

Grigson (1938) has given the following footnote regarding the affinities of the Dorlas. "It is important to remember that the Dorla also use Bison—horn or Buffalo-horn dancing head dresses, and in other ways also show that they were once the same people as those whom I term Bison-horn-Marias as indeed the traditions of both people have to be seen to assert" (p. 56). Though similarity in dress is not the only criterion to establish the identity between two ethnic groups, it at least shows the sort of cultural linkage. It is, however, to be noted that neither the Dorlas nor the Marias agree that they are one and the same. The Dorlas look down upon the Marias as inferior and do not have any connubial or commensal relations with them. On the other hand, they have free relations with the people known as Koya in Telugu area. Not only their existing social relations but also the traditions of the past seem to suggest that the Dorlas and the Koyas are the segments of the same society known by two different names. Thurston (1909-38) has recorded that the Koyas of the plains have a tradition that they were driven from the plateau of Bastar by famine and disputes about 200 years ago. This provides an indirect support to the view point of those, who see in the Koyas an extension of the social identity of the Dorlas and *vice-versa*. There are however others, who have a different point of view. For instance Mahboob Hussain (1946) is of the view that Koyas are of the same stock as the Khis i.e. Khandas of Cuttack district and have nothing to do with Gond group of tribes.

Notwithstanding this view on the contrary, the prognosis seems to be that in their search for social identity the Koyas and Dorlas will look towards each other for a long time to come. If there is adequate motivation to expand the orbit of their social identity they may even include Marias, within it, notwithstanding the social distance that they are maintaining at present on a vertical scale.

II. Distribution and Population Trend

In Madhya Pradesh the Dorlas principally inhabit the Southern and the South Western parts of Bastar district *viz.* in Konta and Bijapur Tehsils. According to Hazra (1959, p. 25), "Their territory may be said to start about 25 miles South of Sukma in Konta Tehsil, the river Kolab or Sabri which separates Bastar from Orissa forming the eastern boundary of the tract. They extend Southward up to Konta. To the West they are distributed in a number of villages and spread over in the adjoining Tahsil of Bijapur". He further states that "the Dorlas are also found in the adjoining parts of Andhra and Orissa States. In Andhra they are popularly known as Koya. The majority of them are distributed in Andhra in the East Godavari, particularly in the Bhadrachalam taluq, and also in Warangal, Karimnagar and Adilabad districts of the former Hyderabad State. In Orissa, they are mainly found in Malkangiri taluq."

In 1901—21, the tribes of Bastar were all lumped together under the generic name Gond. In the 1931 Census, separate enumeration had been made and 9988 Koyas were returned in Bastar. But according to Grigson, (1938, 55-56) "the 9988 persons returned at the Census as Koyas are not the Dorla or lowland Koyas. They are the Bison-horn-Marias living at the foot of the passes in Konta and Sukma and slightly influenced by Telugu Contacts."

He, however, estimates that 15,000 Marias and Koyas were wrongly enumerated in 1931 as Murais. "These Dorlas at census refused to call themselves Koya, and were not returned as such but returned as Gonds, and they are the principal element in the 19,426 professing tribal religion out of 24,907 Bastaris returned as Gond in the 1931 Census. The 4,981 Hindu Gonds returned are mostly Dorlas from the Lingadari *Pargana* of Bhopal patanam and the adjacent parts of Bijapur who have become lingayats, wearing a *rudrakhsa* bead in a silver box or a Shivalingam slung on a thread" (1938; pp. 55-56).

Hazra on the authority of Elwin, mentions that "according to 1941 census, the total number of Dorla in Bastar was 14,605." (1959, 25).

In the present census 21,384 persons have been returned as Dorla (10,632 males; 10,752 females) and all these except 2 (1 male and 1 female) have been returned from Bastar district. It is difficult to make any comparison of these figures with preceding censuses, because of the confusions of identity, as indicated above. The number of persons returning themselves as Dorla, Gond, Koya, Maria and Muria in 1931, 1941 and 1961 censuses in Bastar district are however given here. If not the demographic change, these will provide the insight about the persistences and the shifts in the ideas of social identity of the different groups of population—

Sl. No.	Name by which returned	1931	1941	1961
1	Dorla	..	14,605	21,384
2	Gond	24,407	16,620	7,21,124 (This includes all these five tribes).
3	Koya	9,988	..	..
4	Maria	1,46,070	1,20,110	..
5	Muria	1,24,993	2,19,654	..

According to the 1961 census, the Dorlas constitute only 0.32 per cent of the total tribal population of the State and their percentage to the total tribal population of Bastar district is 2.53 per cent. To the general population of the State they bear a very negligible proportion only 0.07 per cent.

III. Physical Characteristics

Published literature on the tribe do not shed much light on the physical characteristics of the tribe. In connection with the present study somatoscopic observations were made in respect of 23 adult male Dorlas in Konta and Bijapur tehsil of Bastar District. It is found that the height vertex ranges from 157 cms. to 174 cms. with a mean of 166.6 cms. Most of them have brown skin colour on their face (18 persons) and only a few individuals (5 persons) have chocolate skin colour. The hair form is mostly medium wavy (18 persons) though 3 individuals have low wavy and 2 individuals have deep wavy hair form. The root depression of the nose is mostly medium (22 individuals); there is only 1 individual having shallow root depression. The alae is normal in most of the cases (20 persons) but flared in case of a few individuals (3 persons). The eyeslits are straight in all cases except in one case where it is oblique. Faces are mostly oval to round (13 oval and 10 round). The chin is medium in most of the cases (20 medium and 3 receding). The lips are mostly thin to medium type but not thick (4 thin and 19 medium). Cheek is medium in all cases. Prognathism is absent in 7 cases, slight in 10 cases and medium in 6 cases.

Rakshit (1960,60) gives the following Statistical Constants of direct measurements and Indices of Dorlas while comparing the anthropometry of the Dorla and Dhurwa of Bastar.

Statistical Constants of Direct Measurements Mean and S.D.

Dorla adult male series

Serial No.	Character	Dorla N. 100	
		Mean	S.Ds
1	Stature	1600·15	49·703
2	Sitting Height	817·14	27·992
3	Head Length	181·09	5·977
4	Head Breadth	138·25	4·242
5	Auricular Height	113·55	5·166
6	Min-Frontal Breadth	99·21	4·092
7	Bizygomatic Breadth	130·39	4·860
8	Biogonial Breadth	96·53	5·458
9	Inter-orbital Breadth	31·16	2·008
10	Orbito-nasal Breadth	98·11	3·807
11	Orbito-nasal Arc	107·52	4·586
12	Nasal Length	44·42	3·063
13	Nasal Breadth	39·17	2·514
14	Nasal depth	19·22	2·388
15	Upper Facial Length	59·99	4·339
16	Total Facial Length	104·79	5·267
17	Horz. Head Circumference	516·64	13·519
18	Segittal Arc	329·29	12·362
19	Transvers Arc	326·23	10·839

Indices

Mean Values

Dorla adult male series

Serial No.	Indices	Dorla N. 100
1	Cephalic Index LxB	76·42
2	Length—Height Index (Head)	62·74
3	Breadth—Height Index (Head)	82·18
4	Nasal Index	88·53
5	Nasal Elevation Index	49·22
6	Orbito Nasal Index	109·61
7	Transverse Fronto-Parietal Index	71·79
8	Upperfacial Index	46·04
9	Total Facial Index	80·45
10	Transvers Cephalo-Facial Index	94·36
11	Vertico-Cephalo-Facial Index	92·43
12	Zygomatico-Frontal Index	76·14
13	Zygomatico-Mandibular Index	74·07
14	Stature-Sitting Ht. Index	51·07

Negi (1962, 84-86) has reported the presence of Sickle-Cell trait among the Dorlas of Bastar. He has tested 200 Dorlas out of whom 26 persons were affected with Sickle Cells. The number of Sickle Cells he found in them was 0.130 and the standard error 0.04.

IV. Family, Clan, Kinship and other Analogous Divisions

Simple family is the norm among the Dorlas. Soon after marriage the husband erects a separate hut for himself and his wife with the help of his close kins. But living separately does not necessarily mean, severance of all economic ties with the husband's natal family. In fact he continues to work along with other members of the family in the fields and share the crops and other produce. The tribe is pater oriented and though generally the households are neo-local, they are patri-vicinal. Only rarely, the marriages are uxorilocal. There are generally cases of marriage by adoption, where a man without a son requires his son-in-law to stay with him and help him in his agricultural activities.

Sons inherit the property after the death of their father. The eldest son gets a slightly larger share of the property including the family-gods and other sacred objects kept by the father. Where a man has two or more wives, he builds a separate house for each of them. In case of the parents becoming too old, infirm or disabled, it is the duty of all the sons to support them.

Sub-divisions

The Dorlas of Bastar can be broadly divided into three territorial divisions i.e. Dorlas of Konta tehsil, Dorlas of Bhopal patanam tract and Dorlas of northern areas of Bijapur and Kutru tracts. Because of the fact that these territorial

groups are separated from one another in great distance, the marriages of the Dorlas generally take place within their respective territorial groups. But in recent times due to the expansion of communication facilities in the area, inter-marriages among the Dorla of different territorial groups are becoming more common.

The Dorlas are divided into a number of exogamous clans; there are also a number of mediary organisations, phratries, formed by grouping of a number of clans. The phratries are also exogamous. There are five phratries in Bijapur area. These are as follows, after the number of Gods that they worship; Mundum Peen (three god division) Nalum Peen (four god division), Aium Peen (five god division), Arum Peen (six god division) and Yedu Peen (seven god division). In Bhopal patanam tract also identical phratry divisions are found. In Konta tehsil, the word used for phratry division is *Gatta,* in place of *Peen*. There are five *Gattas* in that area. They are as follows: parendgatta (two gatta), Mudugatta (three gatta) Aidu gatta (five gatta), Arogatta or Paramboi (six gatta) and Yedu gatta (seven gatta). Here it may be mentioned that in Telugu, 'Rendu' (Parendgatta) means two, 'Mudu' means three, 'Nalugu' means four, 'Aidu' means five, 'Arro' means six and 'Yedu' means seven.

Though *Peen* organisation of Bijapur and Bhopal patanam tract and *Gatta* organisation of Konta tehsil are analogous to one another, it is not possible to say whether they are identical in nature. According to Hussain (1946), the word *Peen* means God in Dorli dialect. Similarly the word *Gatta* means God among Koyas of Andhra. But during the field investigations carried out by the census organisation, in the village Mattewada, of Warangal district of Andhra Pradesh, it was found that *Gatta* was considered to be a distortion of one word *gotra.* The field investigation in Bastar also indicated the existence of a conceptional dichotomy. Here it is to be noted that the Gonds and the Marias of the northern region also have *Peen* division. The Dorlas of Bijapur, Kutru and Bhopal patanam tracts who are more in contact with the Gonds and Marias, do not visualise that their *Peen* divisions are homologous to the *gotra* divisions of the non-tribal Hindu neighbours; on the other hand, the Dorlas of Konta tehsil, have no difficulty to discern such a homology. It is not unlikely that a process of double syncretism has taken place in case of *Gatta* division. At the first stage the term has been superimposed on *Peen* organisation, as a part of the process of social vicination with the Hindu neighbours; at the second stage the meaning, identical with that of *Peen* has been imputed to the term, so as to maintain the old unity with the rest of the Dorlas. The present analysis is however only an exercise to trace the logistic of the organisation. Before arriving at any conclusion, deeper analysis with the support of empirical data is necessary.

The *Peen* divisions and some of their exogamous septs found in Bijapur area are as follows: —

1. *Mundum Peen* (three god phratry): This is divided into a number of exogamous totemic septs like Cherla, Chapa, Chidem and Madkam etc. All these septs consider tortoise as their totem. All the members belonging to this phratry are considered as brothers and sisters to one another.

2. *Nalum Peen* (four god phratry): Members of Yalam, Tati, Kaditi, Telam etc., septs consider themselves to belong to the four God phratry. Except Telam, others consider iguna (Goie), an animal as their totem. Telam sept members consider crocodile as their totem.

3. *Aium Peen* (five god Phratry): This is also divided into a number of exogamous totemic septs, like Anganapalli, Swayam, Kurusam etc. Members of Anganapalli and Kurusam septs consider cobra as their totem and do not touch or eat it. It is believed that killing of a snake by members of these septs would invite divine displeasure. The Swayam sept has black sparrow as its totem.

4. *Arro Peen* (six god phratry): This is divided into a number of exogamous septs, like Erma, Durva, Paddam, Koram, etc. Erma sept is believed to have originated from squirrel, which is the totem of that sept. The totems of other divisions are not known.

5. *Yedu Peen* (seven god phratry): This phratry is again sub-divided into a number of exogamous totemic septs; like Pulsi, Madvi, Punam, Batsi etc. Pulsi and Madvi septs have porcupine (oiee) as their totem, the totems of Punam and Batsi are not known.

The *Gatta* divisions found in Konta tehsil are also divided into a number of exogamous septs. Some of these septs found in Konta area are as follows: —

1. *Parendgatta* (Two-gatta): This is divided into a number of exogamous divisions such as Soyam, Madvi, Barishe, Semala, Kahati, Kangal, Tamu, Doddi, Pusam and Payam.

2. *Mudugatta* (Three gatta): This is divided into a number of septs which are strictly exogamous. Some of the septs found near Konta are, Madkam, Turram, Kurasmer, Boddir, Jaddir, Pesam, Tateer, Dochider etc.

3. *Aidugatta* (five gatta): This is divided into exogamous septs and some of these septs found near Konta are, Oder, Galer, Uika, Gujjar, Ithalor, etc.

4. *Arogatta or Peramboi* (six gatta): This is divided into a number of exogamous sub-divisions like Kuram, Vetti, Salavan, Podiyam, Komaramu, Kattam and Birdar etc.

5. *Yedu gatta* (seven gatta): Though this division was not found in Ganganpalli village, where the field study was conducted, they are found in the adjacent parts of Bijapur and Konta Tehsil. It is divided into six to eight exogamous septs, like Kovvasi, Vanjim, Muchhki, Padam, Luddam and Dudi.

The names of the gods worshipped by the septs of different phratries in Konta area are as follows: —

Phratry	Sept	Name of God or Velpa
Parendgatta	Soyam	Gadikamu
	Madvi	Andalakosu
	Barishe	Andalakosu
	Semala	Nangabima
	Kahati	*Indala Gangu*
	Kangal	Indala Gangu
	Pusam	Dularaja
Mudugatta	Madkam	Erama Raju
	Turram	Katural
	Kurasmer	Indalagangu
	Boddir	*Chinnayaruvamaraj*
	Pesam	Chinnayaruvamaraj
	Tater	Katul
	Dochider	Chinnayaruvamaraj
Aidugatta	Oder	Tulamuttu
	Galer	Tuldokiri
	Uika	Tulamuttu
	Gujjor	Tuldokiri
	Ithalor	Tulamuttu
Arogatta or Peramboi	Karma	Darelu
	Kuram	Jalasinga Raju
	Vetti	Adama Raju
	Salvam	Gadigonda, Edidokiri
	Podiyam	Bangaru papos
	Komaramu	Pedaramu
	Kattam	Chinaramu
	Budar	Mayalmalli
Yedugatta	Kovvasi	Sirisiram
	Vanjam	Do.
	Muchhki	Do.
	Paldam	Do.
	Luddam	Do.
	Dudi	Do.

The above list gives the different *Gattas* or phratries along with the septs under each *Gatta* and the deities or *Velpas* worshipped by each sept. The *Velpa* worshipped by the different septs are in most cases different though in a few cases common *Velpa* is worshipped. All the septs of the Yedugatta phratry worship Sirisiram.

An attempt has been made to find out the common symbol of worship among the different septs of the same phratry. It has been observed that during rituals all the septs of the same phratry venerate the same number of cowdung cakes (pidaka), symbolising the number of gods in the phratry. Thus the septs belonging to Parendgatta keep and worship two cowdung cakes and so on in their rituals.

The literal meaning of the different names of septs could not be ascertained nor it could be possible to find out the totems of each sept. It appears that most of these septs do not observe totemism.

The kinship pattern of the Dorlas is identical with that of the Koyas. As in the Koyas, among Dorlas, the affinity with the agnatic relations is stronger than the uterine relations. An exception to this rule is found in the case of maternal uncle or *Mava* whose role is very much appreciated and thus recognised in the kinship structure. The pattern of kinship among the Dorla is classificatory in nature. This can be illustrated by the following kinship terminology: —

Dorli	English
Mava	Mother's Brother and husband's father
Poye	Mother's Brother's Wife; wife's mother, and Father's sister.
Ande or Ande-mari	Sister's son and Son-in-law.
Koiyad or Koddiyad or Adimiyadu	Sister's daughter and Daughter-in-law.
Chinava	Father's younger brother's wife and Mother's Younger Sister.
Chinayayya	Father's younger brother and Mother's younger sister's Husband.
Yerond	Wife's younger Brother and Younger Sister's Husband.
Bato	Wife's Elder Brother and Elder Sister's Husband.
Dado	Father's Father (or Mother's Father).
Kako	Mother's Mother (or Father's Mother).

Some of the other common kinship terms used by the tribe are as follows: —

Dorli	English
Mutti	Wife
Yavva	Mother
Yayya	Father
Tammud	Younger Brother
Dada	Elder Brother
Yalad	Younger sister
Yakka	Elder Sister
Mar	Son & Brother's son
Mayyad	Daughter & Brother's daughter
Babal	Father's Younger Brother
Pep or Berayal	Father's Elder Brother
Podad	Wife's Elder sister
Yaudad	Wife's Younger Sister

Common rules of avoidance and joking are observed by the Dorlas between certain relations. A person may avoid his younger brother's wife as well as his daughter-in-law and *vice-versa*. Thus they are not expected to joke with or even take the name of these persons who by custom observe avoidance. Privileged familiarity is not only permitted but encouraged between cross-cousins. The cross-cousins can, therefore, have joking relations among themselves.

V. Dwelling, Dress, Food, Ornaments and other Material Objects

Dorlas are a well settled people and live in permanent villages. A village is established taking into account the availability of agricultural land, source of water supply and grazing fields. Normally, therefore, plain areas are chosen and villages established near a water source like a river, stream or tank. A Dorla village may comprise of a number of hamlets or *paras* spread over a large area, each one of which may sometimes be a couple of miles away from the main village site. Establishment of a *para* may not have any correlation with the clan organisation. Houses in this *paras* are constructed either lineally on the sides of foot paths or sprinkled without any particular pattern.

Dorla villages are generally uni-caste villages. However, some over-grown villages and urbanised ones are found to be multi-caste. In Gangapalli, where this study was undertaken, a few houses of Maria, Kammara and Doli are also found. Even here, these communities live away from the main Dorla settlement, as the former are considered to be lower in social status. Some urbanised villages, particularly those found on the road side, besides other local tribes and castes, have immigrant Hindu castes particularly the trading communities.

No fixed pattern is followed in the layout and plans of the houses. According to convenience the frontage is directed to any direction. No particular direction is considered ritually desirable in facing a house. Generally, the houses of the village head-man (*Padda*) and the priest are located in the central part of the settlement. In mixed tribal villages, tribe-wise segregation is discernible and in such villages, the Dorla houses are generally situated in a cluster.

As is the general practice in the whole of Bastar, every village has a *thana gudi* or *chavidi*. (a resting hut for visitors) which is constructed by the combined efforts of the whole village, in the central ward of the settlement. An *Athpaharia* is appointed by the villagers from among them to look after the visiting officials during their stay in the village. He is paid in kind by each household of the village during harvest.

Every village has a separate hut meant for the village Goddess, *Gamam*, who is worshipped at the time of festivals (*Pandum*). Besides this, there is a separate place for the deities worshipped by the tribe. This is called *Deva gudi* or *Mata gudi*. Many Dorla villages have bamboo-gates erected at the entrance of the village. These gates are bedecked with fresh green mango leaves and flowers at the time of festivals.

Selection of house site: The Dorlas consider Mondays and Saturdays as auspicious days for the selection of a house site. The site should not be haunted by evil spirits and therefore, to ensure this, on the tentatively selected site, on any of these days, the head of the household, in consultation with the priest *Vadde*, keeps three hand full of rise of Jowar *Jonna* mixed with turmeric powder and cover the same with a basket. These three heaps are supposed to represent three important aspects of their life, *viz.*, the crops (*Panta gutti*), the life (*Jeevaniki gutti*) and hunting (*Veta gutti*). In the morning the heaps of grains are examined and if they are found undisturbed the site is considered to be devoid of spirits and therefore auspicious for habitation. Otherwise, the same test is repeated on alternative sites till a suitable one is finally chosen.

House construction: The house pattern of the Dorla is more or less similar in all areas. Before constructing a new house, the building material such as timber and thatching grass called *Inta gaddi* are collected. After this is done, the priest is consulted who fixes a day for the sacrifice and worship to be made at the site. On the appointed day, a chicken is sacrificed on the site and its blood is sprinkled on the land. This is supposed to ward off any evil spirit that may be residing on the land. After this, the construction may commence on any day.

In case of thatched houses, foundation is not necessary. Posts are fixed lineally on the ground at small intervals. In between these thick posts, thin branches are fixed to fill up the space; Bamboos or thin branches are then fastened horizontally to connect these posts. The roof is made in the usual manner by putting a thick central beam on the two central poles of the side walls and fixing bamboo or thin timber posts at right angles to it. The roofs are usually thatched with grass (*Inta gaddi*). In case of walls made of thatching material the same is often plastered with mud. The construction of rooms starts after the outer structure and the roof are completed. The partitions inside may be simply bamboo-mats or may be made of mud. Generally, the house have only 2 doors called *gumam* one in the front and the other in the rear. These consist of single shutters of bamboo wattle. A few houses, usually mud-walled houses of well-to-do Dorlas, have doors made of wood. These

houses have a varandah in the front portion in addition to two or three rooms. In two roomed houses the front room is used for keeping household goods and for sleeping and the rear room is used as kitchen. In case of 3 roomed houses the first two rooms are used as bed-room and store-room respectively and the rear room being used as kitchen. Rethatching and minor repairs are effected, normally, once in two years.

Bari or *Vellum Medata* (Kitchen garden) is a common feature in Bastar. Every house has a *bari* around the house with an improvised bamboo gate in front. Here vegetables like brinjal, lady's finger, chillies, gourds etc. are cultivated.

Most of the households have their cattle pan (*Goddu Doddi*) in their fields. it is an unroofed structure constructed with bamboo and wooden poles. Goats are generally kept in the varandah of the house or in an elevated out-house made of wooden poles with wattle bamboo slides and thatched roof. The goats are led up to the room through a wooden ladder which can be lowered after use. Pigs are sheltered in *Pandikottam* (pig stay) located close to the dwelling houses.

Dress: The Dorla, men and women dress scantly. The usual dress of the men is a *langoti*. Towels or pieces of cloth are used as *langotis* which cover the private parts. *Dhoties*, shirts and baniyans are also used by the men folk in those areas where they live along with the plains people. Well to do Dorlas use Shirt (*Kusam or angi*) and *dhoti* (Pancha) occasionally, when they go to an urban place for marketing or for other purposes. The women wear, *Batta*, a piece of cloth wrapped around the loins and cover their bosom with another piece of cloth by slipping one end of it under the right armpit and looping the other end round the left shoulder. Those few who wear sarees (*Chira batta*) cover their bosom with one part of it. To be bare bosomed is not considered immodest among Dorlas. This is evident from the fact that in the village many women go half naked with only a loin cloth wrapped around their waist. The dress that the bride and bridegroom put on during marriage differs from one area to another. In the Bijapur area the dress of the couple consists of simple white clothes. In Bhopal patanam and Konta areas the bridegroom wears a turmeric coloured *dhoti* (*Pancha*), a shirt (*Angi*) and a white turban (*Talapaga*). The bride too wears a turmeric coloured *Sari* (*Chira batta*) and a blouse (*Raika*). Nothing special in the dress of the priest and other office bearers is observed.

Ornaments

The ornaments usually worn by Dorlas, both male and female of Bhopal patanam and Bijapur area are as follows:

Men—

1. *Kadiyom*—It is a thick silver armlet.
2. *Bali Pogu* (*Chevi pogu*)—This is an ear-ring made of gold or silver worn in the upper cartilage, usually of the right ear.

Women—

1. *Mukku Pogu*: (*Mukkupudaka*)—It is a gold nose-ring worn in the right alae of the nose.
2. *Kadem*—It is a thick silver wrist-let.
3. *Kante*—This is a solid silver ornament worn on the neck.
4. *Dddelam* or *Vaddanam*—This is a silver waist band.
5. *Kalku Billa* (*Toda*)—This is a silver or aluminium anklet.
6. *Adulamei toda gundaka*—It is a glass bead neck-lace with or without gold beads.

The ornaments usually worn by Dorlas of Konta area are slightly different from those of the Bijapur and Bhopal patnam area.

1. *Besari*—It is a nose-ring worn in the right alae of the nose.
2. *Karna Punga*: (*Ear tops*)—These are ear tops studded with cheap agate stones.
3. *Gajulu*—These are glass bangles.
4. *Patted*—This is golden or silver necklace.
5. *Molated*—This is a silver waist-band.
6. *Bedi*—This is a silver or aluminium anklet.

All the names of these ornaments are found to be Telugu in origin.

Personal decoration: The Dorla men shave a part of their heads in front, keeping a tress of hair at the back. This lock is dressed with wooden combs and tied to a knot. Male children also, similarly shave their head and tie the hair into knots. However, in some areas now-a-days like Konda, due to urban influence, the boys crop their hair. The girls devote much attention to their hair. The hair is anointed with mahua seed oil and tied into a knot at the back.

Tattooing (*Beradabottu*) is not very much common. Ones own name or designs of ornaments are usually got tattooed by some males and females on their arms. Males and females belonging to the Korraju caste from Andhra Pradesh used to come to Bastar in batches and do tattooing. The Dorlas do not attach any special significance to tattooing; it is done only, they say, for decorative purpose.

Food

Jawar (Holeus Sorgam) and Rice (*Oryza Sativa*) constitute the staple food of Dorlas being the main cereals they produce. According to the

availability of these cereals their food habits vary. Paddy is harvested in the months of October and November. They consume rice till the Jowar crops are harvested in the months of December—February, then onwards they consume Jowar. Dorlas are very fond of Toddy and it is reported, that in the toddy season most of the people live on it, including women and children. Toddy season starts from December and it lasts up to April. Mahua flower, or *Ippapuvvu, (Bassia latifolia)* which is also available abundantly in the months of February—April, is used as food by the Dorlas. They dry the flower and consume it in lean months. Among pulses *dal* (Red-gram) is commonly used. The common cooking medium is the oil extracted from Mahua seeds. Spices are not in common use but tamarind, which is available locally in large quantities, is very commonly used with pulses and vegetables. The tribe is non-vegetarian in their habits and the animals and birds relished by them are the domesticated, goats, pigs, and fowls; and wild animals like rabbit, deer, wild bear, sambhar, jungle fowl, green pigeon, grey pigeon, cranes and doves. The Dorla have no inhibition to beef which they freely eat. But a few households, however, have reported that they stopped taking it since long. It is reported that those who abstain from taking beef are more Hinduised. Majority of the people take meal twice a day, but as a breakfast they take Jowar gruel or the food left over in the previous night.

Drinks

The Dorla are very fond of rice beer (*Sara*), toddy (*Gallu or Kallu*) and Mahua liquor. During the period from November to April they get considerable quantities of toddy and in this season the poorer Dorlas live on toddy alone. Most of the families own some Palmyra palm (*Borassua flabellifor*) (Toddy-Palm) trees in the village. The toddy is collected 3 times a day, before sun rise, at noon and in the evening. *Mahua* liquor is brewed by them from *Mahua* flowers. In the months of February, March and April, *Mahua,* flower is available abundantly. They collect the flowers and dry them for four or five days. The dried flowers are then fermented in a pot for 6 days. It is, now, distilled and consumed. They relish it more than any other liquor as it is more intoxicating.

Smoking

Smoking and chewing of tobacco is very much prevalent among Dorlas, irrespective of sex and age. Women and children smoke and chew tobacco as frequent as the men. In this connection Hazra mentions: "During the months of March-April, when villagers are more or less free from agricultural labour, they, in batches go to Andhra for procurement of tobacco from Telugu cultivators who grow plenty of tobacco in their fields..... They thus take great pains in travelling distances of about 50 to 60 miles, sometimes even more, for procuring tobacco which will last them for a whole year" (1959, 77).

It is a common scene on the Jagdalpur-Konta road, in the months of March-April, batches of Dorlas, Marias and other tribal groups bringing tobacco from the bordering Andhra area.

Equipments connected with economic pursuits

Being primarily an agricultural community, most of their equipments are related to cultivation. The following are some of the common agricultural implements used by the Dorlas.

1. *Nagvel or Nagali (Plough)*—This is a simple wooden plough, usually made of a kind of wood called *Chandra Karra.* It contains a base called *Nagali Mottu* with an iron shear (*Karru*) and a long handle (*Medi*) to which is vertically attached a wooden beam (Edigarra). The Beam is a slanting wooden rod connecting the base (*Nagali Mottu*) and the yoke. The yoke (*Kadi*) is a cylindrical piece of wood, approximately 4½ feet long and is placed on the neck of the bullocks while ploughing. The yoke is tied with the plough by a strong rope.

2. *Bandi* (Cart)—It is the same two wheeled wooden bullock cart seen in the plains.

3. *Goru Muddu or Moddu (Leveller)*—This 'T' shaped implement is made of wood and is used in levelling the ploughed fields and to puddle the earth after ploughing. There is another variety of leveller called *Kora balla* which operates like a miniature earth moving machine. The levellers are driven by bullocks.

4. *Pandla Jambu (Harrow)*—This is the harrow known as *Dantari* in Chhattisgarh.

5. *Rampam (Saw)*—It is a cutting tool with a thin flat blade having a line of teeth along its edge. The saw is manipulated by holding the handle.

6. *Kattad (Sickle)*—It is an iron implement curved in half-moon shape and is useful for cutting the crop and grass.

Goddal (Axe)—It is an iron implement with a sharp edge and a hole at the butt end for in serting the wooden handle. It is used for cutting trees. Another type of axe used by the Dorla i known as *Parasu.* The *parasu* is lighter and th blade is thinner.

Hunting and fishing is a subsidiary occupation for the Dorlas which they follow in the leisure time. Some of the common implemen used by them in hunting are *Villu* (bow), *Lodi*

(arrow), *Gorka* (spear) and *Mitta* (arrow with wooden head). But for the arrow head and spear the other implements are made by themselves.

Mitta is a special type of arrow with a wooden head used for shooting birds. This type of arrow is common among all the tribes of Bastar. *Lodda* is an ordinary type of arrow used for slaying animals.

For fishing they use nets and traps. *Addaguda* is a conical fish trap made out of split bamboo pieces. This is used to trap fish in shallow waters. *Sanguda* is the common fishing net which is made use of in running deep water. *Ettuvala* is a special type of fishing net fixed on a wooden square frame and is operated by four persons.

A very common article used not only by the Dorla, but also by other tribal communities of the region, is the *Buraka*. It is a bottle-gourd, used as a bottle to carry water or toddy when they are on a journey. Very few people move far from their homes without a *Buraka*, filled with water or toddy.

VI. Environmental Sanitation, Hygienic Habits, Diseases and Treatment

Dorla dwellings have been found to be normally very unclean. However, the extent of environmental sanitation found in Dorla villages are not very much different from the local pattern. Normal facilities of sanitation are not discernible in these villages. Except a few houses belonging to well-to-do Dorlas, the houses are not properly ventilated. As mentioned elsewhere, goats and pigs are often sheltered either inside the house or very near to it. This makes the atmosphere foul smelling and unhygienic. It has been observed that some of the Dorlas tether their cattle in front of their houses.

As far as personal cleanliness is concerned the Dorlas, though better when compared to their immediate neighbours, the Marias, they lack in hygienic habits. As a result of this, skin diseases like Yaws and itches are very common among these people. Small pox and malaria are still common in this area. Efforts are being made by the Government to control skin diseases and other common ailments by locating government dispensaries and health centres in the area. The Dorlas believe that small-pox is the result of heavenly displeasure. Therefore, they do not take any medical treatment for smallpox. Instead, the village deity is worshipped for its cure. In the efforts of the Government to eliminate diseases like Malaria and smallpox, some of the local leaders belonging to the tribe extend their help. One Soyam Iogayya an ex-M.L.A. of the Madhya Pradesh Vidhan Sabha belonging to Dorla tribe encouraged the people in the Konta area to attend the medical dispensary and avail medical treatment. He has also been putting pressure on the government to open more and more dispensaries.

Like many other forest tribes, the Dorlas believe that spirits (Ammawaru) cause diseases if they are not properly propitiated periodically. They believe that *Odde* or *Vodde* (priests) and *Mattinonlu* (magician) can create illness with the aid of malevolent spirits. In such cases the *Odde* or *Vodde* is invited to perform necessary rituals and thereby remove the wrath of the malevolent spirits. The *Vodde* recite some *mantras* to drive away the evil spirits and often offers a fowl or a goat or sometimes both, to appease the evil spirits. If he fails to effect cure, another *Vodde* of the neighbouring area may be summoned to handle the case and this process may continue till the patient is recovered from the ailment. Along with the common worship and appeasement of spirits, the Dorlas also resort to indigenous herbs for curing minor ailments. There are a few Dorlas who are experts in this art. Lately some of the literate and advanced families of the Dorlas have started visiting the government dispensaries to treat diseases. Even among them appeasing the spirits is not uncommon.

VII. Language and Literacy

The dialect spoken by the Dorlas is named after the tribe. *Dorli* has not been found mentioned in Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India. In the 1961 Census, Dorli has been tentatively classified in the newly constituted group "Central Dravadian" under the main speech "Gondi" (Census of India, 1961. District Census Handbook, Bastar District; Madhya Pradesh, P. 1). The Dorli dialect appears to be a mixture of Gondi and Telugu languages, but nothing can be said about it until a proper survey is carried out. It has been reported by some of the informants that the ancestral language of the Dorlas is Koya Basa (Koya Bhasha). It may be mentioned here that the Dorlas of both Konta and Bijapur tahsils easily follow Telugu and also the Koya Bhasha spoken by the Koya tribe of Andhra Pradesh. They also can understand the dialect of the Gottiwar or the Bison-horn-Marias of the north whose, dialect the Koyas of Andhra Pradesh cannot follow.

In this context, though not directly applicable to Dorlas, the references made by Rev. John Cain and Hemmingway about the Koi language are worth mentioning. John Cain reports "In these parts the Kois use a great many Telugu words, and cannot always clearly understand the Kois who come from the plateau in Bastar" (1879, 35). Cain further states, "its connection with the Gond is very apparent, and also the influence of its neighbour Telugu. This latter will

account for many of the irregularities which would probably disappear in the language spoken by the Kois living farther away from the Telugu country" (1881, 259). Hemmingsway, (1907, 60) makes analogies of the Koi language with Tamil and Telugu and states "their language called Koya is Dravidian and bears analogies to Tamil and Telugu. Most of the men, however, can speak Telugu, though the women know little but their own vernacular."

In the 1961 Census, 20,628 or 96.46% of the total population of the tribe (10,285 males and 10,343 females) have been returned as speaking Dorli dialect. Gondi has been returned as mother tongue by 364 persons (254 males and 110 females) or 1.70% while 138 persons (71 males and 67 females) or 0.65% have returned Halbi as their mother tongue. As many as 50 persons (21 males and 29 females) or 0.23% have returned Telugu as their language. Only 2 persons (1 male and 1 female) and only 2 females returned Hindi and Bhattri as their languages respectively. Quite a number of the Dorlas have been returned as bilinguals, speaking Miragani, Muria, Oriya and Urdu accounting for 4,649 persons or 22.21% of the total population.

In the 1951 Census, though Bijapur tahsil of Bastar district contained sizeable population of Dorlas, not a single one was returned as speaking Dorli as their mother tongue. It may be that they have been returned under Telugu speakers. However, the total number of Dorli speakers returned in 1951 Census was 9,278 (4,769 males and 4,509 females) and these were mostly returned from Konta tahsil of Bastar district; Kondagaon tehsil, 33 males and 21 females; Dantewara tahsil, 684 males and 764 females and Konta tahsil 452 males and 327 females.

It has been reported that during 1961 Census, there was a demand from some sections of the Dorli population of Bijapur tahsil to return their mother tongue as Telugu. The Census enumerators had, on the other hand special directions to record Dorli as Dorli only and not as Telugu.

Literacy

No comparative data is available to indicate the progress made by the Dorla population with regard to literacy in recent decades. In 1961 Census, 637 persons (570 males and 67 females) or 2.98% of the tribe have been returned as literates. Among the literates, 489 persons (429 males and 60 females) have been returned as literates without any educational standard while 147 persons (140 males and 7 females) have been returned as primary or junior basic trained and only one person (male) has been shown as matriculate and above. This shows that the literacy among the females in the tribe, when compared to the males, is very low. However, this is comparable with the data available from among other tribes of the region.

When the literacy rate of the Dorlas is compared to the average literacy rate of the State, which is 17.13%, they stand at a very low level of literacy (2.98%). It has also been observed that some other tribes in the area, namely Halba and Bhatra are comparatively better, their literacy rates being 14.25% and 4.61% respectively. Whatever literacy has been achieved by this tribe (Dorla) appears to have been gained during recent years as 0-14 age-group shows a larger percentage of literacy. On the other hand when compared to the Marias or Gottiwars of the same area, the Dorla stand in a better position. As separate figures are not available, the comparison cannot be made in absolute terms. If we consider the scheduled tribes as a whole for the state, their literacy rate (5.09%) is much better than that of the Dorlas.

VIII. Economic Life

The economic activities of Dorlas, by and large, centre round agriculture. Gathering of minor forest produce like bamboo, fire wood, thatching grass, adda leaves, edible fruits, roots, mushrooms, honey hahua flowers and seeds etc., form a subsidiary source of income for them. These minor forest produce are used either for consumption or for sale.

The Dorla are mainly settled cultivators and they invariably use plough. They raise crops like Jowar or *jonna* (*Holcus Sorghum*), paddy, soma (*Penicumfru-mentaceum*) and ragi (*Elousine corocana*), red gram or kandi (*Dolichos lablab*) etc. Jowar is the main crop raised by them and therefore it is the staple food for the tribe. Rice too form a major food.

The wealth of the Dorla is gauged by the number of cattle they own. Many of them invest a lot of money in livestock though normally the cattle are not very much in need for agricultural operations. The Dorla of Bijapur area possess less number of cattle when compared to their counterparts in the Konta area. Besides, cattle (cows, bullocks and buffaloes) they also rear sheep, goats, pigs, fowls and ducks. These are mainly meant for domestic consumption. Till recently cows and she-buffaloes were seldom milked as they believe that it is wrong to deprive the calves of their mother's milk. This belief is widely prevalent among the tribes of Bastar. Now, however, mainly due to the plains' influence they milk the cattle and prepare milk products like ghee, curd, butter etc. The ghee thus made is sold to businessmen, mostly the Komati and Naidu castes of Andhra Pradesh who are settled in their vicinity. The nearabout jungles

and grazing fields provide enough fodder for the cattle. Grazing facilities are also available in the unreserved forest areas neighbouring their dwellings.

The forest around them contain valuable timber trees like Teak (*Tectoma grandis*), Tamarind (*Tamarindus Indica*), Mahua (*Bassia latifolia*) Tendu (*Diospyros melanoxylon*) and a variety of fruit bearing trees. It also abound in wild life such as wild buffalo (*Bos bubalus*) Bison (*Bos gaurus*), deer, bear, panther and forest cats. Besides these, numerous species of birds abode in these forests. As per the forest rules, the Dorlas are permitted to make use of the timber in the forest areas for the construction of houses as well as for the preparation of agricultural implements. They may also, as mentioned earlier, collect minor forest produce for their own consumption or for sale in the market. They may also sell these forest produce to the traders who visit their locality occasionally.

Occupational details

It is reported that the traditional occupation of the Dorlas has been agriculture either settled or shifting cultivation. The information collected during this Census (1961) indicates that majority of the Dorlas pursue agriculture as their primary occupation. The worker-non-worker ratio of the tribe is 59.88 : 40.12, thus indicating comparatively high participation rate when compared to the same for the State which is 52.30. If the non-workers are excluded, 93.18% of the workers are engaged in the agricultural sector (cultivation 64.85%, agricultural labourer 28.33%). This information also shows that quite a good number of them possess land and cultivate themselves. It cannot be said without further probe whether all the 64.85% returned as cultivators, do really possess agricultural land or not. However, when corroborated with their family budget, it appears that the tribe is fairly well off.

After agriculture comes collecting of forest produce and hunting in which 2.83% or 362 persons are engaged. In this occupation the participation rate of females, 242 persons, is more than that of the males (120 persons). It appears that the figures of those who work in the forest like felling of trees, construction of roads etc. have probably been included under this category. Under household industry, 134 persons (36 males and 98 females) or 1.05% have been returned as their primary occupation. The information gathered from the field, does not however, indicate the actual household industries practised by them. In the Bijapur area, however, it has been noticed that women are engaged in basketry weaving, mat making, and rope making; while some men are engaged in carpentry and making of fishing nets and traps. It is reported that these are mainly for their own use. It is quite possible, and grazing fields provide enough fodder for the household industries as their main occupation may belong to the artisan section of the Dorla, known as Kammara who practise blacksmithy.

The other occupations in which they are engaged are manufacturing other than household industries under which 4 persons or .03% are returned while 81 persons or .68% are returned under construction work. Those working on road construction and repairs appears to have been shown under this category. Only 14 persons or .11% are returned under trade and commerce. Transport and communication, and other services account for 16 persons or .11% and 257 persons or 2.01% respectively. The other services include a few of them now engaged in Government services and services in local bodies as teachers, peons and patwaris. The non-workers among the tribe account for 8,580 persons or 40.12%.

The industrial classification of the Dorla as per the 1961 Census is given below: —

Table showing Industrial Classification of Workers among Dorla

Serial No.	Name of the occupation	Census	
		Males	Females
1	Cultivators	4,299	4,004
2	Agricultural Labourers	1,856	1,771
3	Mining, Collection of forest Produce, Hunting	120	242
4	Household Industry	36	98
5	Manufacturing other than household industry	2	2
6	Construction	41	46
7	Trade and Commerce	8	6
8	Transport and Communications	8	8
9	Other Services	166	91
	Total	6,536	6,268

As already mentioned there is an artisan section among the Dorlas of Bijapur known as Kammara whose main occupation is blacksmithy. The Kammara repair and sharpen agricultural implements, like plough, sickle, knives, axes, hooks, doorbolts, bullock cart wheels, arrow heads, plough-share etc. They are paid either in kind or in cash depending upon the nature of job accomplished. They serve not only the Dorla agriculturists but also the other agricultural castes in the village.

Some sort of patron client relationship exists between the Kammara and the rest of the village folk. The Kammaras are paid 20 seers of paddy or millets per plough per season. Besides, 2 seers of rice on each festive occasion is also given by their patrons.

The Kammara of the Konta area are considered as a separate community by the Dorlas of the locality. Besides, the Kammara, the other two persons in Dorla villages who share the crop with the village folk are *Atpaharia* and the *Kotwal*. The former has to look after the visitors to the village while the latter helps the headman.

The labourers among the Dorlas may come under either daily wage earners or annual wage earners. The bulk of the labourers fall in the first category in which they are either paid in cash or in kind, in the form of foodgrains. In the latter case, the servant and the master enter into a contract under which it is stipulated that the servant should work for the whole year for the master and he would be paid in kind or occasionally in cash as per terms and conditions of the contract. There may be provision in the contract in which it is also stipulated whether the servant should have his meal at his own place or with the master. The amount may also vary according to the provisions of this clause.

Agricultural Practice

In spite of the impact of modern techniques in agriculture, the Dorlas continue to follow their own traditional methods of agriculture. Immediately after the first shower, generally in the month of June, the fields are ploughed twice or thrice according to the nature of the soil. After having prepared the field, they broadcast the seeds. Transplantation of paddy, though is known to them recently, is not resorted to by them. After sowing seeds, the Dorlas very seldom pay attention to the field till the crops are ready for harvesting. Majority of them neither weed the field nor put sufficient manure. A few of them prepare *mancha* (a watch tower built on wooden poles) near the fields and stay in it in order to protect the crops from damage caused by birds and animals.

No strict division of labour on the basis of sex is followed by the tribe though ploughing and sowing form the main duty of the males. Harvesting is done jointly by the males and females or occasionally by the females only.

Paddy is harvested towards the end of December. After that till the end of February short term crops like vegetables are cultivated in the fields adjoining the banks of streams. Besides, they may also cultivate vegetables in the *baris* around their dwellings. During August-September, pulses like green-grams, black gram, horse gram etc. are also cultivated.

It is reported that they used to practise shifting cultivation (*Podu*) in the past in which Jowar and other small millets were cultivated. At present none of them has been reported practising *Podu* cultivation as a source of income.

No system of irrigation is followed by them. The rain is the only source of water supply to agricultural fields. No special methods are adopted for controlling insects, pests etc.

Major portion of their income comes from agriculture. Next to agriculture is labour followed by collection of forest produce. Some information collected regarding their expenditure pattern has shown that the most important item of expenditure is food. Next comes intoxicants, Mahua liquor, toddy, followed by the expenditure on clothes and tobacco for chewing. Agriculture being the main source of livelihood, they may also spend some amount on the maintenance of agricultural implements and cattle.

A system of joint cultivation, locally known as *Kumatam*, is practised among the Dorlas of Konta area. Under this system, both the landless as well as the land-owning Dorlas join on a co-operative basis. The participant members put in equal labour including the females and each member is entitled to get a share of the crop produced in the land irrespective of whether he owned land or not. It is reported that this system is functioning very well in this area.

Many of the Dorlas are indebted and the money thus borrowed is incurred in social ceremonies like marriage, funeral etc. Loans are either taken in kind, such as grain and occasionally cattle, or very rarely in cash. No security is to be given for the loans taken but they generally carry high rates of interest. In case of grain, double the principal amount is to be returned if the borrower is not in a position to repay the loan within a year. He may even do labour to square up the principal amount provided it is agreed upon by the creditor. There are many instances where the creditor has employed the borrower in agriculture and other operations.

Other Economic Pursuits

Hunting or *Veta* is occasionally indulged in by the tribe for supplementing or augmenting their economic resources. The *Veta* is mainly done during the summer months when they are free from the agricultural operations. Individuals, or occasionally groups, carry out hunting expeditions. The game which may consist of Ibex (Wild Goat) or *Kond Gorri*, Sambhar or *Kanusu*, Tiger or *Puli*, rabbit etc. may be shared equally by the participants of the *Veta*.

Though in a small scale, fishing is done by the members of the Dorla community. The catch is only used for household consumption.

IX. Life Cycle

Birth

Stoppage of menstruation is considered as a sign of pregnancy. The expectant woman is neither given any special food nor any restriction imposed on her movements. However, she is not allowed to consume coconut pulp, meat of peacock and rabbit. They believe that the above said things, if consumed, would affect the child in the womb. No special rites or ceremonies are observed during the prenatal stage.

The first delivery of a woman is expected to take place in the house of the husband. Subsequent deliveries can be arranged either in husband's house or in her natal home. The expectant woman is kept confined in a separate room, wherever the same is available. Otherwise a temporary partition is constructed out of bamboo mats in the living room itself to provide room for the expectant woman to confine herself. When she complains of labour pain, an experienced *Dai*, who normally belongs to their own community, is called in to attend to her. In complicated cases, however, the village *Vodde* is also called in. The delivery takes place on a mat spread for the purpose and attended by the *Dai*.

In some areas, particularly where government maternity homes are available, as for example in Ganganpallai, the trained mid-wife attached to the maternity home attends delivery cases.

After delivery the *Dai*, attending on the mother, severs the umbilical cord with a sharp edge of an arrow (*Lodda*) or a knife (*Majja*). The placenta is then burried in the backyard of the house.

The mother and the new born baby are served with a mixture of turmeric and oil and given a warm water bath. The mother and the child are supposed to be under ritual pollution for a few days. In the Konta area, the ritual pollution period extends for eight days while in the other areas it is for five days. At the end of the pollution period, a purificatory ceremony is held when the mother and the child are given a purificatory bath presided over by the *Vodda*. On this day the mother and the child are anointed with oil and turmeric paste and bathed in warm water. Usually, depending on the economic position of the family, a feast is arranged on this day in which all the kiths and kins, including the head of the village, are invited. The dishes served on this occasion include, rice and mutton or pork curry. Soon after the purificatory ceremony is over, the mother resumes her normal duties in the house.

The male child is often preferred to a female child. Barrenness is considered to be a misfortune. The enquiries revealed that the Dorlas do not have any idea about family planning methods. The child is supposed to be a boon bestowed by the almighty and hence they say, "we are none to say yes or no when a child is bestowed upon us by the God." Normally name giving ceremony of the new born child is also performed along with the purification ceremony. At times, however, the name giving ceremony may be postponed till a child is two to three months old. Tonsure ceremony is performed when the child becomes two to three months old. On this day, the female relatives are invited and, depending upon the economic position, a feast is also held.

Suckling of the child may continue for about two years. The child is often carried by the mother when she goes out in the fields. At home when the mother is busy in household duties, the child is either entrusted with the elder children or may be put in a *Uyyal* (bamboo craddle) suspended inside the house.

Puberty

Like many other forest tribes, the Dorlas attach much importance to the puberty ceremony of their girls. In the Bhopal Patnam area, a girl menstruating for the first time is confined for 11 days while in the Konta area the same is done for 13 days. During this time nobody is allowed to see the defiled girl. Only elderly ladies are allowed to attend to the girl and during this period of segregation she is not given any bath. At the end of the segregation a ritual purificatory bath is given, when her body is anointed with turmeric paste and oil. After the purificatory bath she becomes ritually pure and can attend to her normal duties. The clothes which she used during segregation period would be thrown away and new clothes put on.

Except in the areas adjoining the Maria tract, the Dorla do not have separate menstruation huts. However, menstruation huts are used in the adjoining areas of the Maria tribe in which the menstruating girls are segregated.

Pre-marital sex relations are strongly condemned among the Dorlas. However, if a girl becomes pregnant due to such relations, the person responsible for it is made to marry her even if he belongs to a lower caste or a higher caste. Subsequently the defaulting woman is expelled from the tribe. In case the affair is with a person belonging to the tribe, the mistake on the part of the girl is condoned by the society after her father gives a feast to all the elders of the tribe. During investigations, however, no case of ex-communication due to such defaults, has come to the notice.

Marriage

The girl is considered eligible for marriage when she comes of age while a boy can marry

after the moustaches sprout. However, adult marriage has been the norm in the tribe. Exceptions to this rule have also been, however, reported. In a couple of cases, the boys have married in between 10 to 12 years while their spouses were of the 6 to 10 age-group.

According to the information collected during the 1961 Census 54 males and 150 females (1.1% and 3% respectively in this age group) have been returned as married under the age group of 0—14, indicating the presence of child marriage in the Dorla society. The same source also tells that there are 2 males returned as widowed and one female as divorced or separated in the same age group. Monogamy is the general rule in the tribe. A few cases of polygyny also, however, have been reported.

One cannot marry from the same clan. Cross-cousin marriages are preferred and sometimes adhered to provided girls and boys of the marriageable age are available.

Various methods are adopted to acquire a spouse. Marriage by negotiation is the common practice. Instances of marriage by elopement have also, however, been reported. In this case when intimacy grows between a boy and a girl, they force their parents to approve of their marriage by running away into the forest and subsequently brought back, when formal marriage ceremony is conducted. Marriage by service is also prevalent, in which case, the boy stays with his would be father-in-law and serve him for a stipulated period, at the end of which if the girl's parents are satisfied, the girl is given in marriage. This custom is locally known as *Illatam.*

In the case of marriage by negotiation, the same is initiated by the boy's parents. His father and a few of his relatives approach the prospective bride's father and other relatives and negotiate. If the bride's parents agree, they all sit together for a feast, the expenses of which are borne by the boy's father. He also presents some new clothes to his prospective daughter-in-law. After the feast, they negotiate the amount of bride price to be paid, usually in the form of goats or pigs. After having reached an agreement regarding the bride price, they may also tentatively fix up a particular month when the wedding should take place. Generally, March, April and May are preferred, when they are a little free after the harvest.

Once the marriage is settled, the parties exchange frequent visits. The auspicious day for the marriage is fixed in consultation with the *Voddes* of both the villages.

A day before the wedding, the bride price agreed to, namely goats and pigs, rice, toddy etc. are sent to the bride's father by the groom's father.

Small *pandals* locally known as *Madwa* are erected and decorated both at the place of bride as well as of the groom. The *Madwa* is invariably decorated with green mango leaves which are supposed to be auspicious.

With the arrival of the groom's party at the bride's village, the marriage ceremony starts. The groom's party is received at the outskirts of the village and then brought to a camp or a shed erected for the purpose at one part of the village. The party includes, besides, the parents of the groom, other related men, women and children. On the previous evening of the marriage, some female members including the groom's mother of their party go to the girl's house and anoint her with dry turmeric paste and oil. On this occasion they may be singing songs both in praise of their revered deities as well as on the couple. The bride is now brought to the *madwa* and got seated on a wooden plank. The members of the bride's party and the groom's party take their seats facing one another in the *Madwa.* Mahua liquor or toddy as the case may be, is served to the members of both the parties. After this men and women form separate groups and dance, the bride and the groom being placed in the centre of the dancing group. As soon as the dance is over, 4 men from among the relatives of the groom come near the couple with a sheet of white cloth held spread over them. The bride and the groom then go round the 4 men three times. After which they also join the dancing groups. While they dance, two men in the case of bridegroom and 2 women in the case of the bride, hold a piece of cloth each, tied to small bamboo sticks and hold like an umbrella over the couple. Dancing and singing, and occasionally sipping of liquor, goes on for the whole night.

Towards the dawn, the couple bathe in warm water, put on new clothes and enter the house where they pound paddy grains and collect the rice in a place. All this time they stand together. As they stand, men and women from both sides come one by one and take a few grains from the plate and throw them on the couple. They may also put a little money—two to four annas—in a plate as a token of present to the couple.

The following day a feast is held to culminate the wedding. Liquor forms a prominent item in this feast. After the feast, the groom's party returns to their village alongwith the bride if the village happens to be near. Otherwise they may stay on till the next morning. The bride is usually accompanied by a girl friend or a relative and after staying their for two to three days returns to her father's house accompanied by the groom in case the bride has attained maturity. The consummation ceremony takes place now. The date for the consummation is fixed in consultation with the *Vodde.* On this occasion

no special ritual is held exceptthat all the village elders are invited to bless the couple when liquor is also served, to them. Since then the couple lives as man and wife in a separate house of their own. If the bride is not mature at the time of marriage, she may live with her parents till she comes of age.

Census of India, 1961, throws some light on the marital status of the Dorlas 50.47% (10,792) consisting of 55.23% (5,872) males and 45.76% (4,920) females have returned as never married in all the age groups. On the other hand 42.85% (9,162) consisting of 41.25% (4,386) males and 44.42% (4,776) females are returned as married in the same age group. Widowed accounts for 6.17% (1,320) consisting of 3.08% (327) males, 9.24% (993) females. The percentage of divorced or separated comes to 0.51 (110) consisting of 0.44% (47) males and 0.59% (63) females.

Widow remarriage is permitted among the Dorlas. Generally a widow is married to the younger brother of the deceased husband, if there is any; otherwise she is allowed to marry any one in her community barring prohibited relations. The children of the widow after her second marriage are left to the parents or guardians of the deceased husband. However, she is allowed to take the children at breast to her new husband's place. Such children are brought back to their father's house after they are sufficiently grown up.

No ceremony is held when a widow is married. Her new mates, however, has to give a feast to the villagers and will also pay compensation to the previous husband of the woman as determined by the village elders. If the widow marries the younger brother of her deceased husband, nothing has to be paid as compensation.

Divorce

Divorce or separation locally known as *Viditatappu.* though discouraged, is permitted among the Dorlas. Divorce is decided upon by the caste panchayat. Both males and females are at liberty to initiate divorce proceedings. If the man initiates the divorce proceedings without any fault on the part of the female, the caste panchayat imposes fine on him which is collectively spent on a feast, including liquor by the elders of the caste panchayat. The ornaments are retained by the woman. Unless a person finds his wife guilty, he would not go for divorce. In that case, the caste panchayat penalizes her and the penalty is generally borne by her parents or the person with whom she elopes or having illicit relations. Generally the woman does not initiate the divorce proceedings on her own accord but prefers to elope with a person whom she likes which ultimately leads to divorce. The penalty to a woman, if found guilty, is generally double the amount spent by the earlier husband on their marriage. A portion of his fine is spent on the caste elders.

The children of the divorced parents, as stated earlier, are always retained by their father and only those babies at breast are taken by the woman on the condition to return them after certain age. For the maintenance of such children, the father has to pay some money which is agreed upon by both the parties.

Death

Dorla believe in the concept of rebirth. If a child is born in the deceased persons family having the same mark or cut on its body, which the dead person had on himself at the time of his death, it is believed that the dead person is reborn in the family. They also believe that if a person dies due to pain or black magic, he may likely to become an evil spirit.

Both cremation and burial are in vogue among the Dorla. In the Konta area, however, the former practice is more commonly followed. In case of a person who dies of some disease, the corpse is buried. Soon after the news of death, beating of drums at regular intervals symbolizing the death toll is continued till the corpse is removed from the place of death. The relatives of the dead person are informed by a person belonging to their own community and the arrangement for cremation are made. The body is kept until all the relatives have arrived. Members of the family anoint the corpse with turmeric paste and oil and wash it with warm water. The corpse is now placed on a bamboo bier, prepared for the purpose, and covered with a new piece of cloth. The bier is then carried to the burial ground by the members of the family, assisted by other relatives. If the deceased is a well-to-do person, a cow or a buffalo or sometimes a pig, is decapitated and the liver (*kaleja*) alongwith some other food is placed at his head and the tail in his hand. The Dorlas could not account for this practice but they simply say that this practice is followed since long.

Meanwhile some persons go ahead to collect fuel from the forest and arrange a pyre. The funeral procession, accompanied by a few aged women, alongwith the men folk, reaches the cremation ground and the bier is placed on the pyre. The first person who lits the pyre is the priest who is followed by those assembled there except the dead person's sons. After the pyre is lit all the mourners return to the dead man's house where they are sprinkled with turmeric water to remove pollution and attend to a feast given by the bereaved family which consists of dishes prepared by the sacrificed animals. If the

deceased person is a poor man, no feast is given during this time.

No pollution as such is observed by Dorla of both Konta and Bijapur area. A token mourning is observed for three days in Konta area while the Dorlas living in Bhopal Patnam have a mourning period of 13 days. At the end of the mourning period the members of the deceased family take bath and purify their houses. All the relatives and neighbours are invited for a feast in which some liquor is also served along with rice and curry. Invariably non-vegetarian food, consisting of meat of goat, pig or cow, is served.

Normally no memorial stones are erected. For the caste elders and priests, however, large stone slabs are planted on the spot where the corpse is cremated.

The unmarried are generally buried. If the deceased happens to be a pregnant woman, the body is cremated outside the village and not in the regular burial ground.

X. Religion

The religion of Dorla can be described as an admixture of Hindu and Tribal beliefs and practices. The cult of ancestor worship is present among them, though in a degenerated form, when compared to their immediate neighbours, the Marias. The Dorlas believe that soul is immortal and rebirth inevitable. This is borne out by the fact that as soon as a child is born, his body is examined to find out whether or not it has marks or cuts which the deceased person of the family had on his body. Further, at the time of worship of the clan Gods, some liquor is left in an earthern pot supposed to be for the consumption of ancestral spirits. There is also a general belief that a person, meeting an accidental or untimely death like suicide, murder, death due to burning, drowning or by wild animals, becomes a ghost. In order to prevent the wrath of such ghosts, sacrifices are offered to the clan deities.

Though the Dorla do not worship all the Hindu pantheon, they have faith in a few deities like Rama of Bhadrachalam, (a pilgrimage centre of the adjoining area of Andhra Pradesh) and Lord Shiva. In quite a number of villages, it has been observed that conch shells, tridents, metal bells etc., symbolizing Lord Shiva are kept along with the tribal deities. At some places images of Lord Shiva are installed in the village temple and they are identified with *Peddapen,* the supreme deity.

Belief in evil spirits is also widespread. They believe that diseases are caused by the wrath of evil spirits. Evil spirits, are, therefore, driven off from the body of the patient by the *Vodde* through his chantings and offerings.

Besides *Peddapen,* a host of other deities are also worshipped by the Dorla. However, these deities vary from one region to another. In Bijapur area, the deities usually worshipped are *Jibbokate* and *Ede-Marri,* while in Bhopalpatnam area, they include *Pagdidars, Tulamutti, Pamalayya* and *Eranal Musalaya* and in Konta area, *Jalsingaraj, Gadigunda, Pedaramu, Chinaramu, Gadikama, Nangabhima, Tool-Dorkri, Irmaraj, Andala Kosa etc.* are venerated.

The deities worshipped in the Konta area are clan gods, and their seats are located in different villages. All the above-mentioned deities are propitiated once in a year, in the months of April—June. Special *Jataras* are organised when special offerings are given to these deities particularly when there is an outbreak of epidemics in the region. The sun and the moon are considered as the God of day and night respectively by the tribe. Earth is revered and as such is worshipped occasionally.

Dorlas celebrate, besides their own festivals, some of the regional ones as well. *Kurmi Pandum* is the most important of their festivals. It is celebrated in the month of Kartika (November-December) when new rice is cooked and consumed. The Dorla of Bijapur area attend *Jaitalur* fair every year which is held sometime in the month of January. They believe that new green vegetables or fruits of the season cannot be consumed till these are first offered to the deities at Jaitalur. Dorlas of the Bhopal patanam area attend *Sakalnarayan* fair, held at Medded in Bijapur tahsil on the Ramnavami day. A few of them even go to Bhadrachalam on this day to offer worship there. From Konta area a few Dorlas visit Bhadrachalam. It has also been reported that a few of them, besides Bhadrachalam, also visit Venkatapuram and Nandi-Mandaran, all in Andhra Pradesh.

XI. Leisure, Recreation and Child Play

Except children, old, disabled and insane, all able bodied men and women, are found engaged in some sort of productive work. No particular time is stipulated for leisure or recreation. Whenever they are free from the fields, they either remain indoor or go to the forest to collect forest produce, or sometimes for hunting. Women folk keep themselves busy by collecting Mahua flower during the months of February-April, when they have no other work in the fields. Thus, the working population among the Dorlas very seldom resort to leisure and recreations except during marriage, or some festive occasion.

The popular game resorted to by the children is hide and seek. At times the grown up people watch the children at play and cheer them. Another popular game of the boys is the 'Hare and

Farmer', in which one of the boys acts as a hare and another as a farmer. Other boys in the group sit around representing fencing of a field. The 'Hare' moves in within the 'fence' and pretends to eat the 'crop' when the Farmer goes round the 'fence', pretending to catch the 'Hare' which is already inside the fence. The 'Hare' now tries to jump over the 'fence' and escapes. The game ends with the 'Farmer' catching the 'Hare' and finally killing it. The game is repeated by two other boys, representing the 'Hare' and the 'Farmer'. If time permits, the elders watch the game cheerfully.

For the grown up Dorlas, dance is the most popular recreation. Dorla dance is very characteristic. The male members, like their immediate neighbours, the Marias, wear Bison-horn head dress during dancing. These dancers carrying drums and beating them rythmically make gestures as bisons do. A few of them may be playing on flutes. The women folk, carrying iron or wooden sticks on which are attached jingling bells, join their counterparts in the dance. They stand in a line interlocking their left hands while holding sticks on their right hands. They move forward in rhythmic steps. All this time they sing folk songs. Toddy and liquor are very frequently used during such dances.

Cock fight is another popular recreation resorted to by the Dorla males. Usually on market days and sometimes on festive occasions they hold cock fights. This is so popular that it draws large gatherings from distant villages.

Very recently listening to radio programmes has also become a source of recreation for some of the Dorlas of one or two villages where community radio sets are installed by the Government.

XII. Relation among Different Segments of the Community

As mentioned earlier, the Dorla tribe is divided into different *Gattas* (divisions). The relation among the different *Gattas* is quite cordial and they enjoy almost the same social status. Inter-*Gatta* marriages are prevalent except for *Yedu Gatta* Division. Other *Gattas* such as *Perend Gatta, Permaboi Gatta, Mudu Gatta* and *Pidu Gatta* consider that the members belonging to *Yedu Gatta* are comparatively lower in social status and as such would not like to have either marital relationship or commensalism with them. In the case of *Yedu Gatta* division, the members marry from among themselves. The other *Gattas* as has been stated above, are strictly exogamous.

In some areas, a religious movement, known as *Lingadari Movement*, is catching momentum among the Dorlas. The intensity of the movement is more among the Dorlas of Bijapur living on the fringes of the border with Andhra Pradesh. In this area it is very common among the Koyas. As a result of this movement, two divisions are formed among the Dorlas; namely *Lingadari* section and the Dorla proper.

The *Lingadaris* can be distinguished from others as the former wear a silver box containing *Rudraksha* beads and a Shiva *Lingam*. This box is attached to a thread and worn round the neck. The *Lingadari* do not eat beef while the same is not a taboo to the non-*Lingadari*. Because of the fact that the Dorlas take beef, the *Lingadaris* do not accept food from the former. Marital relations, however, exist between the two groups. If a Dorla marries a *Lingadari* girl she will follow the same social and religious life of her husband except taking beef. On the other hand, if a *Lingadari* Dorla marries a girl from among the non-*Lingadari* Dorla, the girl has to undergo some purificatory rites just after the marriage.

The Dorla society is controlled by the elderly male members of the community. They are held in great respect by the youngsters. Decisions on vital matters are always arrived at after mutual consultations among the elderly members.

Women enjoy equal status as that of men. However, they always accept guidance from the male members.

In Konta area, the Soyam family of Ganganpalli village, belonging to the *Parend Gatta* division enjoys comparatively greater social prestige and wield much political influence. One ex-member of the Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly by name Soyam Jogayya belongs to this family. He takes much interest in the cultural, educational and economic conditions of the tribe and as such respected very much.

XIII. Inter-community Relationship

By and large the Dorla villages are uni-caste villages. However, in tahsil headquarters like Konta and Bijapur, as well as in some urban influenced villages on the road side, like Medded, Bhopal patnam etc., multi caste villages are commonly met with. In the uni-caste villages, concept of ritual pollution and intercaste relations are very much vaguely conceived. In multi caste villages, on the other hand, the constant relations with other castes have paved the way for crystallizing some of the concepts regarding ritual purity and secular relations with higher castes. Some of the important castes found living along with the Dorlas are Brahman, Raut, Kamsali or Viswa Brahman or Sonar (Goldsmith), Chakali (washerman), Mangali (barber), Kummar (potter), Telanga, Reddi, Oddi, Golla (all Andhra castes), Muslims and tribes like Halba, Maria,

Kamnan and Doli. These cummunities maintain cordial relations with the Dorlas. Except from Kummara, Maria and Doli, the Dorla accepts all types of food from the rest of the communities mentioned above. In the Bijapur area, however, the Dorlas accept toddy and water from the Kammara and like their counter-parts in the Konta area, the Brahmans, Raut, Kamsali, Oddi, Telanga, Kummar, Mangali and Reddi, do not accept food from the Dorla. Maria, Kummara and Doli however accept food from them.

The Dorla consider Maria, their immediate neighbour, as a lower caste and have no marital relations with them in the normal course. If, however, any such marriage takes place, the person concerned is ex-communicated. This may be true with other communities also. During the field investigations, however, such instances have not been reported. Services of the functional castes like washerman, barber or Brahman are not required by the Dorla in their rituals and practices. On the other hand they often require the assistance of *Vodde* (priest), or *Mattinonda* (medicine man) belonging to any caste or tribe. The *Voddes* are very keenly sought after persons. In almost all the rituals the *Vodde* is consulted. Lately some of the well-to-do Dorlas consult Hindu astrologers to fix up dates for marriage.

Another important caste with whom the Dorlas have intimate relation is the Doli (drummers). The Dolis are engaged by the Dorla, particularly, in those villages where the clan god (Peen) resides. The Dolis are expected to beat drums whenever worships are offered to the clan god. The remuneration is collected from among the members of the particular clan whether they reside within the village or outside. The remuneration may be either in kind or occasionally in cash.

XIV. Structure of Social Control, Prestige and Leadership

In the realm of social control, the Dorla has no centralized tribal authority for the tribe as a whole. However, *Samatu Panchayats* having a jurisdiction of about 40 to 50 villages, headed by a *Samatu Doraval* (Lord of the Samatu) are functioning in the area which by and large control the Dorla society residing in its jurisdiction. The office of the *Samatu Doraval* is hereditary. In Konta area, this office is held by a member of the Soyam family. The Soyam family has been holding this office since long. One Chinna of the Soyam family is holding the post of *Samatu Doraval* at present. The headquarters of this *Panchayat* is at Errabor, a village on the Jagdalpur-Konta road and it is about 15 miles north of Konta. The *Samatu Doraval* is assisted by a *Samatu Seemantu* (deputy leader) a *Gumasta* (servant) and a *Bantroth* (peon). The functions of the different functionaries are based on conventions, and no set rules and regulations are laid down either for the functioning of the organisation or for the conduct of the panchayat. The common problem settled by the *Samatu Panchayat* are social disputes, including divorce, widow remarriage excommunication, readmission into the community and so on. The Panchayat imposes suitable fines on the wrong doers.

The constituent villages of the *Samatu Panchayat* have their own village panchayats. As the Dorla villages consist of a number of *Paras* or *Gudems*, the Panchayat of the village comprises the representatives of each *para* or *Gudem*. The person representing a *Para* goes by the name *Naten Gudebaretor* (*Para* member). The head of the village is known as *Naten Pedda* or *Patel* and he is assisted in his duties by a *Naten Pena Pedda* and a *Kotwal*. All the offices are hereditary in nature. In case, however, a particular family is unable to provide the required leader, some other suitable person may be selected.

Besides the above hereditary leaders of each village, there may be a *Atpahorya* who is attached to the *Thanagudi* or *Savidi* (village dormitory) who is responsible to look after the comforts of the visiting officials and others to the village. The primary function of the village council is to settle disputes which are referred to it. The *Naten Pedda* presides over the deliberations in which besides the other village elders, the parties involved in the dispute are all also asked to attend. After hearing both sides the village Council takes a decision which is binding to both the parties. In case the village council fails to arrive at a decision the case would be referred to the *Samatu Panchayat*.

Besides settling petty disputes in the village, mostly connected with the social behaviour of the community, the Patel is responsible for collecting land revenue for the government. For this job he gets a commission at the rate of Rs. 36 for the collection of Rs. 100 to Rs. 500.

The Samatu Panchayat is the appellate institution of imparting justice as far as social behaviour of the community is concerned. Problems which cannot be solved by the village Panchayat or if the dispute is between two villages the *Samatu Panchayat* is approached. Following is the general procedure adopted by the *Samatu panchayat* in respect of the complaints referred to it. As soon as a complaint is referred to the Panchayat, the *Samatu Doraval*, head of the *Samatu Panchayat*, fixes the date for hearing in consultation with the *Naten Peddas* of the village from where the case has been referred. He also informs the other *Naten Peddas* or *Patels* of all other villages about the hearing. On the day fixed for the purpose, all the *Naten Peddas*

along with the *Samatu Dorawal* and *Samatu Seemantu* arrive in the village where the proceedings are to be held. The concerned *Naten Pedda* summons both the accused and the complaint through the *Kotwal* of the village. After having assembled, the *Patel* reads out the complaint before the invited tribal leaders. The accused is now asked to explain his position. After discussions the *Samatu Dorawal* arrives at some decision in the light of the arguments made by both the parties and also taking into consideration the suggestions made by other leaders. The award given by the Panchayat must be obeyed by both the parties. A person who does not comply with the decisions of the Panchayat may be ostracized. A portion of the fine collected may be given to the aggrieved party as decided by the *Samatu Dorawal*. Out of the remaining amount, a part is given to the panchayat and the rest is spent on the spot for a feast to all leaders. While awarding the fine, they take care that a portion of it is in kind like rice, goats, toddy etc., which can be utilized for the feast.

Another important duty, as has been mentioned earlier, of the *Samatu Dorawal* and the *Patel*, is to organise festivals and conduct marriages. The presence of *Naten Pedda* or *Patel* is sine-qua-non in every marriage ceremony performed in the village.

Though not a local functionary, either as a village patel, or as a *Samatu Dorawal*, *Sovam Jogayya* an ex-member of the Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly enjoys wide influence in that region. He is a special invitee in panchayat proceedings. Because of his awareness of the developments taking place outside their own area, he tries to take the lead in social and technological change as well as gives a lead in political action and in other activities in his community. However, his influence is limited to the Konta area and is not hitherto extended to the Bijapur area where a bulk of the tribe lives.

No symbol of prestige is attached with any of the functionaries. One can see the *Samatu Dorawal* and the *Naten Pedda* having the same attire as that of any other member of the Dorla community.

XV. Social Reform and Welfare

The welfare activities carried on in the Dorla area is by and large sponsored by the Government. The Tribal Welfare Department of Madhya Pradesh Government has very recently started a crash programme to ameliorate the conditions of the tribal people of Bastar area. This includes educational facilities, medical facilities and economic activities. Through the primary health centres and dispensaries, free medical facilities are made available to the tribes. These facilities are however, not taken advantage of by many people. Though some of the primary health centres, like the one in Ganganpatti, have maternity wards not many are making use of such facilities. Another important activity, the Department of Tribal Welfare has taken up is the provision for drinking water. Under this scheme many wells have already been dug in a number of villages. From the point of view of the Dorlas this scheme is the most useful and this is very popular.

In the field of education, primary and middle schools have been opened in many of the villages and lately the Dorlas are taking advantage of the same.

The village level worker is a constant source of guidance to the tribal people.

In the economic field, the Department of Tribal Welfare has made provisions for Taccavi loans, seeds and manures. Very recently the Department of Khadi and Village Industries, Madhya Pradesh, has started a palm-gur scheme in the tribal area of Bastar. Under this scheme, they intend to train up the tribals engaged in tapping palm juice for the preparation of Jaggery. Training is also imparted in preparing brushers room cleaners, pot cleaners etc., out of palm fronds. Under the scheme an amount of Rs. 30 per month is given to every trainee as stipend. In Konta and Bijapur Tehsils Palmyra palm (Borassna Flabellifor) trees, locally known as *Tad* are found in plenty. Thus this scheme has been very much popular in the area. However, there is a feeling in them that though this project has benefited, they are deprived of their right to extract toddy from the palms.

XVI. BIOGRAPHIES

No. 1

S. N., aged 45 is a tall and well built person living in Ganganpalli village. He is brown in complexion. The front of his head is clean shaved keeping a tress of hair well-dressed and knot-headgear. He smokes heavily and uses country-made *Cigar* (*bidi*). He is an active member of the village dancing organisation. S. N. is very popular in the village for his feats while dancing with the Bison-horn-head-dress showing the various Gestures of Bison. He is also the village *Kotwal* (watchman) whose main business is to help *Patel* or *Naten Pedda* of the village.

He was born in the village, Gollapalli, some 30 miles west of Konta, the present tahsil headquarters. At Gollapalli he lived with his brother. Some 30 years back he was brought to the present village Ganganpalli by some of his relatives when he was aged 15. At the age of 18, he married a girl from this village and had two issues (one boy and one girl) by her. Unfortunately both died after four years. Since then S. N. had no issue by her.

Alongwith his tribesmen, S. N. used to go to adjoining Andhra area every year for procuring tobacco to be used for the whole year. In this way he developed some acquaintance with some of the Koyas of that area. This acquaintance ultimately led to the marriage of S. N. with a Koya widow of that area whom he brought to Ganganpalli village as his second wife. For social acceptance of the marriage, a feast was arranged to all the villagers. This marriage took place some seven years back and at present he has two sons by her. He feels that he would have been excommunicated had he married a *Maria, Doli* or a *Kamar* woman. Meanwhile, his brother in Gollapalli died due to some protracting ailment and his wife was subsequently married to another person of that village. S. N., therefore, brought the only son of his deceased brother to Ganganpalli to live with him. He is now a very contented person with his two sons and two wives besides the son of his brother who is also staying with him. Now, because of the death of the *Atpaharia* of the village, S. N. has to perform both the duties of the *Kotwal* and *Atpaharia*. *Atpaharia* is an official attached to the village *Thanagudi* who is supposed to look after the comforts of the visiting officials and outsiders to the village. For all this, he is paid by the villagers in kind. S. N. informs that the remuneration he receives, is just sufficient for maintaining his family. He has no landed property. He has, however, 30 to 40 cattle and 10 goats. Keeping of cattle is considered to be a symbol of wealth among the Dorlas.

According to S. N. the important changes he noticed during the last 30 years are mostly in the field of agriculture. In his childhood, S. N. states, nobody in his village practised transplantation method in paddy cultivation. Only broadcasting method was followed. But now, those who are having cultivable land mostly practise transplantation method, which, according to him has improved the yield. Another change, he has noticed is the recognition given to the land holders by the Government. Previously none of the Dorla possessed *Pattas*, though they were cultivating the fields. Now, the right of the cultivator has been recognised by the government by issuing *Pattas*. Dress too, according to S. N., has very much been changed. Dorla people particularly those of the younger generation, have taken to modern tailored costumes like shirts and blouses. The elderly people, however, continue to maintain the traditional dress.

According to S. N., the most important event in his life is his selection to the office of the *Kotwal*. Though he does not belong to the family from which usually the *Kotwal* is drawn, looking to his performance, the villagers proposed his name for the post of the *Kotwal*.

The most important problem facing the tribe as is viewed by S. N., is the lack of cultivable land. From his experience in the Koya tract of the adjoining State, he feels that the Koyas are much better off than the Dorlas of this area.

He visited Bhadrachalam, a pilgrimage centre in Andhra Pradesh and other nearby Koya tracts many a times. According to him, the Koyas and the Dorlas are the same people. Inter-marriage and commensalism take place between the Koyas and the Dorlas.

No. 2

S. J. is one of the very few educated persons of Dorla community and he is also the first member of the Legislative Assembly drawn from his community. He was elected to the Madhya Pradesh Vidhan Sabha in 1962 General Elections on the Indian National Congress ticket. In 1967, as he could not get support from his party, he had supported another nominee of the party belonging to the Halba community.

S. J. is in his late 30s usually wears a white Khadi Dhothi and a shirt. He has brown complexion with average height, and keeps his hair nicely dressed up. He has studied up to 5th class. in Telugu medium in a village school at Errabore which is 5 miles from Ganganpalli. He can read and write Telugu. He can also fluently speak Hindi and knows its alphabets. He got his name tattooed in Telugu on the fore-arm of his write hand.

S. J. is a well known social worker in his area and he is a special invitee to all the social functions in the area. He is the President of the Indian National Congress Party of that area, and in this capacity he has visited several towns both in Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. Because of his awareness of the developments taking place in the country, he takes the lead for social and technological changes and for political action and other organised activities in his community.

According to S. J., there is a story of their migration. It is believed that the Dorlas migrated along with a Kakatiya King of Warangal. S. J., however, does not know the other details of this story. During the last so many generations they are living in the present village Ganganpalli and his family has acquired considerable landed property in the village. Their's is now one of the richest families in the Dorla community. S. J.'s family has also got the hereditary right for the office of *Naten Pedda* (Patel) of their village. Because of his preoccupations with many other affairs, S. J. has selected his younger brother S. K. for the post of *Naten Pedda*.

S. J. has a wide knowledge of the near about tribes like Maria and the Koya. According to him, the Koyas of the Andhra area and the Dorla of the Madhya Pradesh area, are one and the same. Marias, their northern neighbour, are a different people, and according to him, are lower to the Dorlas.

Two sons of S. J., S. V. R., aged 7, and S. M. aged 5, study in the village school. He claimed that he is responsible for the establishment of the village school and the primary health centre of the village. He is proud that he could influence the Government in getting a number of village-wells dug in the Dorla area as the first step for providing protected clean drinking water.

According to S. J., the most important change which has taken place recently is with regard to the political set up of the area. Some 30 years back, the Maharaja's (Bastar) nominees used to collect the revenue and other dues from the people by harassing them. Many of his tribesmen never had the opportunity to see their ruler. The villagers never had any say in administrative matters. Now, according to S. J., the people directly participate in the administration. The right of land (Bhoomi hakku) has been recognised by the government and the holders have been provided with *Pattas* (title deeds). The leaders who are responsible for running the administration of the state, make frequent visits in the area and make first hand enquiries about the difficulties and requirements of the people. The local leaders too, take up the cause of the people of the area with the administrators which could never be done during the time of the Maharaja.

In the field of agriculture, he finds that many of his tribesmen have recently taken up to transplantation method of paddy cultivation which is an improvement over the erstwhile broadcasting method. He is not satisfied with the changes which have already taken place and he hoped that he would be able to do much more for his tribesmen in coming years.

According to S. J., under-employment is the main problem facing the Dorla tribe. Much of the time is wasted as there is not much scope for taking some productive work. He feels that if the Government establishes some small scale industry units like saw mills, carpentry centres etc., it can go a long way in reducing the under employment among the tribe. Another urgent problem which needs care, according to him, is improving the production in agriculture. The river Sabari and its numerous tributaries springing from the Dorla area are not properly exploited. S. J. feels that if a few tanks are constructed to preserve the water from these rivers, they can be better utilized in agriculture. Dorlas keep a number of cattle and as such it will be useful to have a few veterinary dispensaries established in some of the villages. He reports that many cattle die out every year because of inadequate medical facilities. S. J. also feels that the benefits provided to the East Pakistan Refugees settled in the area should be given to the Dorlas as well. If the government provide them with levelled cultivable land and loan for cultivation, they will be in a position to return the same to the Government in instalments.

No. 3

S. K. is a youngman of 29, with brown complexion, well trimmed moustaches and neatly combed hair. He is the brother of S. J. He is the present patel of Ganganpalli village. It is a hereditary post and is being held by his family since time immemorial. He has been nominated as the *Naten Pedda* as his elder brother was elected to the legislative assembly of Madhya Pradesh. Taking cue from his brother, he has also become an active member of the Indian National Cong-

ress Party in the area. He has studied up to 4th class in Telugu medium. He can also converse in Hindi. He is a good cultivator and an expert bowman. He figures very prominently in all the community hunting expeditions. He narrated with pride how he killed a tiger, four years back. using his bow and arrow only. He has a wide knowledge about the topography of the near about forests and is considered as an expert tracker. He says that the most crucial event in his life time was his selection as the Patel of the village when his elder brother was alive.

He travels widely in the surrounding areas. Kunavaran a small town on the bank of Godavari, 20 miles south of Konta, is a place frequently visited by him. This is the nearest place where a cinema is available. He has also seen several places in Andhra Pradesh and Jagadalpur, the District headquarters of Bastar District.

He finds lot of changes in the political set up as well as in the outlook of the people. Unlike during the time of the Rajas, the tribal people have the right of land. They are not harassed by the revenue officials now. Their property and cattle are protected by the Government. The people now take interest in developmental activities as well. He cited the example of constructing a road from his village to the main road (Konta-Jagdalpur Road) by the villagers. The government, however, also helped in constructing some of the bridges and culverts on this road. Help was also rendered in the construction of the primary health centre and the village school.

Attitude of the people have also changed considerably. Now, more and more people send their children to school; many take advantage of the primary health centre and use of modern medicine has become very popular.

According to S. K., the main problem facing his tribesmen is the shortage of drinking water. Irrigation facilities too discourage the people to raise cash crops and improved varieties of cereals. Though the government dug some wells in the area, many of them, he complained, dried up during summer and therefore they have to travel long distances to fetch water from the hill springs. Like his brother, he also feels that something should be done to remove under and unemployment. He feels that specially during summer months, many of them have no work and, therefore, some project should be introduced to provide adequate work to the people atleast during the summer months. Many of the Dorlas, according to him, are very poor to have even a square meal a day. The Government, he feels, should take more and more responsibility in eradicating poverty among his tribesmen.

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ANNEXURE

FRAMEWORK FOR ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

I. Name, Identity, Origin and History

1. Name, synonym, sub-caste/sub-tribe as in President's Order and as in other published sources such as Census reports, monographs, etc. Grouping with other castes and tribes during various censuses. Affinity with other castes and tribes according to recognised authorities.

2. Etymological significance of the name; names by which the community is referred to by (a) others and (b) itself.

3. Identification of the community by occupation or any other way of life.

4. Myths and legends connected with the origin and history of the community and its segments. Historical references and popular beliefs about history and migration of the community.

II. Distribution and Population Trend

1. Area where found; population and concentration in the State and outside. Physical aspects of the areas of concentration.

2. Numerical strength in 1961 and population variation from 1901—1961. Sex ratio, age-groups, and rural-urban distribution in 1961.

III. Physical Characteristics

1. Racial stock, appearance and affinity with other known communities.

IV. Family, Clan, Kinship and other Analogous Divisions

1. Family: size (observed and published), types, residence after marriage, descent, lineage and its economic and religious function, and inheritance.

2. Clan/gotra and sub-clans: names, etymological meaning, clustering of clans, belief and mythology about origin status among clans, clan and regulation of marriage (preference and prohibition) occupation and clan, clan and rituals, clan and food (restrictions, prescriptions etc.).

3. Others: phratry, duel organisation like moieties etc., as in 2 above.

V. Dwelling, Dress, Food, Ornament and Other Material Objects Distinctive of the Community

1. Settlement: village site, location, settlement pattern (agglomerated, nucleated, dispersed, sprinkled, isolated, amorphous, star-shaped, horse-shoe-shaped, linear, rectangular, circular or ring-shaped etc.) and variations; regional pattern *vis-a-vis* pattern of the community.

2. Neighbourhood pattern on the basis of religion, castes (caste Hindus, untouchables) tribes etc., with segregations, if any, and the basis thereof.

3. Dwelling unit, compound, entrance, source of water, the use of different parts of the house (latrine, cattle shed, isolation huts etc.). Shape (square, round, irregular etc.) storeys, nature of floor, plinth, well, roofing, thatching, ventilations and doors, materials used, decorations and embellishments; temporary structures.

4. Dress including head gear and foot-wear used ordinarily, on ceremonial occasions and special occasions and sex-wise and according to majority or minority. Dress of priest and office-bearers, variations.

5. Ornaments: use, material used, from where obtained; variations according to sex and age.

6. Personal decoration: tattooing: mutilations (chipping of teeth, etc.), hair cutting, how done, purpose, attitude and variation according to sex and age

7. Food and drink: materials (staple and others), prescriptions and prohibitions, fuel, utensils and mode of preparation; practices connected with serving and taking of food; preservation of food and rituals, if any.

8. Equipments connected with economic pursuits, religion and ritual; how procured, material used, construction, manipulation and purpose.

9. Other household equipments. As above.

10. Equipments connected with regarding of time, space and weight and their methods of use. As above.

VI. Environmental Sanitation, Hygienic Habits, Disease and Treatment

1. Environmental sanitation, settlement, disposal of night soil, garbage, etc.

2. Hygienic habit: cleanliness of body, teeth, dress, houses, utensils, etc.

3. Diseases: incidence, local names, interpretation of the causes; symptoms, diagnosis and cure-persons and methods involved.

4. Modern systems of medicine and attitude of the community towards it.

VII. Language and Literacy

1. Ancestral language: classification according to Grierson, persistence of ancestral language and literature.

2. Mother tongue: classification according to Grierson; lingualism and multi-lingualism, regional language.

3. Information collected during 1961 on language and literacy.

4. Education and literacy: (Ghotul morung etc.). Traditional and modern—attitude, information collected during 1961—literacy and levels of education.

VIII. Economic Life

1. Economic resources: Land, community land, individual ownership and types of Land possessed and land utilization.

2. Forest wealth; right in the forest, forest utilization.

3. Fishery, Livestock and others.

4. Working force: Sex-wise, Urban and rural variations and comparison of the same with the region.

5. Non Workers.

6. Industrial classifications: details as collected in the field and compared with that of the 1961 figures (traditional occupation and changes in the pattern); Main and subsidiary occupations.

7. Forced labour, bonded labour, patron-client relationship (jajmani), mode of payment.

8. Seasonal migration connected with occupation: recruitment, formation of working groups.

9. Nomadic movement, cycle and occupational pattern.

10. Shifting cultivation: method, implements and equipments, produce, participation, cycle of rotation, measure to regulate shifting cultivation and its impact.

11. Terrace cultivation: as above.

12. Income and expenditure: Sources of income, extent, expenditure on food, clothing, house, education, social functions and others.

13. Other aspects of economic life.

IX. Life Cycle

A. Birth

1. Beliefs and practices connected with conception, barrenness, still-birth, miscarriage, abortion, child death, regulation of sex, etc.

2. Pre-natal and natal practices : residence, diet, work, taboos etc. delivery place, assistance, equipments used in delivery, position during delivery, severance of umbilical cord (who does and how done), disposal of placenta.

3. Post natal practices: Confinement and segregation, ceremonial pollution, diet for mother and child, rituals.

4. Protection and care of child and training.

5. Attitude towards birth of child: Preference about sex, preference about number, segregation of sex, etc.

B. Initiation Description

1. Initiation ceremony, descriptions.

2. Pre-marital sex relations within the community, outside the community, sanctions and taboos.

C. Marriage

1. Age at marriage for both sex, prohibited degrees of relationship, preferences, widow remarriage (peferences and taboos).

2. Civil status and social status.

3. Types of marriage: monogamy, polygamy (Polyandry and polygyny).

4. Selection of spouse: qualities valued (for bride and groom) mode of selection, procedure.

5. Modes of acquiring mate: by negotiation, force, intrusion, elopement, etc.

6. Terms of settlement: Payment of bride price, dowry, service, exchange, adoption etc.

7. Ceremonies connected with marriage: details including who presides over the marriage and services of functional castes.

8. Statistical data as per 1961 Census.

9. Divorce: Reasons and procedure.

D. Death

1. Concept about death, measures to ensure future well being of the soul, measures to avert harm by the spirit.

2. Methods of disposal, burial, cremation, exposure, floating on water etc.

3. Preparations for disposal of dead, informing friends and relatives, treatment of the dead body, digging of pit etc. for disposal. How carried, who carry, who accompany, place of disposal, methods of disposal, norms and taboos.

4. Ceremonies connected with disposal.

5. Monuments: Death rites: details.

6. Tombs, megaliths, etc.

7. Pollution: duration, restrictions in work, food, dress, shaving, hair cropping, sex life etc., removal of pollution.

8. Mourning: mourners and duration.

X. Religion

1. Deities: supreme deity, benevolent deities, melevolent spirits, presiding deities of village and other aspects of life including occupation, clans, gotras etc.

2. Place of the deities in the regional pattern and Brahmanical and other traditions.

3. Rituals and concepts connected with the pantheon.

4. Spots associated with the deities, pilgrim centres and methods of worship.

5. Religions functionaries.

6 Calendar of festivals and their observance.

7. Concept of soul, hell, heaven, rebirth, trans-migration and soul etc.

8. Sects and denominations: name, distribution, beliefs and practices etc.

9. Statistical information.

XI. Leisure, Recreation and Child Play

1. Use of leisure time: (male, female, children and adult) seasonal variation in leisure time.

2. Recreation: their mode and extent, for males, females and children.

3. Leisure and recreation with reference to work.

XII. Relation among Different Segments of the Community

Recognised Segments: name, basis (territorial, ceremonial, social prestige, religion, sect, education, age etc.) Inter-relationship among various segments; status of the segment, status of women.

XIII. Inter-community Relationship

1. Ceremonial relationship: Service by Brahmins, traditional service by castes like barbers, washermen etc.

2. Pollution by touch or proximity to high Caste Hindus, use of well, admission to temple.

3. Secular relationship: Model for other communities; dominance due to economic resources, political status, social status, etc.

4. Bridge role, buffer role, alliance and antagonism of the community.

XIV. Structure of Social Control, Prestige and Leadership

1. Social Control: Levels of Social Control, Community level, regional level, hereditary, special functionaries etc., social control by other agencies.

2. Mode of acquiring offices.

3. Control exercised by traditionally recognised leaders, functionaries of statutory bodies of the region, powerful individuals belonging to the community, etc., at the regional level and local level.

4. Relationship between spheres of social control and agencies of social control.

5. Leadership: for social change, for technological change, for political action and for other organised activities in the community level, regional level and local level.

6. Social prestige: method of gaining social prestige (by performing ritual, merit of feast, associating with historical association etc.) symbols of social prestige.

XV. Social Reform and Welfare

1. Social reform movements: Intensity; reasons (for raising social status, establishing traditional norms, for westernisation etc.); history and import of the movements.

2. Social welfare: agency, religious organisation, community as a whole, Govt., official and non-officials measures; Role of the Social welfare measures and impact.

XVI. References cited and other Bibliography.

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