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THE

MYSORE TRIBES AND CASTES

VOLUME I

BY

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PREFACE

THE commencement of the Ethnographic Survey of Mysore dates from the comprehensive survey inaugurated, more than thirty years ago, by the late Sir Herbert Risley, for the whole of the Indian Empire including the Indian States. The survey was carried on by the superintendents appointed for the provinces and States with a view to investigate and record the customs and manners of the tribes and castes in their respective areas. The materials collected by them were published in the form of monographs or volumes on Tribes and Castes as works of reference, primarily for the benefit of the administrative officers of Government and general readers.

The Ethnographic Survey of Mysore was started in 1903, with the late *Diwan Bahadur* H. V. Nanjundayya, M.A., M.L., C.I.E., as Superintendent of Ethnography. The work was carried on for sixteen or seventeen years. Thirty-four monographs were published at various intervals, as preliminary issues, and materials were collected for fifty others. *Diwan Bahadur* Nanjundayya was unfortunately cut off from his labour of love, when a large part of the survey was still in progress. The work was at a standstill for some years. As per proceedings of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore (Order No. G. 1107-9—G. M. 193-22-9, dated the 7th August 1924), the present writer was entrusted with the task of completing the survey. The printed monographs of thirty-four tribes and castes, and the unpublished materials already collected were handed over to him.

The thirty-four monographs, which had been published between 1903 and 1918, were carefully revised and edited in the light of fresh and additional material. The notes on the fifty other tribes and castes, were mostly fragmentary. Some of these notes contained important material which has been utilised by the present writer. But most of them were mere field notes in pencil on a few topics out of which nothing could be done. If these tribes and castes were to be dealt with, it was clear that a fresh investigation into the manners and customs of all these tribes was imperative, and on representation of this fact, the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore were pleased to accord sanction to all facilities required to institute a fresh survey of these tribes and castes and to some others not included amongst the published monographs or the notes above referred to. The names of the tribes and castes falling into each of these groups are reproduced below. The articles in the descriptive volumes on those in Groups (2), and (3) are the outcome of the fresh investigations and first-hand study undertaken by the writer. In the course of his investigations into the manners and customs of the various communities of the State, some new tribes and castes and endogamous groups, as also the criminal tribes, came under the present author's observation. They were all carefully studied during field investigations carried on for ten years and treated in their appropriate groups, the new material amounting to more than 700 pages.

(1) The Printed Monographs.

Agasa	Ganiga	Koracha	Sada
Banajiga	Golla	Kunchitiga	Sale
Banjara	Kadu Golla	Kuruba	Sanyasi
Beda	Handijogi	Madiga	Tigala
Bestha	Helava	Medar	Uppara
Bilimagga	Holeya	Mondaru	Vodda
Devanga	Idiga	Morasu Okkalu	
Dombar	Killekyata	Nagartha	
Gangadikar	Komati	Nayinda	

(2) Notes on Tribes and Castes.

Arādhya	Gudikara	Lingāyat	Pindāri
Arasu	Hallekar	Maleru	Rāchavār
Bakkāru	Halepaika	Mahratta	Reddi
Bhatrazu	Hasālar	Mudaliyar	Satani
Billava	Iruliga	Nayinda	Sholiga
Brāhman	Jain	Nattuvan	Sudugadu Siddha
Budubudiki	Jetti	Oddan	Thammadi
Dārzi	Jingar	Padmasāle	Togata
Dāsari	Kare Okkalu	Panchāla	
Gondhāli	Kotte Okkalu	Patvegar	
Goniga	Ladar	Phana	

(3) New Tribes and Castes.

Agasa (Lingayat)	Indian Christians	Musalman (Bohra,	Salahuva
Are	(Roman Catholics	Memon)	Okkalu
Bairāgi	and Protestants)	Myasa Beda	Torea
Banajiga	Jonakan Mapila	Nadu Gauda	Telgu Gauda
(Canarese)	Kacha Gauliga	Nonaba	Tulu Brāhmans
Dāsari	Kepmāri	Oddan	Vader
Donga	Korama	Patnulkaran	Sri Vaishnava
Gāniga	Labbai	Pinjari	Vaishnava
Gosai	Malēru		

To the student of raciology and evolution of culture, Mysore unfolds a region of extraordinary and absorbing interest. The social life of the different communities has imbibed the effects of influences during the past centuries from contact with, and movements emanating from the peoples of the north, east and south. In spite of these, it has succeeded in maintaining an individuality all its own. The reader is referred to the following pages where an attempt is made to define it in anthropological terms from different aspects in the light of the data incorporated in the accompanying descriptive volumes. To mention one instance, consider the religious movements such as Jainism, Lingayatism, Islam and Christianity, a subject that never fails to draw every student of Indian society. Jainism flourished in Mysore from the earliest part of the Christian era to the twelfth century. Lingayatism is very complex. Beginning with a repudiation of caste distinctions, the Lingayats have passed

through various phases, and the descendants of the earlier converts have, in course of time, separated themselves from those who joined later. Finally, as in the case of Jains, Lingayats have merely become an endogamous division of the Hindu group from which they seceded. Islam does not recognise caste, but the practices of the present adherents of the faith follow the usual process in India. Even Christianity recognises caste divisions. Thus caste and faith vary to a very considerable extent in Mysore. The author has endeavoured to draw attention to these and other important features in the descriptive account of the tribes and castes in the three volumes.

In the treatment of the three volumes, an alphabetical order of arrangement, similar to that in the volumes of other provinces, has been adopted. Treatment, in the order of social precedence once attempted, cannot be now adopted without fear of offending the growing democratic temper of the communities concerned. But this encyclopædic method may not commend itself to every reader, and has involved some amount of repetition in the description of the same manners and customs. Nevertheless, it has one decided advantage that the reader gets all available information pertaining to any particular tribe or caste in one place.

The present volume has attempted something more than a mere introduction to the three descriptive volumes. The sciences of Anthropology, Ethnology and Ethnography in India are, with the exception of the few students of the subjects in universities, still new to the reading public. In foreign countries, their importance has been fully recognised. There is ample scope for many more works describing the culture of the people of the various provinces and Indian States. The literature on these sciences

in India is still far from sufficient. Since, with the exception of Risley's *Peoples of India*, the author's *Lectures on Ethnography*, the excellent monographs of the tribes of Assam and a few recent works, there are very few to enlighten the reading public. It is gratifying to note that the sciences of Anthropology and Ethnology have been introduced in a few of the Indian Universities and in the competitive examinations for public service; the students appearing at these examinations have no suitable books which treat of Indian social topics, except the bulky volumes of the tribes and castes, dealing with the numerous communities in India to which they have no access except in libraries. Owing to the absence of a single volume to indicate the main lines of what to study in Indian Ethnology, the author from his experience in lecturing to the Under- and Post-Graduate students of the Calcutta University, and for the benefit of the general reader, thought it advisable to take a more extended canvas and to treat this volume as Ethnology of South India with special reference to Mysore. The volume required an account of the Racial History of India. The racial problems of India were dealt with by the late Sir Herbert Risley in his Imperial Census Report of 1901, and by Dr. A. H. Keane as an introduction to the author's first volume of the *Cochin Tribes and Castes*. The subject has been revised, after more than quarter of a century, in the light of fresh materials gathered by the first-hand study of Dr. Baron Von Eickstedt, Director of the Ethnographic Museum, and Professor of Anthropology in the University of Breslau, Germany. A chapter on the Cultural Geography of Mysore is contributed by my friend, Mr. F. J. Richards, M.A., I.C.S. (Retired). The author acknowledges his indebtedness to both of them. His sincere thanks are due to

Dr. R. R. Marret, M.A., D.Sc., Rector, Exeter College, Oxford, and to Professor Sylvain Levi, the eminent Indologist of the Paris University for their introductions.

Photographs to provide the illustrations to the volumes were mostly taken by the author. But a limited number of them were obtained from the Palace Office of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and the Office of the Inspector-General of Police; the Engineer in charge of Water Works and the Superintendent of Archæology. His thanks are due to the officers concerned.

The author takes this opportunity of recording his deep sense of gratitude to His Highness Colonel Sir Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., the Maharaja of Mysore; to Sir Albion Raj Kumar Banerji, Kt., M.A., I.C.S., (Retired) for having entrusted him with the task of completing the survey and to *Amin-ul-Mulk* Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Kt., C.I.E., for facilities given him for continuing the survey; to the Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University, *viz.*, *Rajatantrapravina* Sir Brajendranath Seal, Kt., M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., and his successor, Dr. E. P. Metcalfe, D.Sc. (London), F.INST.P., for the encouragement received from them in connection with his research work in the State. The author's thanks are also due to the officers of the various departments of the State and to other gentlemen who kindly supplied information on various topics. The present author has also to acknowledge the valuable assistance from many other friends, in particular Mrs. A. Das, M.A., *Millicent* of the Durham University, and Mr. A. Mowat, Professor of English, Scottish Church College, Calcutta, who very kindly undertook the task of looking through the manuscripts and the proofs; the Bishop of Mysore and the Rev. Sawday of

the Wesleyan Mission for some information on the Indian Christians, and Mr. Abdul Wajid, B.A., for information on the Musalmans of Mysore. In conclusion, the author would like to express his obligations to the Superintendent of the Government Printing Press whose unfailing co-operation and helpfulness implied in the publication deserve special mention in bringing out the four volumes of the *Mysore Tribes and Castes.*

A separate volume containing the bibliography and index to the four volumes is under preparation and will be shortly issued.

L. K. ANANTHAKRISHNA IYER.

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* A Sub-Division of Balijas.

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PRONUNCIATION.

a has a sound of u in but or murmur.
ā „ „ a in bath or tar.
e „ „ e in ecarte or ai in maid.
i „ „ i in bit or (as a final letter) of y in sulky.
ī „ „ ee in beet.
o „ „ o in bore or bowl.
u „ „ u in put or bull.
ū „ „ oo in poor or boot.

The plural of caste names and a few common Kanarese and Tamil words is formed by adding in the English manner according to ordinary usage, though this is not, of course, Kanarese or Tamil plural.

INTRODUCTION I

BY

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INTRODUCTION I.

HAVING been kindly invited by the author of this work to contribute a few words of introduction to his extremely interesting and well-informed account of the tribes and castes of Mysore, I gladly comply with his request, if only in order to acknowledge the debt which all students of anthropology must owe him for having deserved so well of our science. Yet, I must make it plain at the start that I have nothing to offer except a handful of generalities. The damning admission cannot be escaped that I have no first-hand experience of India whatever. Apart from what I have read about it, India means for me the Indian student with whom at Oxford I have been in close contact all my lifelong.

Such a young India, however, I suspect, cut off for the time being from home influences and urged on all sides to think freely for itself, presents a sharp contrast to the old India wedded for better or worse to an immemorial and hallowed tradition. Now I am not among those who profess to discern in the mind of the average Indian, as such, mysterious workings that are without parallel in the mind of that equally composite being, the average Briton. So far as concerns the use of the intellect, I am content to postulate a complete equality—let me rather say identity—of power; though, of course, power amounts to nothing apart from training and opportunity. What I hope to see, then, is a young India granted by all concerned the fullest opportunity to employ a trained intellect for the benefit of the old India, so prone as it has hitherto been to bask inactively in the comfortable but enervating

sunshine of ancestral custom. World communications being what they are, the former isolation that obliged the nations to depend each on its own home products, alike material and spiritual, is gone for ever; so that India too must learn to give and take. Thus, in particular, it can teach the West to cultivate a deeper and less worldly philosophy of life, while from the West it can learn to invest its thought with greater objectivity by means of history and the natural sciences.

Of the philosophic life, indeed, as India conceives it, this is hardly the occasion on which to speak, even were I competent to do so. Nevertheless, the reader of these volumes cannot fail to be constantly reminded of those nobler aspirations that arise, as it were, out of the very heart of the various religions of India as they severally touch their highest point of intellectual and moral refinement. For, we are here presented with a whole cross-section of the highly diversified religious life of Mysore. It is a country which, not only in its size and physical conformation but likewise in its capacity for producing indigenous versions of current faiths, might be likened to Scotland. Its Brāhmans, its Jains, its Lingāyats, not to mention its Muhammadans or, again, its Christians, whether Romanists or Protestants, would seem to have developed a marked individuality of their own, such as colours not only the externals of their various modes of worship but the very principles that are held to be expressed therein. Yet, all alike are characteristically Indian in having as their common feature the ideal of a purified and ennobled form of existence lifted once for all above the plane of the sensual by contemplative communion with the divine; and, not only is this so, but there is likewise evidence of a widespread effort to realize this ideal in practice. There

would seem, moreover, to be a general orientation in this direction in which the very humblest and least enlightened share at least to the extent of honouring the holy man above all others, even if his holiness sometimes takes the form of a self-abnegation that verges on the pathological. It is surely an impressive fact when a whole country agrees that, as judged in the light of the eternal values, the saint or sage is a better, because a fuller, man than the soldier or the shop-keeper.

No such doctrine, however, finds favour in the West to-day. Competition for wealth and for that power over others—so inferior to the power over self—which goes with wealth tends to appeal to the many as a sufficiently worthy end of life, despite rather half-hearted protests on the part of the Universities and the Churches. So much the better for India, then, if it is still on the whole inclined to follow another gospel. Not that I think it possible for Indian philosophy to exert its due influence on Western civilisation so long as it remains bound up with religious usages that in their turn constitute the backbone of a social system not reproducible elsewhere, however well it may be adapted to the special needs of soil and climate—to leave the ambiguous factor of race out of account. But we are on the threshold of great changes that are bound to break down national and even continental barriers; and it may well turn out that India's lasting debt to British rule will prove to have been the acquisition of a literary medium free of local associations and capable of being understood right round the globe. By means of the English language, the Indian poet is beginning to make his charm felt among a wider humanity; and if, as I am ready to believe, the Indian philosopher and mystic has it in him to point the way towards the things that concern the

interests of Man universal, then in like manner, let him seek to extend the circle of those to whom he would impart his vision of the truth. As Greece exchanged its humanities for Roman law and order to the lasting gain of the ancient world at large, so between Europe and Asia, there are possibilities of interchange by no means wholly one-sided, although it has to be admitted that up to the moment the material results of such a contact of cultures are more marked than the spiritual. Wrapped up in itself, a little somnolently perhaps, venerable India, in which the missionary spirit has at times burned so fiercely, confronts a new epoch when it has a chance of proving whether its meditations are pregnant with some lesson of truly catholic import.

Turning now to the other side of the question how East and West are to exchange the goods of the soul to their mutual advantage, I venture to suggest that by assimilating the spirit of European history and science, Indian thought may gain greatly in objectivity. Indeed, objectivity and exchange-value are terms which as applied to thought mean much the same thing. Truth of fact must be equally valid for all human beings; so that any colour which our private likes and dislikes would put upon it must be ruthlessly expunged. Now natural science, thanks to its experimental method, is able to invest its discoveries with a conclusiveness that the most obstinate prejudice is powerless to discredit. There can be no denying what can be observed to happen at the bottom of a chemist's test-tube. But history in that largest sense of the word which includes anthropology—unless we prefer to put it the other way round and say that anthropology is universal history with its scientific aim stressed to the utmost—offers more room for bias and self-delusion. After

all, the subject is Man, and most of us would rather have the truth published about others than about ourselves. Anything so shocking to our self-esteem, for instance, as that human beings may be remote cousins of the apes is a proposition that the world at large is even now disinclined to consider on its merits, though the chances are that most objectors would be pacified if a special creation were conceded in the case of their own private family-tree. Nay, it is even possible to produce excellent literature, if bad science, by ably presenting some one-sided version of the course of events not as it was but as we would have had it be. Just so, the clever pleader can give a twist to the evidence, which it is nevertheless the duty of the judge to straighten out so that justice may be done even if the sky falls. But no historian worthy of the name should be willing to admit that a truth-improver is any better than a liar. He is surely bound to share the noble faith of the man of science that to know things as they are and as they have been is a perfection towards which the human mind must strive regardless of consequences.

Now a life devoted to a striving after perfection is not unfamiliar to India. On the contrary, as I have previously suggested, its finer spirits by their open contempt for materialism can set the rest of the world an example of a true loftiness of vital purpose. But it would seem that hitherto the Indian mind, despite its noble ambition for self-knowledge, has been disposed to overlook a good half of its potentialities. Inheritor of a rich estate, it has allowed a promising portion to lie unreclaimed. Unless I am greatly mistaken, the genius of India has never taken kindly to empirical studies for the reason that it has always reckoned the material side of experience to be sheer illusion. It has

refrained from trying to make sense of its world because sense itself is rated as a vain instrument—no pilgrim's staff, but a broken reed. Indian philosophers have consequently carried to extreme lengths a policy of withdrawal from the externalities and appearances among which their bodily existence inevitably stationed them. Intellectually no less than morally, they have remained deaf to the call of the sense-world, judging all too hastily that if it means less than everything it can mean nothing at all. Its sheer multiplicity has so offended their passion for self-identification with the all-embracing unity that they have had recourse to a negative method of realizing a mind at one with itself, namely, by doing their best to empty it of most of its natural contents. In order to clean the ship, they are ready to throw a good part of the cargo overboard.

Surely, however, unity in abstraction from multiplicity is pure nothingness, just as is also multiplicity taken wholly apart from unity; and to greet any nothingness as the final reality is absurd, since it is to affirm that being in truth means the same as not being. In practice, whatever his theory might logically involve, the Indian philosopher does not by any means jettison all his cargo. He simply rejects as superfluous certain grosser needs such as must distract his attention from the pursuit of spiritual perfection. Thus, he has only to embark in company with like-minded men of other countries on the quest for truth by way of the empirical sciences to discover that this way of study also involves 'simple living and high thinking'—in other words, a service under discipline as strict as any that sage or saint could wish to impose upon himself. Indeed, as compared with the introspection of the mystic, it constitutes the harder and correspondingly nobler task. For, by going outwards to grapple with the

facts of existence in all their variety, in order to reduce them to an order in unison with the mind's inherent sense of law, Man is obtaining deeper insight than by any self-communing into the meaning of that creative force in which he moves and has his being. The mere ascetic may achieve a harmony of a few notes which, in its own way, is æsthetically satisfying. That harmony of many notes, however, which is musically superior in that it awakes a mood of greater emotional compass, is reserved for the student who contemplates the universe on the following assumption: that nothing in it is vile, though much is seen distortedly until human vision is by due effort adjusted. The dualism that seeks prematurely to dissociate mind from body, the living man from his natural environment, is but a cheap substitute for the frankly optimistic monism that would contemplate the glory of the whole mighty scheme of things as revealed in the subtle co-ordination of its parts.

If, then, India—and I am thinking chiefly of young India—is prepared to cultivate science in that detached and disinterested spirit which is, so to speak, an Indian's birth-right, how can it do so better than by throwing its energies into the study of social anthropology as it bears on the institutions and beliefs of its own people? When due allowance has been made for everything that can be fairly placed to the credit of British enterprise in this field, it remains true that the inner life of Indian society taken in the mass is still largely a sealed book. For the European, there is always the barrier of language to be overcome before he can hope to penetrate even a little way into the secret recesses of the popular mind; while the very purpose of his enquiries is liable to be misinterpreted by folk who beyond the narrow circle of their intimates have

had little experience of human sympathy. It might seem, then, that an Indian investigator would start with many advantages over the student from outside, given the will to start at all. As it is, however, I have but rarely met a young Indian student, whatever facility he might have acquired in anthropology as a subject for examination, who sought to know his own India in all its concrete actuality as a living part of humanity. It is not simply that he is discouraged by the overwhelming size of the task. What he lacks, I suspect, is mostly example —example from near at hand, an impulsion proceeding from the most enlightened of those whom he knows best and respects most among his own compatriots.

Thus I deem the author of the present work worthy of all honour not only on account of the actual value of his contributions to anthropological science but also and even chiefly because of the example that he is setting as a pioneer. I have no doubt that he is destined sooner or later to have a multitude of capable followers of his own race; and all I can hope is that this happens sooner rather than later. No time is to be lost if a true and complete picture of the indigenous culture of India is to be preserved for posterity. Foreign influence is obliterating the old landmarks like a rising tide; and unless these are charted at once, mere guesswork must alone serve to recall them later on. India is too full as it is of neglected ruins, jungle-hid and shrouded in vague legend. To dwell among such ghosts of the past can but innervate the mind and relax its grip on those objective conditions of existence which must be met solidly and squarely before they can be bettered. To take stock of the real India as it lives and grows and changes is the only feasible way of fostering national self-development by such means as are most congenial to its

inborn nature and disposition. No hot-headed politics can promote this end so well as the cool judgment of dispassionate science directed towards facts that must be understood before they can be controlled.

The present work, then, may, in my opinion, be regarded as a model of such sociological research as an Indian student can undertake for the lasting benefit and renown of India. Limiting itself severely to the level of description, it puts on record the characteristic habits of the very various units composing the population of an entire State, and affords a remarkably clear view of its social stratigraphy from top to bottom. Being conceived on so comprehensive a scale, it must seek rather to do equal justice to each section of the community in turn than to expatiate disproportionately on such features of special interest as might call for notice by the way. Even so, the reader finds himself confronted by no bare catalogue of disconnected facts, but, though forced to cope with an alphabetical arrangement of topics unavoidable in the circumstances, he can, with great ease, reconstruct the whole social system in its main lines. Like the separate pieces of a puzzle, the castes can be rearranged on the basis of their hierarchical relations, so that there results an adequate conception of the total scheme. Nay, the many-sided nature of caste as the most unique of Indian institutions can here be examined crucially, seeing how in the South of the Peninsula such heterogeneous elements have been welded together by multiple migration into those protected districts where relatively aboriginal stocks were best able to hold out. The author has been most careful to collect all available information concerning the origins of each ingredient in the mixture, giving likewise for what they may be

worth, the legends wherein such antecedents are set forth with the aid of the popular imagination eked out, it may be, with some genuine folk-memory.

It is further to be noted that thoroughness of treatment is attained not only by detailing the customs of each social group in turn, but likewise by submitting each set of customs to analysis under a series of identical categories. The prime object, no doubt, is to secure that nothing shall be overlooked in a particular context, even if in similar contexts much the same has to be said over again. Incidentally, however, a transverse view is afforded of the entire range of practices concerned, say, with marriage or with funerary rites, so that the parallelisms can be noted together with the differences that never fail to arise between associations so completely out of touch. Thus, a very fair idea can be obtained of the extent to which Hinduism has managed to assimilate diverse and often ethnically distinct tendencies in the cultural life. One can, in fact, perceive how, despite the stereotyped atomism that Mysore society displays on the surface, there is at bottom a sense of participation in a unity which, if hardly a commonwealth as the West understands the term, is nevertheless a divine order, a direct dispensation of Providence. From a European point of view, it may be difficult to appreciate the merits of a caste-system which predestines whole classes to a position of ignominy, and in fact looks backwards to an ancient slavery rather than forwards to a modern citizenship founded on a theory of equal rights. Nevertheless, greater importance attaches to the point of view of those immediately concerned, if India is of its own initiative to adopt that humanitarian outlook which is the crowning duty and privilege of a free nation. To judge by what these pages suggest, any mitigation

of caste-exclusiveness that is likely to occur will not be caused by 'revolution from below.' The humblest communion of them all, little better it may be than a gang of hereditary thieves or beggars, is no less self-centered than the highest, and is all the more prone to a rigid conservatism because private reflexion and public discussion are equally foreign to its habits. On the other hand, there are abundant signs that the religious conscience of educated India is becoming aware that the negative formalism which insists at all costs on a ceremonial purity is deficient in religious value as compared with a positive sympathy with one's fellow-men as such. Thus a 'revolution from above' in the form of a reinterpretation of principles already implicit in the advanced faiths of India may well prove the means by which a society, especially susceptible to noble motives, will one day shake itself free from the trammels of an oppressive and obsolescent routine.

I must refrain, however, from attempting to draw a moral from facts so impartially presented that, if anywhere the author falls short of the requirements laid down for the ideal observer, I have failed to notice it. Nevertheless, he makes it easy for anyone so inclined to use his pure anthropology in an applied form, that is to say, in relation to problems of practical policy, because he very wisely adopts throughout a strictly functional method. In other words, he sets out to study the caste-system of Mysore in its actual working. Instead of losing himself in the pursuit of ultimate origins, he concentrates on the living present, and shows how each member of the body politic contributes to the sum of its activities; which under a caste-system it does by strictly minding its own business. The oddities of custom in which the readers of anthropological

works are wont to take delight are mentioned in their place; and if one be curious about devil-dancing, fire-walking and so on, such dainties will not be found absent from the abundant fare provided. Yet the main interest is concerned with the more essential, if less startling circumstances of commonplace daily existence as carried on by the people of Mysore in all their sorts and conditions. The book is full of admirable photographs of typical groups, but in a figurative sense of the term its whole purpose might be said to be photographic. With the cold precision of a mechanical eye, it registers everything brought within its shifting focus; so that science can have no doubt about the evidential value of its data.

That there is also room for a philosophy 'moving about in worlds not realized' I freely concede. But it is at least certain also that steady advance towards the ideal can be accomplished by means of experiment and selection as exercised on matter of fact. If so, the prime condition of such advance is to make sure that the matter of fact is sound. Being convinced, then, that this is so in the present case, I warmly commend these volumes to all students of anthropology, and more especially to those Indian students with whom I have been associated and whose keen minds I know to be capable of like achievements.

R. R. MARETT.

INTRODUCTION II

BY

SLON SYLVAIN LEVI.

INTRODUCTION II.

M. ANANTHAKRISHNA IYER m'a demandé de présenter au public son nouvel ouvrage, The Mysore Tribes and Castes. Il connaît pourtant mon incompétence, car il est remarquablement au courant des travaux d'ethnologie et d'anthropologie. J'ai pu m'en assurer par une expérience directe, quand j'ai eu le plaisir de le recontrer et de m'entretenir avec lui à Calcutta en 1922 ; j'ai même constaté, dirai-je, à ma surprise, qu'il suivait avec un intêrêt éveillé le développement de l'école sociologique qui s'est créée sous l'inspiration et la direction de Durkheim. J'avais eu l'occasion, lors de cette rencontre, de lui exprimer mes sentiments de sincère admiration pour son ouvrage sur les Tribus et les Castes de Cochin (vol. I, 1909 ; vol. II, 1912) ; chargé par un gouvernement éclairé de procéder à l'inventaire ethnographique d'un petit état resserré entre la montagne et la mer, presque à l'extrémité de la péninsule, peuplé des éléments les plus disparates et les plus incohérents, il avait su, dans une suite de monographies bourrées de faits et d'observations recueillis directement, donner une image prodigieusement fidèle, sincère, authentique de ce microcosme où se réflétait l'effroyable complexité de la société indienne. J'avais pu en particulier, apprécier la richesse et l'exactitude de ses informations sur les Juifs de Cochin qui ont fait couler tant d'encre depuis le jour où Vasco de Gama et ses émules ont pris contact avec eux, sans que les connaissances à leur sujet en soient devenues beaucoup plus précises. Libre de toute préoccupation polémique, apologétique ou propagandiste, M. Ananthakrishna

Iyer avait décrit avec l'impartialité d'un naturaliste leurs coutumes, leurs croyances, leurs pratiques. Mais plus encore que les Juifs, les Chrétiens indigènes avaient attiré et retenu son attention ; le cas de l'Eglise chrétienne, et surtout de l'Eglise indigène, est bien fait pour provoquer l'intérêt du sociologue. Implanté sur les côtes de l'Inde dès les premiers siècles de l'ère, entretenu régulièrement par des apports nouveaux et par des relations hiérarchiques avec les communautés de la Mésopotamie et de la Perse, étayé par les forces lointaines, mais reconnues, du Christianisme Oriental et du Christianisme Occidental, comment le christianisme local a-t-il pu réagir,et jusqu'à quel point, contre les forces en apparences amorphes mais insinuantes, de l'hindouisme? L'importance de la question a si vivement frappé M. Ananthakrishna Iyer qu'il l'a reprise ultérieurement dans un ouvrage spécial consacré à l'anthropologie des Chrétiens Syriens, et publié à Ernakulam en 1926. Cette fois, il a élargi son cadre, et étendu son enquête à tout le Malabar ; il s'agit d'un groupe considérable, qui atteint le nombre de 262,595 personnes ; mais cet ensemble imposant se décompose en sectes rivales, souvent hostiles, de force très inégale, mais toutes animées de passions aussi ardentes : Catholiques Romains : 108,739 ; Syriens Chaldéens : 1,822 ; Syriens Jacobites : 24,325 ; Syriens Romains : 120,372 ; Syriens Réformés : 3,692 ; Protestants : 3,645. On ne se doute guère, en Occident, à part un tout petit nombre de spécialistes, des polémiques qui sévissent lá-bas au sujet de l'Apôtre Saint-Thomas, polémiques qui ne laissent pas à la science le moindre résidu de faits historiques. M. Ananthakrishna Iyer a ce mérite, piquant pour un Hindou et un brahmane, d'avoir écrit l'exposé le plus objectif de ces controverses et d'avoir tracé l'image la plus exacte de ces diverses communautés ;

il a traité son sujet en ethnographe qui sait décrire et qui cherche à expliquer, mais aussi avec ce sentiment respectueux que l'esprit hindou apporte toujours à l'étude des phénomènes d'ordre religieux. On ne trouverait pas dans tout son livre (338 pages de matière substantielle) un seul trait qui trahisse l'hostilité, le dédain, le mépris, ou l'ironie. On aimerait à pouvoir en dire autant de tous les ouvrages occidentaux qui ont pour objet l'étude des religions de l'Inde. Avec ces deux belles publications, M. Ananthakrishna Iyer se classait permi les maîtres de l'ethnographie descriptive à côté des Risley (Tribes and Castes of Bengal, 1892), des Crooke (Tribes and Castes of the N. W. Provinces and Oudh, 1896), des Thurston (Castes and Tribes of South India, 1909-10).

Quand l'état de Mysore décida, à son tour, de procéder à un inventaire ethnographique de sa population, M. Ananthakrishna Iyer se trouva tout indiqué pour prendre la direction du travail, que la mort de H. V. Nanjundayya, surintendant de l'ethnographie au Mysore, avait laissée vacante ; il y apportait avec la compétence d'un spécialiste, la connaissance des langues dravidiennes qui se partagent le pays. Le premier volume de l'ouvrage a paru en 1928 (il porte l'indication : volume II, car le premier volume, destiné à l'introduction générale, ne pouvait paraître qu'après l'achèvement des monographies) ; le volume IV, le dernier, a paru en 1931 ; il aura donc suffi de trois ans pour la publication de cette entreprise monumentale.

Le Mysore est, si l' on peut dire, un état-type. L'étendue de son territoire (29,475 miles carrés), le chiffre de sa population (5,978,892 âmes) attestent son importance politique ; il se classe le second parmi les Etats Indigènes, immédiatement après les Dominions du Nizam. De plus, il est situé entre les deux mers qui baignent les côtes de la péninsule,

assez près de chacune d'elles pour n'être pas isolé des grandes mouvements du dehors, assez à l'écart toutefois pour que les grandes poussées des invasions n'aient pu l'atteindre qu'après une sorte d'amortissement ou de filtrage. Conquis de bonne heure à la civilization de l'Inde aryenne il fait déjà partie intégrante de l'empire d'Aśoka au IIIe siécle avant l'ére chrétienne ; depuis, il n'a jamais cessé d'être un foyer actif de culture brahmanique, malgré les accidents qui l'ont soumis de temps en temps à des maîtres musulmans. Le Maharaja actuel, Sri Krishna Raja Wadiyar Bahadur, maintient avec un zèle éclairé la vieille tradition du pays ; au lendemain d'une fête éblouissante qui réalisait les splendeurs féeriques des Mille et Une Nuits, je l'ai vu dans son palais vêtu d'une simple tunique blanche, l'esprit absorbé dans les plus nobles problèmes de la philosophie védantique.Il a donné au Mysore une Université nationale, qui groupe une élite de savants, et il a appelé auprès de lui,pour lui en confier la direction, l'érudit le plus extraordinaire de l'Inde entiére, le Dr. Brajendranath Seal, ouvert à toutes les connaissances de l'Orient et de l'Occident Secondé par des collaborateurs actifs, au premier rang desquels on doit placer Shama Shastri, l' éditeur et le traducteur de l'Arthasâstra, il a créé une magnifique collection de textes sanscrits qui comprend aujourd'hui plus de 70 volumes. La piété orthodoxe du souverain ne l'empêche pas de traiter avec une égale bienveillance toutes les croyances représentées dans ses domaines : Saivas, Vaishnavas, Brahmanes smârtas, Lingayats, Jainas, Musulmans, Chrétiens. C'est ce monde composite que M. Ananthakrishna Iyer analyse et décrit. Sans doute, il a eu des devanciers qui lui ont préparé le terrain, et il est le premier à leur rendre justice par des citations fréquentes : dès 1807, F. Buchanan

avait rassemblé une masse surprenant d'informations dans les 3 volumes in 4° de sa relation de voyage : A journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar ; Lewis Rice, de qui le nom s'évoque naturellement quand il s'agit du Mysore, avait publié en 1876-78 son Gazetteer en 2 volumes, London 1897. Mais, s'il a profité de leurs travaux, M. Ananthakrishna Iyer les a dépassés de beaucoup par l'abondance et la précision des renseignements dûs à des enquêtes directes, à des contacts personnels avec les informateurs les mieux qualifiés.

Dirai-je que le problème de la caste, qui a soulevé tant de discussions, suscité tant d'hypothèses souvent contradictoires, se trouve définitivement élucidé par les recherches de M. Ananthakrishna Iyer ? Je répondrais volontiers, et à son éloge, qu'il en a surtout fait ressortir la désespérante complexité. Il y a là un système de faits qu'il semble absolument impossible de ramener aux cadres fixes, stables, raidis jusqu'a sembler immuables, où la tradition du droit romain nous a habitués à classer les phénomènes sociaux. Comme tous ses prédécesseurs, M. Ananthakrishna Iyer écrit, dans le titre de son ouvrage, Tribus et Castes ; mais rien jusqu'ici ne nous permet encore de différencier chez lui les deux catégories, et j'attends avec une curiosité impatiente le volume I, qui doit sans doute aborder ce problème. Si j'ai bien compris, et dans la mesure où les données indiennes se laissent embrasser dans des formules, la tribu est une caste en expectative qui n'a pas encore essayé de se couler dans le moule consacré de l'hindouisme ; la caste est un groupe qui consciemment ou non, volontairement, ou non, a accepté, au moins dans leurs grandes lignes, les principes de l'ordre traditionnel tels que les brahmanes les ont établis.

Il n'est pas sans intérêt de dresser un inventaire méthodique des " tribus " et des " castes," que l'auteur décrit ici ; on verra, par cette simple table des matières, quels sont les éléments dont l'ensemble constitue un échantillon de la société indienne. Si nous prenons les groupements professionels, attachés tout au moins théoriquement à l'exercice d'un métier déterminé,nous avons d'abord les corporations qui travaillent pour l'alimentation : Agriculteurs ; Are, Bakkaru, Gangadikara, Okkalu, Hallikar, Okkaliga, Holeya, Kunchitiga, Modaliyar, Morasu Okkalu, Nadu Gauda, Parivar, Reddi ; maraichers-fleuristes : Tigala ; cultivateurs de bétel : Kare Okkalu ;—presseurs d'huile : Ganiga ;—ouvriers du sel : Uppara ;—Pasteurs : Golla ;—Kadu Golla ; Gauliga ; Kacha Gauliga ; pour les buffles :—pêcheurs : Besta ; Killakyata, Torea ;—chasseurs : Beda, Myasa ;—tireurs de toddy : Billova (qui recueillent le suc dans une gourde végétale) ; Hale Paikas (qui le recueillent dans un pot) ; Idiga.—Artisans, ouvriers ; Panchalas (qui travaillent ou la joaillerie, ou la charpente, ou la forge, ou la pierre, ou le cuivre, et divisés à ce titre en cinq sections); barbiers : Nayinda ; potiers ; Kumbara ; tisserands : Bili magga ; Devanga ; Patvegar ; Patnulkaran, Sale, Togata (divisés selon la nature et la qualité du tissu) vanniers : Goniga, Madar ;-tailleurs : Darzi ;-blanchisseurs : Agasa ;-cardeurs de coton : Pinjari ;-corroyeurs : Mochi ;-Porteurs : Banjara, Kahar ; Koracha ;- mineurs de fer : Salahuva Vakkalu.-Arts d' agrément : Bardes généalogistes : Bhatarazu ;-danseurs ; Nattuvan ;-acrobates ;-Dombar ;-lutteurs : Zetti ;- sculpteurs en bois de santal : Gudikara ; -peintres : Jingar.-Marchands : Banajiga, Komati ; Ladar, Nagartha, Mahratta.-Tout au dessous viennent les basses castes : Jangala, Madiga :-les vagabonds, faiseurs de mauvais coups : Koracha:-A

l'autre extrémité, au sommet du monde laïque, si l'on peut s'exprimer ainsi, la noblesse militaire, les Arasu, le clan royal.

A cette organisation vient se superposer, et souvent aussi s'insérer, une division d'ordre religieux: en tête les brahmanes: Smarta, Srivaishnava, Tulu, Madhava, Aradhya (Virasavia) ;-Lingayats: Agasa, Virasaiva, Mallava, Vader ;-et toutes les corporations de mendiants qui se réclament d'une secte ou d'une autre pour vivre d'aumônes: Bairagi, Dasari; Ghondali; Helava: Gosayi, Handi Jogi, Mailari, Mondaru, Sannyasi, Sudugadu Siddha; Hérétiques du brahminisme: Jainas ;-prétres spéciaux de castes Jambava, Satani, Thammadi;-prétres hors caste: Maleru.—En dehors de l'hindouisne: Musulmans: Mahdavia, Bohra, Maman, Jonakan Mappila, Labhai, Pindari :—Chrétiens: Catholiques; Protestants.

Chacun de ces groupes professionnels ou religieux est étudié conformément à un programme uniforme, fondé sur une analyse exacte des caractéristiques à la maniére hindoue: origine et tradition; structure interne; coutumes et cérémonies du mariage; coutumes de la puberté; mariage des veuves; adultère et divorce; coutumes en connexion avec la grossesse et la naissance; cérémonies consécutives à la naissance; héritage et adoption; organisation administrative; religion; cérémonies funéraires; occupation; rang social; nourriture; costume et parure.

Beaucoup de ces notices sont des monographies développées qui apportent au lecteur (s'il sait les chercher, faute d'un index qui serait si utile) une masse inespérée d'informations générales ou particulières qui font de ce livre un répertoire indispensable pour l'indianiste. Je me contenterai de citer comme exemples les notices sur les Brahmanes et les Jainas où on rencontrera un tableau précieux des cérémonies

et des pratiques de la vie journalière, sur les Arasus, où on trouvera la description des fêtes royales célébrées par le Maharaja, et notamment de cet extraordinaire Dasahra qui laisse une impression ineffaçable d'éblouissement à tous ceux qui ont eu la bonne fortune d'y assister. La notice sur les Morasu Okkalu nous renseigne sur le calendrier rural du Mysore, sur les prévisions astrologiques en rapport avec les phénomènes saisonniers, sur les maladies des plantes Bili maggas, apporte une contribution importante à l'étude technique du métier à tisser.

Enfin d'abondantes photographies, la plupart excellentes, et le plus souvent prises par l'auteur lui-même, illustrent le texte et en rehaussent l'intérêt pour le spécialiste comme pour le simple lecteur. On doit féliciter le Mysore d'avoir confié le travail à un savant tel que M. Ananthakrishna Iyer.

INTRODUCTION II.

MR. Ananthakrishna Iyer has invited me to write an introduction to his new work: *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*. He knows, however, how incompetent I am, for he himself is remarkably conversant with all the most up-to-date works on ethnology and anthropology. I was able to realise this for myself when I had the pleasure of meeting him and talking with him in Calcutta in 1922; I also noticed, shall I say to my surprise, that he was following with keen interest the development of the school of sociology which has come into existence through the inspiration and under the direction of Durkheim. I had the opportunity, at this meeting, of expressing to him my sincere admiration for his work on the *Tribes and Castes of Cochin* (Vol. I, 1909; Vol. II, 1912); entrusted by an enlightened government with the preparation of the ethnographical inventory of a small State, shut away by mountains and sea, almost at the extreme limit of the peninsula, whose population consists of the most diverse and incoherent elements, he was able, in a series of monographs, loaded with facts and observations collected at first hand, to give a picture, which was exceptionally faithful, sincere and authentic, of this microcosm, where the tremendous complexity of Indian society is reflected. I appreciated specially the richness and exactitude of his information on the Jews of Cochin, who have been the subject of so much literature, since the day when Vasco de Gama and his rivals first came into contact with them, which, however, has not added much precision to the knowledge about them. Unbiassed by

any particular interest, whether polemical, apologetic, or propagandist, Mr. Ananthakrishna Iyer has described with the impartiality of a naturalist, their customs, beliefs and practices. But, still more than the Jews, the native Christians have attracted and retained his attention ; the case of the Christian Church and specially the native Church is a subject admirably suited for arousing the interest of a sociologist. Implanted in the coast of India from the very first centuries of the Christian era, steadily reinforced by new additions and by hierarchical relations with the communities in Mesopotamia and Persia, backed by the forces distant, but acknowledged, of oriental and western Christianity how has this local Christianity reacted, and to what extent, against the forces, apparently amorphous, but in reality insidious, of Hinduism ? The importance of this question has struck Mr. Ananthakrishna Iyer so forcibly that he has taken it up again later, in a special work devoted to the anthropology of Syrain Christians, published at Ernakulam in 1926. This time he has widened his scope, and carried his researches into the whole of Malabar. This comprises a considerable group, which attains the number of 262,595 persons ; but this imposing whole is broken up into rival sects, often hostile to each other, and of very unequal strength, but all inspired by ardent passions ; Roman Catholics : 108,739 ; Chaldean Syrians : 1,822 ; Jacobite Syrians : 24,325 ; Roman Syrians : 120,372 ; Reformed Syrians : 3,692 ; Protestants : 3,645.* One can scarcely imagine in the West—apart from a small number

* The numbers given above are according to the Cochin Census Report of 1921. The figures for the year 1931 are as follows :—(1) Romo Syrians, 183,632. (2) Roman (Latin) Catholic, 109,503. (3) Chaldean Syrian, 6,809. (4) Jacobite Syrian, 25,849. (5) Mar Thoma Syrian, 2,005. —*Census of India*, 1931, Cochin, Part I.

of specialists—the controversies which are raging there on the subject of the apostle St. Thomas, polemics which do not leave to science the least substratum of historical facts. Mr. Ananthakrishna Iyer has the merit, rather curious in a Hindu and a Brahman, of having drawn a most exact picture of these different communities; he has treated his subject as an ethnographist who knows how to describe and who seeks to explain, but also with that feeling of respect which the Hindu mind always brings to bear on the study of phenomena of a religious order. In all his work—338 pages of substantial matter—there is not to be found a single word which betrays hostility, disdain, contempt or irony. We would like to be able to say as much of all the Western works which deal with the religions of India. With these two fine publications, Mr. Ananthakrishna Iyer has earned a place among the masters of descriptive ethnography, side by side with Risley (*Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, 1892), Crooke (*Tribes and Castes of N. W. Provinces and Oudh*, 1896), and Thurston (*Castes and Tribes of South India*, 1909-10).

When the State of Mysore decided, in its turn to proceed with an ethnographical inventory of its population, Mr. Ananthakrishna Iyer found himself indicated as the fittest man to undertake the direction of the work, which had been kept without a director, owing to the death of Mr. H. V. Nanjundayya, Superintendent of Ethnography of Mysore; he brought to this task the knowledge of the Dravidan languages distributed throughout the country combined with the ability of a specialist. The first volume of the work appeared in 1928, (it is called Volume II, because the first volume intended as a general introduction, could not appear till the monographs were completed); Volume IV, the last,

appeared in 1931; three years, therefore, sufficed for the publication of this monumental undertaking.

Mysore is a typical State (if one may say so). The extent of its territory (29,475 square miles) and the total population (5,978,892 souls) prove its political importance; it ranks second amongst the Indian States, immediately after the dominions of the Nizam. Furthermore, it is situated between the two seas which wash the coasts of the peninsula, near enough to each of them to be in contact with all important activities outside, secluded enough, however to have escaped the vicissitudes of the great invasions affecting the land as a whole, except after a kind of tempering or sifting in. Won over at an early period, to the civilization of Aryan India, it was already an integral part of the empire of Asoka in the third century B.C. Since then it has continued to be an active centre of Brahman culture, in spite of the incidental subjection to Moslem masters. The present Maharaja, Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, maintains with enlightened zeal the ancient tradition of the country. One day, after a dazzling festival, in which were realised the magic splendours of the Thousand and One lights, I saw him in his palace, dressed in a simple white tunic, his mind absorbed in the most sublime problems of Vedantic Philosophy. He has given to Mysore a national University, which includes some of the best sevants, and he has summoned there, as director of the University, the most extraordinary scholar of the whole of India, Dr. Sir Brajendra Nath Seal, alive to all the lore of the East and the West. Seconded by active colleagues, in the first rank of whom, one must place Shama Sastri, the editor and translator of the *Artha-Sastra*, he has founded a magnificent collection of Sanskrit texts which include to-day over 70 volumes. The orthodox

piety of the sovereign does not prevent him from treating with equal benevolence all the creeds represented in his dominions; Saivas, Vaishnavas, Smartha Brahmans, Lingayats, Jains, Musulmans, and Christians. It is this composite little world, which Mr. Ananthakrishna Iyer analyses and describes. Doubtless he has had predecessors, who prepared the way for him, and he is the first to do them justice by frequent quotations. As early as 1807, F. Buchanan had collected a surprising quantity of information in the three volumes in quarto of the account of his travels entitled *A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*; Lewis Rice, whose name one recalls naturally when there is a mention of Mysore, had published in 1876-78 his *Gazetteer*, in two volumes. But if he has profited by their work, Mr. Ananthakrishna Iyer has greatly excelled them by the abundance and precision of his information, gathered at first hand, by personal contact with those best qualified to inform him.

Shall I say that the problem of Caste, which has aroused so much discussion, and raised so many, often contradictory, hypotheses has been definitely elucidated by the researches of Mr. Ananthakrishna Iyer? I would reply willingly and to his great credit, that he has, above all, laid bare its distressing complexity. We have there a system of facts which seems absolutely impossible of bringing within the limits fixed, stable and rigid to the extent of appearing immovable, within which the tradition of Roman Law has accustomed us to class social phenomena. Like all his predecessors, Mr. Ananthakrishna Iyer has written at the head of his work: *Tribes and Castes*; but nothing in his works, so far, enables us to differentiate with the two categories, and I am waiting, with impatient curiosity,

for Volume I, which will doubtless touch on this problem. If I have understood aright, and as far as Indian data can be embodied in formulæ, the tribe is a prospective caste, which has not yet attempted to adapt itself to the sacred mould of Hinduism ; the caste is a group which, consciously or not, voluntarily or not, has accepted, at least in their broader definitions, the principles of the traditional order that the Brahmans have instituted.

It is not without interest to draw up a methodical inventory to the *Tribes and Castes*, which the author describes here ; it will be seen from this simple list what are the elements, the combination of which constitutes a sample of Indian society. If we take the professional groups attached theoretically at least to the exercise of a definite trade, we have first the bodies which work for food-supply ; *Agriculturists* : Āre, Bakkāru, Gangadikāra Okkaly, Hallikar Okkaliga, Holeya, Kunchitiga, Modaliyar, Morasu Okkalu, Nādu Gauda, Parivar and Reddi ; *Market-gardeners* : Tigala ; *Betel-growers* : Kare Okkalu ; *Oil-pressers* : Gāniga ; *Salt-workers* : Uppara ; *Herdsmen* : Golla, Kādu Golla, Gauliga, and Kacha Gauliga ; *Fishermen* : Besta, Killekyāta, Torea ; *Hunters* : Beda, Myasa Beda ; *Toddy-drawers* : Billava (those who collect the sap in a gourd), Hale Paika (those who collect it in a pot), Idiga ; *Craftsmen* : Workmen ; Pānchala (who work in jewellery, carpentry, forging, stonemasonry, or bronze, and divided thus into five sections) ; *Barbers* : Nayinda ; *Potters* : Kumbāra ; *Weavers* : Billi Magga, Devanga, Patvegar, Patnulkaran, Sāle, Togata (divided according to the nature and quality of the tissue) ; *Basket-makers* : Goniga, Medar ; *Tailors* : Dārzi ; *Washermen* : Agasa ; *Cotton-carders* : Pinjari ; *Leather-workers* : Mochi : *Carriers* : Banjara, Kahar, Koracha ; *Iron-miners* : Salahuva Vakkalu ; *Fine Arts, Genealogist*

Bards: Bhatrazu; *Dancers*: Nattuvan; *Acrobats*: Dombar; *Wrestlers*: Jetti; *Workers in Sandalwood*: Gudikara; *Painters*: Jingars; *Merchants*: Banajiga, Komati, Lāder, Nagartha, Mahratta. Beneath come the low castes: Jangala, Madia; vagabonds and evil-doers: Koracha. At the other extremity, at the highest of the laity, if one can call it thus, the military nobles, the Arasu, the royal clan.

Above this organization is superimposed, and sometimes inserted in the others, a division of a religious nature; at the head, the *Brahmans*: Smartha, Sri-Vaishnava; Vader, and all the groups Tulu, Mādhva, Arādhya (Vīrasaiva),—Lingayats: Agasa Virasaiva, Mallava; of *mendicants*, who claim some title in order to live on alms: Bairāgi, Dāsari, Gondāli, Helava, Gosayi, Handi Jogi, Mailāri, Mondaru, Sannyāsi, Sudugadu Siddha: Heretics from Brahmanism: Jains; Special Caste-Priests: Jāmbava, Sātani, Thammadi; Out-caste Priests: Maleru, Outside Hinduism: Musulmans (Māhdavia, Bhora, Meman, Jonakan Mōpla or Mappila, Labbai; Pindāri); Christians: Catholics, Protestants.

Each of these professional or religious groups is studied according to a uniform plan, based on an exact analysis of the characteristics, according to Hindu views: origin and tradition; internal structure; marriage customs and ceremonies; customs relative to puberty; marriage of widows; adultery and divorce; customs in connection with pregnancy, birth, heritage and adoption; administrative organization; religion; funeral ceremonies; occupation; social rank; food; occupation customs and ornaments.

Many of these accounts are developed monographs which bring to the reader—if he knows how to seek them in the absence of the index which would be so useful—an unexpected mass of general and particular

facts, which make of this book a repertory, which is indispensable to the Indologist. I shall be content with quoting, as examples, the accounts of the Brahmans and Jains, where one will find a valuable description of every day's ceremonies and practices;—of the Arasus where is given a description of the royal festival, celebrated by the Maharaja, and specially of this Dasahra, which leaves an indelible impression of splendour on the minds of all those who have had the good fortune to be present at it. The account of the Morasu Okkalu informs us of the rural calendar of Mysore, of the astrological forecasts in connection with the seasonal phenomena, of diseases of plants and animals and their traditional treatment. The account of the Billi Magga gives us an important contribution to the technical study of the weaving loom.

Lastly, numerous photographs, most of them excellent, and mostly taken by the author himself, illustrate the text and heighten the interest, as much for the specialist, as for the simple reader. We must congratulate Mysore, for having entrusted the work to such a savant as Mr. Ananthakrishna Iyer.

SYLVAIN LEVI.

SRI CHAMUNDESWARI, THE FAMILY DEITY OF
HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE.

THE

MYSORE TRIBES AND CASTES

Volume I.

CHAPTER I.

THE POSITION OF MYSORE IN INDIA'S RACIAL HISTORY

BY

DR. BARON VON EICKSTEDT

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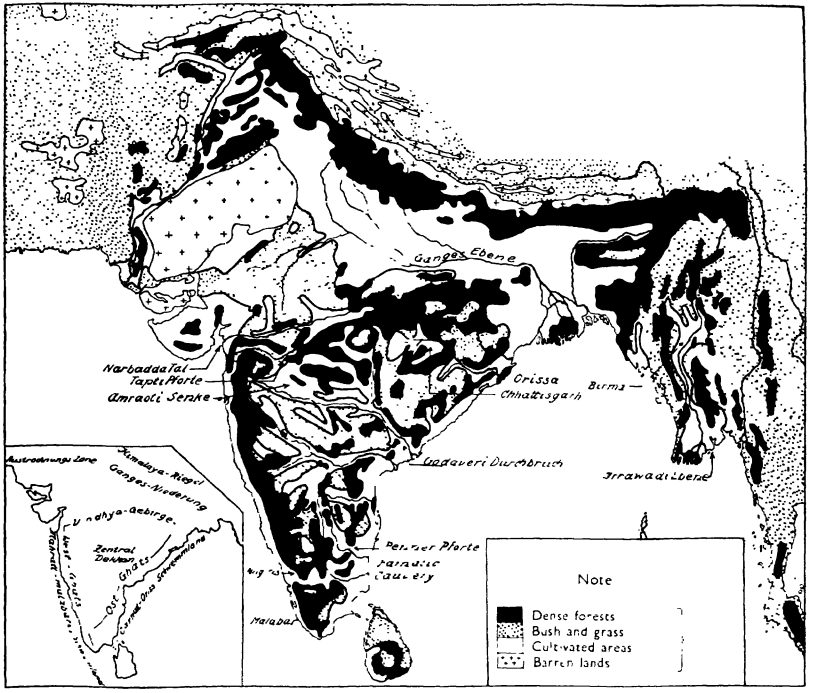


MAP I. THE NATURAL GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS FOR THE RACES OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

RACIAL HISTORY.

OBJECT AND METHOD—THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND ECONOMIC BACK GROUND—HUMAN TYPES IN MYSORE—INDIA'S DYNAMIC FEATURES—THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RACE DISTRIBUTION—CHANGING ENVIRONMENT—THE OLD WEDDID RACE—DISTRIBUTION—THE RIDDLE OF THE MELANIDS—DISTRIBUTION—THE YOUNGER INDID RACES—DISTRIBUTION—OLDEST STRATUM AND FIRST ADVERSARIES—THE INDID ADVANCE—LAST RACIAL WAVES—PRE-HISTORY OF MYSORE—EPICS AND LEGENDS—THE RACES IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY—MODERN TIMES.

OBJECT AND METHOD.

I AM delighted that the task of writing an introduction to these volumes has fallen to my lot.

For, I have, for a long time, followed with great interest the research work of Mr. Ananthakrishna Iyer, and I always felt, and particularly after meeting him personally, a warm admiration for him. And further, I feel myself connected with Mysore by a number of most pleasant memories garnered from my stay in what one must indeed call a model Indian State.

There already exists in India, it is true, a long series of official or semi-official works on the castes and tribes of the great "sub-continent." They reveal the unquestionable fact that no other land in the world shows a more interesting variety in the elements of its population than India. Also in no other great country has there been better official research into ethnological facts and questions than in India. These provincial ethnographies contain an enormous mass of information and will always be the basis for an understanding of the kaleidoscopic multitude of Indian population groups.

Scholarship in all countries ought indeed to be most grateful to a Government which has helped on such research work. But up till now, this work forms only the basis from which to start, and the detailed scientific work is for the most part still to be done.

Among those who have already taken up the task, Mr. Ananthakrishna Iyer has occupied for a long time a prominent place. For decades an indefatigable investigator of the ancient civilisation of his country, he has described and analysed the tribes and castes, especially of the peoples of Southern India. We duly appreciate the fact that his works contain an astonishing mass of clear and objective facts, carefully collected, and related in an excellent style. Brāhminical scholarship has given here, we really may say with admiration, an eloquent witness of its national and intellectual importance in the service of truth, and in the service of the Indian peoples. The composition of the *Cochin Tribes and Castes* may be regarded as exemplary. No less is this true of the monographs on the *Syrian Christians* and the *Lectures on Ethnography*.

Hence it must be designated as a happy idea on the part of the Government of Mysore to entrust this famous scholar with the continuation of the ethnographical survey of Mysore begun by the late H. V. Nanjundayya. Since undertaking this honourable task, the indefatigable Ananthakrishna Iyer has been seen, every academical vacation, at work in Mysore. His work has been carried through, as I saw myself, with a freshness, an enthusiasm and an industry, of which many a younger man might be envious. The results now lie before us in these four magnificent volumes.

Thus, the study of the cultural history of man in Mysore could take a decisive step forward. But

the study of man, as a whole, embraces as much the subject of *cultural* anthropology as of *racial* anthropology. The one supplements the other; only together do they give a complete picture of humanity. One must not separate soul and body. Only the methods of research in the two sciences must be different. But neither of these two sciences can dispense with the *results* of the other. Racial anthropology as such is, in the first place, a pure science. Its aim lies in the description of the typical zoological groups of recent and fossil Hominids. It is only with the question of the causality of the given phenomena that the historical principle enters, and out of the racial *anthropology* develops the racial history. Here, on historical ground, physical anthropology and cultural anthropology meet: one supplements the other, and racial history becomes the natural sister of cultural history.

There is still a further factor to be noticed. All history is dependent on soil and space. The geographical facts give the framework of historical happenings. And not only that—they often even determine the issues. Mankind and space, space and history, are inseparably united one with another. This applies no less to racial history and cultural history than to any other historical branch. These facts are, however, so far as physical man is concerned, of a special importance. *For, indeed, the races originated only as a result of their natural geographical environment.* Races are the oldest existing somatic groups of mankind. But also the more recent ones, which arise out of the mixture and inter-marriage of different races which, later, were united by their civilisation, namely the *nations*, are even to-day still closely bound up with their native soil. The growth and characters of races as well as nations are, therefore, only intelligible in

connection with their natural environment, and the fate of one group must necessarily influence that of the other.

These are the main points of contact between race and nation, physical anthropology and cultural ethnology. They show space as the primary factor in the character of a civilisation, and time as the supposition of its development. It is, however, man and only man, who acts as the releasing dynamic force. Between space and man as component forces, the curve of historic events runs. The days are now past when the student of the history of civilisation had an interest only in objects and events, and left in the back-ground as a shadowy phantom physical man with his physical features, the very creator of the objects and the motive force of the events.

Mr. Iyer's books show the cultural history of Mysore. But what about Man himself? Let us cast a brief glance at his forms and his history in India and Mysore! A description of physical primordial man in Mysore and of his racial history is, I think, a natural preliminary to a reference work on the cultural anthropology of the country.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND.

Now, the GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND for the development of racial history in Mysore is, to begin with, marked by a great simplicity of its predominant features. As the southern point of the great Deccan plateau, bordering upon the plains of the utmost south, Mysore possesses in many parts the same geo-morphological characteristics as the Deccan itself. Stony and barren plains stretch from the north in long uninterrupted belts right into Mysore, divided only by ridges of rocks covered with bushes and strewn with boulders, from whose dark granite heights glaring white temples or the ruins of

fortresses stare out over the countryside. The stony soil of the dry plains permits only of cattle-breeding. But quite different is the picture near the rivers. Here, in the north, near the waters rushing to the Kistna, are to be found luxuriant flora, and cotton and millet fields, whilst in the south by the rivers of the Cauvery group and along the irrigation systems, which have been in recent years brought under the regulation of the most impressive dams, the cultivation of rice and of sugar allow of a dense population. Thus, Central Mysore offers valuable soil for herdsmen as well as agriculturists.

But in sharp contrast with this, stand the natural boundaries of the country in the south-east and south-west. For, here, the deep and precipitous gorges, leading from the Deccan plateau down to the southern plains, have given rise to extensive jungles and primeval forests. The heavy rainfall, particularly at the time of the monsoons, makes possible extremely rich and dense natural vegetation. This offers the greatest obstacle to any economic exploitation by man. Mysore, therefore, is situated, so to speak, in a southwards pointing *cul-de-sac*, whose sides are formed by thickly wooded mountain slopes in east and west. As their tectonical junction, the towering fortress-like mass of the Nilgiris rises up in the most extreme south. Both, woodlands as well as mountain masses, represent in biological respects excellent areas of refuge.

HUMAN TYPES IN MYSORE.

The question now arises, in what way this clear division of the country into two economically very different parts has influenced the HUMAN TYPES which here appear. Let us summarise the facts. In the open stretches of country, one finds light-coloured people of medium stature, though there are numerous shades and groups, and with obvious variations

according to town and country, and to caste and origin. On the other hand, in the forests, live men of small stature and very dark skins; while, finally, in the secluded, massive, fortress-like Nilgiris, very fair-skinned and tall people are to be found. Thus, we see that the *various kinds of landscape find complete parallels in certain racial differences.* And these parallels go still further. The forests in the east and the west of Mysore merge here with the sun-burnt Tamil territory, there with the palm-covered coastal plains of Malabar. And where the forests *end*, the influence of the forest races also ends. Sharply separated by the Cardamom Hills, we see the very dark Tamilian in the eastern plains and the pale brown Malabarese in the western plains.

Thus, the connection between space and race is in South India extraordinarily clear, and offers one of the finest examples of its kind. Now, the plains mentioned, namely, Malabar in the west, Mysore in the centre, and the Tamil country in the east, are all directly connected with the north, partly by the coasts, and partly by the open country of the interior. These circumstances are of significance for the question of the origin and the process of colonization in South India. For, the connection with the north is easy to maintain, while penetration of the definite boundary made by the woods to the south is very difficult. Thus, the racial history of Mysore can only have been determined from the north. And thus it becomes united with the racial history of the great Indian sub-continent. Only a knowledge of the history of India as a whole can enable us to understand the special conditions in Mysore.

Let us begin, therefore, with the general geographical conditions, with which man—primitive man—had to reckon in India, and then examine the races which India contains.

INDIA'S DYNAMIC FEATURES.

Now, in the WHOLE INDIAN PENINSULA, south of the Himalayas, we find the same fundamental contrast in the main features of the country, as in Mysore itself: the contrast between open landscape and preponderantly mountainous jungle districts (cf. Map I). And we find everywhere also the same racial parallels.

1. In the open country, people of a progressive type have settled,
   (*a*) fair in the north,
   (*b*) dark in the south and in several refuge areas, and
2. in the jungle districts, primitive people are living,
   (*a*) fair in the western and
   (*b*) dark in the eastern districts.

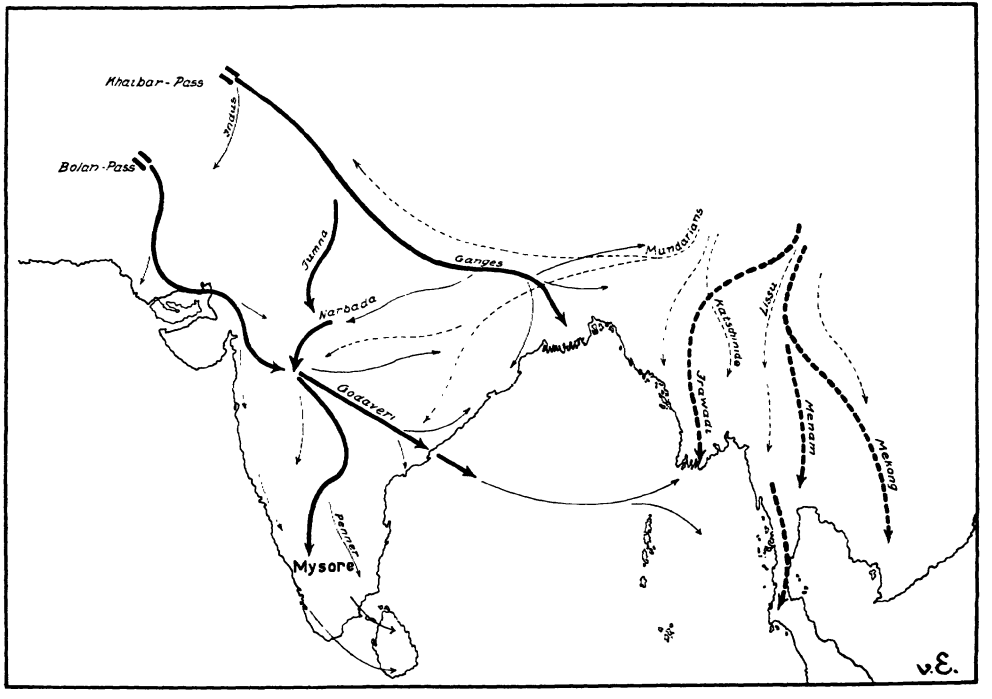
These great somatic groups are, it is true, joined and bound up one with another, exhibiting numberless transitions; forming here and there definite local types and caste types, and sometimes there is also a considerable intermixture, especially in the great towns and along the main lines of communication. However, the main groups can be discriminated everywhere by somewhat thorough examination. The same may be said of the fundamental cultural facts: they too show parallel differences. Nothing else can be expected: for it is they which bind men to the soil. The higher agriculturists are bound by their very cultivation to the fertile alluvial soil; and the primitive hunters and mattock-cultivating peoples by their primitive economic methods to the poor soil of the woodlands.

But when considering the distribution of Indian vegetation, one observes yet a third type of landscape, namely, grass—and bush land. It belongs

sometimes to one, sometimes to another somatic group. Here lies, therefore, the disputable uncertain area between the economic protagonists, the hunters of the woods and the farmers of the plains.

In the struggles over this disputable land, the peoples of the plains were always superior. For, they possessed the higher civilisation which made a more intensive exploitation of the soil possible, and therewith also a larger population, better arms, and a greater dynamic force in the struggles for existence. It would, therefore, be false to assume anything like the stability of the racial conditions to-day or at any other time in India, or in any other part of the world. There is continual development and continual motion. Racial conditions are always transitory, even if the changes are very slow to the human eye. We can only enquire into the former conditions and the racial history of a country if we know the conditions and laws which govern them. Of primary importance are here the conditions of space. Although there were disputable economic areas and unstable racial zones in India, approach to them was possible only in definite directions. These are the roads of migration which have been used from the earliest historic times up to the present day. Their economic and strategic importance has always persisted; and the bio-dynamic movements of all times and of all races are bound up with them. It cannot have been in any way different in the pre-historic epochs.

India exhibits in her bio-dynamically unstable zones extraordinarily characteristic features. Firstly, these zones are more restricted than in any other area of the world. The Himalayas in the north, the Burmese jungle mountains and the sea in the east, in a considerable degree, shut off the whole continent from the rest of the world. Only the north-west



MAP II. THE CORRIDORS OF RACIAL MIGRATIONS IN INDIA AND INDOCHINA.

offers a comparatively easy approach. Thus, it is evident that every anthropo-dynamic pressure worth mentioning can only come from the north-west. History affords abundant proofs of this; for in historic times, invading nations mostly penetrated through the north-west gates.

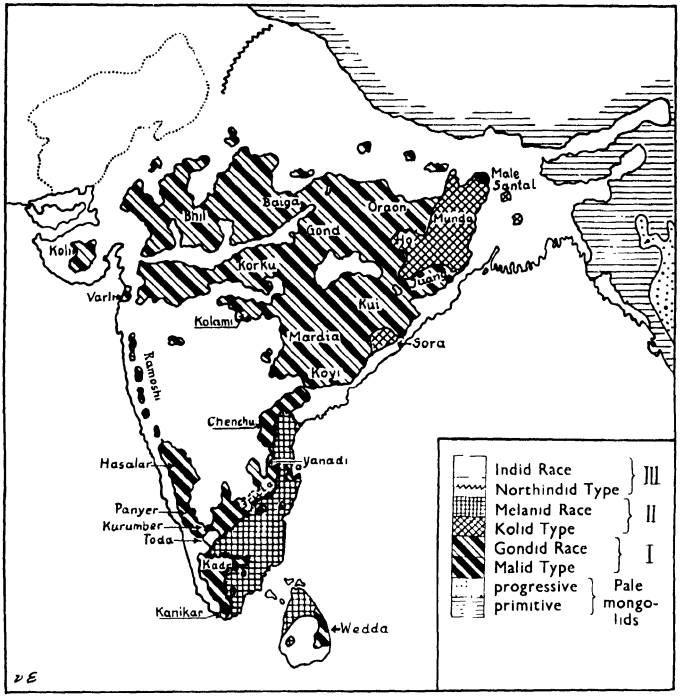
But also the path followed thereafter can be clearly seen. In prehistoric periods, it was even more strongly marked than later, as the people were then not yet in possession of the developed technical aids of later times. Advance naturally always takes place along the lines of least resistance. That means, if we for the moment disregard the possible opposition from other peoples, possession of the open alluvial country of the Indus and the Ganges, and then slow and gradual advance up the valleys of the smaller rivers. Hunting tribes of the more primitive and older stages of civilisation favoured the wild bush and parklands, the more highly civilised and later agriculturists on the other hand favoured the rich rivers (cf. Map II).

The slow infiltration and diffusion within the suitable economic areas continued quite mechanically, with ever-increasing numbers and also in some cases with developing civilisation. High birth-rate and productive economic activities cause in every human group a continuous latent pressure. This transforms itself at the slightest possibility into bio-dynamic movement. So, primitive foreign invaders of India were bound to reach the Deccan plateau very soon and also to endeavour to fill it up. This was no less the case with all later waves of immigrants, provided that their political and cultural motive force was greater than that of their predecessors. But in this respect, the later civilised agriculturists of the alluvial lands were doubtless superior to the nomadic hunting peoples of the

parklands. This led to a gradual pushing-back and retreat of the latter into the dense primeval forest lands (to-day the so-called jungle country). Thus, the composition of the population in the north Deccan border countries, where later the magnificent cultures of Ajanta and Amraoti were to spring up, must have changed soon.

The further direction and ways of migration can also easily be detected, and have been partly imperative up to quite recent times, though with the development of civilisation, factors increasingly appear which are opposed to the bio-dynamic laws. But the topographic and economic connections always ensure that at least the general features of the old laws of migration remain. So, the most important ways of access to the Deccan highlands, in continuation of the north-west highroads, have always led over the wide flat plains of the Narbada valley. They can be reached without difficulty from the west of the Ganges valley. Everywhere else, the Deccan is shut off from the northern plains by a huge forest belt which broadens towards the east. These are the Vindhya mountains of the old Sanskrit teachers. It is perforated by stretches of open country and smaller rivers, in the Narbada region. These lead, over the basin of the upper Tapti, straight on to the upper course of the great Deccan rivers.

These Deccan river systems show a very characteristic course. All of them flow eastward down the gentle incline of the Deccan plateau and, therefore, point towards the east. Consequently, in the Central Deccan, all stretches of fertile alluvial valley soil also point eastward. The big rivers then break through the eastern forest belt and lead finally to the fertile eastern deltas and coast plains. Thus intruders, and especially agricultural peoples,



MAP III. THE RACES AND TRIBES OF INDIA.

swept—to speak dynamically—in a rapid course towards the east and across the whole peninsula. The pushing-out of the older aboriginal peoples could here—in so far as there were river basins suitable for irrigation—be achieved comparatively quickly, and the bio-dynamic pressure from the rich alluvial strips (after the interior had to a certain extent been filled up) attempted to find an outlet once again towards the east. We see as its consequence the colonisation of the early Hindu States which went on only in an easterly direction and which sometimes struck out eastward as far as Burma or Indonesia and also occupied the remaining part of the hinterland of India. The anthropo-dynamic currents of mankind south of the Himalayas go, therefore, quite distinctly from west to east.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RACE DISTRIBUTION

But, in addition to the alluvial soil of the river system, the open country of the Central Deccan also comprises sterile, stony, often almost steppe-like belts. For agricultural peoples, such areas are useless. But they provide pastoral nomads with quite suitable pasture-ground. Semi-nomadic pastoral peoples are always accustomed to change their pasture grounds according to the seasons of the year. As the pressure of the agricultural peoples moved towards the east, the roving pastoral peoples could at this period or perhaps later (the time factor is only of minor importance here) trickle onward in a southerly direction. Wherever possible, of course, the agriculturists must have quickly followed, and either assimilated or pushed out the herdsmen.

These bio-dynamic possibilities may be understood without difficulty from the orographic and floral features of India. That these possibilities were exploited is shown very clearly by the present-day distribution of CULTURAL GROUPS AND RACIAL LAYERS (cf. Map III).

We find not only, as one must expect, people culturally and racially primitive in the dense jungles and partly also in the *semi-open* parklands (the disputed areas), but also the higher agricultural civilisations and at the same time definitely progressive racial types in all the alluvial areas. It is often evident from the racial and cultural stratification that the latter did not push out the more primitive settlers till recent, and indeed very recent, historical times. In this case, the ancient and poorer dwellers of the country are still to be found invariably in the lower and lowest castes. And, on the other hand, the advance of the agriculturists goes on even to-day—partly through religious influences, as formerly, but above all through traders, pedlars, sellers of liquor, etc., and quite frequently even to-day small but active colonial cells spring up in the most ancient homelands of the aboriginal peoples. But how closely soil and race, race and civilisation are everywhere still connected and how clearly the dissolution here, and movement of higher races and civilisations there, go on, can be seen in the sketch-maps adjoining. The dissolution, the disintegration, and the dispersion of forest peoples is not less clear than the easterly direction of the Deccan rivers with its necessary bio-dynamic consequences.

Less clear is the relationship of the pastoral peoples to the agriculturists. For, in most cases, the advancing agricultural peoples who, when all is said and done, could no more do without the water of the rivers than the herdsmen, must in a greater or less degree, influence and finally assimilate the latter. And, therefore, almost throughout the whole of India, the herdsmen castes are already completely fitted into the caste system—but characteristically fairly low down, only a little higher than those jungle peoples

who likewise have been assimilated. Whether and to what extent, racial differences between shepherds and agriculturists still exist, cannot be shown until more adequate physico-anthropological enquiries have been undertaken. But at one place, these differences are quite clear even now. Here, the old pastoral cultural state could not be destroyed, and exists in full power even to-day. This is the case with the Todas of the Nilgiris.

And it is once again extremely characteristic that it was just in these massive fortress-like highlands that the pure pastoral state of former days should be isolated and should manage to survive. For, we are concerned here with the *southernmost* part of the Deccan, that is to say, with the area reached last of all by the pastoral nomads who infiltrated into the south. The agriculturists (Badaga) who followed them have, even up to the present day, not penetrated into the pasture area in any considerable numbers. It is dynamically quite clear that the old pastoral state could only survive—if at all—in the south. That this happened to such a complete extent lies only in the splendidly protected position of the Nilgiris. Its base is surrounded by thick forests and the slopes rise up sharply and forbiddingly on nearly every side. Up above on the heights, wide flat pastures and meadows provide the retreating herdsmen with their best possible means of livelihood. It is moreover also typical, that it is scarcely a hundred years ago that the first white man penetrated into this solitude.

We have already pointed out how closely the racial (somatic) facts harmonised with the cultural facts. It is the primeval economic system that binds the race to its natural food area and to the primeval economic units, and it therefore originally

corresponded entirely with racial units. It is just the interaction of these two units, the later discrepancies, the overlapping and the dovetailing one with another, which when analysed, shows us the ways of racial development and the course and issue of the life of racial groups. Thus, one can say with regard to India that, on the whole, the jungle peoples, and the castes derived from them, (these castes still form an extraordinary large part of the population) stand in a clearly recognisable racial—that is to say a zoological—contrast to the other inhabitants of the sub-continent. Racially they still reveal, without exception, a primitive type of face and physique, particularly the women. We term them *Weddids*. Among the men, however, transitional features may sometimes be observed, partly because of their sex, partly in consequence of the more or less strong intermixture with the progressive groups; intermixture which, particularly in the case of the intermediate castes, has been going on for thousands of years. These latter, the second great racial unit of India, have for the most part skins lighter in colour, higher stature, and are more specialised. They reveal, therefore, considered as a whole, a marked somatic contrast to the inhabitants of the jungle areas. We term them *Indids*. But we must distinguish two elements among the latter. How far it is possible to associate them —as one might be inclined to do—with the pastoral peoples on the one hand and the agriculturists on the other, can only be proved by further specialist inquiries. But at all events, it is even now quite obvious that the smaller and more graceful element nearly everywhere constitutes the main body of the population (*the Grazil-Indid type*), while the taller and lighter-coloured people (*the North Indid type*) represents partly an upper stratum, as in the Doab,

and partly remnants pushed into the south, as for example, in the case of the pastoral Todas. Only in the north-west—which always stood more open to the influence of foreign peoples and pastoral nomads —do they constitute the main part of the population.

Our survey of the Indian races would be quite complete if there was nothing more to say beyond the two descriptions we have just given of the primitive jungle peoples of Weddid race and the progressive groups of Indids. But there are still some very important FOREIGN ELEMENTS to be considered. There is, firstly, a prehistoric Mongoloid stratum which came from the north-east with the Austroasiatics (Monkhmer). We have already spoken of them. In spite of the great interest they possess for racial *history*, they are less important for the question of the composition of the population, for they have only survived to any noticeable extent in a few refuge areas, among jungle tribes. Further, there is the most recent strain in India, the *Orientalid* one from the north-west (which is almost identical with the Muhammadan peoples). This strain also has not yet become the characterising somatic element of the population in any larger area. But that may be said, to a very large degree, of a third influence we have to speak of, namely of one, or perhaps several, very dark skinned elements, which dominate, above all, in the extreme south and in some refuge areas. This geographical position alone shows that we are concerned with sections of the population which are very ancient in racial history. In order to understand their significance and their existence, we must therefore also go back to somewhat earlier periods of the development of mankind.

CHANGING ENVIRONMENT.

We saw already that all races are dependent on their economic environment and that the more

primitive the civilisation of the race, the greater is the force with which this applies. The most primitive men are, indeed, just like animals, completely dependent on their food areas. CHANGES IN THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT, changes in the food area, necessarily mean changes in the distribution, indeed possibly in the composition of a race. Now, in the last geological period of the earth's history, tremendous changes have taken place in the food areas. A whole series of glaciations with many oscillations and returns, subjected, during the glacial period, the food areas of nearly the whole animal kingdom of our globe to manifold and extensive changes. Thus, the glacial movements in the Ice Age regulated the distribution of the races, and the main features of the present-day racial distribution are nothing else than an indication as to how and by whom after the Ice Age the newly created food areas were occupied. A detailed account of the way in which the continents were occupied has been published elsewhere (1934); we are only concerned here with India. India lay on the south side of the mighty glacial range, the Himalayas, which formed only a part of the Central Asiatic glacial system. This glacial system separated from each other three great food areas in the northern hemisphere and, indeed, so completely, that three sections of humanity were for tens of thousands of years isolated from each other. The first area, the eastern half of Eurasia, created an Eastern Humanity, out of which, later, sprung the Mongolid racial circle, with yellow-brown skin and flat features. The second area, the northern and western part of Eurasia, produced the Northern Humanity and the races of the Europid racial circle, with light skin and marked features. And, finally, in the tropical areas, a Southern Humanity took its origin, from which the Negrid racial circle hails, with dark skin

and primitive features. The tropical areas of the south are, therefore, the areas in which the earliest differentiation of the dark-skinned, later Negrid races, went on. The light-skinned races, which we find to-day in these areas, are more or less post-glacial intruders. Not until the passing of the tropical pluvial period, and not until the drying-up of the Iranian lakes and the great melting waters in the valley of the Indus, was it possible for these light-coloured northerners gradually to infiltrate in increasing numbers into the southern areas. What we must expect as the result of these movements is accordingly the occupation of the northern part of the country south of the Himalayas by northern races, and also the survival of the old Negrid types at the extremities or southern appendages of the Eurasiatic continent. The three appendages are Africa, India and Melanesia (Australia was already at an earlier geological period shut off from the rest). And, as a matter of fact, we *do* find, in all three areas, parts of the dark-skinned southern races. Of course, as a result of the continual assaults by northern peoples during the tens of thousands of years since the end of the Ice Age, an extensive racial disintegration has taken place. Thus, a broad "contact belt" has appeared in the south. It runs right across North Africa, particularly Abyssinia, and is evident in the multitude of types in New Guinea, while the purer original racial layers retreated and the remnants of still racial stratums withdrew to still more remote, *i.e.*, more southern, regions.

India is the smallest of these southern appendages. And here, therefore, the contact belt alone survives. The original southern races have been so disintegrated and effaced that it is almost impossible to recognise them. But in spite of the dilution, and

in spite of the development of new racial groups, the original southern elements may still be recognised in several sections of the population. These elements constitute the dark-skinned people of the extreme south, and various refuge areas, of which we spoke above.

The main point of connection between physical environment and economics (food-area) and between economics and men, has, so far as India is concerned, now been made clear. We see characteristic somatical groups rise out of the hybridised mass of Indian peoples, we understand the causes and origin of the races, we are now in the position to describe them in greater detail. This we propose to do in the next few sections, in which the characteristic features of the separate races and (in so far as my own inquiries make it possible), their distribution will be described. Afterwards, we shall be in a position to approach our main problem —the racial history of southern India and particularly of Mysore.

THE OLD WEDDID RACE.

The most primitive racial stratum which it is at present possible to isolate in India are THE WEDDIDS—the real and genuine Ancient Indians. Their name, which is taken from the old Wedda tribe of

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NOTE.—The name " Weddid " is taken from the Wedda tribe in Eastern Ceylon which, though being now extraordinarily small in numbers, is in scientific respect the most representative group of the whole race or stratum (they were already famous towards the end of the last century by the works of Virchow and Sarasin). The termination ' id ' has now come more and more into use in scientific anthropology (raciology) to discriminate clearly between somatic groups of men on the one hand and cultural, linguistic or political groups on the other. Only the first represents races, the last-named, however, peoples or nations. Infinite misapprehensions have been caused by their permanent confusion. It is obvious, *e.g.*, that an oriental culture must not be created by the orientalid race. The termination ' id ' is also well known from zoological systematics and is therefore no more to be applied, to the somatic groups of mankind too.

Ceylon, has been in use for a very long time, and seems all the more suitable, because it is derived from the Sanskrit word for hunter, and occurs also among various Indian jungle peoples in Cochin, Travancore, Mysore and so on. But originally, only the "Weddas" of Ceylon were studied, first by Knox, Tennant, etc., later in detail by Virchow. Inspired by the latter, the cousins Sarasin undertook their Ceylon travels, which made the Weddas famous. On the other hand, far less attention was paid to the aborigines of India. We owe short accounts to Holland, Iyer, Lapicque, Risley, Schmidt and Thurston, but there is no comprehensive somatic survey. The reference works on the ethnography of various provinces of India contain, it is true, many valuable minor details. But taken altogether, this is not much. And thus, it can be understood that ethnographers, anthropologists and sociologists were generally of the opinion, that, so far as the Weddids of the continent were concerned, it was only a question of numerically and spacially very insignificant remnants. But that is not at all the case. The number of Weddids, or of predominantly Weddid tribes, castes and strata, is probably considerably over 20,000,000 and only a century ago or two, they still formed one-third of the whole population of India. We are, therefore, here concerned with a section of the population, which, from the standpoint of cultural and racial history, demands particular attention.

What is the type like ? The Weddids are characterised above all by the infantile nature of the racial features, by the smooth, round, child-like face with the steep forehead, the child-like snub-nose with the wide nostrils, the soft, full and bent childmouth, the small retreating chin and the delicate child-like, somewhat stocky (thick-set) body, with the small hands and feet. Many of these characteristics

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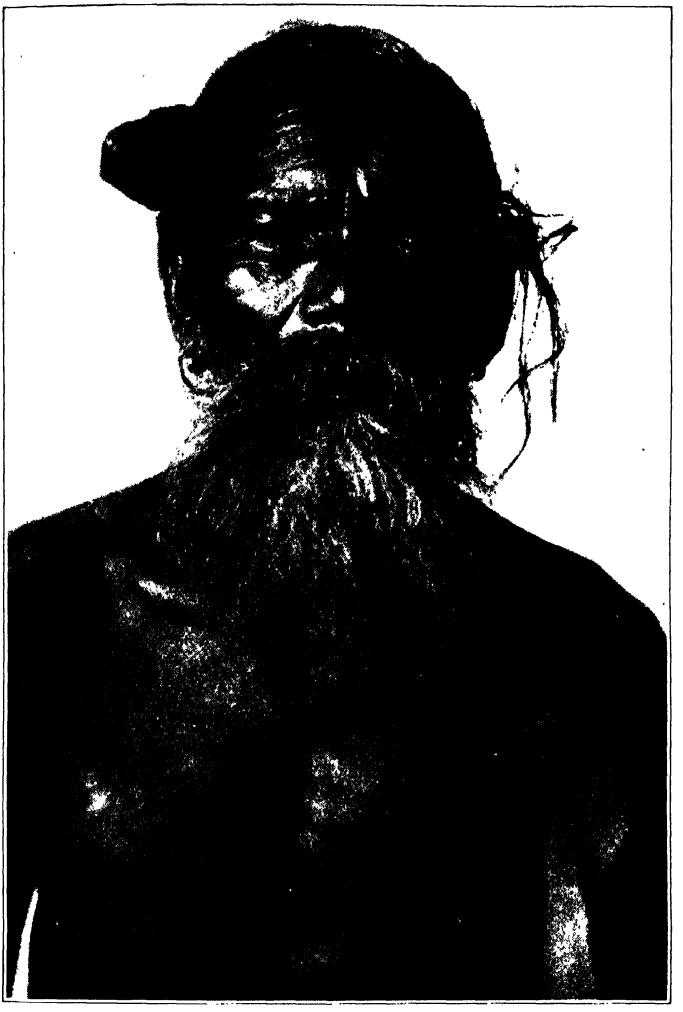
are also to be found among the most ancient and most primitive strata of other racial groups, as the southern Asiatic Palæ-mongolids ("Pareocans") and the Central-African Palæ-negrids. But these races already show a definite differentiation in the direction of the characteristic features of the racial circle to which they belong (*i.e.*, the Mongolid or Negrid). This is not the case with the Weddids. Compared with the other two "Palæ"-strata, they must be associated with the Europids. They may, therefore, be regarded as their neotene form, that is to say, as the Palæ-Europids. It is thus clear how interesting and important these old racial strata are, if only from a mere phylogenetic standpoint.

But the main Weddid type described above—which appears with greater or less frequency among all the predominantly Weddid peoples—comprises a number of very clearly defined sub-types. In view of the great area covered and the compulsory isolation of some tribes, and groups of tribes (above all in the early periods of racial history) this is not surprising. We must add the more or less strong influence of neighbouring groups of other races, which cannot yet always be exactly analysed as in the case of most "intermediate" castes. Many detailed inquiries are, therefore, still needed here.

The most important sub-type of the Indian Weddids (those outside India do not interest us here) are the *Gondids* and the *Malids*. THE GONDID RACE is the largest and the most representative group of the Indian Weddids. It is chiefly concentrated, as its name tells us, in the widely spread Gond tribes of Central India, but it appears among other tribes as well. The Gondids—particularly the men—have a somewhat longer face and a taller stature, a greater abundance of hair, and their noses are not so broad and are higher than in other Weddid types. They



RACES OF INDIA GONDID RACE: A KHOND.

Photo: Eickstedt.

RACES OF INDIA—GONDID RACE: A KHOND WOMAN.

Photo: Eickstedt.

must therefore be regarded as a comparatively progressive group. In individual cases, but only comparatively seldom, the similarity is so great that one might well confuse them with the phylogenetically superior Indid race. On the other hand, the women—in this case as in others—maintain much better the old racial characteristics. The colour of the skin is in all Gondids a fairly light brown, not so light and wheat-yellow as in the case of the Indids. The Oraons (Kurukh) and the Khonds (Kui) may be regarded as the most typical of the Gondids. On the other hand, many Central Indian tribes, like the Mardia and Muria possess also somewhat special features in so far as the entire bodily structure reveals more gracefulness, and a tendency towards length. Among others, like the Juang, extremely primitive features often appear.

These are regularly to be found in great numbers among the second and southern sub-type of the Weddids, namely THE MALIDS. Here the variability of the racial features is greater than with the northern Gondids, and the type is less harmonised, so that it is preferable not yet to speak of race but only of a type (or sub-race). The name of the Malids comes from the well-known Dravidian word for mountain, and was given them because they are to be found especially in the south Indian mountains. The word also appears in numerous well-known names like Malabar, Malayalam, and so on. On the whole, the type is here essentially more primitive than among the average Gondids. In the case of many individuals, the face is extremely low and lozenge-shaped. This shape is the consequence of very wide jaw-bones and a pointed chin. The chin, moreover, is small and its profile, particularly in the case of women, extraordinarily retreating. The nose is very broad

and low, the steep forehead often overhangs the eyes. These are primitive features of a theromorphic kind. The lips are fairly thick, at any rate thicker than is the case with the Gondids or the Negrids. Quite often the face is lightly prognathous, a fact which still further emphasises the theromorphic primitiveness. We are, without doubt, concerned here with one of the most primitive kinds of man that it is possible still to find on the earth to-day.

It is especially remarkable that in contrast to the brown Gondids, the Malids are extraordinarily dark skinned, indeed almost black-brown. We have here a remnant of the dark-skinned " Humanity of the South " we spoke of above. But except for the very dark skin and the somewhat narrower waviness of the hair and the thicker lips, their original characteristics have nearly disappeared. We are now faced, therefore, with the result of an old racial contact dating back into geological times. The types which in olden times merged with each other have already been completely harmonised into a unitary type. In this type, the primitive Gondid characteristics dominate. It is not correct to associate the Malids, without more ado, with the Negritos (as has often been done *e.g.*, by Lapicque and Keane). The Negritos are indeed of small stature, even very much smaller than the Malids, and they have dark skins and very curly hair, but they reveal by no means the primitiveness of the Malids. It would, therefore, be more cautious and more correct to assume the existence of a *proto*-Negritid element and its fusion into the ancient Indian Weddid aborigines. This standpoint does not differ very materially from that of Keane, but signifies a deepening and differentiation of our view, as must be expected with our advance in knowledge. Those who are interested in this question may compare

RACES OF INDIA: MALID TYPE: A PANIYER MAN.

Photo: Ficksteat

RACES OF INDIA MALID TYPE: A PANIYER WOMAN.

Photo: Ecksteal.

the remarkably clear and comprehensive account by Keane in the preface to Iyer's *Cochin Tribes and Castes* with the account we have given above.

We may mention here that the child-like characteristics of the Weddids are accompanied by a child-like kind of psyche. They are cheerful, harmless, happy people, always good-humoured, ready to joke, open-hearted and absolutely honest. The genuine "Jengeli" (jungle-inhabitant) never steal or lie. But they can in a child-like and irrational way also be cruel, they are superstitious in an extreme degree and are timid and shy. They are, therefore, quite frequently laughed at as silly, or clumsy, or base, and are at times exploited and even roughly treated. Unfortunately their good and lovable qualities disappear quickly when they come in contact with the so-called higher (that is to say, more complicated) civilisations, and mistrust and sulkiness take their place.

Distribution.

We have already briefly discussed the AREA COVERED BY THE WEDDIDS. They appear everywhere in India where the sparse bushy jungle forests cover the mountainous folds and slopes of the Deccan plateau, and whither the more recent advances of the Indid agricultural peoples have not yet penetrated. Their nucleal tribes still live to the present day as forest nomads (like the Birhor or the Kurumber) or as primitive mattock-farmers (like the Gonds, Oraon, Bhuiya, Chenchu and many others). Some of them live as serfs or land-workers in areas near to the jungles, and among higher civilised peoples. This is particularly evident in the case of the Panyer. Others have already been completely assimilated into the caste-system of the Indids. In this way, they became low-caste, the dregs of humanity, attested by religion and law. The contrast with the free jungle

tribes—whose social position, if not respected, is at any rate recognised—who still have their own civilisation, is very characteristic. With the surrender of their weapons and the freedom of the forests, and just in the degree to which they gave way to the attractions of a foreign and "higher" civilisation, they sank to the very bottom of the social scale. But in various ways (which we cannot discuss in detail here) their blood mingled with the highest sections of the Indid ruling peoples.

While the Gondids constitute by far the largest section of the Weddids and cover extraordinarily large areas—above all in Chota Nagpur, Orissa and the Central Provinces, though they also reach out in considerable numbers towards Central India (Malwa Plateau, Satpuras, Mahadeo Hills, and the northern part of the Western Ghats)—the Malids are only to be found in the southern forest areas of India. They form a thick band running northwards from the southernmost Cardamom Hills to the Nilgiris splitting up here and continuing on the one hand as far as some uncertain northern limit in the West-Mysore forests, and on the other through the East-Mysore forests and over the Nallamallais as far as the Kistna. Kanikar, Malabedar and Kurumber are characteristic groups in the west, Irular, Yanadi, Chenchu, etc., in the east. Here they are to be found more or less intermixed with the younger local racial elements of the area, also in a few isolated spots in the Tamil domain (*e.g.*, the Gingee Iruler).

These latter remnants point back to a very old period of Indian racial history, when the entire southern part of the sub-continent was still under Malo-Weddid rule and also the whole of Ceylon was in their hands. On this island—whose northern part was later occupied by the dark-skinned but progressive

racial elements of southern India, and whose western part fell into the hands of the lighter-skinned progressive Indids—small remnants of their race live to-day but only in the unhealthy, fever-stricken, park jungles of the east. They have, for a long time and to a considerable extent, intermixed with neighbouring races, and no longer show any of the primitive characteristics of the main stem in India. They only count a few hundred souls. These are the Weddas, who gave their name to the entire racial stratum.

Our description of external appearance and the extension of the primitive Indian aborigines is now ended. In contrast to these hunters of the jungles stand the agriculturists of the open country. But the racial unity is here less than among the forest dwellers. For we have not only light progressive types in the north, but also dark, more or less progressive types in the south. The former constitute the Indid race, the latter the Melanid. Let us turn first of all to the Melanids, since they apparently represent the older stratum, and since their connections with the Weddids give rise to a series of extremely interesting questions.

THE RIDDLE OF THE MELANIDS.

That Indian race which we call to-day the Indo-Melanid, or for short THE MELANIDS (melanos-black, hence the name) and which coincides with the progressive dark-skinned peoples of South India, has for a long time been a riddle and a source of annoyance to anthropology. It is true that the earliest observers, to whom Herodotus already belongs, and also a few of the early anthropologists who followed them, have already in the main put forward a correct view. But with the discovery of the Aryan group of languages and the extreme over-valuation of Sanskrit research in the second

half of the previous century, this view was forgotten and it became almost a dogma to see in India nothing but the contrast between "Aryans" and "Dravidians." This is not correct even from a linguistic standpoint, because other language groups exist there, and it must inevitably lead to the greatest possible confusion when applied to racial matters. For it was quite clear, that among the Aryan language group, representatives of the most different races could be found. But in spite of this the obstinacy with which some authors spoke of an Aryan "race" has given rise among laymen—also educated laymen—to a confusion, which remains even to-day. And it not infrequently happened that this lack of clarity on the part of the observer was used as an objection against science, against anthropology! But yet matters become very simple, as soon as one realises that *peoples* form only linguistic groups and have primarily—so far as definitions and questions of method are concerned—nothing at all to do with the *races*, which are zoological groups only.

But unfortunately the first attempt at a solution of the racial problems in India was still absolutely under the influence of the philologist's conception of Aryans and Dravidians. Such was Risley's racial division—an attempt to make languages and races parallel. This was bound to be a failure, if only because the Aryan languages are foreign languages, which were forced upon the native Indian peoples at quite a recent period in racial history and never could coincide with any of the older races indigenous to the country. Race and speech do not coincide in the least in India. Risley's attempt inevitably led, therefore, not only to ethnological uncertainty, but also to the most apparent physico-anthropological contradictions. Thus it was rejected in most

RACES OF INDIA—MELANID RACE: PALLER FROM TINNEVALLI.

Photo: Eickstedt.

quarters. But it must be emphasised that the honest and industrious attempt of Risley—who collected important materials and made many valuable discoveries—did not at all merit the disregard which it finally achieved. For Risley in his fundamental mistakes was simply in accordance with the general errors of his age. We find that he placed our present-day Melanids under the so-called Dravidian Type. This includes not only, for example, the really Melanid Vellalers of Madras, but also the light-coloured Nair of Indid race, the very dark Kadr, of Malid race and the lighter-coloured Oraon of Gondid race—in a multi-coloured series. A unitarian Dravidian *race* does not exist. The Dravidian-speaking *peoples* do not represent one somatical type, but form part of many of the Indian races. On the other hand, the great body of the jungle races do not appear at all in the classification of Risley. Which somatic group then corresponds to the original Dravidians, and what is the philological place of the Melanid race ?

Let us start with the somatic facts in order to find a solution of the problems associated with the position and origin of the Melanids. In South India among the Tamil, and in North India among some so-called aboriginal tribes of Bihar and Orissa, type groups with extremely dark brown-black skin appear. The latter is an unmistakable characteristic of the southern races of men, of the Negrid circle of races. Further, the hair is of a somewhat stronger waviness than is the case with the Europid circle of races. The steeply ascending forehead thrusts itself forward over the eyes and indeed over the deep-set bridge of the nose. The nose is, however, quite narrow and moderately curved, with the nostrils of medium breadth. The result is, therefore, a definitely triangular shape. We shall find it once

again among the Indids. But, in spite of their breadth, the nostrils and the curve of the nose do not reveal any primitive characteristics. However, the chin, if often, and particularly in the case of women, not specially prominent, is by no means retreating. The mouth opening is also not curved as with the primitive Weddids, but straight; and the lips are full.

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One might regard the full lips and possibly also the strongly marked mesorrhiny as suggesting Negrid influence. But one must not forget that races out of the Europid racial circle, and among them the North-Indids with whom we are to deal later, also possess full lips. All the remaining characteristics of the Melanids, including the form of the eye-opening and the medium height of the body may, without hesitation be regarded—using the word in its wider sense—as Europid. And thus we are brought face to face with the paradox, that it would be possible to regard the Melanids as belonging to the "white" race, if they were not "black."

DISTRIBUTION.

With this the intermediate position of the Indo-Melanids becomes obvious. The dark colour of their skin is Negrid and an inheritance from the Southern Humanity, the shape of the base of the nose, of the lips, and chin and hair are between Negrid and Europid, the face and the bodily proportions are essentially of the Europid Northern Humanity. The special features of the race and the broad jaws, the overhanging and steep forehead, and the triangular base of the nose are possible in both racial circles. But attention must be drawn to the fact that very similar characteristics are to be found among the Indids, who belong unquestionably to the Europid circle of races. From this, we may

conclude that the Indids are to be regarded as the next related race out of the Europid racial circle. If we wish to find the most closely related race out of the Negrid circle of races then we must look, not to the African Negroes to the west, but probably to progressive forms of North-Melanese Negroes (Melanesids) to the east. This can be easily understood from geographical facts.

A separate problem is however the relationship with the dark Malid secondary group of the Weddids. As we are here concerned with the only two groups of dark-skinned southern races still remaining in India, one might be very much tempted to trace them back to one and the same proto-Negrid source. It is certain that they all, Malids as well as Melanids, and finally also the Melanesids, belong to the same broad contact fringe of the Negrid circle that borders on the races of the north. But if this assumption is to be accepted, it can only be applied to periods far back in racial history, and for more recent periods one may assume a typological break-up of this proto-Negrid fringe of races. This indeed is probable if only on account of the great distance which separated them, and the relative isolation which consequently followed. We need hardly hesitate, therefore, to associate the proto-Negrid roots of the Malids with a proto-Negritoid layer, and the Melanids with a proto-Melanesid stratum.

It is certain that the Melanid race in its process of development in the course of tens of thousands of years was submitted to a continuous "Indidisation." This alone could lead, on the one hand, to the extraordinary dilution of the proto-Negrid characteristics, and on the other to the strong Indidisation of the facial features, which we notice to-day. The pressure from the north and the progressive Indidisation of the south continued

indeed even in historical times, a fact which is moreover absolutely in accordance with the course of the anthropo-dynamic currents in India as laid down above. This finds expression, for example, in the lighter colour of the skin common in the upper classes and in many of the later, and particularly the Brahman, immigrants. And in this way the greater part of the upper strata of the Melanids merges imperceptibly into the Indid type, while at the other extreme the lower strata, above all, in the jungle districts, merge into the Malids. Hence very interesting caste variations and tribal types arise.

But in THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE MELANIDS, (and this is a question of great anthropo-dynamic interest) it is possible to distinguish two groups specially clearly separated. The one lies in the north-east corner of the Deccan highlands, and thus in the best protected area which these highlands can offer. The other is to be found in the alluvial plains to the extreme south-east of the peninsula, the area which lies more remote from the continent than any other.

The northern type is to be found predominating among what were earlier called the Kolarian tribes, and this name—which, because of its many meanings, has now-a-days been rejected by the linguists,—may be brought into use again in a more appropriate anthropological sense. The "Kolids," then, appear in their purest form among the Santals and Hos, while the real Mundas, and further south, the Soras are already to a large extent Gondidised. At the same time (as a somatic result of the pre-Aryan incursion on the Monkhmer-speaking jungle peoples (—later Mundarians from Indo-China as already mentioned—) quite a considerable intermixing with Palæ-mongolids takes place. Thus "pure" Kolid

RACES OF INDIA KOLID TYPE: A SANTAL.

Photo: Eickstedt.

RACES OF INDIA—KOLID TYPE : A SANTAL WOMAN.

Photo : Eickstedt.

types are relatively seldom found. But they appear in eastern Doab and Bengal among the lower classes, and they are by no means absent even in Rajputana. There is also a narrow band of Kolid types represented in a few tribes and lower castes of the Eastern Ghats (*e.g.*, Gadaba, Ghontara, Pano). In this way the connection with the southern main type, the real Melanids, is brought about.

Already the Chenchus of the Nallamalais reveal transitions from Malid to Melanid types, and among the Yanadis of Sriharikota the Melanid element is altogether predominant. Also the rest of the population here, while representing an imperceptibly slow fusion of the Indids of the Telugu territory, is, in essential features, Melanid. The main body of the southern or real Melanids is to be found, however, in the fertile alluvial lands of the old Carnatic, where nearly 20 millions of Tamils belong to them. The latent biodynamic pressure of these masses (caused, and aggravated by limitation of the means of existence in consequence of famines and wars) released itself towards Northern Ceylon, where the Tamils maintained themselves successfully against the older Malids (Weddas) and later Indids (Singhalese).

The Melanid race has thus been defined. Let us now, on account of the frequent confusion between language and race in India (mentioned at the start) cast a brief glance also at its linguistic affinities. Among the Melanids of the north, Monkhmerian dialects (Mundari) predominate in the south Dravidian. Which of the two linguistic groups—if either of them—is the original mode of speech? It is known that the northern Mundari did not reach India till barely 4,000 years ago, and so we may leave it out of account. Race and language have here no original connection with each other. This, by the way, must also be said with regard

to the remaining part of northern India, for Aryan is also a foreign language which has forced its way into India even at a later period than Mundari. And so there remains Dravidian. But Dravidian, which in the north of India was only recently forced out by Aryan [and still remains—and this is typical—predominantly in the *refuge* areas of the jungle peoples] is still to be found in the south among pure Indid peoples, as *e.g.*, among the Malabarese, the Telugus, and most of the Kanarese. Therefore, we may presume that Dravidian can be regarded as the original language of the Indids. But then Dravidian must be a "foreign" language for the Melanids whose original language is entirely lost. The change of language among the Melanids thus finds its somatic counterpart in the racial stratification, which continued to bring Indid elements right into historic times.

We see, therefore, that the more mobile languages were pushed in from the north, layer after layer upon the races of India, who for economic reasons were rooted firmly in the soil, and that it is no longer possible for race and language to coincide as in original times. It is just this process which gives us possibilities for important conclusions in the racial history. The original language of the Melanids has disappeared—although it may be that small remnants can still be found in the race which now stands on the next lower plane, namely, the Malids. The dialects of the Panyer or Kadr (Kadar) or Kurumber, however, have not yet been analysed by exact philological methods.

THE YOUNGER INDID RACES.

And now all that remains for us is the treatment of the last racial group in India, THE INDIDS themselves. This group is in point of numbers by far the most important, and it is also the most active

group in India from the standpoint of racial history. It is, therefore, worthy to bear the name of the whole subcontinent. Risley, it is true, threw great parts of the Indids into his "Dravidian" race which covered all Indian races and placed other parts (separated only spacially, but by no means typologically) into his "Aryan" races. Let us leave these unhappy designations out of account! Deniker and Haddon have already begun to speak instead of an Indo-Afghan race to avoid continual mistakes and confusion.

The Indids show a remarkable symmetry in their proportions and features. Their physique is slim and graceful. They are only moderately tall, a fact which still further emphasises the impression of gracefulness, particularly in the case of the women. As with all south Europid races (Mediterranid, Orientalid, Indid), long heads, long faces, light-brown skin, and black moderately-waved hair, are to be found. On the other hand, special characteristics of the Indids are sloping slightly protruding, narrow foreheads, fairly thick lips and noses which are massive at the root and become downwards steadily broader, so that a triangular base results. The jaw is somewhat broader than is the case with the sister races. The face is much smaller and the chin less prominent, a fact which often creates a certain impression of softness. The wide opening of the eyelids may be mentioned as specially beautiful; very often, particularly in the case of women, a slightly S-shaped curve of the brim of the upper lid is noticeable. It makes its appearance particularly when the gaze is half cast-down, and is to be found from the oldest periods of Indian art in the representation of gods and goddesses.

The men show no primitive characteristics, but these still appear among the women, for example,

in the slightly distended nostrils, the moderately retreating chin and the full, child-like, downward-bent mouth. Of course, it is not always easy here to exclude a slight influence from the side of the Gondids with whom a close dovetailing exists for thousands of years. The warm light-brown colour of the skin merges partially, particularly in the Doab, Orissa, and Malabar, into wheat-yellow shades. It often gives the soft velvety skin of the women a warm and shimmering golden tone which has been celebrated for thousands of years in the poetry and prose of the poeple as particularly attractive and charming. The lower classes like to seek the attainment of the ideal of beauty by the use of saffron, and among the upper classes by avoiding the light of the sun. Both also like to improve the form of the hair. For the despised Gondids have slightly curly hair, and so straight hair became the racial ideal. This is secured by the frequent application of oil and force. Similar things happen, as is well known, in other parts of the globe also.

DISTRIBUTION.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE INDIDS extends from Central Afghanistan and Baluchistan (the former nucleal area of the latest arrivals in India—the "New-Indians") to deep into the open area and plains of India. Thus the whole of the Doab, and the whole of the Central Deccan, the whole of the west-coast (including south-eastern Ceylon) and the northern section of the east-coast are Indid land. Besides, there are many little dynamic colonial settlements eating into the heart of the area still occupied by the primitive Gondid peoples, as for example, in the Narbada Valley, in Chhattisgarh, and also in Mysore.

But on the other hand, through the absorption of elements from neighbouring groups, numerous

RACES OF INDIA—INDID RACE: A KAPU MAN FROM VIZAGAPATAM.

Photo: Eickstedt.

RACES OF INDIA INDIO RACE: A BENGALI LADY.

Photo: Eickstedt.

well-marked district types (Gautypen) and racial stratifications have arisen. That applies to Orissa, Bengal, the Doab, and Maharashtra. (Analysis of them and their names would lead us too far.) Moreover, some groups being isolated in the special local areas, have also led to the appearance of well-marked local types. That applies, above all, to Malabar, where the " Keralid " type is to be found, and to the southern fringe of the Himalayas, where the small underset Indid mountain type ("Garhwalid" type) extends along the southern slopes. However, the Gondid type is also still to be found in a very pure form in colonial country, as for example, in Chhattisgarh.

But also among the Indids (as was the case with the Weddids and Melanids) it is necessary to distinguish two large somatic sub-groups. So far, our description and exposition of the distribution has only referred to the *main* body of Indids, those whom one might describe as the " Gracil-Indids," and who represent the physically smaller and more graceful element. On the other hand, the more one goes to the north and north-west, the more one finds that taller, coarser-boned people predominate, people whose skins are still lighter in colour, and who are marked by a very strong growth of the beard, and somewhat thicker lips. We designate them " North-Indids." They are to be found in the Doab, namely, in the upper strata and especially among the military castes, and represent the main body of the population of the entire Punjab, where the Sikhs form one of their most characteristic groups. From here they spread out towards Afghanistan and Kashmir, and are well represented in Rajputana, where the Rajputs constitute an extremely well-characterised caste type; they are not infrequently to be recognised in mixed peoples of the Mahratha

area; and finally they are also to be found as far as Mysore. Even the Tamil area and Malabar are not quite free from their influence, though this comes chiefly from small and already strongly intermixed groups, who as soldiers or traders from the north penetrated to the south often only in very recent times. In the south they have maintained themselves, in a form which is really pure, only in a single spot, *viz.*, in the isolated hill-country of the Nilgiris among the Todas. The latter are an absolutely isolated remnant of an old north-Indid pastoral people who have maintained a remarkable racial purity.

We have now described the type and the distribution of the races, and also their sub-groups, and we may now summarise in a table what we have said. THE MOST IMPORTANT SOMATIC groups for India are, therefore, as follows:—

I. *Weddid group*

1. Gondid race
2. Malid sub-race

} Ancient-Indians.

II. *Melanid group*

3. Melanid race
4. Kolid sub-race

} Black-Indians.

III. *Indid group*

5. Indid race
6. North-Indid sub-race

} New-Indians.

See figures 1—11

Now—and only now—we are also in the position to attempt a description of the racial history of India in general and in particular of southern India and Mysore. The discussion and valuation of the questions of space and a short description of the somatic groups were necessary preliminaries.

Oldest stratum and first adversaries.

THE OLDEST STRATUM in the population of the peninsula, which is to be found in the most remote districts, and which, moreover, on account of its long contact with newer and ever-advancing races has been most completely broken up, is clearly the dark-skinned group. This group is represented to-day by the Melanids and Malids, whose dark forefathers may best be brought together under the name Indo-Negrids, and associated with the Western Negrids of Africa and the Eastern Negrids of Melanesia. One is, however, not entitled to use this name (Indo-Negrids) to-day, because as a result of the extraordinary dilution which the original Negrid blood in India underwent, it would call up a false picture of present conditions. But for the earliest period of racial history, it is no doubt quite right. At that time, the Indo-Negrids covered the whole of the peninsula and stood in direct contact with the eastern and western wings of Southern Humanity, a connection not yet broken either in a spacial or genetic way. It is not impossible or improbable that there existed already two or more different sub-races among the Indo-Negrids, the one of smaller stature, more primitive and living in the forests (Proto-Negritids), the other of higher stature, and more progressive, living in the open country (Proto-Melanids).

THEIR FIRST ADVERSARIES, if one can at this early period give them the name, were the Weddids. They represent the advance-guard of the northern races who were pushing forward. They are, moreover, the race at the southernmost fringe of the latter, and like all such marginal groups (and above all those pushed into the tropical forests so hostile to development) they are a group with a particularly primitive build. But it is improbable that so early any really warlike conflicts took place between

the Indo-Negrids and the Proto-Weddids—at what was possibly an inter-glacial period. It is hardly possible that these races should have stood on a higher level of civilisation than the Proto-civilisation (*Altkultur*), and this, as it is well known, was always and everywhere of an un-warlike nature. And so it has never made any attempt to oust others, but was always itself ousted, or penetrated by neighbouring races. That is clearly shown in the case of the Weddids in their relations to the Palæmongolids. It is shown in a similar way in India by their relations to the Indo-Negrids. For, as the result of this contact, we have to-day the Malids. These Malids were like a contact-wall which the slowly advancing Weddids pushed before them from the north of India as far as the primitive forest-districts of the south. The extraordinary antiquity of this penetration is confirmed by the complete harmonisation of the physical characteristics of the Malid type.

It is difficult for us to regard these later events as of an earlier date than the beginning of the post-glacial period. For it was not until this period that the great dislodgments in the northern hemisphere began, *viz.*, after the opening up of those areas in Central Asia, which had previously been shut off by glaciers and lakes. It was also as a result of this that more highly differentiated races were pushing southwards. As a consequence, the Weddids, being in their turn, pushed further forward, took possession of nearly all India. Of course, in doing so, they were not yet concerned with the dense forest areas in which they live to-day, but only with what was originally open bush-land country. This offered the ranging hunter his easiest prey. But that these Proto-Gondids, as they may best be designated, belonged already to a higher stage of

hunters and collectors, is very probable in view of our present ethnographic knowledge. We may assume, therefore, that after the primitive cultural stage (*Altkultur*) of the Malids followed the hunters' totemism of the early Gondids. It was the totemism which gave them a cultural superiority over the older Indo-Negrid stratum, at least over their Proto-Malid part. And this superiority is exploited. The present result, namely, the broad Gondid intrusion into the whole of the Central Deccan, makes this sufficiently clear.

The pressure of the northern races upon the Weddo-Gondids on their southern fringe must have reached an insupportable degree after the invention of agriculture. This invention is one of the greatest intellectual achievements of humanity, which first made possible a real advance in civilisation and gave its beneficiaries an impetus to expand, which is similar to that given to-day to the adherents of the machine civilisation. In southern Eurasia, therefore, all the suitable land in Iran and north-west India must have quickly fallen into the hands of the first advancing northern race. That was the INDID RACE. Their advance along the rivers and river-plains of the fertile and open valleys is even to-day clearly to be recognised. It was rendered more rapid by the slow drying-up, in the post-glacial period, of the lakes which had covered Iran, and also by the drying-up of the Indus melting waters. And so the Weddid race with its totemism was compelled to yield before the Indid race with its matriarchy and its primitive agriculture.

It was only now, and for the first time, that larger masses of men could be fed, thickly-populated settlements could be formed, and finally even real towns could arise. So far as the suitable culturable soil went, all the available land could be taken into possession almost without difficulty; and of

course, in cases of struggle, it could also be conquered with the help of the superior technical aids. This was, no doubt, to a certain extent necessary, for the totemistic stage possesses everywhere a warlike character. And thus the hatred between the more highly civilised Indid peoples and the so-called Indian aborigines loses itself in the uncertain light of earliest pre-historic times, and is nothing else than the expression of the struggle between rival civilisations which is deeply embedded in the thoughts and feelings of the peoples concerned. Of course to-day, with the continuous pushing-on of races and civilisations (which have ever been in continuous movement and transformation since mankind came to exist) much of the primitive Indid, matriarchal civilisation has been pressed into the old Weddid layers, and has developed here as in the other parts of the world, a typical hybrid civilisation of totemism and matriarchy combined. Even to-day most of the Weddids have only accepted the lowest stage of plant-cultivation, namely, mattock-using cultivation, and only in a few cases have they reached the higher stage of plough-using cultivation. Now the advancing Indids first pushed across the Indus into the plains of the Ganges and through the valley of the Narbada into the great cultivable area of the Central Deccan. But in later times, they penetrated also into the more remote districts. And here the old matriarchal system or parts of it could maintain itself to the present day. Orissa, the south, and above all, Malabar (which is remarkably shut off from the rest of India) are clear proofs of this.

THE INDID ADVANCE.

The quickly advancing Proto-Indids, after taking possession of the Central Deccan, broke through the Gondids and Indo-Negrids of the Eastern Ghats

by way of the Godaveri and the Kistna rivers, and thereby separated the Indo-Negrids into a northern wing (Kolids) and a southern wing (Melanids), and then spread themselves over the eastern coastal plains. That means the end of the Indo-Negrids. For, from now onwards, the fertile plains of the extreme south of India also stand in direct contact with that part of mankind which was already really civilised. In those early times, this is still identical with the belt of southern Europid races. (The chain passes from Tartessos by way of Crete, Egypt, Ur, Elam and Nala as far as Mohenjodaro.) But the new civilisation was able to establish itself on the suitable soil of the south—in a protected area which lay far distant from the original home of the infiltrating agriculturists of Indid blood. And thus it possessed a strong power of resistance. Despite the many immigratory waves and many conquering peoples who came from the north, the diluted remains of the old Indo-Negrid races of the plains were able to maintain themselves up to the present day. Certainly, with the new civilisation, there set in also a complete ethical and linguistic change as described above, for the south took over the matriarchal Dravidianism of the Indids.

LAST RACIAL WAVES.

The south indeed was to become the preserver of it. Once again the protected position of the alluvial plains of Southern India, behind their double wall of woods in north and south, plays a great part. THE LAST GREAT RACIAL WAVE which forced its way into India, was, therefore, not quite able to reach this area. These are the North-Indids and their numerous associates from other races. They arose out of the half-nomadic warlike pastoral peoples of Central Asia and brought with them the Aryan language and the Aryan social system of

patriarchy. Aryanism, patriarchy and the North-Indid race have only partially succeeded, however, in conquering southern India; for the most part they remained caught in the racial filter of the Deccan, the southern end of which, in Mysore, can even to-day be sharply distinguished from the Tamil south.

We have now reached the threshold of historical times. For everywhere in the old world the eruption of West-Eurasiatic nomadic peoples out of Central Asia represents the beginning of world history; the already weakened matriarchy with its splendid late-civilisations is everywhere destroyed by the wild patriarchal and half-nomadic peoples; and only gradually, out of the ruins, the new and still modern world civilisation takes its rise and begins to flourish. With these events, we are concerned with the second great eruption of the northern peoples in post-glacial times, and from a historical standpoint, with the final stage of the epoch of the great movements in mankind. It brought about the Indo-European of the old totemistic and matriarchal Europe, the break-up of the old matriarchal civilisation of the Mediterranean and of the east, and it also brought about the fall of the matriarchal Dravidians in India. These still live on in the oldest semi-historical traditions under the name of Nagas. It was those Nagas or snake-worshippers (the earth-creeping snake belongs everywhere to the earth-cultivating matriarchy just as the symbols of the bull and moon) who founded the wonderful city of Nala in Baluchistan and the no less wonderful Harappa and Mohenjodaro. These civilisations broke up under the attack of the rough nomadic Aryan peoples. But not so the race. It is true that the Indians took over the foreign language and the foreign civilisation, and that they felt as Aryans, and thought in Aryan ways;

RACES OF INDIA. NORTH INDID TYPE: A TODA

Photo: Eckstedt.

but the race remained. Here also (as in the south) agriculture with its masses of people provided the necessary strength to resist. That was everywhere the case with the south-Europid civilisations from Tartessos as far as Mohenjodaro. Only more or less small invasions were possible, which—as with all these so-called racial waves—took place in innumerable advances and thrusts, and during many centuries, many thousands of years. It is thus indeed that the Indid race has been pushed out of the north-west of India, while in the more thickly-populated belts in the east, the new arrivals form only a thin layer either between or over the old inhabitants. A good example is the stratification in the plain of the Ganges—Melanid, Weddid, Indid, North-Indid—which is to-day still quite evident and easy of analysis. That the last great advance of races upon India, the North-Indid, also reached the south only in small infiltrating groups or as upper layers has been already pointed out above. It is very probable that the pastoral nomadism of many of the North-Indid peoples has played a great part in their movements.

Quick diffusion and wandering over land suitable for grazing was still possible in the case of the mobile herdsmen at a time when the agriculturists, long before deeply rooted in the soil, had taken in every inch of the arable alluvial river plains. And it is certainly not unjustifiable to assume that many of the primitive and predominantly North-Indid tribes, and also the lower classes of peoples of this race, had preserved the old Central-Asiatic pastoral nomadism in a purer form than other tribes or higher classes. An advance southwards was for them comparatively easy—easier in any case than the struggle for existence among the highly civilised peoples, where space already was becoming limited.

This is bio-dynamically very important. Of course for small wandering groups the danger of cultural, indeed of racial, destruction was always near.

As a matter of fact, only a single North-Indid group has maintained itself in the south in a clearly distinguishable form: they are the Todas, who in the cultural stage of wandering herdsmen succeeded at a very early period in racial history in breaking through the older racial belts (the Malids, the Weddids and the Indids), and achieved a position of relative security on the lonely mountain-meadows of the Nilgiris. In sociological matters, however, their mode of life greatly changed. But their economic mode of life continued as before, and so did the race. That they are "indigenous" to the Nilgiris from "earliest" times—as is often stated—is certainly not the case. Not only do the traditions prove this, but also the relics of prehistoric civilisations, which can in no way be brought into connections with the Todas. But that is just what we should expect from an offshoot of the latest racial penetration into India. This brings us already to the last section of Indian racial history, a section which is partly already authenticated by history, and for which prehistorical evidence exists.

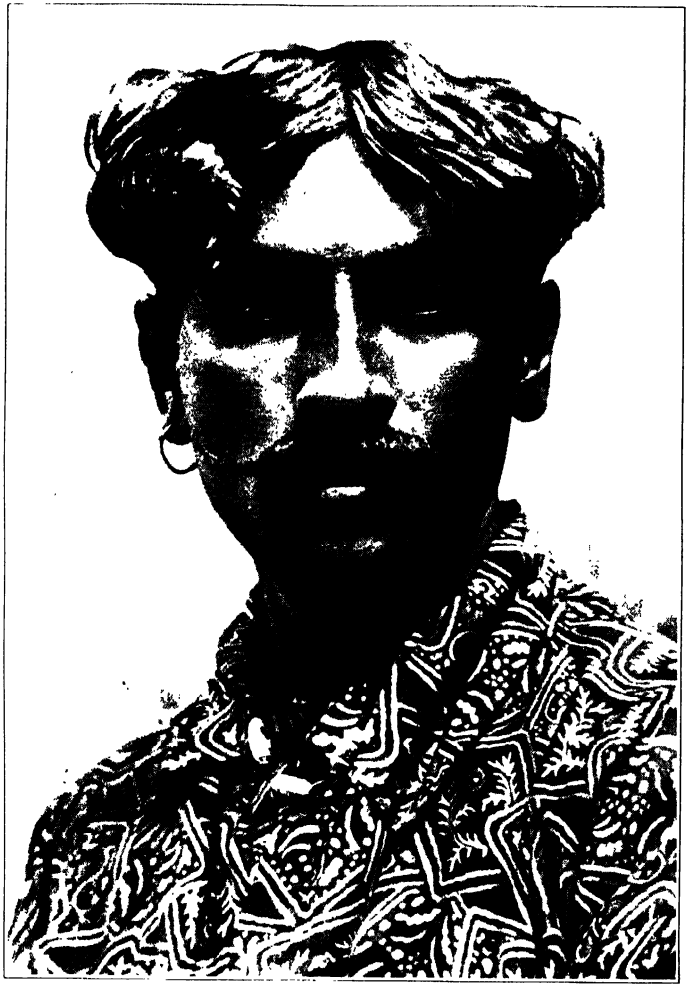
PRE-HISTORY OF MYSORE.

Into this period fall three other, but this time smaller, RACIAL INVASIONS of India, which, to a greater or less extent, influence the somatic character of the population. They are, in chronological order, the inroads of the Palæ-mongolids, the Turanids and the Orientalids. (See Figs. 12-14). We need only devote a few words to them. Of course they illustrate the effect of currents of anthropo-dynamic pressure, but they represent very slow long-lasting processes, not short, powerful thrusts.

At a time when the whole of the plains in Northern

RACES OF INDIA NORTH INDID TYPE: A TODA WOMAN.

Photo: Fickstedt.



RACES OF INDIA FOREIGN STRAINS IN INDIA: ORIENTALID TYPE: A MUSALMAN JUGGLER.

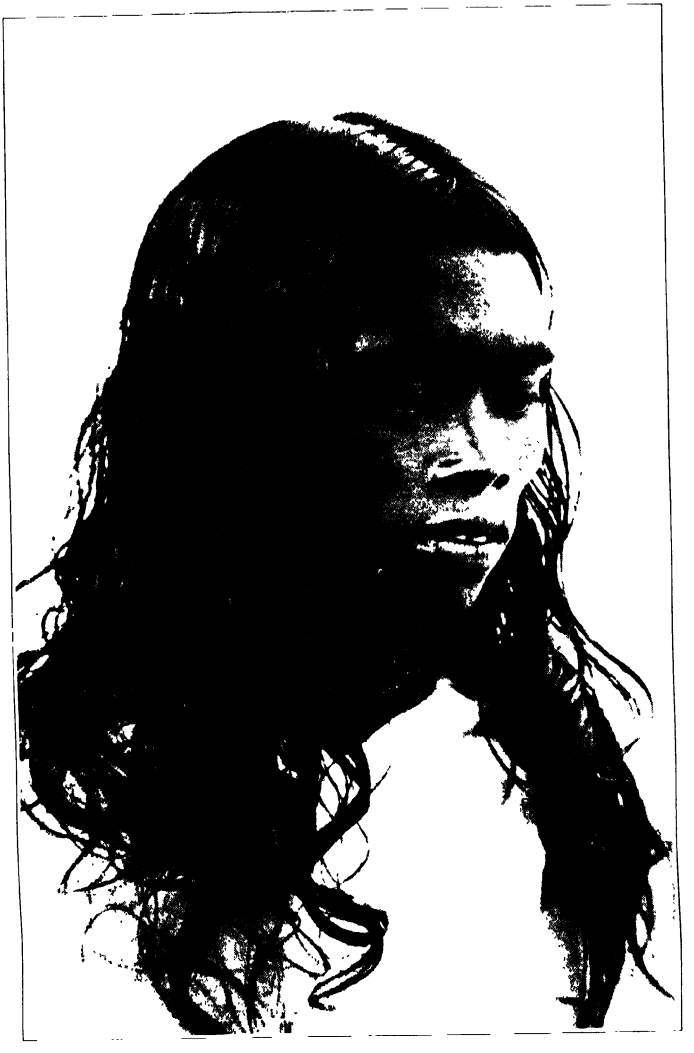
Photo: Eickstedt.

India had for a long time been regarded as the "old" homeland of the Indids, no Indid had yet set foot in remote Malabar. In the area of the Ganges river the thick forests (remnants of which existed as late as the time of the Mogul Emperors) had as early as 1000 B. C. been considerably perforated, and thus at this early period, the splendid and powerful Magadha could arise, and Ayodhya could become a radiant centre of civilisation. On the other hand, in the areas apart from the main anthropo-dynamic thrust-lines, *i.e.*, away from the alluvial river-plains pointing eastwards, the process of Indid penetration still continues to-day. What took place in Malva and Kanauj two thousand or three thousand years ago, is taking place in absolutely the same way to-day in Orissa and Central India. We cannot discuss this. For what our brief sketch can give is only the broad outlines in racial movements. Their interest is certainly greater, when they are analysed for different natural areas. But we propose to do that later in a book form. Here it is only possible to draw attention to the fact that penetration and stratification have taken place in many different ways and each single case has to be investigated and chronologically treated for itself.

This process can already be traced prehistorically and historically in the case of the three most recent waves. For these waves of the (1) Palæ-mongolids, (2) Turanids and (3) Orientalids coincide with the inroads of (1) the Monkhmer peoples from Indo-China and with (2) the so-called Hunnish and the so-called Turkish inroads in North-west India from the time of Alexander to 1000 A. D., and with (3) the military attacks and the trading advance of the so-called Muhammedans during the last thousand years. Here also it is not possible to go into details.

Our survey of the racial history of India is now in its broad outlines complete, and the POSITION OF MYSORE follows as a matter of course.

As originally in the whole of India, so here, the Indo-Negrids form the oldest part of the population. This is shown by the admixture of Melanid traits, particularly among the lower castes in the plains, as well as in the completely Malid sections of the forest peoples. But the latter, *i.e.*, the contact belt between the old Indo-Negrids and the Weddids infiltrating from the north, by far out-number the Melanid racial remnants. We therefore must regard the Malids as the aborigines of the Mysore bush-country. It was the Indids of a later date who forced them on to the thick tropical rain forests, where they still live to-day. That undoubtedly took place in a relatively late period of racial history, at a time when the northern areas of the Deccan had for the most part already fallen into the hands of the Indids. Mysore, and above all, the nucleal area with the capital and the home of the old line of princes, had, therefore, remained for a long time under the rule of the wandering jungle-hunters. The opening-up of the land does not take place, as we shall see, till the beginning of historical times. Thus the Indid peoples coming from the north pushed only very slowly and very late their way into the extreme southern corner of the Deccan ousting the primitive Malids with comparatively little difficulty, but did not go beyond the edge of the Deccan plateau. For, firstly, the Ghats lay here intersected with ravines and covered with thickets, and, secondly, on the other side of the eastern forest bar were the Melanids, who had long ago developed into an active and ingenious agricultural people. And thus it comes about that the forest bar marks in a clear-cut way the dividing



RACES OF INDIA. FOREIGN STRAINS IN INDIA: PALEMONGOLOID TYPE. PULAYAN FROM THE WYNAD.

Photo : Ericksc

line between the racial types: in Mysore, the population is essentially Indid, and in the Tamil area almost exclusively Melanid.

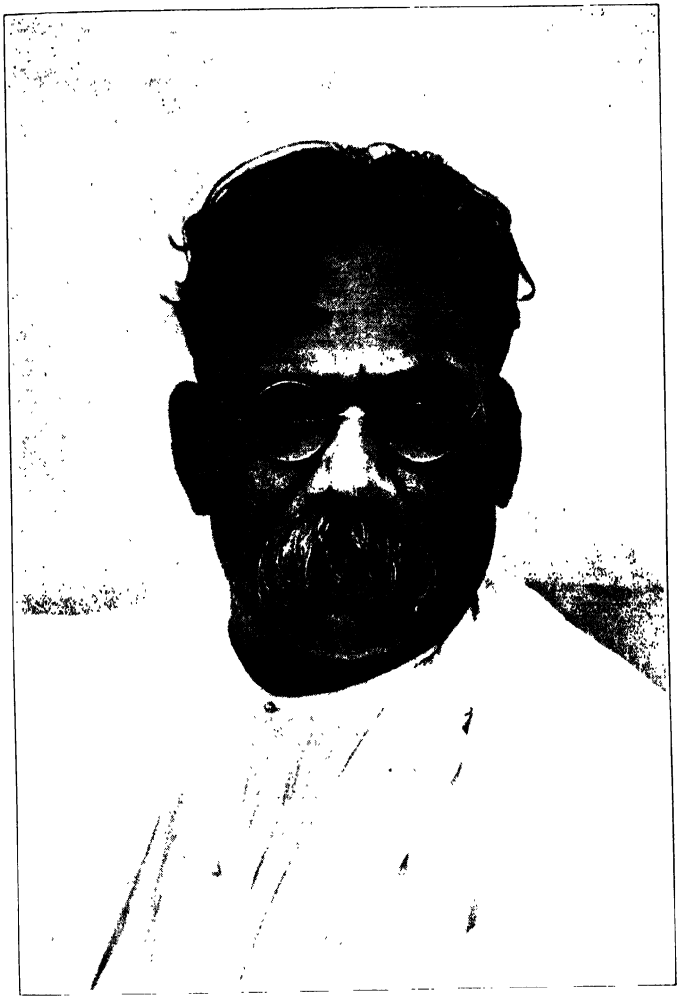
But later times saw along with the extension of the Indid colonial area the perforation of the eastern forest belt in Mysore, especially near the upper course of the southern Penner. Here again land suitable for agriculture made the opening up of communications possible. The historical results made themselves clear in the period which followed, as we shall soon see. In the meantime, the crowding out of the last remnants of the Malids by the agricultural Melanid population of the Tamil area had also proceeded to a considerable extent. To-day, only minute and hardly recognisable splinters, *i.e.*, among the Gingee Iruler, and among a very few low castes, survive. But these are all the more interesting because they disclose clearly the once wide diffusion of the primitive Malid "contact type."

If the Malids were crowded out in the east by the Melanids, (who had meanwhile through the Penner gate entered into active cultural intercourse with the north) their destruction in south-west India was the work of the Indids. On the far side of the western mountain-wall of Mysore—part of the Western Ghats—lie the narrow coastal strip of the plains of Malabar. Not until very late can the settlers from the north have penetrated into this area. They had been already a long time in the possession of fully developed technical aids. The pushing out of the older Malids could, therefore, be executed without any difficulty and was also always peaceful, because the primitive forest-hunters did not dare to think of any serious resistance. They maintain to a certain extent even to-day a remarkable racial purity in numerous groups like the Kanikar, Kādar and Kurumber. On the other hand, an

intermediate population has here also taken its rise (*e.g.*, Pulayer). But, on the whole, the Indid peoples who forced their way last of all into Malabar, have kept themselves very pure, indeed they have developed into a very characteristic sub-type—the Keralid type.

But Mysore itself which represents a much older area of colonisation, shows in consequence also a more complete dovetailing with older elements. One noticeable feature is that the Weddid-Malid strata are almost entirely absent in the open nucleal areas of Mysore. They appear only in the border districts towards the forest, *i.e.*, in the taluks of Shimoga and Kadur. On the other hand, the population in the Central areas of Mysore has already developed into a characteristic local-type (Gau Typus). That applies above all to the peasant castes—the "back-bone of the land"—*e.g.*, the Vakkaliga (Okkaliga). Among the lower castes, such as the Holeya and Madiga, traces of Melanid blood are more evident. It is possible, however, that these latter date back only to historical times.

With regard to Mysore, another series of racial elements, whose origin is to be sought exclusively in the north, must still be considered. First of all, the North-Indid element is in some cases very clearly to be seen. In the present condition of our knowledge, it is impossible to make any statement as to the strata or classes of people with which it is bound up, but its existence as such is indisputable. It forms the hyphen between the outlying section of the Todas and the compact mass of the North-Indids in the Punjab. Further, particularly in north-west Mysore, the Turanoid element is very much in evidence, that type which for great parts of the Mahratta country is most characteristic as the "West-brachid type." It extends far down to the



RACES OF INDIA -FOREIGN STRAINS IN INDIA:
TURONOID (WEST BRACHID) TYPE:
A KONKAN BRAHMAN.

Photo: Eickstedt.

south. On the other hand, the Palæ-mongolid penetration into the open country of Mysore plays, so far as my observations go, only a very small part, and is also very little in evidence among the Malids of Mysore—*e.g.*, the Kurumber, etc. But nevertheless at least traces of its existence are to be found even here in the extreme south. That the final and most recent racial wave over India, the Orientalid, has reached Mysore also, is sufficiently well-known from history and will be briefly discussed later. But here also the effects on the racial type as such were comparatively small. Of course traces of Orientalid race are to be found, *e.g.*, among the Madiga—a fact which is not surprising. We see, therefore, that, with the exception of the Gondids, all racial inroads made into India penetrated also as far as Mysore, which as a result of its geographical position at the southern point of the Deccan plateau, possesses a special anthropological importance.

The movements in racial history described above are in part already linked up with prehistoric cultural movements; and in part they belong also to the periods of semi-historical legends, and finally to historical times. Let us examine to what extent prehistory, epic and legendary traditions, and finally authentic history are able to sustain our deductions.

The best evidence is to be expected from the side of PREHISTORY. But unfortunately the study of the Indian prehistory is still in its earliest beginnings. Nevertheless, the evidence which already does exist and can with much caution be used, fits without difficulty into the probable events of racial history. If we leave out of account the quite uncertain eolithic stone remains (said to be of tertiary origin), then we must regard a typical *coup-de-poing*

civilisation as the oldest clearly definable cultural stratum in India. Although the stratagraphical statements about the origin are for the most part very inadequate, their character proves that we are here concerned with some of the most ancient cultural activities of man. It must be ascribed to neanderthaloid hominids. Of their existence in India we made no special mention above, because no remains, or at any rate no remains worth mentioning, have survived to the present day. Nevertheless, we must assume that as everywhere else, so in India, mankind passed through a pre-human stage (Pithecanthropus, etc., = Pre-homo) after which came the early human stage (Neanderthal, Rhodesia, Soloensis: arch-homo) and finally the ancient human stage (Aurignac, Proto-Australids) cape Flats—before the man of the modern times, the Homo alluvialis, appeared. We have only taken into consideration the latter in our account of the racial groups still existing. But the old Indian *coup-de-poing* (*hand-axe*) civilisation is older than the oldest races existing to-day. We may term it with Menghin the Madrasien, because it has been found, above all, in the costal laterits and the river alluvial soils of south India and the Deccan. It undoubtably existed also in the area covered at the present day by Mysore, and indeed in both its types: the exceptionally coarse older hand-axe stratum, and a later Acheulean-like civilisation. They date back to a late inter-glacial age. That is evident from their entire typological character, and is, moreover, proved by the discovery of a stone hand-axe in the Narbada Valley. This object lay 90 cm. beneath an undisturbed layer of fossil fauna which was 6 m. deep. The resemblance to the contemporaneous civilisations extending into Africa and southern Europe, is most evident. Thus the connection of the dark-skinned

southern Humanity is demonstrable in cultural spheres also.

The Indo-Negrids could not possibly have differentiated themselves at this early period. But the finds dating from the younger stone-age, which next followed, may certainly be associated with them. Unfortunately, most of the accounts of the finds are in this case also so inexact that it is not possible to date them chronologically. But a few stratagraphic hints and above all, the character of the flints prove that the two old Indian *coup-de-poing* civilisations were followed immediately afterwards by two flake civilisations. These also clearly reveal typological connections with the west. The line of connection extends right into Africa where the Tumba civilisation of the northern Congo area shows points of relationship. This relationship need not cause surprise for we are dealing here as there with zones of racial contact between the southern Humanity and the advancing northern Humanity. The result is naturally " contact races " in east and west, leading in India finally to the differentiation of the Indo-Negrids.

These Indo-Negrids, forerunners of the present-day Melanid races, came to be gradually infiltrated by the Weddids. One is inclined therefore to bring the second and more highly developed flake civilisation into connection with the pre-Gondid Weddids. One feature of this civilisation was already a rough kind of pottery ornamented by the impression of wedge-shaped pieces of wood and also a richly varied and finely worked inventory of flints. We give it the name microlith civilisation. It is particularly well established in Mahrana Pahar in the Vindhyas, and it would be very interesting and important to know how far south its influence may have extended. But up to the present time it has not been found in Mysore.

The next cultural stratum to be found in India is already very well characterised by the occurrence of the so-called sausage-shaped axe. This is to be found, as a rule, in association with plant cultivation and seems to stand in a certain relationship to the more or less matriarchally organised lake-dwelling farmers of the early history of Europe and the East. Now in India, the Indids represent the next racial wave. And it seems all the more justifiable to ascribe to them parts of the sausage-axe civilisation, in that they are without doubt the bearers of agriculture and matriarchy into India. All these things are to be found associated as well in Europe, in North Africa, and in the East—that is to say, in areas more or less definitely connected with the south European belt of races (Mediterraneans) to which of course the Indids also belong. Taking with them their agriculture and their matriarchy the sausage-shaped axe civilisations even push themselves into racial and cultural complexes originally entirely foreign to them, *e.g.*, in Africa. Into the many interesting separate problems associated herewith, we cannot enter here. But we may point out that we presume that in India with the appearance of the sausage-shaped axe civilisations and the civilisations associated with it, the rise of the first village civilisations took place.

But only the town civilisations are archæologically proved in India. They still stand in close relationship with the great cultural centres of early man in Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. That is shown most clearly by the cultural relics from Nala, Harappa, and Mohenjodaro. Their influence continues even up to the present-day in the Indian High Civilisation. The racial composition is also quite clear. We are concerned primarily with long-headed people out of the south Europid circle of races, whom we are

already allowed to call Indids although, as is quite intelligible, there are various other strains, among which the Turanid element is specially prominent. Here too, therefore, we find racial parallels with the early history of Mesopotamia where the racial composition is very similar. With this we are standing perhaps somewhere in the period between 3000 B. C. and 2000 B. C. That might well be the time of the first Indid advances out of the Indus area along the open eastwards-pointing river corridors of the Deccan. Relative over-population, and continuous drying-up of the old settlement areas, and finally the ever increasing pressure and the gradual infiltration of the warrior-herdsmen of Central Asia (which was soon to develop into a mighty advance) was naturally to bring about movements of expansion.

The destructive blow of the half nomadic warrior-herdsmen broke in upon the peaceful and prosperous Indus towns with the Aryans and led at first to their almost complete cultural destruction and to a considerable racial overflooding. At this period, the Deccan and also Mysore inevitably became refuge areas of the older races and civilisations. In and around the Nilgiri area, we find traces of considerable cultural activities, for which, it is true, an exact chronological dating is unfortunately also not yet possible. But it can be ascribed neither to the Todas (who were not only of more recent date, but were also quite different in their civilisation) nor to the Badagas who only immigrated in the last few centuries. With its rich pottery, urns, figures and images, and with its numerous mighty stone memorials, the dolmens, cromlechs and kistvaens, it presents a rich and imposing picture. Indeed it is too rich to be ascribed to a single wave of civilisation. The existence of the stone monuments

need not distrub us—neither here nor in the Central Deccan,—for these have played a part in Europe and indeed everywhere, among all kinds of peoples and all kinds of cultural groups. And so one must also in the case of the stone monuments of the Nilgiris avoid the false conclusion that they are perhaps connected with the Mundarians and Palæ-mongolids and in that way to associate them with the very minute traces of Palæ-mongolid racial influence in South India. But it is very regrettable that no systematic and methodic inquiry has here been undertaken.

EPICS AND LEGENDS.

We have now reached the threshold of historical times. This is among the more highly civilised peoples preluded by a period in which EPICS AND LEGENDS are created. And although the contents of these epics and sages are in India dark and vague, and although they have in later adaptations been misbandled and changed, nevertheless from time to time a few historically explicable, indeed here and there provable facts shine through. They are of course only to be accepted with the greatest care and the severest criticism.

If in the great Indian epics, *the Mahabharata* and *the Ramayana*, their original creators, the Aryan-speaking warrior-herdsmen, express their contempt and hatred of the splendid citadels and of the treasures of the godless inhabitants of the country invaded, when they strike the power and the depravity of these "Nagas," then it is quite clear that here the opposition between the half-barbaric North-Indid warrior-herdsmen and the old and beautiful civilisation of the Indids finds expression. Certainly, as the Aryan pressure and inroads began as early as the second thousand B. C. in north-west India, it was to be expected that by the time the

epics came to be written down in the second half of the first thousand years B. C., a considerable merging of the civilisation and races should have taken place which destroyed many of the older versions. But it can still be seen what great difficulties the matriarchal Dravidians put in the way of the Aryan military dictatorships in the assertion of power. Once overcome, the Dravidians began instantly to work incessantly at their restoration. And this with success, till in the centuries preceding the Christian era, the centres of political power and civilisation again lay completely in Indid hands; and it was at this time that out of the subordinate bards, maintained by local chieftains of the pastoral warriors, and after their merging with the highly educated Naga priesthood, Brahmanism and Hinduism grew up.

The old epics reveal a second contrast—that between the civilised peoples, the philosophically schooled and military superior inhabitants of the fertile plains, and the wild jungle peoples. Here for the first time and already clearly defined, the contrast between the inhabitants of the open country and the forest area comes into view, the contrast which is still to-day so characteristic for the broad outlines of the racial picture of India. The "black," small, broad-nosed, primitive inhabitants were regarded as evil and disgusting spirits, they were compared with monkeys and called monkeys, and they were as *Rākshasas* and *Asuras* reviled and cursed by the priests, because they molested the hermits. These religious hermits are, however, really nothing but the messengers and skirmishers of the advancing Indid and North-Indid colonists. The "Asuras," therefore, seek nothing else but to defend their home country, just as the Nagas did.

That at this time, that is to say, about the beginning of the first Millennium, the matriarchal,

snake-worshipping Nagas had already penetrated as far as Mysore, is, according to the contents of the *Ramayana*, very probable. Moreover, it is just in Mysore that even up to the present day, very considerable remains of the older Indian civilisation have survived. Thus nearly every village possesses even to-day its snake-image which is accorded divine worship, and the killing of a snake is still considered an abhorrent act, and further the goddess Mariamma, who is in reality identical with the Magnamater of the pre-Aryan matriarchy of the southern-Europid racial belt (Ishtar, Astarte, Isis, etc.), still plays a very important part. Nowhere else has so much old oriental civilisation been preserved as in South India. We cannot go into details here.

If we assume that during the first Millennium before Christ there was an Indid population in Mysore, it can, of course, only have been a question of small diffused colonial cells of expansion, on soil specially favourable for cultivation and at suitable traffic junctions. The Indids in Mysore at that time still stood, therefore, entirely in an attitude of defence. Round their small settlements, and the narrow and short belts of cultivated soil, extended the endless expanse of thick uninterrupted jungle. They were surrounded by food-gathering peoples or by wandering tribes of hunters. And if the former for the most part retreated peacefully and timidly before them, there were many hard struggles with the Gondid totemists, or perhaps already totemistic-matriarchal jungle peoples. Echoes of these struggles may be heard in the epics, particularly in the *Ramayana*. Written down by the time of the great restoration of the old Indid civilisation in the Maurya period, they could also speak from direct contact and experience of the life-struggle of the main racial groups in India,

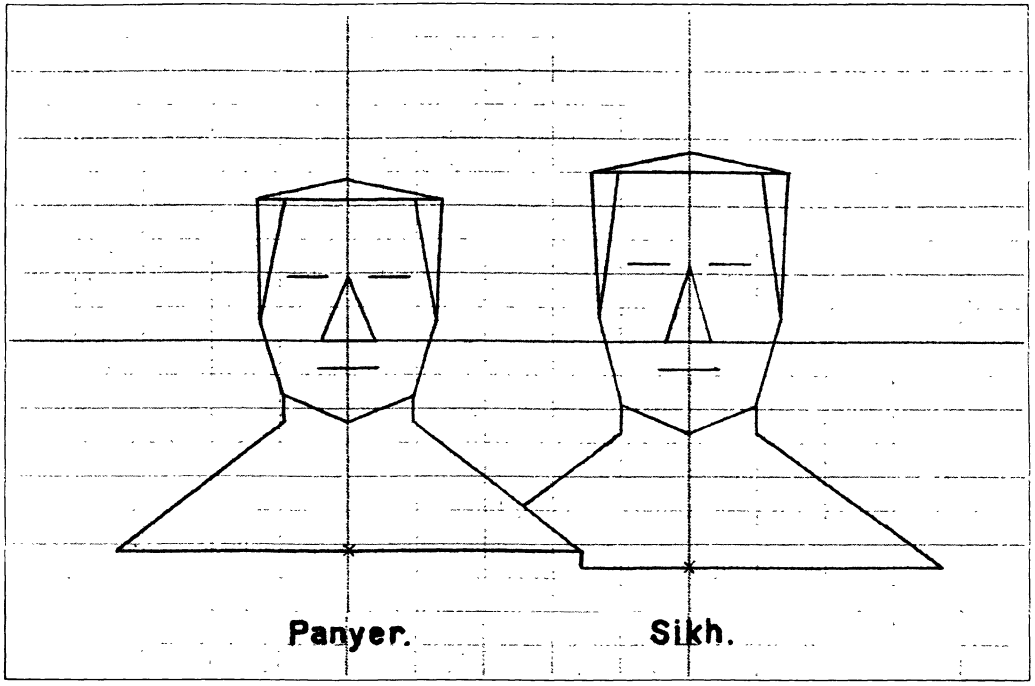
the North-Indids and Indids here and the Weddid-Malids there. Rama, Crown Prince of Ayodhya, became the symbol of the advancing colonising Indids. Priests show the way to army and settlers. It was indeed the priest Agasthya who by means of skilful and politic conduct soothed the south-Indian primitive peoples and so prepared the way for the hero Rama. As Rama is the symbol of the advancing militant Indid civilisation, so is Agasthya nothing but the personification of those innumerable hermits and missionaries, who made the remote Deccan countries accessible, and finally made the inhabitants peaceful and ready for Hindu civilisation, politics and religion. The priest is the exponent of the spiritual power which soon was to lay its conquests in the hands of the secular power. It was indeed just the same in mediæval Europe—in this as in other cases there exist abundant parallels between the cultural process in East and West. Here just as there the priest-hero later became a saint or a demi-god. But that need by no means prevent us from regarding an Agasthya, and a Kanwa or a Parasurama as historical personalities and exponents of actual events.

Several geographical statements of the *Ramayana* that bear reference to Mysore are also interesting. Thus the position of the capitals of some princes of the Asuras are placed here. We can without doubt still identify these Asuras with the primitive Malid and Gondid peoples. The political power in Mysore, therefore, lay still in essentials in their hands, and presumably only the princely families were half-Hinduised and surrounded by a court of Hindus, just as has been the case in the last few centuries in Central India and Chota Nagpur. Among the Asura princes Guhāsura with his capital Harihara on the Tungabhadra, Hidimbāsura of

Chitaldroog, Bakāsura and lastly Mahishāsura of Chāmundi are mentioned. It is in connection with the latter that Mysore, the town and the nucleus of the present-day State, is mentioned for the first time. Rama soon overcame the Asuras.

But there are also the Rākshasas who appear as another kind of "evil spirits," *i.e.*, another tribal group of the Malid-Weddid aborigines. Their capital was in Lanka or Ceylon. Their very interesting position in the racial history of Ceylon and their connectoin with the Weddas have been dealt with by the author in a previous paper. Much more important for our problems than these, is a third section of the original inhabitants which are described as Vānara, the monkey people. Under their king Hanuman—who, therefore, was later deified—they render military aid to the Hindu hero, Rama. For this as well, there are abundant parallels from historical times, for the Weddid Gonds and others often enough decided the issue in the rivalries and struggles among the Hindu princes of Central India. Entire castes have thus come into existence (see below). Perhaps, the description of the third aboriginal group as monkeys may also be given an ethnological meaning, in so far as the clan life associated with the hunters totemism took animals as tribal clan symbols (often in the form of carved emblems and flags—a custom which survives to-day *e.g.*, among the Oraon). Thus one may, perhaps, see in Hanuman's monkey people, parts of the northern totemistic Gondids, who took part in the conquest of the Malid south.

Not without interest in this connection is the name Mysore itself. Mysore was the great stronghold of the advancing Indids. But the name points to pastoral tribes and not to the agriculturists. For it means Buffalo-town, and thus appears in the version of Mahisha-mandala in the time of King



THE TWO RACIAL CONTRASTS IN MALID AND NORTH INDID TYPES.

Asoka and in the old chronicle of the kings of Ceylon, the Mahāvamsa. With this name the splendid appropriation of wide tracts in Mysore for cattle-breeding is called to mind, and the extraordinary predilection which the Todas, who probably had emigrated from this area, show for their buffaloes. Now we may without doubt regard the Todas as nothing else than a remnant which had split off from the northern pastoral nomads who always showed a nearly fanatical love for its cattle. One need only compare the Vedas! And thus there are arising once again connections between Mysore, both as town and country, and the North-Indid pastoral nomad of orginally Aryan tongue.

The mythical period reflected in the old epics passes imperceptibly into the light of HISTORY. The first historical records continue to show the direct connections of Mysore with the north, rising as they do out of the anthropo-geographical conditions of the land, and consequently defining simultaneously the prehistoric and the historic development.

THE RACES IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY.

Archæological evidence for this has been provided by the edicts of Asoka discovered by Rice in northern Mysore. These are moral teachings chiselled on stone, which the North-Indian Emperor set up in all distant parts of his great empire. But even before Asoka, Mysore must have stood in the closest political connection with the north. According to Jain traditions, which at an early period were given a permanent form in inscriptions, the first of the Maurya emperors, Chandra Gupta who united India after Alexander's invasion, is said to have come to Mysore and to have ended his life in accordance with Hindu ideals as a pious hermit at Sravana Belgola in Mysore. Accounts are also given of connections with Ayodhya in the Doab and the

area of the Andhras, that is to say, the Telugus, whose capitals lay—and this is typical—on the Kistna and the Godavari. The bonds between the little colony in the southern forests and the north already appear, therefore, to be very strong. Asoka even sent Buddhist missionaries there; and this would not have happened without the existence of a relatively dense population. But how unimportant in spite of all this the whole Deccan in world history was as yet, is revealed by the fact that Ptolemy in the second century A.D. pictures in detail on his map the Ganges plain, but leaves out altogether the whole of the Deccan. Ceylon almost joins up with the mouth of the Ganges!

In a remote area of this kind a rising of the original inhabitants was, assuming adequate leadership, at all times possible, and inevitably meant, as soon as tribes half civilised were concerned, a great danger for the further advance of the Indid colonists. As a matter of fact, counter-movements on the part of the original inhabitants are soon recorded. One of them took place in the third century A.D. It was the revolt of the Kadambas, traditional enemies of the Nagas whose name (particularly, if the Kanarese pronunciation is considered), sounds too much like that of the forest tribe of the Kurumber, for us not to assume some relationship. Indeed the centre of the rising lay in the present-day taluks Shikarpur and Shimoga in north-west Mysore, which at that time must still have been almost completely covered with jungle. Later Indian history also contains numerous cases in which adventurers or half-breeds have founded independent empires among the jungle peoples; Orissa and the Central provinces are even to-day full of remnants of such small states. The empire of the Kadambas was able to survive till about 566 A.D., when the

Chalukyas, of the most powerful Hindu dynasty of the Deccan, brought about its fall.

But the real Indids of Mysore were able in the meantime to establish themselves even more firmly in the central area and to spread out and finally indeed to make themselves almost independent of the northern country of origin. This signifies the end of the period of colonisation, and with the Ganga princes, whose names remind us so clearly of their former northern origin, the autochthonous Indids begin to take over the leadership. That took place towards the end of the second century A.D. And now with the extension of the settlements, the land suitable for agriculture in the east, on the Pennar river, must also have been taken into cultivation. That meant, however, the opening of the door leading to the Melanids of the south, who had for a long time been highly civilised and very active. And we see, therefore, in the period which follows repeated strong advances of the Melanid dynasties of the Pallavas and then the Cholas. Typically they almost always push out from the Pennar area, and as a result, conflicts with the Indid Gangas and Kalingas arise. On the other hand, the Gangas reach towards Coimbatore and at times go still further. It is the period in which the young south Indian civilisations struggle with each other for power.

The empire of the Ganga princes, which in the eighth century had reached its highest prosperity, perished in these struggles. But the native Indid civilisation achieved regeneration by its own efforts without interference from the north. And it is typical that this new power also, which was to a certain extent a second rising of the aboriginal peoples, came once again out of the densely forested north-west Mysore. Those responsible, however,

were no longer essentially Malid, but were already predominantly Indid in race. The Hoysalas ruled now as petty princes over the still chiefly Malid peoples in the Western Ghats, gradually extended their power, at first with the help of the superior Chalukyas, and finally created a powerful empire in Mysore. But scarcely was it established when a new wave broke in from the north—the Muhammadan Orientalids, along with their followers drawn from many races. In 1310 the first attack reached Mysore, spreading death and destruction everywhere. And so Mysore, which felt itself gradually becoming weak, allied itself with Vijayanagar which in the 15th and 16th centuries became the last bulwark of Hinduism in the Deccan. It is well enough known, how the struggle between the Muhammadans and the indigenous Indians shaped the history of the following centuries in Mysore, and what part such men as Tipu Sultan and Haidar Ali played in it. But as early as the beginning of the 15th century the power in Mysore became concentrated in the hands of one of the princely families of the country, the long line of famous rulers of which began with Yadu Rāja Vidjaya (1399-1423) and still exists to-day in the person of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

MODERN TIMES.

We have now reached MODERN TIMES. The castes and tribes of Mysore still reveal clearly in their composition the development of the racial history of the country. Nothing can be more instructive in this respect than the study of this series of works written with so much care and industry by Mr. Ananthakrishna Iyer. There are numerous conclusions, which from the viewpoint of racial history are to be drawn from the facts of cultural history, and they are also the only tentative

conclusions so long as exact anthropological analysis cannot yet be placed alongside the cultural. A few points may be mentioned here—the careful reader will have no difficulty in finding others.

As remnants of the old Malid contact race three groups stand clearly defined: the Hasalar with the Maleru in the north-west frontier forests, the Kadu Kurumba (Kurumber) in the southern and the Iruliga (Iruler) with the Sholigar in the eastern frontier-forests. They are, for example, with the Jenu Kuruba (Jen Kurumber, Vol. IV, p. 69), even to-day good representatives of the collecting peoples of the oldest stratum of civilisation (Alt-Kultur). But many of the old tribes stand to-day in a state of complete decay, the Hasalar *e.g.* Their name signifies according to Mr. Iyer something like children in the sense of servants. They have been for a long time in a position of dependence on the advancing Indids. From their area, but not only from them, the national risings of the Kadambas and Hoysalas took their rise. The jungle peoples provided troops which afterwards took the more honourable name of their masters. The Mal Hasalars are to-day agricultural slaves just like their kinsmen, the Panyer in the Wynad (which at times also belonged to Mysore). The basket-making Nad Hasalars correspond with the Betta Kurumber of the Wynad. It is, of course, no accident that in west Mysore and in the Wynad parallel developments went on, for both are old areas of racial disintegration. They are to be found also with the Iruliga in their relation to the *Kāttu* and *Nāttu-Nichanmar* (Vol. III, p. 391). In contrast to these old social and racial developments stand those of a more recent date, *e.g.*, among the Sholigar who (like the Kurumber) enter the forest service or work on the plantations, lose their old cultural character, become

members of the proletariat, and from the free-bear hunting lords of the forests they sink into dirty, ragged, plague-striken Kulis.

It is thus that the change in economic conditions and the consequent social contact leads to transitional groups. The older the contact, the more firmly are they fitted into the local social structure of Hinduism. Several of such castes are, therefore, to be found in areas which lie to-day far distant from the jungles. They form here the lowest strata of the recognised castes. That is the case in the Doab and in Bengal, and also in Mysore, where the Besta in particular are to be assigned in this stratum. They live as fishermen, and, as Mr. Iyer says, dispersed over the whole State, but they are to be found particularly in the river districts of Mysore and Shimoga. Their Malid blood may still be traced everywhere, they are dark and primitive, and "both men and women are short and sturdy" (Vol. II, p. 257).

Gondid influences are also recognisable in Mysore. They seem to appear, at least here and there, among such old Indid groups as the Agasa are recognisable among the Kotte Okkalu, and are even to be found among the Bedas. Indeed, this interesting caste represents a colonising remnant of the auxiliary troops of jungle people who were employed in the struggles of the Chalukyas and Gangas and later by the Muhammadan Sultans. They are thus in origin more or less the same as the Chik Blaik in Chota Nagpur or the Kurikcher in Malabar: a hybrid group with a strong admixture of the traits of the original inhabitants, and they are of relatively respectable status. Of course, partly through women taken by force and partly through their lords, there occurred also in earlier times a considerable admixture of Indid blood. Moreover,

even to-day, the Bedas accept all members of higher castes as full members of their own. It was they who along with the united armies of the Muhammadan Sultans plundered for three days the splendid Vijayanagar, the last bulwark of Hinduism in the Deccan.

It is easy to see that the Gondid traits among the Bedas are connected with the penetration of northern races into Mysore, and are recent. Even as late as the last few centuries, advances of Gondid splinter-groups are recorded. For the Vodder, earthworkers from Orissa, who as builders of wells and tanks are to be found all over India, contain abundant Gondid elements. A few of these may also be found among the Uppara (salt-workers) though there may be a question of Malid intermixture as well (Vol. IV, figs. at pp. 641 and 643). Among the Banjara (wandering carriers) who are an exceptionally hybrid people, some Gondid elements, though of course alongside Indid and Orientalid strains, are also to be found.

Their recent appearance out of the north,—perhaps as Iyer assumes (Vol. II, p. 142) out of the Bhat caste of Rajputana,—is certain. But as to the extent and manner of these intermixtures, there exist no authoritative works: we are here groping through the initial problems.

By way of the various intermediate castes, we come now to the Indids, the representatives of the old Naga peoples and of the agriculturists. One might indeed assume that the first settlers still stood in close connection with the Malid aborigines and that they were forced politically into the background by the later, military and culturally stronger thrusts of a consciously planned colonisation. In this way, the lower castes like the Madiga and Holeya may, perhaps, be connected with the oldest inroads of

Indids. Their Indid blood received continuously new strains, so that the primitive Malid admixture is to be seen to-day only seldom. A very interesting question is that of the origin of their Melanid traces. Do they go back to historic or prehistoric times? The Holeyas are indeed the caste of the former slaves and present-day humble landworkers, and the struggles with the Pallavas and Cholas must have brought Melanid racial influence. But this may also date back to prehistoric times. Not less uncertain is the racial composition of such heterogenous castes as the Medar (basket-makers), Dasari (beggers), then the Billava and Idiga (toddy-maker) and, of course, also the soldier caste of the Hale Paika. Their analysis could unlock several problems of racial history. Very remarkable is the position of the pastoral caste of the Kuruba, since they are possibly connected with the Pallavas (who were also called Kurubas). Perhaps we are here concerned with remnants of their troops or remnants of sections of their ruling clans, who after the destruction of their political power by the Cholas, fled into the forests. In any case, the present-day Kuruba cannot (as has been attemped) be brought into any close connection—either racial or cultural—with the jungle Kurumber. Their name alone, derived from Kuri (sheep) is etymologically something quite different from the name of the forest tribe. Nevertheless, it is, on the other hand, very possible that the Kurumbers, Iruligas and related peoples of the Tamil plains once acted as auxiliary troops to the Pallava, and that from this the designations like Vena Palli (forest-Pallava) and also confusions between the groups participate in those struggles (Pallavas, Kurubas, Kurumbas) arose.

The nucleus of the Mysore Indids must apparently

be sought for in the Okkaliga (Vakkaliga). They form the mass of the well-established peasants. The Gangadikara seem to be a more recent stratum, whose name reminds us of the Ganga-kings, who ruled in Mysore in the 10th century. We may regard their connections with the former ancient ruling house as very similar to those of the Arasu, the present-day aristocracy of Mysore, with the present-day ruling family. In the case of both these and also of the other middle Indid castes, like the Kunchitiga, the tradition of their northern origin has remained. But the historical connections with the neighbouring Tamil south have apparently everywhere, and particularly in the aristocratic strata, led to Melanid influences. They are clearly recognisable among castes of strongly composite origin, such as the Banajiga, the merchants: "they are either dark or dark-brown" (Vol II, p. 222). But even the religious aristocracy of the land, the elite of the colonising Indid peoples, did not escape the racial influence of the neighbouring races. Therefore also sometimes very dark-skinned Brahmans can be seen in South India.

Among the Indid peoples also the continuous stream from the north finds expression right up to recent times. Thus came, *e.g.*, according to Iyer, the Haṅdi-Jogi, Reddi and other Indid stragglers, from the Telugu area in the north-east, and still more from the north-west, from Maharāshtra. It is very probable that the latter brought strong Indo-Brachid elements to Mysore. To these belong the Kahar and Mahratta themselves, and also the Nādu Gauda who besides seem, however, to be racially very composite. That applies even more to the forest-peasant caste of the Āre, who alongside the original Brachids reveal to-day also much that is Malid: "they are dark and of middle height, strong,

muscular, and healthy, but dull and clumsy." (Vol. II, p. 86.)

About the last racial wave to Mysore, which seems bound up chiefly, though not solely, with the spread of Islam through soldiers and traders from the North and Arabian traders out of Malabar (Moplas) Mr. Iyer gives many illuminating facts. But of greater interest from an anthropological standpoint are at present the connections with the south, because they still lie in complete darkness. We have already spoken of the Holeyas. The Korachas (Korava) presumably reveal more Melanid blood, though this wandering tribe as is to be expected in view of their customs, have always comparatively quickly adapted themselves to their somatic surroundings. Probably there is more Melanid blood among the more recent immigrants from the south, as the Komatis (merchants), Patnulkarans (silk-weavers), Mudaliyars and others. But we are dealing here with comparatively high castes which also in their homeland are to be regarded as representatives of strata more strongly influenced by the Indids. Here also the racial question remains more or less open.

There remains the North Indid strain. It strikes one sometimes here and sometimes there, and appears to be particularly strong in the middle sections of the Mysore people. But unfortunately it is not possible to say anything about its relative strength and distribution. Perhaps one can, according to Mr. Iyer's account, assume the existence of some North Indid blood among a few herdsman castes as among the Uru Golla, or Kacha Gauliga, although the latter (and this applies to some herdsman castes, in more recent times) have entered into close relationship with the aborigines. The Gauligas are, on the other hand, tall and fair, as Mr. Iyer says:

somewhat wheat-coloured. But we cannot base any anthropological conclusions on this.

We see accordingly that there are abundant indications as to the old racial relationship and movements, indications to the original economic structures and cultural differences of the people of Southern India. It is obvious that we shall always have to look upon Mr. Iyer's books as fundamental works for cultural and racial researches. But there is, no doubt, need of exact racial investigation in order to clear up the present shadowy outlines of the racial position of the different castes and thereby also get a firm ground for the racial history of the land. Let us in the meantime be thankful for what already exists, for the splendid volumes and reports which the Government of Mysore offers us through the works of Mr. Iyer. They are the latest achievement which Mr. Iyer, *the Nestor of Indian Ethnology*, has presented us. May he still be granted a long period of activity in the service of truth and in the service of his country!

SUMMARY.

With the question as to the causality of racial facts the temporal moment of the development of the Hominids (mankind) enters the foreground, and from racial anthropology originates racial history. By this the method is fixed: the curve of racial historical happenings results from the inner connections between the somatic facts and their biological dynamic on the one hand, and the different spacial conditions on the other. Its course, disclosed on a deductive way, then underlies the critical comparison with the results of the neighbouring historical disciplines which have arisen in the same spacial unit.

The conditions for India are as follows: twofold is the great division of the spacial exterior of the

whole subcontinent, *viz.*, in open, mostly arable alluvial regions on the one hand, and in wooded and mostly mountainous regions on the other. Twofold is therefore—as is to be expected—also the grouping in large for the Hominids (mankind), whose native soil builds the two contrasting spacial types: preponderantly progressive and of large stature in the open areas, and primitive and of small stature in the wooded mountains. (See ill. 1 ft.)

But what binds the Hominids to their native soil is their system of economy, and, accordingly, ergology and sociology must follow on a considerable scale. In this way the ethnological, the cultural facts form a connecting link between spaciology and raciology. For India they teach this: the somatic primitive inhabitants of the jungle also belong to the ethnologically most primitive stages, *viz.*, the collective stage or to hunting and mattock-using totemism, but the progressive inhabitants of the open plains belong to the plough-using and herdsmen cultures. And again follows as from the twofold spacial contrasts above, so here from the twofold economic division also a twofold *racial* division. For the somatic primitive people fall into a group at the same time somatically and culturally *very* primitive and a higher one, while the progressive people show a more slender and a coarser component. Besides, India possesses finally a last great racial-stock of especially dark-skinned individuals which pushes itself between the other groups, and has maintained itself only in the remotest and best protected great spacial divisions. Thus results, in the shortest survey, the following picture:

I. *The racially primitive people of the jungle region—Ancient-Indians or Weddid racial group.*—It is divided into:

(1) Dark-brown curly (wide curls) haired people with totemistic mattock-using culture (with matriarchal influences): Gondid race.

(2) Black-brown curly (narrow curls) haired people with originally ancient culture (with foreign influences): Malid type.

II. *The racially mixed and dislodged group—Black-Indians or Melanids.* It is divided into:

(1) Black-brown progressive people in the most southern plains with strong foreign matriarchy (now strongly overstratified): South Melanids.

(2) Black-brown primitive people of the northern Deccan forests with strong foreign (totemistic and matriarchal) influences: Kolid type.

III. *The racial progressive people of the open regions—New Indians or Indid group.*—It is divided into:

(1) Gracile-brown people with enforced patriarchy: Gracile-Indid race.

(2) Coarser light-brown people with possible original patriarchal herdsmenship: North-Indid type.

As the oldest stratum in racial history and original part of the South Humanity, the Black-Indians—the Melanid racial group are to be regarded. It still belongs to the great intercrossed "Contact Belt" between the Europid North Humanity and the Negrid South Humanity. As the second stratum follows the hunting-totemistic Weddids, through their intermixture with their proto-Negrid predecessors they gradually created the southern and primitive Malid type. The third stratum represents the Indids, who to-day—but only since a few centuries—have reached numerical predominance. Its advance, which is, to a great extent, already historically traceable, proceeds along the rivers where not only lie the bush-land regions of the Gondid hunters, but also the soil of the alluvial zones suitable for agriculture. The Indids were also those people who, with their high matriarchal plough-using culture,

were soon able to break through the belt of the older races, and who slowly drove the hunting and mattock-using Gondids out of the bush-land into the forests. Thus, the process of dislodgment of the ancient cultural Malids by the totemistic Weddids repeated itself, but this time on the Weddids themselves. Finally, and only at the beginning of the historical age, the numerous civilized Indids with Matriarchal were followed by warrior herdsmen with half-nomadism, rigid patriarchy and aryanism. It is possible that this nomadism, or, at least, parts of it, are in certain connections with the last racial group in India, still to be named,—the North-Indids.

In India, as everywhere, the *open* country regions were the first to be occupied by the Hominids. They stretch eastwards along the rivers over the sloping Deccan plateau, and they lie exactly in continuation of the only great accesses which are possessed by this most secluded part of the whole Eurasiatic continent, *viz.*, the Passes in the north-west (Khaiber, Bolan). But, furthermore, on these eastward flowing rivers also lies the fertile arable soil of the later matriarchal Dravidian settlers, and finally, at the beginning of the racial historical age, the still coarse aryan half-nomadism advanced against the civilized Dravidian-speaking Indids, and ahead of them. From this, naturally, follow the great anthropo-dynamic currents in India which always were, since the late glacial period, the regulators of the successive infiltrating Hominid-waves. They run mainly from west to east, partly south-east, and push here and there in by currents crossing valleys, alluvial lands or strips of bush-land, and also direct towards the south.

Thus Mysore is reached. This happens only very late, in many cases only in historical times, for Mysore lies in the south far from the access,

also far from those anthropo-dynamic main currents running eastwards. Therefore, just in Mysore, or rather its border-lands, we find the best preserved somatic remains of ancient time, the most primitive of primitive inhabitants in India, relics at the same time racial as well as cultural: the Malids. Here, therefore, also falls the intrusion of the later Gondids already into the earliest dawn of legendary ancient times, and finds its expression in epic poetry and religious traditions. But the Indids' colonization, a colonization of Indids since along aryanized in the north, is already placed, in its great phases, in the full light of historical facts.

Besides, there are somatic traces of advances of pre-Aryan North-Indid herdsmen who maintained themselves on the mountain remnant of the Nilgiris which appears so extraordinarily strange in its geographical surroundings as the racial remnant of the Toda, which appears not less strange in its *racial* surroundings. But also over the whole of Mysore, there are traces of North-Indids. There they intermix themselves with partly older and partly younger intruders who belong to races foreign to India. These are the Palæ-mongolids originating from the Monkhmerians of the second millennium B.C., and who are to be found only in small numbers —the turanoid "West-Brachids" of the Mahratta area and who already intrude from the north-west in stronger numbers—and, finally, the orientaloid Muhammedans, who in the last centuries, absolutely determined the great historical events, not only in Mysore but in the whole of India.

The armies of the Muhammedans also used the same roads, passes and valleys as those used by the Hominids since the most ancient times when advancing into India, where they had been indented, dislocated or overstratified. Thus ends the racial

history and the effects of the great anthropo-dynamic currents which directed the destiny of the Indian sub-continent at the threshold of our time.

MEASUREMENTS OF RACIALLY CHARACTERISTIC INDIAN POPULATIONS.

Name of Tribe	Number	Cephalic Index	Nasal Index	Stature	Skin colour v. L.
I. 1 : Weddid group. Gondid race.					
♂ Kui from the Khondmals .	71	76·2	79·3	159·7	249
♀ Do ..	65	76·4	78·7	148·6	24·1
I. 2 : Weddid group. Malid type.					
♂ Panyer from the Wynad ..	101	75·7	84·5	156·5	27·3
♀ Do ..	101	73·6	76·4	143·9	27·0
♂ Jungle Weddas from E. Ceylon.	31	73·7	79·2	156·1	27·1
II. 1 : Melanid group. South-Melanid race.					
♂ Paller from Tinnevelli ...	52	76·2	82·2	162·4	29·1
♂ Parias from Madras Town	33	73·6	77·3	162·1	26·4
II. 2 : Melanid group. Kolid type.					
♂ Santal from the Santal Parghannas.	53	76·2	82·2	159·4	29·3
♀ Do ..	61	77·2	73·6	149·1	29·7
III. 1 : Indid group. Gracil-Indid race.					
♂ Kurmi (villagers) from Benares District.	60	73·3	73·5	159·8	23·6
♂ Kapu (villagers) from Vizagapatam District.	51	76·3	69·7	161·3	25·6
♂ Tiyer from Malabar (Keralid sub-race).	63	75·6	70·4	160·9	21·8
♀ Tiyer from Malabar (Keralid sub-race).	61	76·4	66·9	147·6	23·0
III. 2 : Indid group. North-Indid type.					
♂ Sikh from the Eastern Punjab.	76	73·8	64.8	172·1	20·0
♂ Toda from the Nilgiris ..	73	72·2	68·3	171·9	21·7
♀ Toda from the Nilgiris ..	39	74·6	67·4	157·7	22·0

Note.—The technic of measuring is in strict accordance with the international agreements of Geneva as explained and enlarged by Rudolf Martin. The numbers given show the arithmetic means.

After the scale of Von Luschan.

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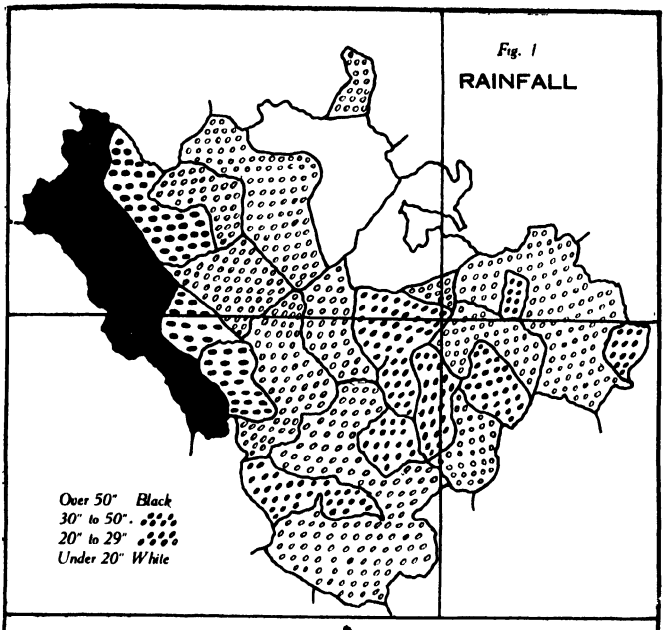
Fig. 1
RAINFALL
Over 50" Black
30" to 50".
20" to 29"
Under 20" White

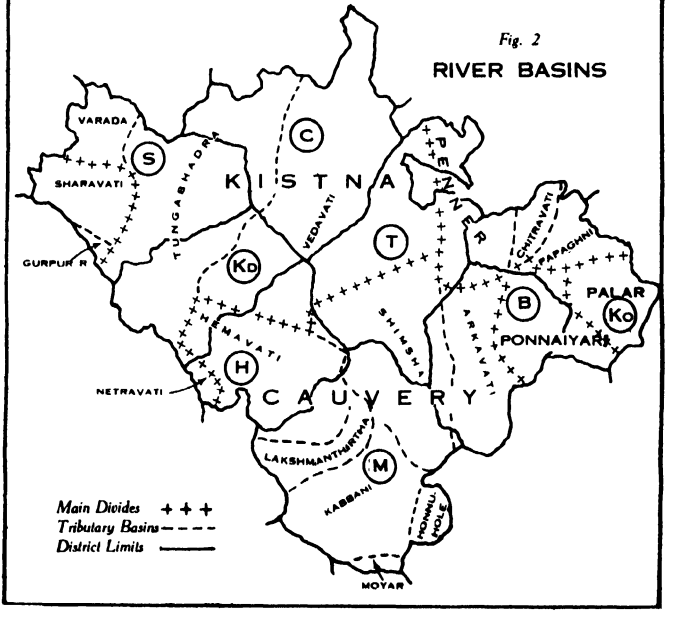
Fig. 2
RIVER BASINS
VARADA
S
SHARAVATI
GURPUR R
TUNGABHADRA
C
KISTNA
VEDAVATI
PENNAR
T
Kd
H
NETRAVATI
CAUVERY
SHIMSHA
ARKAVATI
LOKIHRAVATI
PAPAGHNI
B
PALAR
Ko
PONNAIYAR
LAKSHMANTHIRTHA
M
KABBANI
MOYAR
Main Divides + + +
Tributary Basins - - - -
District Limits

CHAPTER II.

THE CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY OF MYSORE.

RAIN AND RIVERS,—MAN-POWER,—HIGHWAYS AND BY-WAYS —PHYSICS AND POLITICS—CONTACT, CLEAVAGE AND DIFFUSION—CONCLUSION.

MYSORE State is partly Hill, partly Plateau. None of it is Plain. In area (30,000 square miles), it is about the size of Scotland; its population is greater (about 5,700,000 as against 4,900,000).*

I. RAIN AND RIVERS.

A. Rain.—The average annual rainfall of the State as a whole is about 36″. In four out of the eight districts, it ranges from 25″ to 30″. In Chitaldrug, in the North-East, it falls below 22″; in the West, it rises to about 35″ in Hassan and over 60″ in Kadur and Shimoga, and in the West of these three districts rises to over 70″ in Sagar, 84″ in Manjarabad, 97″ in Mudgere, 116″ in Tirthahalli and Koppa, and 184″ in Nagar. These six taluks with a strip to the East of them comprise the *Malnad* or Hill Country, as distinct from the *Maidan* or Plateau which embraces the greater part of the State. (Fig. 1).

B. Rivers.—The rivers of Mysore flow north, south, east and west. The Mysore Malnad drains partly northward to the Kistna, partly southward to the Cauvery, partly westward to the Arabian Sea. Of the Maidan area, North Mysore forms part of the Kistna basin; East Mysore belongs to

*In the recent Census, it is 6,557,302, 3,353,963 being males and 3,203,339 females.

the triple basin of the Penner (North Pinakini), Ponnaiyar (South Pinakini) and Palar; South Mysore, the Mysore Homeland, covers almost the whole of the Upper Cauvery basin. (Fig. 2).

The areas within each drainage system are, as computed by Rice:—

North 11,031 sq. m.	East 4,857 sq. m.
South 9,486 „	West 1,881 „

Of the eight districts, Shimoga, Kadur and Chitaldrug belong mainly to the Kistna; Mysore, Hassan and West Bangalore to the Cauvery; East Bangalore and Kolar to the Penner-Ponnaiyar-Palar group; and Tumkur to all three.

1. The Malnad.

The Mysore Malnad is part of the zone of broken mountainous country, the Western Ghats, which separates the Deccan Plateau from the West Coast Plain and precipitates the moisture of the South-West Monsoon Winds.

This Ghat Zone, along the Mysore border, is divided into three sections by two broad salients of upland that jut out from the plateau seawards in Shimoga District and in Coorg, and demarcate the embayments of North Kanara, South Kanara and Malabar. (Fig. 3).

(1) Between Goa and the Shimoga Salient, the Ghats are lower than elsewhere, averaging about 2,000 feet and their crest is cut by four large rivers which leap from the hinter-land to the coastal plain.

(2) From the Shimoga Salient southwards, the general level of the crest rises steadily till it attains a height of 6,207 feet in Kudremukh in Kadur, about half-way between the two salients. The zone then swings sharply inland along the borders

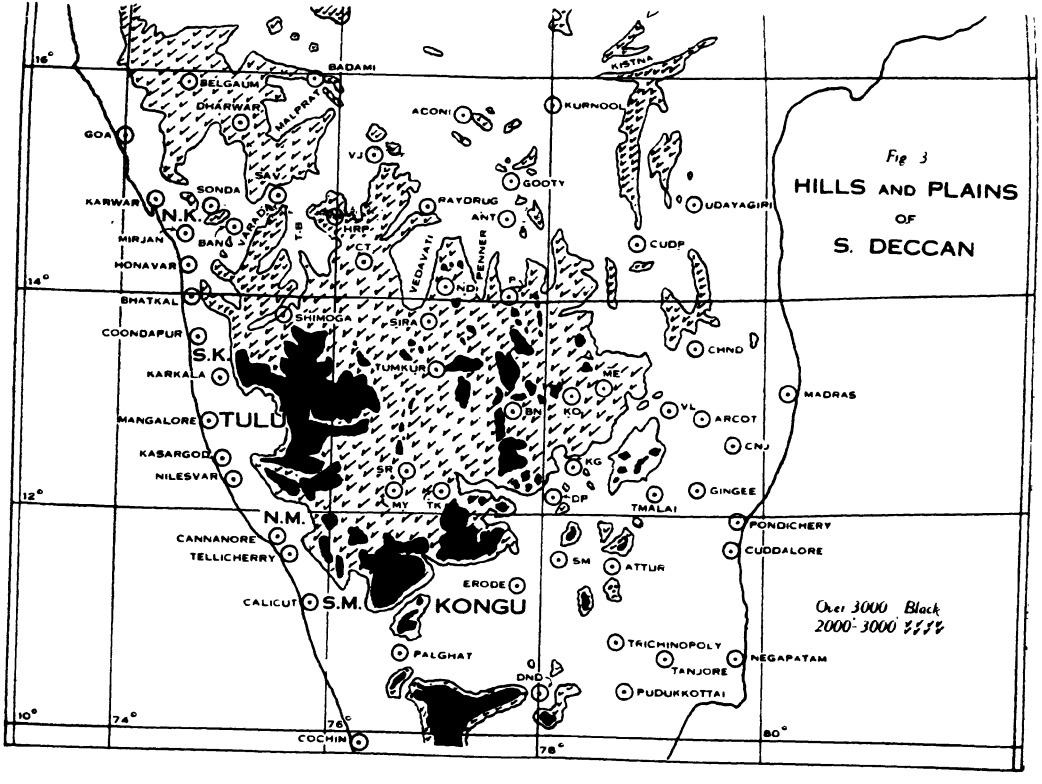
Fig 3
HILLS AND PLAINS
OF
S. DECCAN
Over 3000 Black
2000-3000
16°
14°
12°
10°
74°
76°
78°
80°
BADAMI
BELGAUM
DHARWAR
MALPRA
GOA
KARWAR
SONDA
N.K.
MIRJAN
BAN
HONAVAR
BHATKAL
COONDAPUR
S.K.
KARKALA
MANGALORE
TULU
KASARGOD
NILESVAR
N.M.
CANNANORE
TELLICHERRY
CALICUT
S.M.
KONGU
PALGHAT
COCHIN
ERODE
SHIMOGA
TUMKUR
SIRA
ACONI
KURNOOL
KISTNA
GOOTY
RAYDRUG
ANT
CUDP
UDAYAGIRI
CHND
MADRAS
ARCOT
CNJ
GINGEE
TMALAI
PONDICHERY
CUDDALORE
ATTUR
SM
TRICHINOPOLY
TANJORE
NEGAPATAM
PUDUKKOTTAI
DND
VJ
SA
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KO
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MY
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VEDAVATI
PENNER
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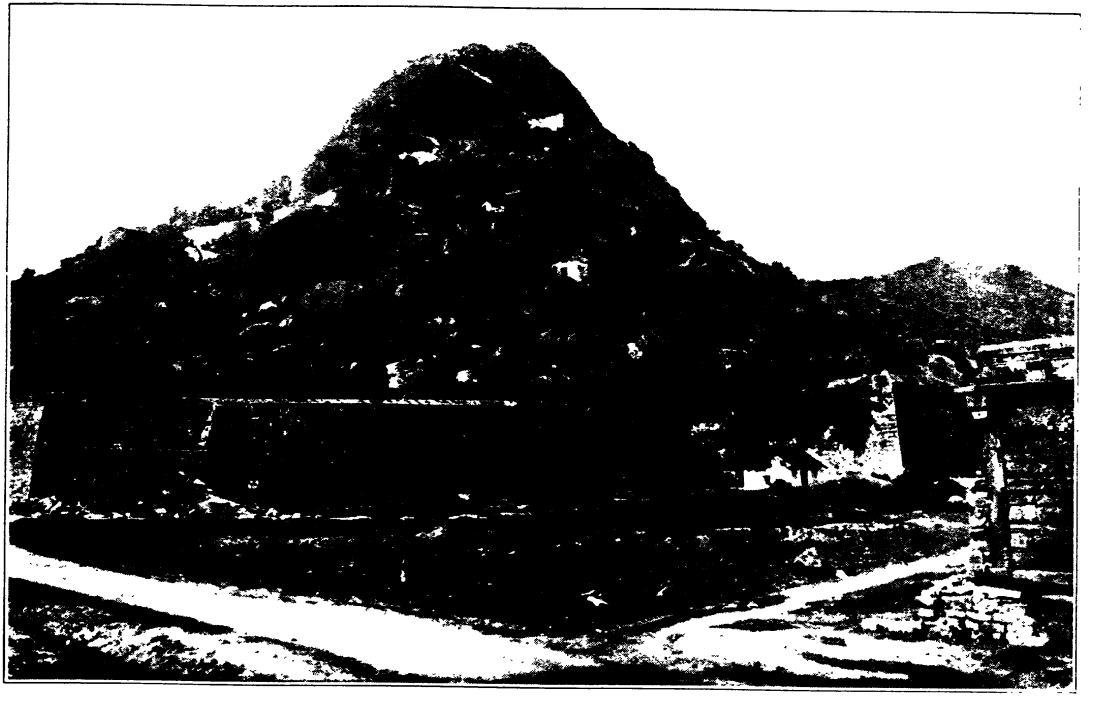


MADHUGIRI (MADDAGIRI) DURGA. BOLD FORTIFIED HILL, 3,935 FEET HIGH, ACCESSIBLE ONLY BY STEEP BARE ROCKS ON THE NORTHERN FACE.

of Hassan and Coorg, and circles round the plain and foothills of Central South Kanara, the secluded homeland of the Tulu-speaking peoples. It is abreast of this "Tuluva Embayment" that the highland zone attains its greatest breadth and complexity, furrowing the plateau with mighty spurs, one of which, the Baba Budan bastion, possesses, in the peak of Mulainagiri (6,317 ft.), the highest point in Mysore.

(3) Between the Coorg Salient and the 7,000 ft. plateau of the Nilgiris lies the plateau of the Wynad, averaging about 3,000 ft., and fringed on its Malabar side with a line of heights which culminate in Vavul Mala (Camel's Hump, 7,673 feet). This Wynad Salient marks the transition from North to South Malabar.

Beyond the Nilgiris lie the Eastern Ghats which skirt the State on the South-East and East.

The Mysore Malnad is drained:—

(i) in the North (Sagar and Nagar) by the Sharavati, which at the Gersoppa Falls quits the plateau with a plunge of 830 feet and joins the sea at Honavar;

(ii) in the Centre (Tirthahalli, Koppa and parts of Tarikere and Chikmagalur) by the Tunga and the Bhadra, twin sources of the Tungabhadra, the great southern affluent of the Kistna;

(iii) in the South (Mudgere, Manjarabad and part of Belur) by the Hemavati, affluent of the Cauvery.

Bits of the Central Malnad drain westward to the Gurpur, and of the South Malnad to the Netravati, rivers which join the sea respectively at Coondapoor and Mangalore.

2. The Maidan.

(i) *The "Central Chain."*—Maidan geography is controlled by the "Central Chain," a north-to-

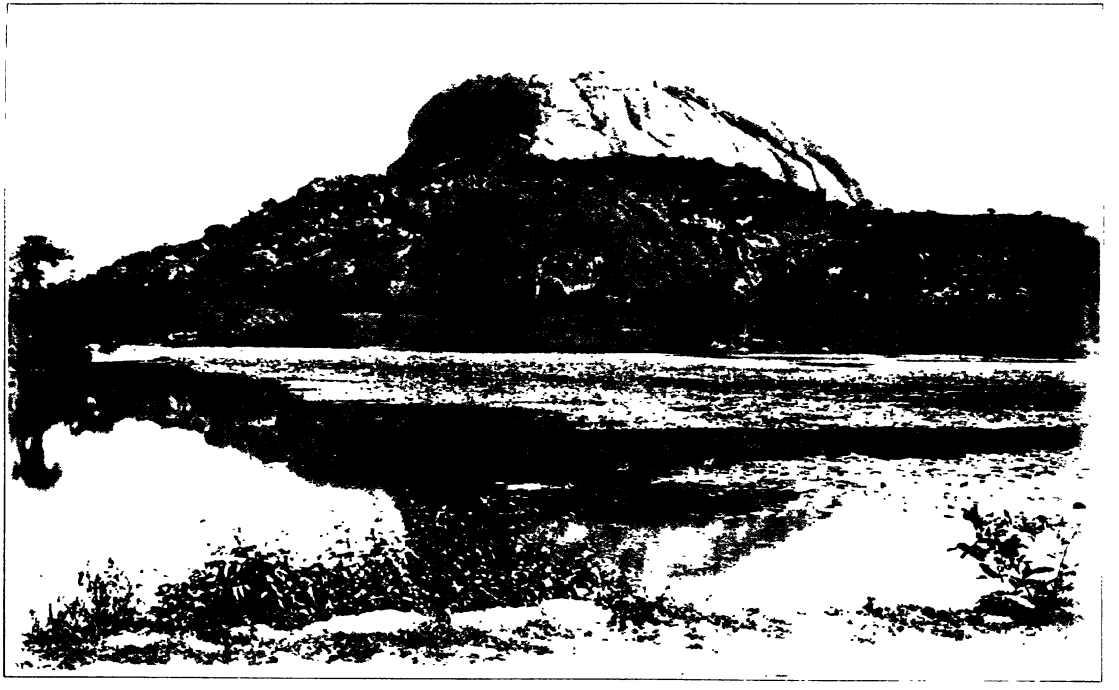
south belt of granitic hills, some 20 miles wide, which runs through the State between longitudes 77° and 77° 30′ East, from the Biligirirangans due north through Devarayadrug to Nidugal in Pavugada. West of this chain lie the basins of the Cauvery and Kistna, east of it those of the Penner, Ponnaiyar and Palar.

(ii) *The "Cross-Belt."*—The general level of the Kistna Basin within Mysore limits ranges from 1,900 to 2,100 feet; that of the Cauvery Basin from 2,300 to 2,600 feet above sea level. Between the two, lying roughly between Ballala-rayan-drug in the Western Ghats and Deva-raya-drug in the Central Chain, is a west-to-east belt of rather higher ground, ranging up to 3,000 feet or more and marked by scattered hills, along which runs the Cauvery-Kistna water-parting. This "Cross-Belt," as it may be called, continues eastward through Nandidrug, and divides the Basin of the Penner from those of the Palar and Ponnaiyar in East Mysore.

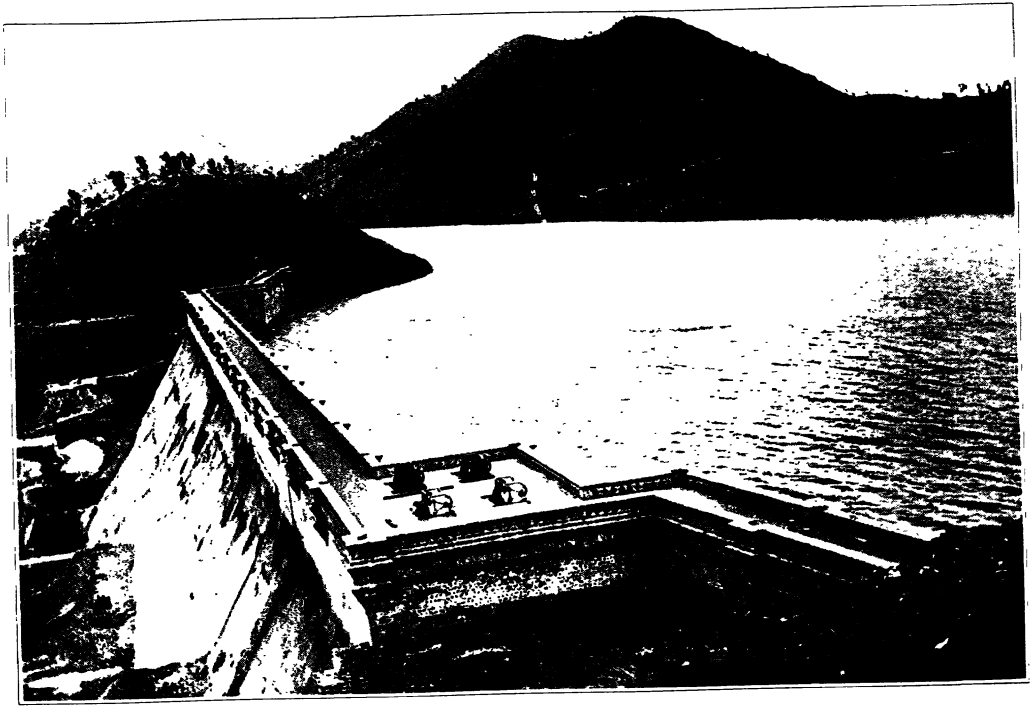
The influence of the Central Chain and Cross-Belt on Mysore culture is well seen in the diagrams appended to this note, where their general direction is indicated by two straight lines, intersecting at right angles.

(*a*) *North Mysore.*—North Mysore is "peripheral," forming parts only of the margin of a greater geographical unit, the Kistna basin. The Kistna itself lies far to the north; it is with the Tungabhadra that North Mysore is concerned.

West of, and parallel to, the Central Chain, a second, less continuous, salient of hilly ground, runs northwards from the Cross Belt, through Chitaldrug and across Bellary District to the Tungabhadra above and below Vijayanagar, where a series of rapids marks the transition from the upper to the lower course of that river.



SAVANDURGA. 4,024 FEET HIGH, A LOFTY HILL SURROUNDED BY DEEP DEFILES.



MARI KANAVE OR SRI VANIVILAS SAGAR. OBSERVE THE DAM WHICH IS A TYPICAL AND LOCAL SPECIMEN OF INDIAN ENGINEERING SKILL.

This "Chitaldrug Salient" cuts North Mysore (and Bellary also) into two sectors; the "North-West Sector" belonging to the Upper Tungabhadra, the "North-East Sector" to the Lower Tungabhadra, or rather to its affluent, the Vedavati (or Hagari as it is called in Bellary), a river which rises on the eastern slopes of the Baba-Budan Hills, cuts right across the base of the salient and emerges on its eastern side through the Mari-Kanave, where its waters are now harnessed by a dam.

The North-West Sector is itself complex. The Tungabhadra flows through the eastern half of Shimoga District. East of it lies the valley of the Haridra, west of it that of the Kumadvati. This triad of dales, which meet near Harihar, may be termed the "Shimoga Valleys," as distinct from the valley of the Varada, which drains Sorab Taluk in the extreme north and belongs more properly to Central Dharwar.

(*b*) *South Mysore.*—South Mysore, on the other hand, is a geographical unit complete in itself. From Coorg, diagonally through the heart of it, flows the Cauvery, till it quits the plateau abruptly in a leap of 200 feet at the Falls of Sivasamudram. The North-West Sector is formed by the (partly Malnad) basin of the Hemavati, the North-East Sector by the more open country of the Shimsha basin. On the Coorg frontier, to the west lies the forest-fringed basin of the Lakshmanatirtha, (of South Coorg); the South-East Sector comprises the fertile valley of the Honnuhole (Chamarajnagar and Yelandur), while between these two lies the basin of the Kabbani, a Wynad river, with its tributaries, the Gundal and Nugu.

(*c*) *East Mysore.*—East Mysore again is different. Like the Malnad, it is an area of infant streams, neither a unit in itself nor part of a larger whole.

Geographically, its affinities lie with the main basins of the rivers which drain it; the North Sector (Penner) is associated with Anantapur and Cuddapah; the South-East (Palar) with Chittore and North Arcot; the South Sector (Ponnaiyar) with North Salem; while the valley of the Arkavati on the West, with that of the Shimsha, forms a border zone between East and South Mysore. These rivers cut their way through the Ghat country of South Kankanhalli and join the Cauvery in the gorges below Sivasamudram.

II. Man-power.

A. South India.—The average density of population per square mile on the Deccan Plateau in 1911 was 169; that of the Tamil Plains 386; of the West Coast 382; of the Telugu Coast 332.

These figures are the product of two factors, physical environment and human effort. A low density usually indicates a lean land, a high density a fat land.

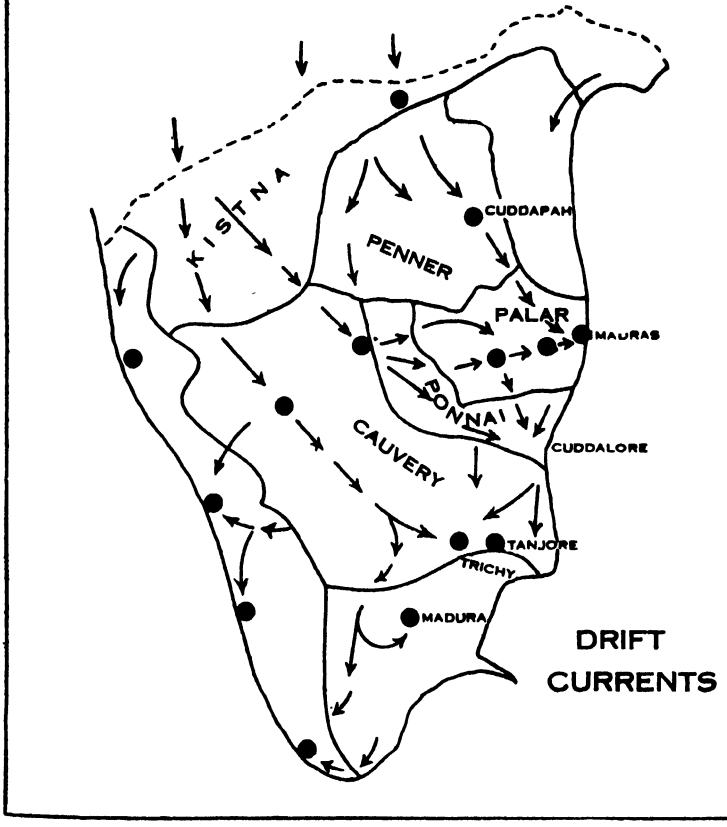
The people of lean lands are apt to help themselves to the wealth of neighbouring fat lands. Thus, in South India, there is a tendency for the Deccan uplanders to overrun the coastal plains.

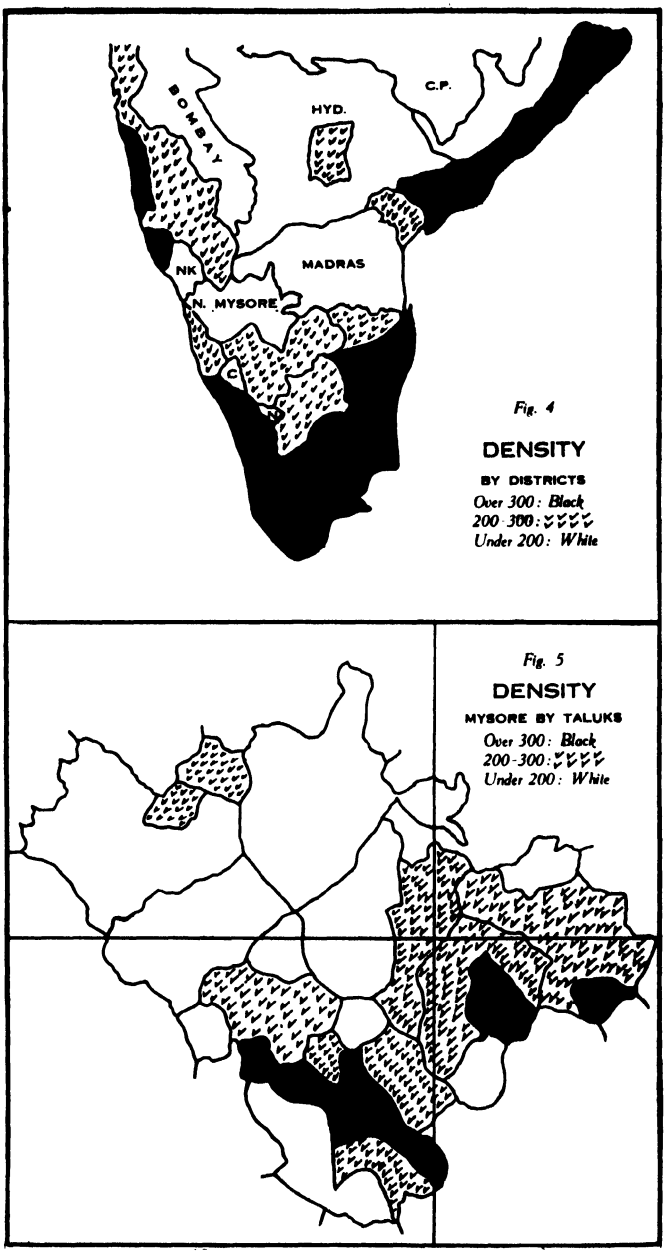
By districts a density map of India shows (Fig. 4)

(1) that the density exceeds 300
- (*a*) in all the Tamil and Malayalam Districts except Coimbatore and Salem;
- (*b*) on the Telugu coast from Kistna to Bengal;
- (*c*) in Ratnagiri District in the Konkan and in Bombay and Goa;

(2) that a lean belt with a density of less than 200 stretches across the Peninsula from North Kanara to Nellore.

Fig. 6


KISTNA
PENNER
CUDDAPAH
PALAR
MAURAS
PONNAI
CUDDALORE
CAUVERY
TANJORE
TRICHY
MADURA
DRIFT
CURRENTS


BOMBAY
HYD.
C.P.
NK
MADRAS
N. MYSORE
C
Fig. 4
DENSITY
BY DISTRICTS
Over 300 : Black
200-300 :
Under 200 : White
Fig. 5
DENSITY
MYSORE BY TALUKS
Over 300 : Black
200-300 :
Under 200 : White

This triangularity is the controlling principle of South Indian History. Maratha Maharashtra in the North-West Deccan gravitates to the Konkan ports, Telugu Telingana in the North-East Deccan gravitates to the Telugu Coast, and both are tempted by the rich lands of the Tamil Plains.

But the routes to the south are not easy; the lean belt has to be crossed, and on the west flank in the South-West Deccan are the virile peoples of Kanarese Karnata.

B. Mysore.—The density of Mysore State in 1911 was 197; somewhat above the Deccan average, but far below that of the coastal plains. Of its eight districts, the northern (Shimoga, Kadur and Chitaldrug) range from 121 to 136; next comes Tumkur; then the southern districts (Hassan, Mysore) with 218 and 244; then the eastern districts (Kolar, Bangalore) with 245 and 276. In short, South and East Mysore together form a tract of moderate fertility, bordered on the north by the lean zone which includes North Mysore and stretches across the peninsula from sea to sea.*

A district covers a large area, ranging from 2,660 (Hassan) to 5,488 (Mysore) square miles. The density of a district is not usually uniform throughout its area; the distribution of its man-power must be more accurately tested by examining the density of its component taluks. (Fig. 5).

* According to the Census of 1931, density of population in each district is given below:—

District	*Population per sq. mile*
Bangalore	368
Mysore	275
Kolar	266
Hassan	227
Tumkur	211
Chitaldrug	158
Shimoga	128
Kadur	125

The leanest taluks of Mysore State are the wettest; those of the heavily forested Malnad, where the rainfall averages well over 100″ per annum, and the density less than 100 per square mile. The Malnad people live in scattered homesteads; villages of even a dozen houses are rare.

Another lean tract is the driest, the valley of the Vedavati, an ill-nourished river, for it rises on the dry side of the Baba-Budan rain-screen. Here the density is well below 150 to the square mile, and the rainfall averages less than 20″ per annum. Crops are irrigated, as in the adjoining tracts of Cuddapah and Anantapur, by scooping out "spring channels" in the sandy river bed.

In only two taluks of North Mysore (Honnali, Davangere) does the density rise above 200. These taluks belong geographically to the richer black soil tract of North Karnata which forms the joint valley of the Tungabhadra and Varada.

In South Mysore, on the other hand, the density falls below 200 in only five taluks, and in only two of these (Heggaddevankote and Gundlupet on the Wynad border) it is below 150. The heart of Mysore is a fertile belt of six taluks, which follows the line of the Cauvery, and supports a population of over 300 (in two of them, Mysore and T.-Narsipur, over 400) to the square mile. This fertility is the result of human effort; great dams, and over 700 miles of irrigation canals, take the water of the Cauvery and its affluents to the fields.

Only a few villages of Mysore Taluk are watered by these channels; its higher density is due to the fact that the State capital (71,000) lies within its limits. Similarly, in East Mysore, the taluks of Bangalore and Bowringpet owe their density of 777 and 434, the former to the twin cities of Bangalore, the latter to the Kolar Gold Fields, all of which

contain a considerable foreign, *i.e.*, non-Mysorean, element in their population.*

Urban areas apart, East and South Mysore differ little in density, but in East Mysore (which depends for its irrigation on innumerable tanks), the population is more evenly distributed; there are no lean patches of under 150 to the square mile like those of the Wynad border, only three taluks fall below 300, and only one (Anekal) exceeds that figure.

III. Highways and By-ways.

A. Highways.—The broad-gauge railway from Bombay to Madras runs *via* Poona to Raichur in the Kistna-Tungabhadra Doab, and thence over the Tungabhadra by Adoni to Guntakal. It then crosses from the Kistna basin to that of the Penner at Gooty, follows the Penner to Cuddapah, ascends a tributary valley to the Mamandur Pass near Tirupati and reaches the Palar Plain at Arkonam.

From Guntakal, an alternative route (narrow-gauge) leads *via* Dharmavaram and the Damal-Cheruvu Pass to the Palar near Vellore.

Neither of these routes touches Mysore State. A second alternative, however, also narrow-gauge, leads from Dharmavaram into the Penner Valley at Penukonda, and thence *via* Hindupur to Bangalore, where it links up with the broad-gauge line from Bangalore to Madras *via* Kuppam Ghat.

The one Western route runs parallel to the Ghats from Poona to Londa, the junction for Goa, then strikes east and south-east and crossing the Tungabhadra, enters Mysore State at Harihar, skirts the western side of the Chitaldrug Salient to

* In 1911, the foreign element in the Kolar Gold Field totalled 76% of the population, in the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore 30%, in Bangalore City 17%, in Mysore City only 6%.

Arsikere, turns east along the "Cross Belt" (the Kistna-Cauvery divide) to Tumkur, then south-east to Bangalore. *It only just touches the rim of the Cauvery Basin.* South Mysore is served by the narrow-gauge line from Bangalore *via* Channapatna to Mysore.

These alignments are significant. The Mysore Homeland lies "off" the trans-peninsular highways from North and West India to the fertile Tamil Plains. (Fig. 6). This is true not only of railways, but also of roads; for the trunk road ran from Bangalore *via* Sira, Chitaldrug and Harihar to the Varada Valley; and it holds good not only in the twentieth century, but throughout history. That is why the Homeland has only once suffered annexation by the Cholas.

Like a fortress, the Homeland is protected on its most vulnerable fronts by ramparts; the "Cross Belt" on the North; the Central Chain on the East. North Mysore is a glacis, dotted with detached forts, and flanked by the Malnad and the impregnable bastion of the Baba-Budans; a terrain poor in sustenance for man and horse, and dominated by the salients of Chitaldrug and Nidugal. East Mysore, weaker in defence, affords no base for large scale operations; a hostile army, whether from north or south, must needs maintain long and precarious lines of communication, while free movement from the east is barred by the hills and jungles of South Cuddapah and Chittore.

B. By-ways.—On the West and South, the Homeland is almost unassailable.

On the West Frontier (1) the Hayve Country (the coast of N. Kanara and the Coondapoor division of South Kanara) can be got at from North Mysore through the North and Central Malnad by (*a*) the Gersoppa Pass to Honavar, and by the (*b*) Kollur,

(*c*) Hosangadi and (*d*) Agumbi Passes to Coondapoor; (2) the Tuluva Country (Central South Kanara) from the South Malnad and Hemavati Basin by the (*a*) Charmadi, (*b*) Shiradi and (*c*) Bisale Passes, and from the Cauvery Valley, through Coorg, by the Sampaji Pass, all leading to Mangalore. (3) North Malabar is reached from the Homeland by (*a*) the Perambadi Pass through Coorg and (*b*) the Periya Pass through the Wynad, while the (*a*) Tamarasseri and (*b*) Nilambur Passes lead, also through the Wynad, to South Malabar.

On the South Frontier (1) from the Upper to the Middle Cauvery Basin (Coimbatore and South Salem, the ancient "Kongu"), there are three byways, *via* (*a*) Gajalhatti, and (*b*) Hasanur to Satyamangalam on the Bhavani, and (*c*) a third to Kaveripuram at the lower end of the Cauvery Gorges. (2) From the Upper to the Middle Ponnaiyar (North Salem, the Baramahal), there are routes *via* (*a*) Rayakota and Palakodu to Dharmapuri, and (*b*) the old "Army Road" from Budikota *via* Kundani to Krishnagiri, while (3) from the Upper to the Middle Palar the chief routes are *via* (*a*) Venkatagirikota (the Nayakaneri Pass) and Nangali (the Mogili Pass).

From the west, Mysore was never successfully invaded, though several Kanarese chieftains of North Mysore pressed down into the Hayve Country, and Haidar Ali opened up the Tamarasseri Pass. Southward lay the line of least resistance to Mysorean expansion; time and again, the armies of Mysore swooped over Kongu to the gates of Trichinopoly; Dindigul became a Mysore Province, and Kanarese colonies (which still flourish) were planted in the back blocks of Madura. The Baramahal, too, was overrun, but with less conspicuous success and East Mysore proved to be the weak spot in the

Homeland defences; from this quarter came the Chola conquest and the British armies which finally destroyed the power of Tipu Sultan.

IV. Physics and Politics.

A. To 300 *A. D. Mauryas and Andhras.*—Of the early history of Mysore, almost nothing is known. Asoka's rock-cut sermons at Siddapura prove that in the 3rd Century B.C., the Maurya dominions extended into the Deccan as far as the northern frontier of Chitaldrug District. Asoka was in diplomatic touch with the traditional Tamil kingdoms of Chera, Chola, and Pandya. Further, tradition tells how his grandsire Chandragupta, comrade and disciple of Alexander the Great, resigned the cares of State and sought peace in the seclusion of Sravana Belgola, in the Jain colony which still survives.

The 1st Century A.D. marks the zenith of Roman trade in South India. A hoard of Roman *denarii* of Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius was found in 1891 near Bangalore, on the rim of the Mysore Basin.

In the 2nd century A.D., the Andhras held the Deccan against the Saka Satraps, and ruled from sea to sea. Their coins have been found near Chitaldrug, and the "Chutu Naga" princes, whose inscriptions are found in the extreme north of Shimoga District and at Banavasi beyond the frontier, succeeded to the sovereignty of the Kanarese provinces of the Andhra Empire.

B. From 300 *to* 650 *A.D. Guptas and Pallavas.*—In the "Gupta Period," the "classical age" of Indian art and letters, the Telugu and Tamil provinces of the Andhras from the Godavari to the Palar were held by the Pallavas, who from their capital at

Conjeeveram aspired to conquer the Kanarese provinces also. Here, at Banavasi, the Chutus were succeeded (c. 350) by the Kadambas, a Brahman dynasty who set up in protest against Pallava aggressiveness and held their own against them. Both Pallavas and Kadambas were in touch with the Guptas and deeply influenced by their culture.

In c. 550 A.D., the Kadambas were displaced by a more formidable power; the Chalukyas established their capital at Badami and built up an Empire which lasted till the end of the 12th century A.D.

In 610 A.D., these Chalukyas ousted the Pallavas from the Telugu country and set up a kingdom of their own at Vengi, 8 m. N. of Ellore, midway between the Kistna and the Godavari deltas. They also invaded the Palar Plain, and penetrated even as far as the Cauvery, but in c. 642 A.D. the Pallavas of Conjeeveram retaliated with the capture of Badami. The Western Chalukya Empire for a moment (c. 642-655) ceased to be.

The Gangas.—It was apparently in the Kadamba period that the foundations of Mysore nationality were laid by the Gangas, a cultured people whose name is associated at an early date with both South and East Mysore with capitals at Talkad and Kolar, and who appear alternately as the friends or enemies, but never the subjects, of their Kadamba, Pallava and Chalukya neighbours. N. Mysore was held in part by Kadambas and Chalukyas, while the Malnad was ruled by Alupa chiefs.

C. From 650 to 1200 A.D. Chalukyas.

Summary of Period.—In c. 655, the W. Chalukyas recovered power, and drove the Pallavas back to the plains.

In 753, the Badami Empire was taken over almost intact by the Rashtrakutas, who enlarged it, and held it till, in 973, the W. Chalukyas regained the

sovereignty and established their capital a little later at Kalyani. The Vengi kingdom held its own against the Rashtrakutas and outlived them.

Meanwhile, in the South, the Cholas replaced the Pallavas in the leadership of the Tamil peoples, and, on the fall of the Rashtrakutas, overran the southern provinces of the Kanarese Empire and absorbed that of the Eastern Chalukyas.

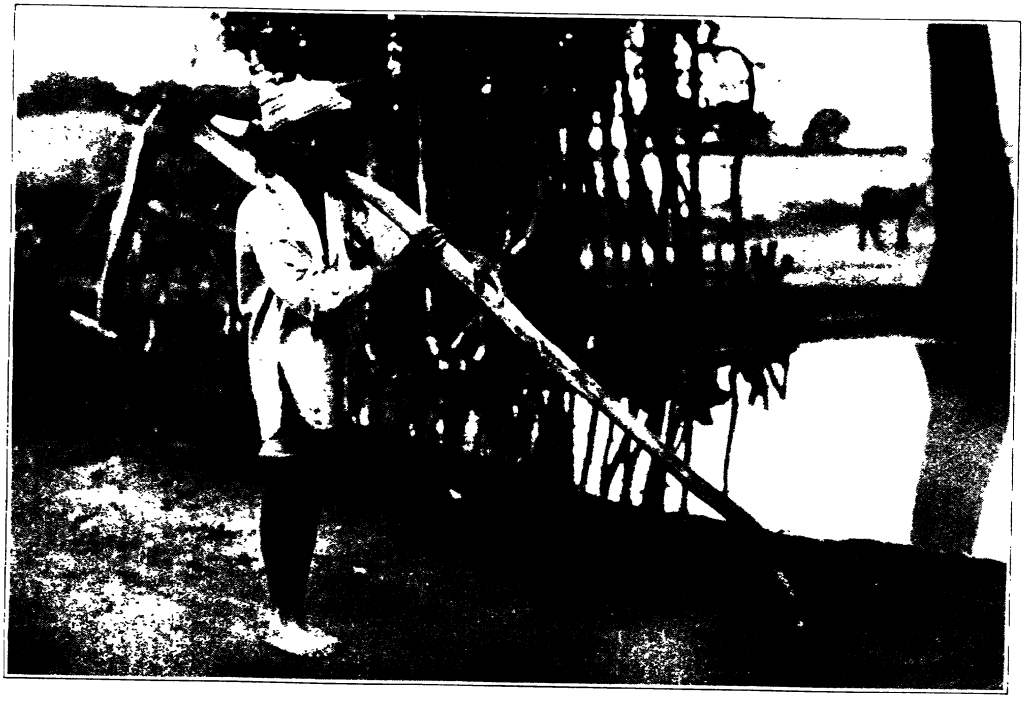
From c. 1150 onwards, the Chalukya and Chola Empires weakened and by the end of the century were partitioned by their feudatories.

(*i*) *From* 650 *to* 1000 *A.D. The Rashtrakutas.*

Ganga Expansion.—The decline of Badami gave the Gangas their opportunity. The numerous stone records of Sri-Purusha (c. 725-788) show that he ruled almost the whole of S. and E. Mysore, and beyond, to the extreme north of Kadur District (Asandi) and the extreme south of the Baramahal.

Rashtrakuta Diplomacy.—The Rashtrakutas were busy on their northern and eastern frontiers. On the north, they were in touch with the Arabs of Sind and with the Pratihara Empire of Kanauj in the Ganges Valley. On the east, they were up against the Vengi Chalukyas, and shifted their capital from near Nasik to Malkhed as a better base for operations against Telingana. They did not want war in the south, but after the growth of a strong independent Kanarese State on the flank of their communications with the Tamil Plains, they could not afford to ignore. Sri-Purusha's successor Sivamara II was imprisoned, released and imprisoned again, and finally reinstated as a Rashtrakuta vassal, the only Ganga to accept an overlord.

The "Andhra Road."—This arrangement did not last. In the reign of Amoghavarsha (814-877), the Gangas broke away again. They contracted a double marriage alliance with the Nolamba chiefs



A PEASANT FROM A VILLAGE NEAR TUMKUR.

Photo : Eickstedt.

of the Vedavati Valley and with their help attacked the Banas.

These Banas had long been established in a tract described in inscriptions as "West of the Andhra Road." Their records are found along the N. E. border of Kolar District and in the Ghat Belt that overlooks the Middle Palar, a position of supreme strategic importance commanding the main routes from the Deccan to the Tamil Plains. The Banas joined with the Vaidumbas, who held the plateau to the North and West of them, put up a stout fight and repelled the invaders.

Amoghavarsha's southern policy was conciliatory. His father Govinda III had forced the Pallava Dantivarman to pay tribute. Amoghavarsha gave his successor, Nandivarman, a daughter in marriage, and another daughter wedded the Ganga prince Butuga I.

These family compacts broke down as soon as the pacific Amoghavarsha died (c. 877). The Nolamba Mahendra, son of his father's Ganga bride, quarrelled with his Ganga relatives, overran a large portion of the Ganga dominions, robbed the Banas of half their territory, and set up an independent State which extended from Uchchangi in W. Bellary to Dharmapuri in the Baramahal.

The Chola Challenge.—Meanwhile, trouble was brewing further south. The Pallavas tottered and fell. The first blow came from the Pandyas, who were met and crushed at Tiru-Pirambiyam in the Cauvery delta near Kumbakonam, with the help, be it noted, of a Ganga prince, Prithivipati I, of a collateral branch, who was killed. Then the Cholas took up the running, invaded the Palar Plains and ended the Pallava Raj. Further, they attacked the Banas and forced them to accept as ruler their own nominee, the Ganga Prithivipati II, Hastimalla,

grandson of the Prithivipati who fell at Tiru-Pirambiyam.

Revolution and Revenge.—This menace apparently precipitated revolution both at Malkhed and at Talkad. Vaddiga, head of a younger branch of Rashtrakuta lineage, "ascended the throne to maintain the greatness of the Rashtrakuta sovereignty." He had already given his daughter in marriage to the Ganga prince Butuga II, younger brother of the reigning Ganga, with a generous grant of territory as dowry. With his help, Butuga seized the Ganga throne, and, on the death of Vaddiga, he seems to have assisted his son Krishna III to succeed him. In 949-950, after they had reduced the Nolambas to submission, these allies advanced against the Cholas, crushed them at Takkolam, near Arkonam, and overran the country as far south as Tanjore. Butuga himself slew the Chola King, a service for which Krishna gave him the great province of Banavasi. Krishna's daughter married Butuga's son and Butuga's daughter married Krishna's son.

Krishna's work was thorough. The Tamil country he annexed and held as far south as the Ponnaiyar; his east flank he secured by the occupation of the Cuddapah Valley; his west flank he entrusted to his Ganga allies. But his successors failed to keep what he won; by 973 the Chalukyas were again supreme. The last great Ganga, Marasimha, Butuga's son, who had fought for Krishna in distant Malwa, and who destroyed the turbulent Nolambas, made one final effort on behalf of his kinsmen by crowning Indra IV, his sister's son, but he failed (c. 974).

Provinces.—It is remarkable that the rise and fall of the Rashtrakutas was unaccompanied by any general disruption of the imperial dominions. To this, no doubt, the soundness of the provincial administration in part contributed, for a State

which extended from Sind to Pondicherry could not preserve its unity by force of arms alone. Under the Rashtrakutas, the Mysore country was organised in three provinces, Gangavadi in the south, Nolambavadi in the north-east, Banavasi in the north-west. The boundaries of these provinces cannot be defined with precision, for they varied from time to time, but the points to note are (1) that they lasted for many centuries after the Rashtrakutas had disappeared, and (2) that they coincide with definite geographical and ethnic entities, the Gangas of the Upper Cauvery, the Nolambas of the Vedavati, and the Kadambas of the Upper Tungabhadra and its affluents.

(*ii*) *From* 1000 *to* 1200 *A.D. Cholas and Hoysalas. The Chola Conquest.*—Before the Western Chalukyas could consolidate their southern provinces, the Cholas were masters of South Mysore. By 997 A.D. Rajaraja I had won a foot-hold in E. Mysore. By 1004 the Ganga capital, Talkad, had fallen. The Cholas also pushed up the East Coast, reduced the Eastern Chalukyas to vassalage and threatened the Western Chalukyas on their eastern front.

Of the ding-dong fighting that ensued, little need be said. The Cholas took firm hold of S. and E. Mysore; they secured their west flank by subduing the Changalva chiefs of the Coorg border and set up their own nominee as chief of the Kongalvas in the Hemavati Valley. But their inscriptions are not found north of the Cauvery-Krishna divide.

The Chalukyas on their part held little or nothing south of the Varada basin; their inscriptions of this period are confined to the extreme north of Shimoga District. The country between the combatants, almost the whole of the Mysore glacis, was no man's land.

Defensive Organization.—It was not until the reign of Somesvara I (1042-68), who fixed his capital at Kalyani, that the Western Chalukyas organized their defence. The battle of Koppa (c. 1052), in which the reigning Chola was slain, marks a turn of the tide. In 1056, Prince Vikramaditya was ruling Banavasi and Gangavadi. In 1060, Gangavadi only is mentioned as his charge, his headquarters being Belgami in Shikarpur taluk (Shimoga). In 1063, his brother was ruling Nolambavadi with his headquarters at Kampili on the Tungabhadra. In 1068, the Kistna basin was organized into three provinces under selected governers, *viz.*, (1) Banavasi, (2) Nolamba-Sindavadi, (3) Alampura (opposite Kurnool).

Belgami and Kampili are far distant from the Ganga and Nolamba territory of Rashtrakuta days, but the appointment of governors to provinces which were in enemy hands gave definite objectives to the Kanarese offensive.

Hoysala Beginnings.—The most hopeful sector was the west, for it was physically impossible for the Cholas to control effectively the highlands of the Ghat Belt. In the S. Malnad, near the head waters of the Hemavati, is the ancestral home of the Hoysala chieftains whose destiny it was to break the Chola yoke.

Already in 1022, the Hoysalas were hammering the Kongalvas, but serious expansion did not apparently begin till after 1060, when Vinayaditya built up a compact little Hosyala State, which marched on the north with the Santara chiefs of Humcha (in N. and C. Malnad), on the south with the Wynad; and extended along the north rim of the Mysore basin across Hassan District as far as the Tiptur and Nagamangala Taluks of Tumkur and Mysore. By 1043, Vinayaditya had become governor of Gangavadi

and established his capital at Belur, a well-chosen site on the Malnad-Maidan border and close to the Cauvery-Kistna divide.

The eastern sectors were less fortunate. The governors appointed to Nolambavadi failed to make good. The Chalukyas were forced back and in 1068 the Cholas sacked Kampili. In 1076, however, the rival Emperors came to terms. A few years later, the governorship of Nolambavadi was given to a new line of chiefs, the "Pandyas of Uchchangi," but they too failed to establish themselves in the old Nolamba territory in the Vedavati basin, which, together with the valley of the Upper Penner, was held for the Chalukyas by another line of feudatories, the "Chola Maharajas".*

Reconquest of the Homeland.—In 1116, the long peace was suddenly broken. The Hoysalas under Vishnuvardhana attacked the Cholas, captured Talkad, rolled up their western flank and, except in a strip of North Kolar, swept them off the Plateau. Gangavadi was at long last a Chalukya province in fact as well as in name.

Hoysala Expansion.—The conquest of Talkad was followed by a rapid expansion of the Hoysalas which carried them through the North-West Sector to the Kistna, and brought them in conflict with other Chalukyan vassals, and even with their suzerains.† Vishnuvardhana was, however, succeeded by a child (c. 1141) and the Hoysalas retired south of the Varada.

Revolution and Disruption.—The Hoysala expansion marks a weakening of imperial authority and,

* The terms "Pandya" and "Chola' do not necessarily imply lineal descent from those ancient peoples, just as Norman surnames do not prove Norman lineage. The Governors of Nolambavadi were usually called "Pallavas."

† In the exuberance of conquest the Hoysalas overran the Coorg and Nilgiri Plateau and "frightened the Todas."

not long after, Bijjala the Kalachurya gathered up the reins of Government and usurped the throne (1145-67). Another revolution (1183) restored the Chalukyas. But the Empire was doomed. By 1187, the northern provinces had fallen to the Yadavas of Devagiri, the eastern to the Kakatiyas of Warangal, while in the south the Hoysalas under Ballala II broke the Pandyas of Uchchangi and advanced their frontier to the Malprabha (c. 1191).

D. From 1200 *to* 1500.

Summary of Period.—The heirs of the Chalukyas enjoyed their possessions for about a century. The Muslim Invasions (1243-1318) then swept them away.

Out of the wreckage arose two new Empires, in the Northern Deccan the Bahmanis of Gulbarga, in the south the Sangama Dynasty of Vijayanagar.

The period closed in revolution. The Bahmani Empire split into five sultanates, the Vijayanagar Empire maintained its unity.

The Yadava Offensive.—The Hoysalas soon lost their northern provinces; Singhana, who succeeded at Devagiri c. 1210, within two years forced them back beyond the Varada, and his successors steadily pressed into the Shimoga Valleys, but, like the Pandyas of Uchchangi, could not carry their frontier past the Baba Budan bastion or across the Chitaldrug salient; and the Hoysalas from time to time hit back. Neither Yadava nor Hoysala worried much about the Vedavati Sector, which the Chola Maharajas held on suffrance till the Hoysalas in 1285 captured their stronghold Nidugal.

Chola Disruption.—Meanwhile, the Hoysalas had found a new outlet for their energies. The Cholas were threatened with disruption by their Pandya feudatories. Hoysala intervention, which began in 1222 on behalf of the Cholas, resulted in the Hoysala

occupation of the Middle Cauvery and Middle Ponnaiyar basins and the establishment of a second State at Kannanur, opposite Srirangam.

The Muslim Cataclysm.—The two States warred with each other and the Kanarese Hoysalas had to meet a Yadava offensive, but, luckily for South India, the breach was mended before the storm burst. In 1292, Ballala III became ruler of the Kanarese Hoysalas; by 1297 he was master of the Telugu-Tamil dominions also. Meanwhile, in 1294, Ala-ud-din Khilji opened the Muslim offensive by holding Devagiri to ransom; but it was not till 1310 that the Delhi army under Malik Kafur marched for the Hoysala capital, Dvarasamudram. Ballala submitted, journeyed to Delhi, and was permitted to retain his sovereignty. Kafur continued his march through Srirangam and Madura to Rameswaram, and returned to Delhi laden with spoils (Oct. 1311).

Dismemberment and Reconstruction.—Ala-ud-din's policy was to exact tribute from sovereign States; his successors preferred annexation. By 1330, the Delhi Empire under Muhammad Tughlak had attained its zenith; Devagiri and Warangal, and the Tamil country, too, were parcelled out in provinces and jagirs, but Ballala III, who had shifted his headquarters to Tiruvannamalai, still held out. Before he could be rounded up, the whole Empire broke into rebellion and the epoch of Provincial Sultanates began. Warangal in the North East was seized by a scion of its late rulers and the Muhammadans were driven from Telingana. Ala-ud-din Bahmani in the North-West consolidated the Deccan Sultanate with his capital at Gulbarga; Ballala III rallied the Hindu nations at Hampi on the Tungabhadra, and then turned south to attack the new Sultanate of Madura.

In 1342, Ballala was captured and killed by the Madura Sultan, but the seed he sowed at Hampi germinated and spread with amazing rapidity. Before the Bahmani Shah was master in his own house, the Vijayanagar Empire was in being, and, thanks to the team work of five brothers, the northern frontier was organized for defence.

Hampi, in the centre, the site of the capital, lies on the Kanarese-Telugu borderland, and is in easy striking distance of any hostile advance from the N. W. or N. E. Behind it the fortress of Penukonda commands the roads to the south. The left flank was guarded by the occupation of the Banavasi province, centring in Bankapur, with Goa on the coast and the province of Araga in the Malnad in support. The right flank was secured by the broken country of Kurnool and Cuddapah; the fortresses of Udayagiri and Nellore guarded the coast routes, while Mulbagal, at the head of the South-East Ghats, was a ready base for operations in the Tamil Plains. Within a generation the Madura Sultanate was strangled, and, for the first time in history, South India was practically at unity with itself.

E. From 1500 *to* 1800.

Summary of Period.—After the break-up of the Bahmani Empire, Vijayanagar successfully exploited the jealousies of the Deccan Sultanates till 1565, when a momentary union enabled the Muslims to destroy the Hindu armies at Talikota and sack the capital.

Dravidian India then gradually dissolved in a welter of contending races, creeds and principalities which ended with the storming of Seringapatam (1799).

(*i*) *From* 1500 *to* 1600, *Vijayanagar.*

Mysore, safe behind the barrier which its

King Ballala III had planned, was little troubled by the long-drawn struggle between Vijayanagar and its Muslim foes. Once only was the peace of the Homeland seriously disturbed, towards the end of that period of weakness and revolution which marks the rise and fall of the Saluva Dynasty of Vijayanagar (1485-1505). This double revolution meant a transfer of ascendency from the Kanarese to the Telugus, and some of the Kanarese feudatories grew restive, among them the chief of Ummattur, who held the South and South-East Sectors of the Mysore basin. These chiefs, in about 1491, assumed royal titles, and pushing through the Ghats into Kongu, brought a large portion of the Middle Cauvery basin under their sway. Their independence was short-lived. Krishna Raya, as soon as he was firmly on the throne, by the capture of their stronghold, Sivasamudram, brought them to heel. (c. 1511).

Last Efforts.—With the shock of Talikota (1565), the Empire cracked but did not yet crumble. The frontier was withdrawn to Penukonda, which took the place of Vijayanagar as the pivot of defence. The left flank was assigned to a prince of the blood royal with his headquarters at Seringapatam; a second royal viceroy at Udayagiri was responsible for the right flank and a third at Chandragiri kept touch with the Tamil dominions and the vassal Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee. But the royal team did not hold together, and the officers and vassals of the Empire soon realised that they must fend for themselves or go under. The Poligar Period had begun.

The Poligars.—A muster roll of the chiefs of the Seringapatam Viceroyalty shortly before its extinction grouped them into four territorial divisions, corresponding almost precisely to the four " natural

regions" into which Mysore State is divided; *viz.*, the Malnad, the "Bedar Nads" (North Mysore), the "Morasa countries" (East Mysore) and the "Interior" or Homeland Nads (South Mysore).

(*1*) *The Malnad.*—In the North-West the imperial officers revolted and were, shortly after (c. 1573-5) conquered by the Bijapur Sultan, who captured Chandragutti (in Sorab Taluk, overlooking the Varada Valley) and penetrated as far south as Kadur, but failed to get a foothold in the Malnad, which was held for Vijayanagar by the Keladi* chiefs in the north, with their capital at Ikkeri, and the Belur (Balam) chiefs in the south with their capital at Aigur (Manjarabad). Between them in the C. Malnad the chiefs of Karkala in the Tulu country, who still held the headstreams of the Tunga and Bhadra at Kalasa and Koppa, renounced their allegiance, but were speedily pushed off the Malnad by the Keladi Nayaks.

(*2*) *The "Bedar Nads."*—The Shimoga valleys were held by the Basavapatna chiefs; the Chitaldrug salient by the newly appointed chiefs of Chitaldrug. North of them, in West Bellary, Harpanapalli became the seat of a chieftaincy tributary to Bijapur. All these chiefs were of Bedar caste.

In the North-East Sector the capture of Adoni in 1568 by Bijapur had rendered Vijayanagar and the East Bellary plain untenable, and the Bellary chieftain (a Kuruba by caste) transferred his allegiance to the enemy. In 1575-7, Bijapur drove into the Penner basin and made three determined attacks on Penukonda. The Emperor (Ranga I) was taken prisoner and ransomed, and, though the capital was

* Called also "Ikkeri," and "Bednur" after their later capitals, but in their own documents they call themselves "Keladi" after their first capital; it is best to retain this term throughout. Bednur, their last capital, is now called Nagar.

saved, the Anantapur chief (also a Kuruba), who commanded the approaches, went over to the enemy. The Vedavati valley, however, remained loyal under the Bedar Harati chiefs, whose charge comprised the present taluks of Challakere, Hiriyur and Sira.

(*3*) *The Morasu Nad.*—East Mysore, (except for a few minor chieftaincies on the North-East fringe) was held by various branches of the "Morasu" family, a name associated with that portion of Bangalore and Kolar Districts which is drained by the Ponnaiyar. (Bangalore, Anekal and Malur Taluks).

These Morasu chiefs trace their origin to seven brothers who early in the 15th century settled at Avati (near Nandidrug and the sources of the Penner, Ponnaiyar and Palar) and accepted office under the imperial regime.

One of the brothers moved South-East to Sugatur, near Jangamkote (Sidlaghatta Taluk), and founded a branch which in time controlled almost the whole of the Palar basin above the Ghats, with headquarters at Kolar and Punganur, and most of the Upper Ponnaiyar basin too, with headquarters at Hoskote and Anekal.

Another brother moved South-West to Yelahanka, (North of Bangalore). This branch spread westward into the Arkavati valley, made Magadi their stronghold and founded Bangalore.

A third brother moved N. W. into the upper Penner basin and fixed his capital at Holavanhalli (Maddagiri Taluk); but this branch did not achieve much.

The senior branch at Avati split into three chieftaincies, astride the water-parting of the Penner, Ponnaiyar and Arkavati, *viz.*, Dodballapur, Chikballapur and Devanhalli.

(*4*) "*Home Nads.*"—South Mysore was under the immediate control of the Viceroy of Seringapatam. It is not necessary here to enumerate the many chieftaincies scattered round the Mysore basin and along the "Cross Belt," except to note that the Shimsha valley, between the Homeland and the Morasus, was, about 1578, granted in fief to Jagadeva Raya in reward for his services in the defence of Penukonda. This chief, who also held most of the Baramahal (Mid-Ponnaiyar), fixed his capital at Channapatna, a key-position on the route from East to South Mysore.

(*ii*) *From* 1600 *to* 1700, *Mysore.*

The Nucleus.—Mysore City lies in the Cauvery-Kabbani Doab, on the divide between those two rivers, some 9 m. south of Seringapatam. The earliest sites associated, by conquest and marriage, with the Mysore Dynasty are Hadinad, Karugahalli, Hemmanahalli, Kembala and Kalale, all in the Kabbani basin. The occupation of Mysore itself was a definite advance in the direction of the viceregal capital, Seringapatam.

Expansion.—In c. 1678, Raja Wodeyar became ruler of this little Kabbani valley State. During the first 39 years of his reign, he acquired possession of the Cauvery valley above and below Seringapatam (at Kannambadi and Sosile), and pressed up the Hemavati valley, coming in conflict with the chiefs of Hole-Narsipur on the North-West and Talkad in the East. The then Viceroy, Tirumala, was out of favour with his uncle, the Emperor Venkata II, and, from his failure to check Raja Wodeyar's enterprise, was plainly unfit to rule. Realising this, Raja Wodeyar in 1610 seized the capital itself, and two years later was confirmed by the Emperor as hereditary ruler of Seringapatam and Ummattur. Sure of their title, he and his grandson Chama Raja

(1617-38) struck boldly in all directions; westward along the Lakshmantirtha towards the frontier of Coorg, southward through the fertile Honnu-Hole valley and down the Ghats to Satyamangalam, in Kongu (1624), a move which brought Chama Raja up against Tirumala Nayak of Madura and carried him to Dindigul; east and north-east into the heritage of Jagadeva Raya, right through to Channapatna (1630); north-west along the Hemavati valley to Channarayapatna (1633). Then came a pause.

The Mughals.—As early as 1591, the Deccan Sultanates were faced with a new peril on their North-West frontier. Akbar the Mughal demanded their tribute. Wars followed till, in 1636, the two surviving Sultanates, Bijapur and Golkonda, made their peace with the Mughals and were once more free to turn southwards.

Golkonda.—Already, before 1600, the imperial capital had shifted from Penukonda to Chandragiri, and in c. 1606, it was further withdrawn to Vellore. When in 1643 the Golkonda forces under Mir Jumla crashed through the Vale of Cuddapah, the Tamil Plains were in a turmoil of rebellion. Vellore fell about 1646, and the Emperor Ranga III became a wandering fugitive.

Bijapur.—Meanwhile, the Bijapur armies were moving along the Western routes. An opening offered in a change of rulers in Mysore and a quarrel between Basavapatna and Keladi, in which Basavapatna invited Bijapur to intervene. The invasion of Randullah Khan (c. 1637-44) brought the Bijapuris to Seringapatam, and resulted in the annexation of North and East Mysore, and the establishment of Shahiji the Maratha at Bangalore, astride the highway to the south. A little later, Tirumala Nayak of Madura invited Bijapur to help him

against the Golkonda armies besieging Gingee; a Bijapur contingent was sent, fraternised with the besiegers and, on the withdrawal of the Golkonda forces, took Gingee for themselves.

New Provinces.—Bijapur administration was generously Hinduized; Marathi and Kanarese had replaced Persian as official languages, Hindus were freely employed in positions of trust, and the loyalty of vassals was valued. Thus, in the north-west Sector, Basavapatna was taken under direct control, while the Chief carried on his rule at Tarikere; in the Vedavati basin, Sira became headquarters, the Chief retired to Ratnagiri (in Madakasira Taluk, Anantapur); in the Morusu tract, the Palar basin was administered from Kolar, with the Chief at Punganur; the Ponnaiyar basin from Hoskote with the Chief at Anekal; the Arkavati from Bangalore with the Chief at Magadi.

Sira, Dod-Ballapur, Bangalore, Hoskote and Kolar formed Shahji's personal Jagir, and he was also given general control over what he could hold below the Ghats. The Penner basin was left to Golkonda. Kantirava Narasa Raja, the new ruler of Mysore, retained his possessions in the Mysore basin, and the Keladi Nayak the north Malnad.

Mughals and Marathas.—These arrangements were hardly complete when Shahij's son, Sivaji, revolted and Shahiji was recalled and imprisoned (1646-8). Sivaji appealed to the Mughals; a Mughal-Maratha *entente* followed, which kept Bijapur quiet till 1656, when Aurangzib again attacked the Sultanates. These events rendered Bijapur innocuous, and set Mysore free to shape her own destiny.

Kantirava Narasa Raja.—Narasa Raja had stoutly defended his capital against the invaders (1638-9) and made peace on not unfavourable terms. In 1641, by a bold thrust through the Kollegal jungles,

he seized Sampalli, on the Cauvery below the gorges. He then secured his frontier on the west, north and east by the capture of Piriyapatna (from Coorg), Arkalgud (from Balam), Kallur (in Gubbi Taluk, South-West of Tumkur) and Kunigal (from the Morasu Chief of Magadi). In 1652, he broke into the Baramahal, then in Bijapur possession, and annexed the western half of the Mid-Ponnaiyar basin. In 1653, he entered Kongu and reopened hostilities with Tirumala Nayak of Madura by again capturing Satyamangalam. A ferocious war with Madura ensued, which lasted till 1659, when both Narasa Raja and Tirumala Nayak died.

Keladi Expansion.—Meanwhile, the Malnad Chiefs of Keladi had grown formidable. They made good their footing on the West Coast by destroying what remained of the Kalasa-Karkala kingdom. When the Bijapur invasion made the open country untenable, they withdrew their capital from Ikkeri to Bednur (Nagar) in the heart of the hills, commanding, by the Hosangadi Pass, a ready access to the fertile plains of South Kanara. Sivappa Nayak, first as minister, then as usurper, extended his sway along the coast for nearly 150 miles, from Mirjan in the north to Chandragiri on the border of Malabar, and when Bijapur weakened, he pressed east and south into the upper basins of the Tungabhadra, Vedavati and Hemavati.

Dodda Deva Raja.—Some time in or before 1659, Sivappa Nayak befriended the fugitive Emperor Ranga III and granted him a tract in the old Hoysala homeland, with Belur as his capital, a challenge to Mysore which the new ruler, Dodda Deva Raja (1659-72), was not slow to accept. By 1667, the Mysoreans had wiped out this imperial buffer State and then, rounding on Madura, annexed Erode, Dharapuram and the greater part of Kongu.

Chikka Deva Raja.—Chikka Deva Raja (1672-1704), to whose prowess as Yuvaraj these successes were mainly due, and the keynote of whose policy was a friendly understanding with the Mughals, consolidated his northern frontier first; on the Sira side (the Shimsha-Vedavati divide), from Honnavalli in Tiptur to Madhugiri on the Central Chain (1675-78), at the expense of Bijapur. Then, when, in 1686-7, the Mughals finally overthrew Bijapur and Golkonda, he succeeded, thanks to the Mysore-Mughal *entente*, in obtaining possession of Bangalore. He next struck south-east, and secured his possessions in the Baramahal and Kongu by the occupation of Kaveripatnam on the Ponnaiyar, Attur in the Vellar Valley, and Paramati on the Cauvery. He then turned north and plunged into a five-year struggle with Keladi, which ended in 1694 in a treaty ceding to Mysore a long strip of country along the Malnad border from Kodlipet (now in Coorg) to Kadur. By the end of the century, Chikka Deva Raya held practically the whole of the Upper and Middle Cauvery basins and most of the basin of the Middle Ponnaiyar.

The Mughal Karnatak.—Meanwhile, the Mughals were busy organizing their annexations. The new province of Upland Bijapur was divided into seven parganas; Basavapatna in the North-West Sector; Budihal and Sira in the Vedavati basin; Penukonda controlling the Penner; Dod-Ballapur, Hoskote and Kolar in East Mysore; while Harpanahalli in the north, Keladi and Chitaldrug in the north-west, Rayadrug-Kundarpi in the Vedavati valley, and Mysore were associated with the province as tributary States.

(*iii*) *From* 1700 *to* 1800.

Mughal Disintegration.—In the general disruption that followed the death of Aurangzib (1707), Mysore

fared badly. For the first time in her history, she lacked leaders, and soon became the prey of Mughal and Maratha war-lords. The Nawab of Sira began the game in 1713 with the levy of a "very moderate" contribution. In 1724, Mysore was assailed by five Nawabs (Sira, Arcot, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Savanur) and the Marathas of Gooty, who extracted a crore of rupees. Two years later, the Peshwa Baji Rao himself appeared and was bought off. In 1728, by the capture of Magadi and the extirpation of the Yelahanka Morasus, Mysore recouped her finances, but did not win safety. Ministers, corrupt and inept, then usurped the royal authority: one of them, on his death-bed, refunded, conscience-striken, eight lakhs he had improperly acquired; another, in 1746, marched the army away to Kongu, whereas the Nizam's forces again appeared at the capital and extorted more blackmail; he bungled the seige of Devanhalli in 1649 and butted into the Anglo-French quarrel at Trichinopoly (1751-5) without success. While he was absent, the Nizam again rolled down on Seringapatam and retired with 56 lakhs (1755); and two years later (1757), the Peshwa, Balaji Rao, came and agreed to go away for 32 lakhs; only 5 lakhs could be raised in cash and jewels, fourteen districts were given in pledge for the balance.

Haidar Ali.—The State seemed to be on the eve of extinction when Haidar Ali, an illiterate soldier, took matters into his own hands. He straightened out the muddled finances, made a clean sweep of corrupt officials, induced the Marathas to withdraw and in 1761, in all but name, usurped the throne.

First Effort.—Haidar's main care was his northern frontier. Already Basalat Jang, the Nizam's brother, who held Adoni, was pressing south. Haidar joined

him and took Hoskote, Dod-Ballapur and Sira, key-positions for a northward move. Basalat then went home, and Haidar advanced into the Penner valley and annexed it up to Penukonda. Next he swung westwards and secured the allegiance of Rayadrug and Harpanahalli. Then he attacked the Keladi State and made it his own (1763). He strengthened his left flank by occupying the Malnad State of Sonda, with its coastal possessions up to Karwar and beyond. But the Marathas were advancing. Haidar moved to meet them, captured Savanur and Dharwar, and pushed northwards almost up to the Kistna. The Marathas, however, were too strong for him: he suffered a crushing defeat and had to pay 32 lakhs and give up all he had taken from the Savanur Nawab and Morari Rao of Gooty (1765).

Second Effort.—To replenish his treasury, Haidar now turned to Malabar. Already in 1759, when governor of Dindigul, he had sent a force into South Malabar from Kongu to intervene in a struggle between the Chief of Palghat and the Zamorin, but with no permanent result. Haidar's annexation of the Keladi dominions brought him to the frontier of North Malabar. In 1766, at the instigation of the Ali Raja of Cannanore, he swept through Malabar, from the north to the confines of Travancore, and made it a province of Mysore.

He then turned to meet a Triple Alliance, for the Nizam had induced the Marathas and English to join him in an attack on Mysore. Haidar deftly bought off the Marathas for 35 lakhs, persuaded the Nizam to take his side, and after two years of war dictated his terms to the English at the gates of Madras (1767-9).

Haidar was now free to rebuild his northern frontier. He again invaded the Penner Valley,

levied toll from the Nawabs of Cuddapah and Kurnool, mollified the Gooty Marathas and attacked the Bellary chief, who repulsed him. But the Peshwa, Madhu Rao, again bore down on him. Haidar was driven back to his capital, crushingly beaten, and forced to surrender 30 lakhs and a big slice of his North-East frontier.

Third Effort.—Once again Haidar set himself to mend his broken fortunes. Madhu Rao, the last of the great Peshwas, was dead (1772) and Poona was torn with faction. In five months Haidar recovered all he had lost, annexed Coorg, and marching through the Wynad jungles quelled the revolt of Malabar. Again he turned to his northern frontier. He first seized Bellary in the centre, then uprooted the Gooty Marathas on his right, then turned left on the Savanur Nawab, and appropriated half his dominions.

Again the Marathas rolled down on him, but this time they were split by faction. Haidar beat them, drove them beyond the Kistna and rounded off his conquests by annexing Chitaldrug and Cuddapah.

Haidar then turned on the English, and it looked as though he would wipe them out too; for all the world was leagued against them and they had lost the command of the sea. Coote saved them, and Haidar died (1782), but the treaty of Mangalore (1784) left his dominions intact.

The Restoration.—Tipu put up a good fight, but the Triple Alliance was too strong for him. The first round deprived him of Malabar and Coorg, Dindigul and the Baramahal, Cuddapah and all north of the Tungabhadra (1792). In the second round he was knocked out; the State was reduced to its present limits and restored to its rightful rulers (1799).

V. Contact, cleavage and diffusion.

A. Language.—The indigenous languages of Mysore are Kanarese and Telugu, which in 1921 were spoken by 71 and 15 per cent respectively of the total population.

Kanarese, the official language, dominates North and South Mysore. Eastward it yields precedence to Telugu; its 80 per cent limit crosses the Vedavati valley through the taluks of Chitaldrug and Challakere, then swings southward along the Central Range through Maddagiri and Dod-Ballapur, following roughly first the Penner-Cauvery, then the Ponnaiyar-Cauvery divides. In the taluks named, and also in Devanhalli and Kolar, it ranges between 50 and 80 per cent, and in Kankanhalli, too, it falls just short of 80. The transition here is remarkably abrupt, the percentage dropping to 46 and 39 in the adjoining taluks of Bangalore and Anekal. (Fig. 7).

Telugu dominates the Penner basin; in Kolar District it is spoken by over 60 per cent of the population, by over 90 per cent on its northern border.

But East Mysore has had a curious linguistic past. Kanarese is the language of its earliest inscriptions. The Chola conquest brought Tamil, Vijayanagar Telugu. Most of the Telugu inscriptions are found north of the Penner-Ponnaiyar divide. Tamil inscriptions, which cluster thickly south of that divide, also occur to the north of it, and a zone of Tamil epigraphs runs south-west from Bangalore to Mysore; they are specially numerous in the South-West Sector (Honnu-Hole basin) of the Homeland. (Fig. 8).

Tamil in 1921 was the language of only some 4 per cent of the population. Obviously it is

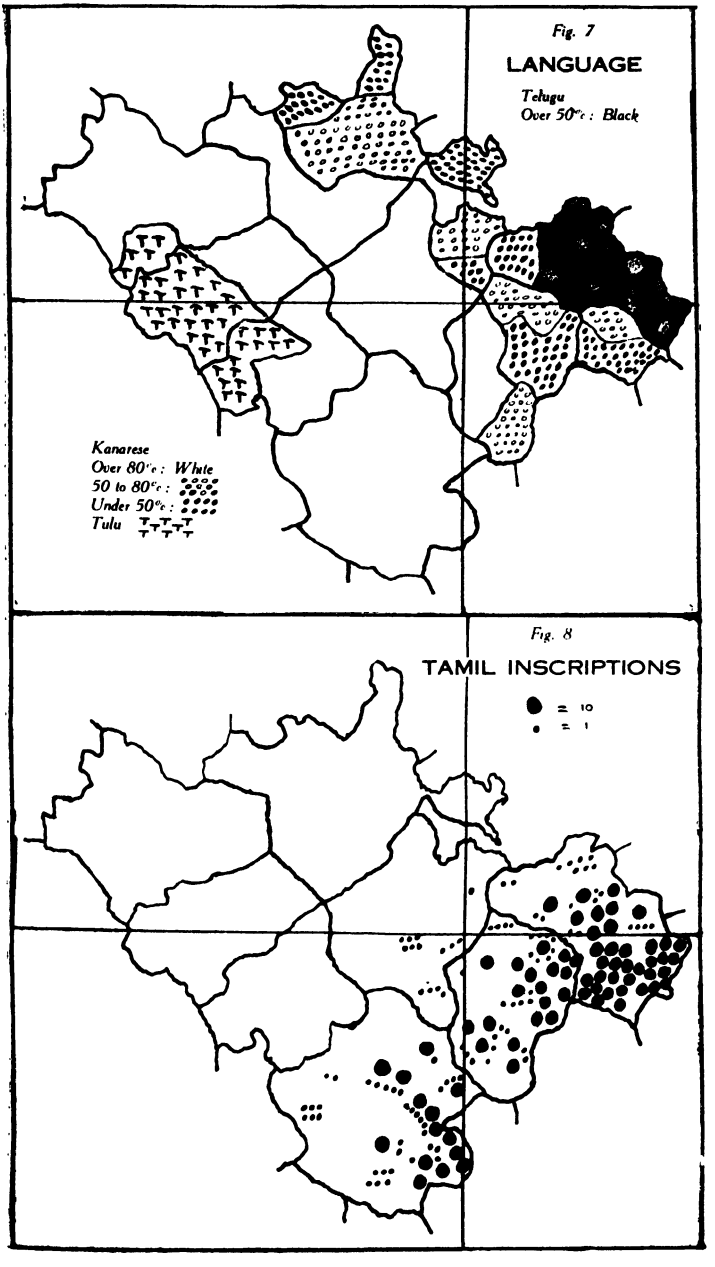


Fig. 7
LANGUAGE
Telugu
Over 50% : Black
Kanarese
Over 80% : White
50 to 80% :
Under 50% :
Tulu
Fig. 8
TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS
= 10
= 1

intrusive; nine-tenths of the Tamil speakers are in and around the three urban centres, particularly Bangalore and the Kolar Gold Fields.

Hindustani (6 per cent) and Marathi also favour the cities, but less intensely; in rural areas they occur oftener in outer Mysore, the former Bijapur and Maratha dominions, than in Homeland, the Marathas being notably numerous in the Shimoga Valley and scanty in the Vedavati basin. (Fig. 9).

Lastly in the Malnad, from Tirthahalli in the north to Manjarabad in the south some 35,000 Tulu-speakers show contact with the West Coast; labourers, it seems, for the most part employed in coffee estates.

B. Administration.

Administrative Charges.—The eight districts into which Mysore is now divided have a history of their own which reflects the cultural cleavages of the State. In 1799 Mysore consisted of three "Rayadas":—

(1) Chatrakal, comprising the late chieftaincy and present district of Chitaldrug (13 taluks).

(2) Nagar; Malnad and Maidan Keladi; the present Shimoga District with part of Kadur (19 taluks).

(3) Pattana, corresponding to the upland portion of the Mysore Kingdom prior to Haidar Ali's usurpation *plus* his eastern conquests of 1761, and comprising almost the whole of the present districts of Mysore, Hassan, Kadur, Bangalore, Kolar and Tumkur (91 taluks).

The unwieldy Mysore Rayada was then split into four, and the State resumed its normal threefold aspect with the "Faujdaris" of (1) Chitaldrug in the North-East Sector and (2) Nagar in the North-West sector of North Mysore; of (3) Ashtagram (Mysore) and (4) Manjarabad (the old Malnad

Balam-Belur chieftaincy) in South Mysore, and of (5) Bangalore (present Bangalore and Kolar districts) and (6) Maddagiri (present Tumkur) in East Mysore.

The next stage was to form four "divisions", Manjarabad being absorbed in Ashtagram, Maddagiri in Chitaldrug.

In 1863 each of these "divisions" was split into two "districts", practically identical with the districts of to-day; and these were regrouped into three divisions (1) Ashtagram (Mysore with Hassan), (2) Nandidrug (Bangalore, Tumkur and Kolar), and (3) Nagar (Shimoga, Kadur and Chitaldrug).

In 1882, to reduce expenditure, these "divisions" were abolished, and the number of districts was reduced to six, Hassan being clubbed with Kadur, Tumkur with Chitaldrug. This proved inconvenient, and in 1886 the eight-district scheme was restored.

These permutations are not fortuitous; they follow from the geographical configuration of the State, and are descendants of the Banavasi-Nolambavadi-Gangavadi trilogy of medieval times, and the Araga-Mulbagal and Penukonda-Seringapatam provinces of Vijayanagar. (See pp. 94, 95.)

It is impossible here to discuss in detail the vicissitudes of the numberless *nads* and *simes* that went to make up these larger units. The constant factors are (1) Shimoga, based on the Malnad, (2) Bangalore-*cum*-Kolar, the Ponnaiyar-Penner Upland and (3) Cauvery-side Mysore. Of the variable factors Chitaldrug is sometimes linked with Shimoga, but tends to break away; while the borderland districts of Kadur and Hassan waver between Shimoga and Mysore, and Tumkur hesitates between Chitaldrug and Bangalore.

Revenue Administration.—Side by side with these nineteenth century changes, there has been a

progressive standardization of the revenue system. The former states of Keladi, Balam, Chitaldrug, Mysore, each had its own methods of assessment and collection in cash and in kind; differences now obliterated by the gradual introduction of a "ryotwari" system of the Bombay type.

Under the Mysore Rajas departmental organization was influenced apparently by Mughal models, while the terminology of officialdom is a curious babel of Marathi, Persian and Kanarese, and the revenue accounts were maintained in all these languages.

Coins.—The coins current in Mysore also present a medley of cultural influences. Those of the Early and Medieval Periods convey little exact information. Lead coins of the Andhras have been unearthed at Chitaldrug, Roman *denarii* near Bangalore. Gold coins, attributed to the Gangas, resemble those of Kashmir, silver coins ascribed to the Rashtrakutas are like the Greco-Parthian coins of Gujarat. Local mints are represented by coins of the Kadambas and Hoysalas, but these types soon disappeared. A more lasting tradition is that of the gold *varaha* ("boar") of the Chalukyas, a term which survives till the present day, though this "pagoda" as Europeans called it, for centuries the standard unit of the South, ceased to be minted at Madras in 1818. Kantirava Narasa Raja was the first of the Mysore Rajas to establish a mint, and "Canteroy" pagodas and fanams appear in accounts and treaties till 1831, though fanams only (ten to a pagoda) were actually minted by him. The pagodas in general use, of Vijayanagar type, were those of the Keladi chiefs. It was the Ikkeri (Keladi) pagoda that Haidar Ali adopted, and it was not until the reign of Tipu that silver coins (rupees) were minted in Mysore.

C. Religion.—In 1921 nearly 92 per cent of the people of Mysore were Hindus, nearly 6 per cent Muslims; the residue mostly Christians, "Animists" and Jains.

Buddhists and Jains.—The twin religions, Buddhism and Jainism, reached Mysore, as already stated, in the third century B.C. Buddhism did not greatly flourish, though it lingered in North Mysore till about 1100 A.D., if not later. Jainism, however, under the tolerant rule of Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas and Gangas came to be the dominant faith of the Mysore country up to the Chola Conquest. It then waned.

Decline of Jainism.—Already in the ninth century Sri-Sankaracharya, founder of the Smarta Brahmans, had by his trenchant logic and organizing genius undermined the foundations of Jain and Buddhist belief. The Cholas were ardent Saivites, and their tenure of the Homeland was marked by religious persecution and confiscation on a scale unusual in the tolerant annals of Hindu dynasties. About the end of the 11th century or beginning of the 12th, Sri-Ramanujacharya, the founder of modern Vaishnavism, driven from the Tamil country by the hostility of his Chola sovereign, settled in the Mysore Homeland and converted the Hoysala, Vishnuvardhana, to his faith. By the end of the 12th century all hope of a Jain revival was quenched by the Vira-Saiva movement from the north. Lastly in the 13th century, in the Tuluva country where Jainism had found refuge, Sri Madhavacharya laid the foundations of the Madhva sect.

In 1921 Jainism claimed only 21,000 votaries, about one-third per cent of the total population. Even this slender figure includes some thousands of foreign bankers from Marwar and Gujarat, who ply their trade in the cities. Apart from these,

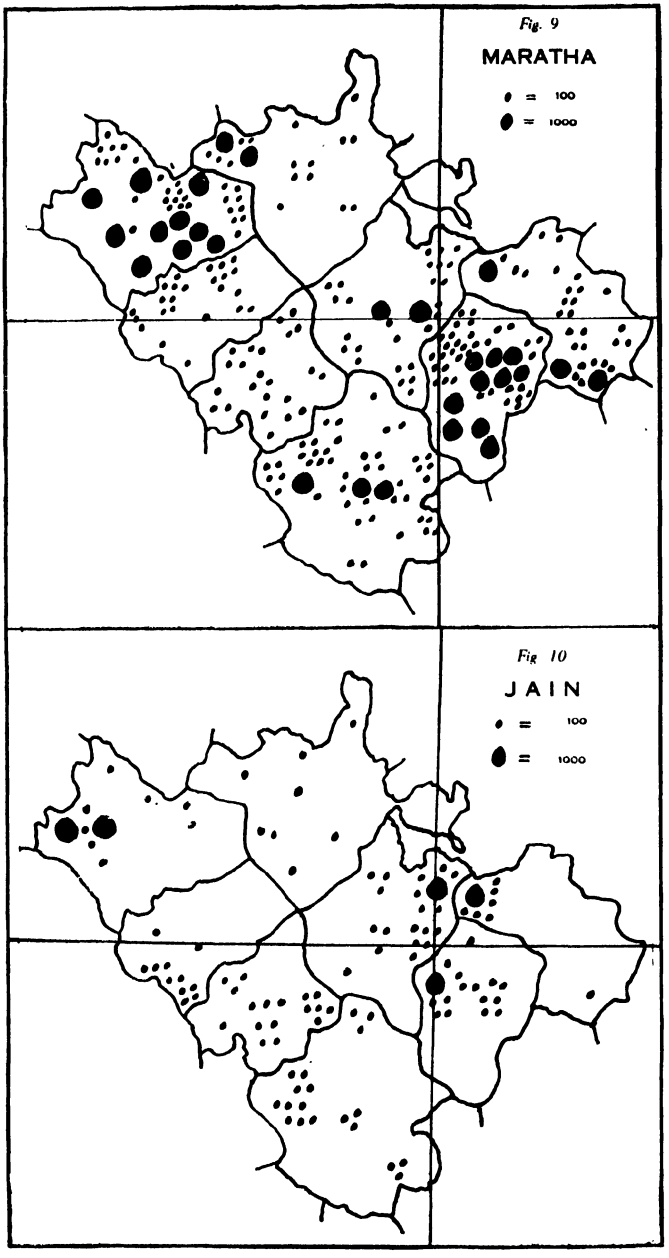


Fig. 9
MARATHA
= 100
= 1000
Fig 10
JAIN
= 100
= 1000

the distribution of the Mysore Jains is interesting. (Fig. 10). One group is concentrated in the North Malnad (Sagar taluk); another in the South Malnad (Manjarabad), adjoining the confines of the Tuluva country; a third on the borders of Coorg. From Manjarabad they spread along the south of the Cauvery-Kistna divide to Sravana Belgola, and the rest of the indigenous Jains, mostly cultivators of "Sada" caste, are grouped along and on either side of the "Central Chain." In other words, their distribution is "peripheral," on the fringes of cultural areas from which they have been ousted by later cultural developments.

Brahman Sects.—Of the three chief Brahman Sects, the Smartas are most numerous; in 1901 (no later statistics are available) they totalled 63 per cent of a Brahman population of 190,000; the Madhvas mustered 23 per cent; the Vaishnavas only 10 per cent.

Though Madhva doctrine arose in protest against Smarta monism, the line between the two communities is not rigorously drawn. Quite a number of the Brahman sub-castes of the Deccan (*e.g.*, Deshastha, Aruvelu, Badaga-Nad) are said to include both Smartas and Madhvas in their membership, and some (*e.g.*, Aruvelu, Nandavarik) have both Kanarese and Telugu (some even Maratha) sections; a Smarta may become a Madhva, and more rarely a Madhva may become a Smarta; and a difference of sect or language is not always a bar to intermarriage.

Vaishnava Brahmans, on the other hand, are severely exclusive. Though broken up into distinct local communities (Panchagrama Hemmigeyar, Mandyattar, etc.), rather widely scattered over the Mysore basin, they have not lost their nationality, and still speak Tamil; and by sheer ability they

have wielded an influence in the land of their adoption altogether disproportionate to their slender numbers. Of the two sects into which they are divided, the Vadagalai (or "northerners") are about twice as numerous as the Tengalai (southerners).

Vira Saivas.—The Vira-Saivas (or "Lingayats" as they are often called), like the Jains and Buddhists before them, repudiate the authority of Brahmans. The movement took shape in Kalyani during the Kalachurya usurpation, and was apparently responsible for the downfall of that dynasty. Like Jainism and Buddhism, it addressed itself to the masses as well as to the intellectual and ruling classes. Within a couple of generations, it had spread through the Kanarese country and assumed the aspect of a national faith; it is now professed by some 3,000,000 people (Fig. 11).

Vira-Saivism preserves intact those delicate adjustments of social and economic relations (the so-called "caste-system") to which Indian society owes its strength and solidarity, and marriage with non-converts of the same caste is not prohibited. To this, the success of the movement is, no doubt, partly due. But its most powerful asset is an ecclesiastical organization comparable in thoroughness to that of Catholic Rome, a system of dioceses and parishes, *mathas*, sub-*mathas*, branch-*mathas*, administrative and spiritual, that leaves not a member of the church without the help and discipline of a responsible *guru*.

Vira-Saivas are most numerous in North and South Mysore. In the Malnad and East Mysore, they are conspicuously rare. In North Mysore, they favour the North-West Sector, the Maidan territory of the Keladi Nayaks, who themselves professed this faith, and extend in a dense arc round

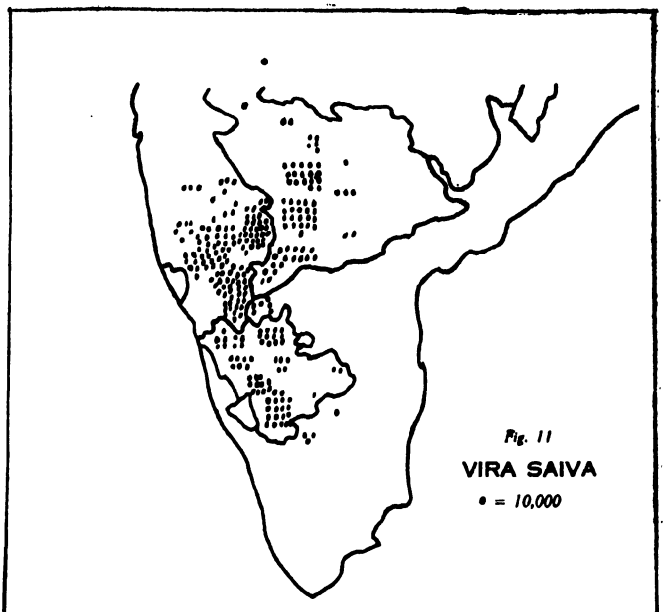


Fig. 11

VIRA SAIVA

• = 10,000

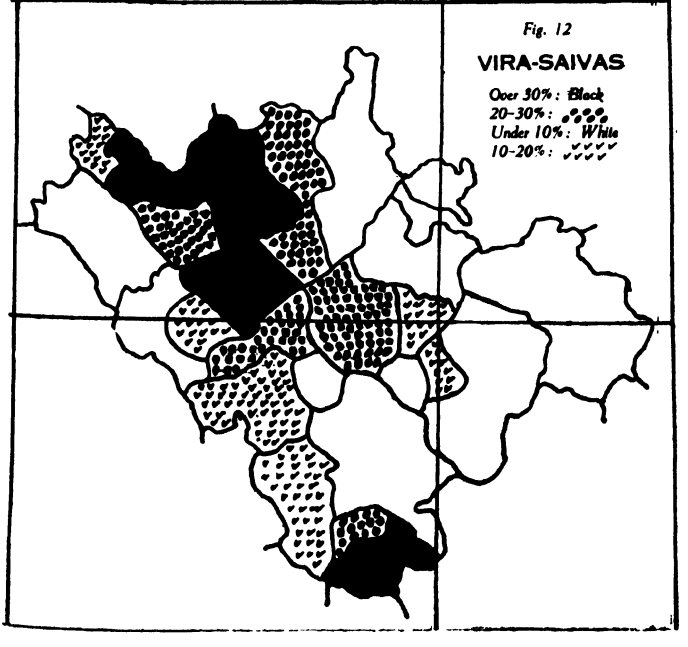


Fig. 12

VIRA-SAIVAS

Over 30%: Black
20–30%:
Under 10%: White
10–20%:

the headwaters of the Vedavati as far east as Tumkur. Avoiding the areas where Jains survive, they spread down the Hemavati basin and along the Cauvery, attaining their maximum concentration in the South-East Sector of the Homeland, where ruled the Vira-Saiva chiefs of Ummattur. In 8 taluks of North Mysore and 2 taluks of Mysore they comprise over 30 per cent of the total population. (Fig. 12.)

Mathas.—It is noteworthy that all these great religious organizations have their principal sees in Mysore territory. The Jains of Sravana Belgola trace their origin to Maurya days. The Sringeri monastery, in the Tunga valley of the Kadur Malnad, traces its foundation to Sri-Sankaracharya. The Parakala-Swami of Melukote, north of Seringapatam, is the apostolic successor of Sri-Ramanujacharya. At Sosile on the Cauvery and Hole-Narsipur on the Hemavati are Madhva pontiffs, while the Vira-Saiva monastery of Bale-Honnur on the Bhadra is of archi-episcopal rank.

Hindu Architecture.—These rich and varied traditions bore splendid fruit in the religious architecture of the Hoysalas, of the so-called "Chalukya Style," buildings which rank among the most beautiful in the world. These Hoysala temples, mostly of the 12th and 13th centuries, are to be found throughout the Kanarese country, from South Mysore as far north as the Malprabha. West of the Central Chain they rarely occur, the easternmost outliers of the style being at Kambaduru (in Kalyandrug, Anantapur) and Pedda-Tumbalam (Adoni, Bellary); and Hoysala influence is traceable in the Tamil districts which came under Hoysala sway.

The less pleasing "Dravidian Style," which prevails in East Mysore, penetrated to the Mysore Homeland (Talkad) during the Chola occupation,

but in the Kanarese country the style is a foreign intrusion, and most of its monuments date from Vijayanagar or later times. The Malnad temples represent the totally different style of South Kanara.

Muhammadans.—Of the Muslim community, about one-third is urban, centring in the cities of Bangalore and Mysore. The rest are sprinkled over the whole of the State, but in varying proportions, the highest percentage being reached in the North-West Sector, grouped round Shimoga (11 per cent), and in East Mysore in a belt which runs from Sira to Kankanhalli, and spreads over most of Kolar District. In the Malnad and South Mysore and most of the North-East Sector, the percentage is below 5. In other words, Muslims bulk most largely in the areas occupied by Bijapur and the Mughals. (Fig. 13.)

Christians.—The earliest Christian missions to Mysore were Jesuit, and the approach was made to the Kanarese from Coimbatore (c. 1650), to the Telugus from Vellore (1702). Tipu wiped them out, and a fresh start was made after the fall of Seringapatam. The distribution is essentially urban, over 70 per cent of the Christians residing in cities (Fig. 14). The remainder, mostly scattered over the Malnad taluks, consists mainly of coolies employed in the planting industry. About 80 per cent of the Indian Christians are Catholics, under French control, the Bishopric of Bangalore forming part of the Arch-Diocese of Pondicherry.

Animists.—Under the head of "Animists" are grouped a few tribes which have little in common except that they have no place in the Hindu system; gypsy tribes such as the Lambadis (mostly North Mysore) and Korachas (East Mysore), and jungle folk like the Irulas of Kankanhalli and the Sholigas of Gundlupet on the southern frontier. (Figs. 15 and 16.)

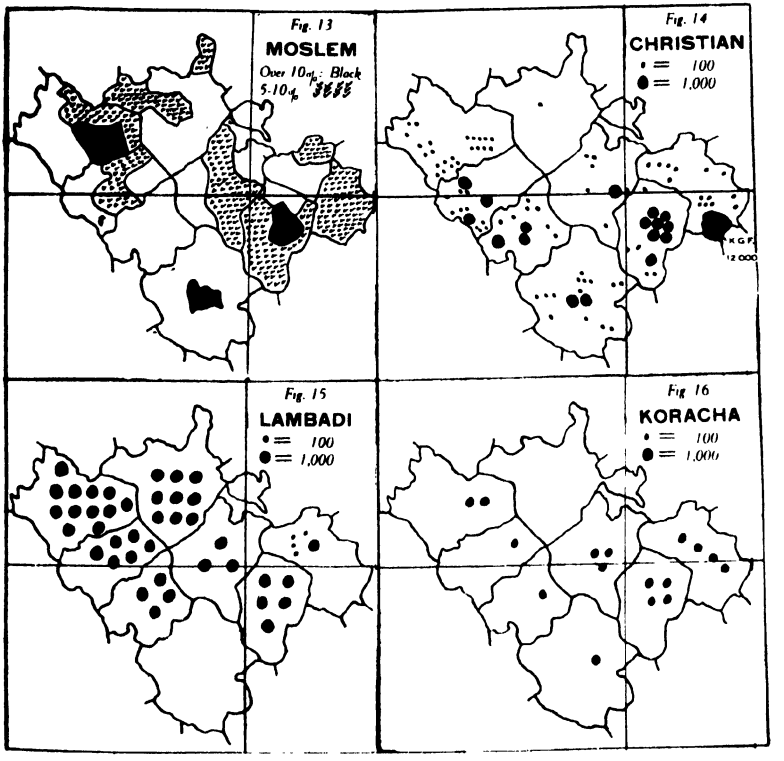


Fig. 13
MOSLEM
Over 10%: Black
5-10%
Fig. 14
CHRISTIAN
• = 100
● = 1,000
K.G.F.
12,000
Fig. 15
LAMBADI
• = 100
● = 1,000
Fig. 16
KORACHA
• = 100
● = 1,000

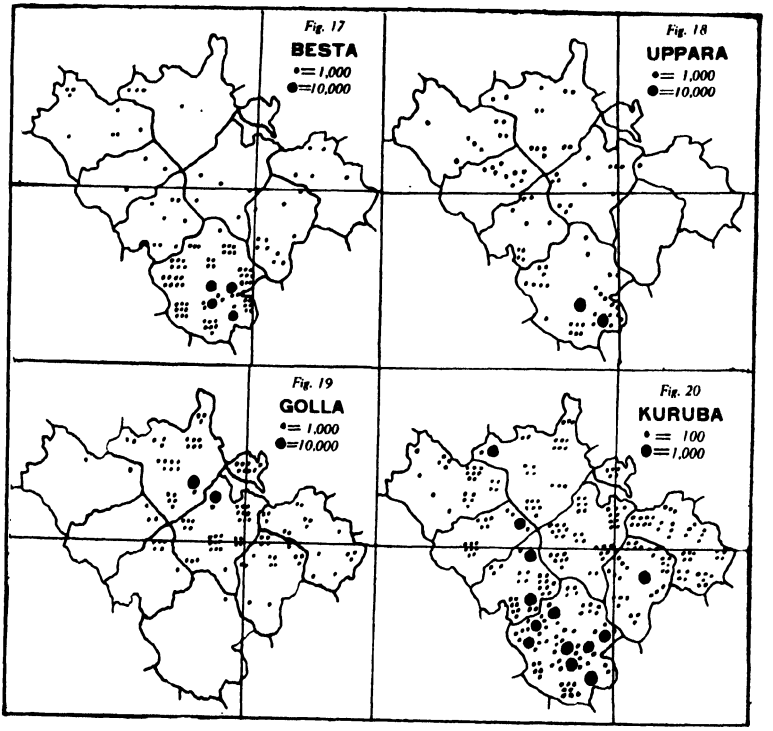


Fig. 17
BESTA
•= 1,000
●=10,000
Fig. 18
UPPARA
•= 1,000
●=10,000
Fig. 19
GOLLA
•= 1,000
●=10,000
Fig. 20
KURUBA
• = 100
●=1,000

D. Sociology.—It is the thankless duty of a Census Superintendent to fit into stereotyped categories the numerous communities that make up Indian Society. Thus, in Mysore, Tamil Paraiyars and Telugu Malas are grouped with Kanarese Holeyas; Telugu Kapus disappear among the Kanarese Vakkiligas, over half a dozen distinct castes of weavers are lumped together as Neygis, and quite a number of other well-known Tamil, Telugu and Maratha communities lose their identity under a Kanarese name. As a like process takes place all over India, and each Province and State uses its own scheme of categories, it is not easy to ascertain with accuracy the strength and affinities of any particular caste.

In some cases, this clubbing is, so far as Mysore is concerned, not unreasonable. The Bedars, for instance, (also the Kurubas) have both Kanarese and Telugu sections, which a common clan system proves to have been originally one community; and, contrary to the general rule of Dravidian society, the difference in language is not a bar to intermarriage. But even in such cases, the basic evidence of numerical strength and geographical distribution is obscured, and scientific treatment becomes precarious.

For Mysore, however, information of special interest is forthcoming (Part 4 of the Census Report for 1921) as to the strength in each taluk of 23 of the principal castes, some of which exhibit a most significant regional distribution.

Of the Besta (or Bestha) fishermen for instance, over two-thirds reside in the single district of Mysore, most of them in the riverside taluks and along the valleys to the South; a fact due, no doubt, to the abundance of fish in this area of running water and irrigation canals. (Fig. 17.)

Of Uppara salt workers (for some reason not apparent), nearly half are found in Mysore District (mostly in the South and South-East Sectors), while in East Mysore there are scarcely any (Fig. 18).

Of the pastoral castes, the Golla cowherds are numerically strongest in the Vedavati Sector of North Mysore; a few are scattered over East Mysore, but in South Mysore and the Shimoga valleys they are conspicuously rare (Fig. 19). The Kuruba shepherds on the other hand seem curiously shy of the Vedavati Sector, and prefer South and East Mysore and the Shimoga valleys (Fig. 20).

Of the two great serf communities, the Holeya-Paraiyar Group lie thickest in the southern half of East and South Mysore and in the planting areas of the South and Central Malnad, the Madigas (mostly Telugu) prefer the north half of East Mysore and the country on either side of the Central Chain, where the Holeyas are thinner. (Figs. 21 and 22.)

Distinctive of East Mysore are the *Tigalas*, an agricultural caste of Tamil origin, an offshoot of the great Palli community of the Tamil Plains. They spread westward as far as Gubbi in the Shimsha Valley, and south to the border of Mysore district, but into the Penner basin they do not enter (Fig. 23); It is in the north half of East Mysore that the Telugu Banajiga are most plentiful; over the rest of East Mysore and in Mysore district itself they are more thinly scattered, and few are met with further north. (Fig. 24.)

Characteristic of North Mysore are the virile Bedars, who formed the backbone of Haidar Ali's armies. It is in the Vedavati Sector that they cluster most abundantly; they are numerous too in the north half of East Mysore. (Fig. 25.) This Bedar block is, in fact, part of a nation which spread northwards through Bellary and the Bombay

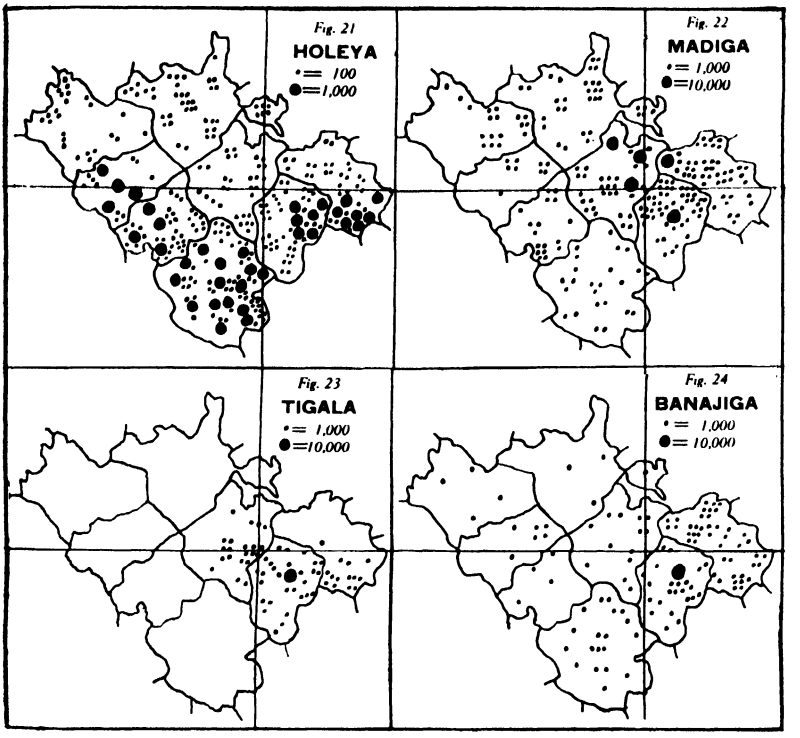


Fig. 21
HOLEYA
• = 100
● = 1,000
Fig. 22
MADIGA
• = 1,000
● = 10,000
Fig. 23
TIGALA
• = 1,000
● = 10,000
Fig. 24
BANAJIGA
• = 1,000
● = 10,000

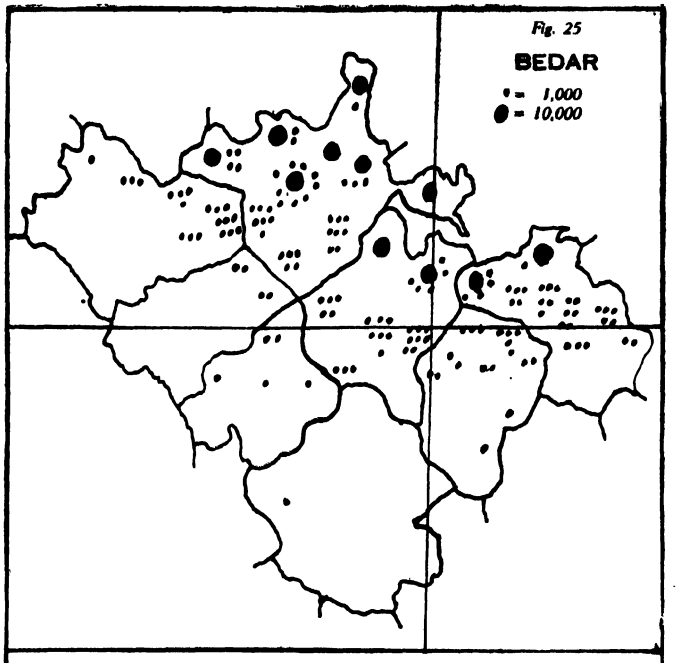
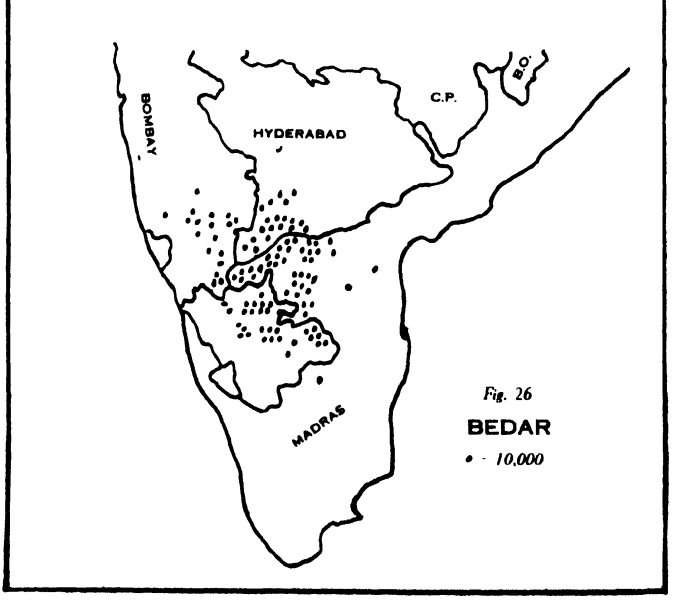


Fig. 25
BEDAR
• = 1,000
● = 10,000


BOMBAY
HYDERABAD
C.P.
B.O.
MADRAS
Fig. 26
BEDAR
• = 10,000

Karnatak as far as Gulbarga, and defied the Emperor Aurangzeb at the zenith of his power (1680-1705). (Fig. 26.) The chiefs of Chitaldrug, Basavapatna, Harpanapalli and Harati were Bedars, and the Bedar Nad contributed, it is said, a contingent of 500 horse and 10,000 foot to the army of the Vijayanagar Viceroy of Seringapatam.

The ryot castes of Mysore, which comprise about one-fourth of the total population, (over 1,331,000 in 1911), are grouped together under the general term Vakkiliga (Okkalu). Of the separate communities included in this category recent statistics are not available, but the Census of 1891 shows that 44 per cent (or 593,000) of them are Gangadikaras, and that these are concentrated in the Homeland, in the ancient Gangavadi from which they derive their name. They are in fact the main body of the Mysore nation. (Fig. 27.)

The Morasu Vakkiliga, needless to say, belong to East Mysore (Fig. 28). So, too, do the Telugu Reddis, but, unlike the Morasus, they are also found along the eastern fringe of North Mysore (Fig. 29).

In North Mysore the Nonabas, whose caste-head lives at Gubbi, favour the Vedavati sector, the ancient Nolambavadi (Fig. 30) and the Kunchigas have a similar distribution, though they extend further south (Fig. 31). The Sadas, some of whom, as already stated, are Jains, and some Vira Saivas, prefer the North-West Sector (Fig. 32).

The Halepaikas characterise the North Malnad (Shimoga 13,000), the Halu are found in Kadur and Hassan (15,000).

The clan system of the Kanarese is of supreme interest, as it preserves the structure of Dravidian society in what is probably its purest form; groups of clear-cut exogamous units (*kula*, *bedagu*), each of them named after a plant or animal or other object,

associated often with a *tabu*. Among the Telugus, on the other hand, clans are usually defined by "house-names", while in many castes (both Kanarese and Telugu) the clans are grouped, merged or masked, in a system of *gotras* of Brahmanic type.

Social governance too in Mysore is less contaminated by extraneous influences than in other parts of South India. The grouping of householders into *katte manes*, under a headman (*gauda*), with or without the assistance of a colleague and a council of elders of the caste; the grouping of *katte manes* into *nads*, under a *nadu-gauda*, to decide larger issues; an ultimate appeal to the independent authority of a *Desayi*, or *Nad-Prabhu* (formerly, it seems, a state official) or a Guru; this coherent hierarchy of institutions bears convincing testimony to the aptitude of the Dravidian peoples in managing their own affairs.

Variants there are in different communities and in different areas in the types of social governance, as well as in the cults of household, clan, and tribe, in domestic rites, in food and dress and the innumerable other incidents of Indian social life. But such matters are dealt with in detail by my friend, Mr. L. K. Anantakrishna Ayyar, and I must not poach on his preserves.

Conclusion.

Politically Mysore is the dynamic resultant of three components, the North-East and North-West Deccan and the Tamil Plains. Sometimes the North-East and North-West Deccan coalesce, as under the Andhras and the Bahmani Sultans; sometimes the Telugu North-East and the Tamil South are united, as under the Pallavas and the

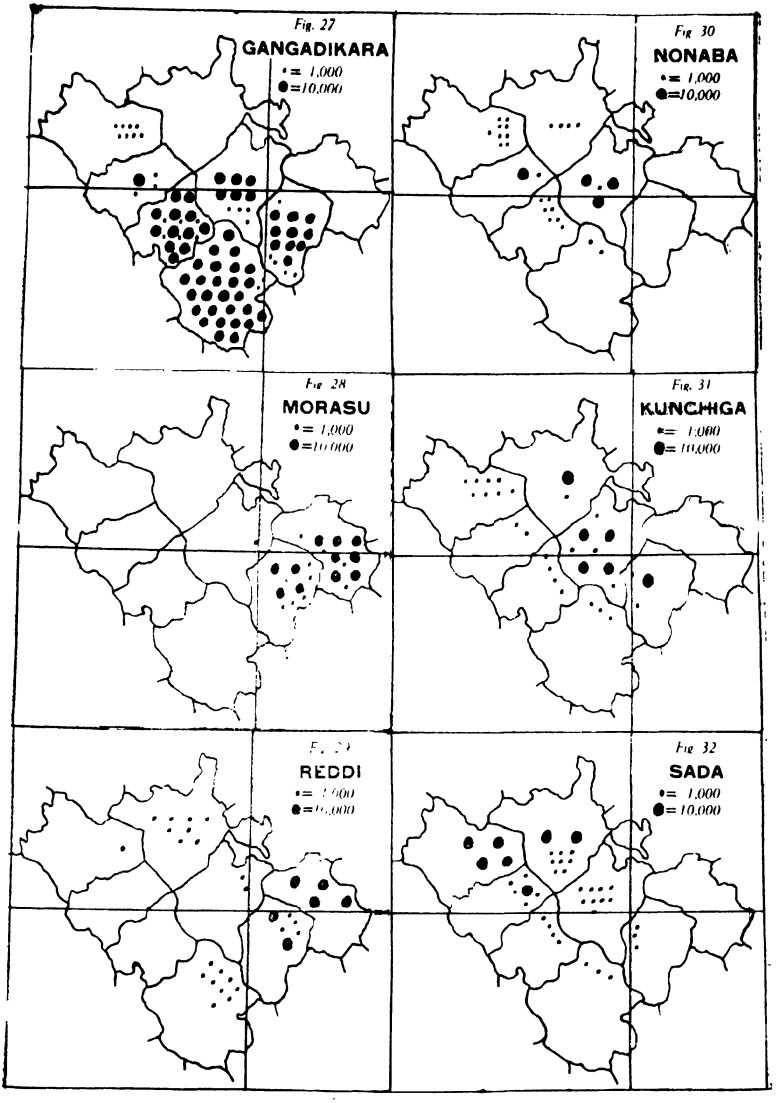


Fig. 27
GANGADIKARA
•= 1,000
●=10,000
Fig. 30
NONABA
•= 1,000
●=10,000
Fig. 28
MORASU
•= 1,000
●=10,000
Fig. 31
KUNCHIGA
•= 1,000
●= 10,000
Fig. 32
SADA
•= 1,000
●= 10,000

Cholas. But the tendency to separate is always present, and the planes of cleavage are the same, from the breakaway of the East Chalukyas to the dissolution by Haidar Ali of the Triple Alliance of Marathas, Nizam, and English in 1767.

The national vitality of the Mysoreans is in no small measure due to the lean belt of their north borderland and the jungle clad hills of the West and South. But East Mysore, too, has played its part; lying athwart the highway of the nations, it has kept the Homeland in touch with the larger life of India. Action, as well as thought, is evoked when the legions thunder past; and Chalukyas and Pallavas, Rashtrakutas and Cholas, Marathas, Bijapuris, Mughals and British each had a practical interest in the goodwill of Mysore, and each added its quota to the sum total of Mysore culture.

But it is to the courage and statesmanship of her rulers, and the virility of her people that the Mysore Homeland owes the amazing continuity of her cultural history. The only break is the Chola occupation; the Hoysalas retrieved the patrimony of the Gangas, and it was on Hosyala foundations that the Vijayanagar Empire was built. And when that broke, the House of Mysore preserved and enriched the national tradition, and made it the living force it is to-day.

CHAPTER III.

CASTE.

INTRODUCTION—CASTE IN THE VEDA—CASTE IN THE BUDDHIST PERIOD—CASTE DURING THE MAURYA PERIOD—VAISYA—REASONS FOR THE SOCIAL DETERIORATION OF THE VAISYAS—SUDRA—CHANDALA—GUILDS—MODERN CONCEPTION OF CASTE—DEFINITION OF CASTE—TEST OF CASTE—THEORIES OF CASTE—MIXED UNION OF THE FOUR CASTES—TRIBE AND CASTE—CASTE AND CLASS—CASTE FORMATION—SUB-CASTE AND ITS FORMATION—CASTES IN MYSORE, THEIR NUMBER AND SOCIAL GRADATION—CHANGE OF CASTE NAMES—SUMMARY. APPENDIX, A, B AND C.

INTRODUCTION.

FEW topics within the sphere of Indian sociology present more difficulties than those connected with the origin and evolution of caste. Scholars have devoted considerable time to research and study of the subject, and have come to no conclusions. Various theories have been propounded by scholars. They can be roughly divided into two schools. The older school based its arguments on the sacred literature of the Hindus, and arrived at different conclusions; but all agree in ascribing to caste extreme antiquity, and regard the system as the artificial product of the Brāhmanic hierarchy. Of late fresh light has been thrown on the subject by the study of inscriptions, and by the patient investigations of Buddhist and Jain literature, the authors of which were directly opposed to the Brāhmans, and gave quite a different account of early society. And there is the new school of theorists "who post-date the origin of caste to comparatively modern late times by looking for its origin in the nature

of the elements composing the early Indian society, and for its development in the working of social forces on these lines." Thus none of the theories so far advanced commands universal approval. Further, information on the early Hindu society is still meagre, and the discovery of any new fact will lead to the revision of the best of the theories. "The majority," says Blunt, "are infected with disease common to many theories—the lack of a sense of proportion, in that far too much importance is attached to some one point which is certainly cardinal to the particular theory, but is also regarded as the cardinal point in the whole enquiry."*

CASTE IN THE VEDA

The earliest reference to caste is found in the *Rig Veda*, in which mention is made of four castes which originated from Brahma, the Supreme Being. The Brāhman came from his mouth, the Kshatriya from his arm, the Vaisya from his thighs, and the Sudras from his feet.† This statement is somewhat allegorical. It means that the Brāhmans are the instructors of mankind, the Kshatriyas are the warriors, and the Vaisyas and Sudras are the agriculturists and servants respectively. Similar references to the origin of caste are found in *Satapatha Brāhmaṇas* (II-4-11), the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* (III-12-9, 3), *Vājasēnēya Samhita*, and the *Atharva Veda*. But from an examination of the legends contained in the *Brāhmaṇas*, it is seen that the accounts vary.

From the beginning of the Vedic period to the middle of the *Sūtra* or Buddhist period, the fourfold division represented only classes, and this can be proved by the statements in the *Srauta-Sūtra* of

* Blunt, E. A. H.: *The Caste System of Northern India*, Chap. II, pp. 11-12.

† *Rig Veda*, X. 90, 11—12.

Drāhyana and in the *Puranas* regarding the functions of priests and warriors.*

In the ninth book of the *Rig Veda*, there is a famous passage referring to the various crafts. It is said that the organization of castes is fully developed at the period of *Brāhmaṇas*, and is codified in the laws of Manu. The four castes are fully established. The rites and duties of the *Brāhmans* are in complete accord with modern descriptions, and the necessary purity of the race is fully inculcated. The caste is ignored by the persistent neglect of initiation.

The orthodox Hindu, on the other hand, considers the caste system to be a divine institution, and that there have existed since the beginning four distinct orders of men, Brāhman or priest, Rājanya, Kshatriya or noble, Vaisya or tiller of the soil, and Sudra or the servile class. There is a great difference between the first three and the last. The former are said to be the conquering Aryan and the latter the conquered Sudra or Dasyu. The Aryans are said to possess light colour, and the Dasyus dark colour. It is also said that before the end of the *Rigvedic* period, a belief in the divine origin of the four orders of men was firmly established, but there are no references to the sub-division of these orders.† "In the next period, the period of the *Yajur Veda* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, are found the division of the Aryan Society into four classes with distinct functions. The term denotes a social order, independently of any actual difference of colour, and we hear of the mixed *varṇas*, the offspring of parents belonging to distant orders." Descent is the chief factor, though not the sole one. Tribal connection, religion, and occupation combine

* Wilson: *Rig Veda, Introduction*, XL III, I, 20.

† Rapson, E. J.: *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, *Ancient India*, pp. 54-55.

with descent to consolidate the social groups and keep them apart. "Throughout the Vedas" says Blunt, "there is not a single reference to connubial or commensal restrictions to any of the characteristics of the modern Hindu social system."

CASTE DURING THE BUDDHIST PERIOD.

"In the *Jātakas*, a collection of folk-tales, there is an account of the Hindu society in early Buddhist times. The colour distinction so prominent in the *Vedas* has faded into the background, though its memory survives in the word *varna*, used for the social classes, namely, Kshatriya, Brāhman, Vaisya and Sudra. Here the Kshatriya heads the list. The lords spiritual have not assumed the pride of place at the expense of the lords temporal. The Brāhman is held in status inferior to the Kshatriya nobility. The *varnas* have not yet become castes. The birth qualification has not yet developed to make them close corporations. Vaisyas and Sudras rise to the rank of Kshatriyas. Anybody can become a Brāhman by becoming a priest. There is no endogamous restriction; a Brāhman marries a Kshatriya widow, and according to one *Jātaka*, Buddha himself, a Kshatriya, marries a poor cultivator's daughter. Marriage within the clan is considered preferable to marriage outside it. But social prejudice and social convention stand in the way of the latter. Below the *varnas* there are *hina jātyo*, low tribes, of barbers, potters or weavers—for example, a remnant of the Dasya tribes on the outskirts of civilization. The lowest of all are the Chandālas and other outcaste tribes." *

CASTE DURING THE MAURYA PERIOD.

Megasthenes, who was an ambassador in the court of Chandragupta (Sandrokotus of the Greeks)

* Blunt, E. A. H.: *Caste in Northern India*, Chap. II, pp. 14-15.
Dutt, N. K.: *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, pp. 256-260.

in 300 B.C., wrote an account of the social system of his day in a work compiled by him, and this was preserved by Strabo, Arrian, and other writers. His classification of the people of his day into seven groups is somewhat confusing. He speaks of the philosophers, the husbandmen, the herdsmen and hunters, the traders and labourers, the fighting men, the overseers, the councillors, and the judges and administrators. From the above list, *Brāhmans* and *Kshatriyas* are easily identified. The third and fourth groups include Vaisyas and Sudras. The fourth would include all the guilds of armourers and ship-builders of which Megasthenes speaks as possessing special privileges. The sixth and the seventh of Megasthenes' groups refer to professional classes. According to Strabo's version, "no one is allowed to marry out of his own caste or to exchange one profession for another or to follow more than one business. An exception is made in the case of the philosopher, who for his virtue is allowed this privilege." Arrian endorses this view. From the facts mentioned above may be inferred three important things, namely, prohibition of intercaste marriages, the importance of heredity, and the exemption of Brāhmans from the above rules. Nevertheless there were violations. Chandragupta was of mixed descent. There were mixed marriages at a much later date, and perhaps there were exceptional instances as early as the fourth century B.C.*

Regarding the six centuries between 300 B.C. and 300 A.D., information bearing on the development of caste is rather scanty. Some attempts were made to prevent the intermixture of caste. During this period, there occurred the invasions of the Sakas, the Yavanas, the Pahlavas and the Kushans. These must have

* Blunt, E. A. H. : *Caste in Northern India*, Chap. II, pp. 17-21.

left their mark on the Hindu society, though very little is known, except in the case of the Huns, about their intermixture with the population of the country.

The Institutes of Manu and the chief *Purānas* in their present form are ascribed to the Golden Age of Sanskrit Literature under the early Gupta Kings (330-450 A.D.). The Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas,—the 'sacerdotal' and ruling and military castes respectively are shown as occupational. The Vaisyas and Sudras are not clearly defined. They are identical probably with trading, industrial and menial classes. The *Vrātya* and *Vrishala* castes are the degenerate descendants of the twice-born classes who have neglected to perform the prescribed rites. Among them are included Khasa, Drāvira, Yavana, Saka, Pahlava and China, and these names clearly show, what Manu's *Vrātyas* and *Vrishalas* were. These must have been the names of the aboriginal tribes and races, that have partly or wholly merged in the then Hindu tribes and castes. Manu's *Institutes* contain a fairly good account of the social system as it existed in his time. Many tribal castes must have sprung from foreign invaders, after their adoption of Hinduism. In this connection, it must be remembered that many of the invaders were barbarous, and their manners and customs would have become repugnant to the Hindus. It is very likely that these groups would have gradually become endogamous communities. Further, the real position of the Kshatriyas cannot be ascertained. It is said that Chandragupta Maurya was of mixed birth; the Andhra dynasty is usually regarded as of Sudra extraction. Harsha of Thanesvar, the last great Hindu king, was a Vaisya, but ranked as a Kshatriya. It seems, therefore, that the ancient Kshatriyas, like the modern Rajputs, were a social class to which all rulers by virtue of their sovereignty

were recognized as belonging. The Kshatriyas, like the modern Rajputs, may be regarded as an occupational caste following the Hindu ritual, and becoming rulers.*

In the early Buddhist period the Kshatriya was socially supreme. In Manu's account, the supremacy passed to the Brāhman. That the Kshatriya power decayed and reverted to the Brāhman, it cannot be denied. In fact, as Blunt says, the causes may be found in the history of the time. During the three centuries from 200 B.C. to 500 A.D. India was subject to foreign invasions by powerful barbarian hordes, which led to the extirpation of the ancient Kshatriyas, who were also liable to be attacked from within. Buddhism, which was a Kshatriya religion, founded by a Kshatriya prince, was opposed to Brahmanism. The two religions went on side by side for ten centuries till at last Brāhmanism gained the ascendency after the death of Harsha of Thanesvar in the middle of the seventh century A.D. It is also said that Parasurama extirpated the Kshatriyas. Thus the Kshatriya became extinct, and his power as ruler passed by right of sword to the foreign Sakas, Pahlavas and Kushans, each of whom in turn usurped the throne with the title of Kshatriya.† Thus the kings and kinglets of India were often Hinduized foreigners who never attained to the rank and pre-eminence of the ancient Kshatriyas. This low position of the later Kshatriyas afforded an opportunity to the Brāhman, who, in the meantime, increased his authority and consolidated his position. In the Vedic period he was an acolyte at sacrifices, and assistant to the head of the family who officiated as priest. During the period which ended with the advent of Buddha,

* Blunt, E. A. H.: *The Caste System of Northern India*, Chap. II, pp. 22-24.

† Dutt, N. K.: *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, pp. 280-284.

in the midst of a people that was intensely religious, and still more intensely ritualist, he had become the hereditary priest, the sole master of religious ceremonial and doctrine, and as such had won for himself an almost unassailable supremacy. "Further, as philosopher and statesman, by sheer force of learning he had acquired considerable temporal power. The king's minister was a Brāhman —and was no more a figure head. Vasishta, the family priest of Trayyaruna, king of Kosala, acted as regent in his master's absence. Chanakya overthrew Nanda kings, put Chandragupta Mauryas on the throne, and acted as his minister." The first Brāhman dynasty after the Kanvas was the Shahya dynasty of Sindh in the tenth century. During the Buddhist period Brāhman power suffered a little; Buddhism and the Kshatriya religion were revolts against Brāhminism and its metaphysics. But Brāhminism was never entirely destroyed. Under the Gupta dynasty the Brāhmanic culture was widely diffused. The Brāhman ascendency both temporal and spiritual revived. It increased during the troubled period which came with destruction of the old Arya nobility. The Brāhman, 'the chief remaining link with the past, obtained the social hegemony, never again to lose it.' *

VAISYA.

During the Vedic period, *Visha* (a house or district) signified people in general, and its adjective *Vaisya* was afterwards applied to a householder. The *Vishas* or clans afterwards became the 'Vaisyas,' the third classical caste. Before they entered India, the Aryans were pastoral people, their domestic animals being the horse, the cow and, perhaps, the sheep and the goat. The horse and the cow were specially

* Blunt, E. A. H.: *Caste System in Northern India*, Chap. II, pp. 27-28.

venerated, and they were the chief means of transport. The Vaisyas must, therefore, have been herdsmen and shepherds who entered India, took to agriculture and settled down to the practice of cultivation. The word *Vaisya* signifies a man who occupies the soil, a cultivator or a merchant. According to Manu, God ordained them to tend cattle, give alms, offer sacrifice, to study, to cultivate, to trade, and learn the Vedas.

In the Buddhist period, Dr. Dutt opines, that Vaisyas and Sudras were not to be found as pure castes, nor did they represent groups anywhere. There is no mention anywhere of a member of any particular professional caste belonging to either Dasya *varna* or Sudra *varna*. The real distinction existed only during the Vedic period. Even during the early period of the Brāhmaṇas, the distinction had almost vanished, and in later periods still more so. It was so in practice as well. In the early Buddhist period, mention is made of Gahapat or Grahapati, as a landowning and mercantile class which ranked below Kshatriyas and Brāhmans. The word is synonymous with Kudumbika (householder) living in towns and villages.* Gradually the Vaisyas underwent a kind of social degradation, and the reasons are given below:

REASONS FOR THE SOCIAL DETERIORATION OF THE VAISYAS.

1. The rapid increase in number of the Kshatriyas, coupled with the expansion of the Aryan domination, and the advance from tribalism towards feudalism and oligarchy;

2. The advancement and separation of the sacerdotal class from the common people, and their domination over them. The Vaisya, according to *Taittiriya Samhita*, lived only to be exploited by the

* Dutt, N. K.: *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, Chap. VI, pp. 269-270.

Brāhmans and Kshatriyas. Numerous passages attest to their inferiority to the first two twice-born classes;

3. The abundant supply of slave labour in farming, pasturing and industrial arts, and the close association with certain branches of industry, together with a growing contempt for manual labour which brought the industries themselves low in the estimation of the higher classes. The separation of *Rathakaras* (chariot-makers), *Takshan* (carpenters) and *Kamaras* (workers in brass) from the Vaisya community is an instance in point. Thus the artisan classes became separated from the Vaisyas, among whom there were merchants and farmers. At the outset there was no distinction, and gradually a Vaisya farmer was looked upon as inferior in status to a Vaisya merchant. In the *Jātaka* literature, it is said that merchants alone formed what might be called the Vaisya community, while others sank to the status of Sudras;

4. During the Vedic period all professions and industries were in the hands of the Aryans. But after the intermingling of the Aryan with non-Aryan races the industrial and economic life of the people became very much changed. A large number of occupations fell to the lot of lower classes;

5. When the colour bar and purity of blood came to be considered, the cultured and the ruling classes adopted a policy of segregation and refrained from intermarriage and interdining with the non-Aryan peoples. The rank and file of the Vaisyas, owing to their number and association with the Sudras in various fields of activity, received a large admixture of non-Aryan blood. This also resulted in a lowering of the status of the Vaisyas.*

* Dutt, N. K.: *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, Chap. III, pp. 97-101.

SUDRA. M. Senart points out that the division of the four castes appearing in the post-Vedic literature does not continue on the same lines. There were two groups, one composed of the three higher castes, the other of the Sudras, or the lowest. The higher caste constituted the fraternity to which admission was obtained only by the religious ceremony of initiation and investment of the sacred thread. The Sudras were excluded, and could take no part in sacrifice. The punishment for the commission of grave offence by a Brāhman was degradation to a Sudra or outcaste. Dr. Wilson remarks: "They were the original inhabitants of the land, who conformed to the Brāhmanic rules, and received certain privileges. They constituted the fourth caste, with the designation of Sudras. Manu has ordained that if Sudras are unable to maintain their families, they might subsist by handicrafts. The Sudras were ordained not to wear the sacred thread. They were regarded as a servile class whose duty it was to minister to the twice-born."

CHANDALA. The Chandālas were the most despised of the Hindu society. They were not allowed to live within the walls of the town. The Pukkasa and Chandālas were also despised classes. They were excluded from the category of castes. In the *Dharmasāstras* the occupation of a Chandāla is to carry the dead bodies of men who have no relations or friends, and to execute criminals. In the fivefold division of society in the Madhyadēsa (Middle country), Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, Sudra, and Nishāda are given. In the Buddhist Jātaka literature also, the social divisions are on similar lines. The authors of *Dharmasāstras*, relying on the Vedic texts as authority, excluded them from the fourfold division. The fifth caste was rejected, and the Nishādas, Chandālas and Pukkasas were under casteless classes (*Manu* 4 *et seq*).

During the Vedic period, the number of professional classes went on steadily increasing, and their organization bore a close analogy to the medieval guilds of Europe. The former were influential corporations in Buddhist times. Even Manu, Yāgnavalkya, Nārada and other law-givers opined that they became dangerously powerful. They were the financiers of the age, and even kings were their debtors. The many privileges, which they enjoyed were granted in return for their assistance in money. "They had their own family inheritance and apprentice laws with which the king could not interfere. They tried their own law suits, and could be taxed only with their approval. It is even laid down that the kings must approve of whatever the guilds do for other people, whether it be kind or cruel. Each guild was ruled by a president (*Srēshti*) and a council of four, who decided both domestic and business disputes. There was also a merchant who exercised his authority over all the guilds in a particular city and in its neighbourhood." He was called *Mahāsrēshti*. Disobedience to the guild's orders was punished with fine or even expulsion. A wrong done by one member of a guild to another was treated as a wrong done to the whole community, and visited with severe punishment. A common fund was also raised for religious offerings, and also for promoting the common interests of the guild. GUILDS.

A guild is not a caste. There is no community of blood. Membership ceases on abandoning the trade or industry common to the guild. A caste is a homogeneous community, and membership is retained even when the occupation is given up. The functional castes have many things in common with the guilds. It is a primary rule among them that a member cannot deprive another of his

privileges. So strong is the proprietary sense that the recognized rights of certain families are sometimes sold like a good-will, mortgaged and even given in dowry. An encroachment on another man's rights is severely dealt with, even to outcasting in some places. In fact, encroachment of any kind was vehemently resisted.

It is in these guilds that Dahlman and other modern writers find the germs of modern functional castes. Corporations so powerful and well organized must have exercised a considerable influence on the development of the Hindu social system. A survival of it is found at present in Bombay and Baroda.*

MODERN CONCEPTION OF CASTE.

The word *caste* is derived from Portuguese *casta*, (*Lat. castus*) pure or chaste. It is used to denote the division of the Hindu society into various sections, or *jāti*, based on *varṇa* or colour. The main ideas involved in the conception of caste are: a homogeneous community, hereditary membership, intermarriage and interdining. The above data are not sufficient for a definition of caste, because in many of the castes there is a tendency for the members to give up their traditional occupation in favour of a more lucrative one.

DEFINITION OF CASTE.

The word *caste* has been variously defined, and none of the definitions is satisfactory. These are given below:—

1. Caste is defined "as an endogamous group or a collection of such groups bearing a common name, and having the same traditional occupation, claiming a common descent from the same source, and commonly regarded as forming a single homogeneous community." (Sir E. A. Gait.)

* Blunt, E. A. H.: *Caste System of Northern India*, Chap. II, pp. 15-17.
Dutt, N. K.: *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, Chap. VI, pp. 273-274.

2. Sir Herbert Risley defines caste, "as a collection of families bearing a common name, claiming a common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, professing to follow the same hereditary calling, and (are) regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community. The name is always associated with a specific occupation."

3. Emile Senart has a more comprehensive definition. "Caste, according to him, is a close corporation, exclusive and in theory at any rate, rigorously hereditary; equipped with certain traditional and independent organizations including a chief and council; meeting on occasion in assemblies of more or less plenary authority, and joining in the celebration of certain festivals; bound together by a common occupation; observing certain usages which relate more particularly to marriage, to food and to questions of occasional pollution; and ruling its members by the exercise of jurisdiction, the extent of which varies, but which succeeds, by the sanction of certain penalties and, above all, by the power of final or revocable exclusion from the group, in making the authority of the community effectively felt." *

TEST OF CASTE.

The test of caste is not intermarriage and inter-dining, but defilement by eating and touching what is unclean. On this consideration, *Sūtras* show only the beginning of that formal theory of defilement which results in a pure man of the upper class being defiled by the shadow of an impure man and in the taboo of all contact with the impure. "According to Gautama (*Dharma Sutra XVII*, I), a Brāhman may not eat food given by any of the reborn who are the worthy members of his caste, and in need of food to support his life, he may take food and other things even from a Sudra. Food forbidden is that defiled by hair or insects falling into it, and that touched by a woman in her menses, by a black bird (crow) or by its foot or given by an outcaste, a woman of bad character, a person accursed, an hermophrodite, a police officer (*dandika*), a

* L. K. A. Iyer: *Lectures on Ethnography*, Chap. IV, pp. 75-77.

carpenter, a miser, a jailer, a physician, a man who hunts without using a bow, *i.e.*, a non-snarer of animals, a man who eats refuse or the food of a multitude, of an enemy." The list contains the taboo of food offered disrespectfully and of certain animals. "Apastamba (*Dharma Sutra*, 1, 6. 18. 11) allows the acceptance of gifts, including a house and land from the low caste (*Ugra*), though like the later law books his code states that a priest may not eat in the house of any one of the three orders (*varṇas*) below him, but he may eat the food of any caste except that of the Sudras, and eat even their food in times of distress. Forbidden by him is the food of an artisan, of people who let houses or lands, a spy, an unauthorised priest (a Buddhist), besides that of a surgeon, usurer and others. Caste is *varṇa* or *jāti*, colour and kin, the former embracing the latter, as a social order including clans and families."*

THEORIES OF CASTE.

Various theories on caste have been formulated by scholars, the most important of which are given below:—

1. According to Sir Denzil Ibbetson, occupation is the chief basis of the division of caste. Every separate occupation has produced a distinct caste, the status of which depends now either partially or entirely on its occupation. The fact that there may be several castes pursuing the same occupation, as agriculture or weaving, does not invalidate this any way. If a caste changes its occupation, it may gradually change its status in a corresponding degree. Caste sometimes tends to rise or fall in social position with the acquisition of land or other forms of wealth or dignity. Strictly speaking, a man inherits the social position of the caste in which he is born, and retains it, through life without the power of altering it. It is now the caste as a whole, or at least one of its important sections or sub-castes, which rises or falls in social position, and the process may extend over generations or centuries. This

* Rapson, E. J.: *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, *Ancient India*, pp. 234-235.

theory, though applicable to a large number of castes, does not cover the whole ground.*

2. Caste, according to Nesfield, is used to designate common occupation. It is the centre round which caste has grown up, and its social gradation corresponds precisely to the different periods of civilization during which their traditional occupation originated. The primitive tribes inhabiting the hills pursue the occupation of hunting, and the pursuit of wild animals was the earliest stage in the development of human industry. Next in order comes the fishing caste, fishing being considered superior to hunting, because the water is a more sacred element than land among the Hindus. There is less apparent cruelty in capturing fish than in the slaughtering of animals. Above these come the pastoral castes. Above the pastoral castes are the agricultural castes and the various tribes included in them. Following the order in which these occupations are adopted during the progress of civilization, the others are mentioned. Above them are the various occupational castes. The higher group includes those castes whose occupations were coeval with the age of metallurgy, those who work in stone, wood, metal, and make ornaments. At the top of the system stands the Kshatriyas, or the warrior class, whose duty it is to protect all the lower castes, and the Brāhman who is their priest and spiritual guide.†

The gradation of society given above is in the scientific order of precedence, and it is likely that these divisions arose from the divisions of the principal social organization of India in the village community.

According to this theory, the caste system springs from the regular evolution of social life, starting from the lowest level and following in its slow progression. This theory cannot be reconciled with the relatively late date to which Nesfield refers to the constitution of society. He also affirms that the Brāhman was the first born of castes, the model upon which all the other castes were subsequently formed, extending gradually from king or warrior to the tribes practising hunting

*—† Russell, R. V.: *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, Vol. I, pp. 14-15.

and fishing whose rank is no higher than that of a savage. The Brāhmans who formed themselves into the Levite guild set an example which was followed by others. It was he who invented for himself, the rule prohibiting marriage with a woman of another caste. There is a curious contradiction of later passages where he derives the regulation of marriage from the traditional usages of the tribe. The Vaisyas, according to him, and the Sudras in particular, have never been anything except a kind of rubric intended to embrace a multitude of heterogeneous elements.*

Ibbetson's thesis is less complete and less forced than that of Nesfield, but is based on the same data. He summarises the various stages which are to be discerned in the history of caste :—(i) " The organization of the tribe common to all primitive societies ; (ii) the guilds founded on heredity of occupation ; (iii) the exaltation peculiar to India of sacerdotal function ; (iv) the exaltation of Levitical blood by the importance attributed to heredity ; (v) the consolidation of the principle, by the elaboration of a series of entirely artificial laws derived from Hindu beliefs, regulating marriage and fixing the limits within which it may be concentrated, declaring certain occupations and foods to be impure, and determining the conditions and extent of the relations permitted between the castes. It is seen that great importance is attached to the community of occupation and the constitution of the tribe." † The status of the Brāhman is reversed. They are represented as contributing to the spontaneous organization of the country. The real weakness of the system consists in the inordinate importance attributed to community of occupation. If this really constituted the primitive bond of castes, the latter would have

*—† Emile Senart : *Caste in India*, pp. 158-161, 162.

shown less tendency to split up and disintegrate. The medium which originally united it would have maintained its cohesion.

Many castes take their name from their dominant occupation. The thirty four castes of Mysore based mostly on occupation afford striking examples.

Neygi (weaver) is like *Brāhman*, a designation under which it would be incorrect to include a number of groups, and to do so would be to unite a number of groups having neither the right to intermarry, nor to interdine with distinct castes. The agricultural and weaving castes are numbered by dozens in Mysore. So are the Vellālans of the Madras Presidency, and the Reddies of Mysore. It is the same everywhere.

3. It is in race, that Risley unlike Nesfield, seeks the soul of caste. He lays stress on the difference of colour between the dark Dravidian or Non-Aryan races and their conquerors the fair skinned Aryans. The conquerors take the daughters of the land as concubines, but give their own daughters in marriage only among themselves. Race is substituted as the generating principle. The nasal index is the formula for the proportions of the nose, and is the most unerring criterion of race. There seems reason to suppose that the contact of the Aryans with the indigenous people of India is mainly responsible for the growth of the caste system, and the main racial divisions may perhaps even be recognized, though their basis has to a great extent vanished. But when we come to individual castes and sub-castes, the scrutiny of their origin is based more on certain Puranic stories, than on the supposed racial traits. Risley bases his argument upon the use of the word *Varna* and the meaning attributed to it. In this, he sees the natural enmity between the conquering and conquered races, the white and the black, as the germ of distinction. The endogamous laws are the foundation of the system. He arrives indirectly at the general acceptance of the orthodox Brāhmanic system, and believes in the dominance gradually acquired by the priesthood. The theory of mixed castes is, according to him, an invaluable proof of cross-breeding. For Nesfield, caste is a matter of profession; for Risley, it is a matter of marriage.*

* Emile Senart: *Caste in India*, pp. 169-172.

MIXED UNION OF THE FOUR CASTES.

From early times, by an ordinance of Manu, men of the higher castes or classes were permitted, after marrying a woman of their own caste, to have subsidiary wives from any of the classes below them. This custom seems to have been prevalent, and no definite rule was prescribed that the children of such unions should necessarily be illegitimate, and in many cases there is no doubt that their descendants ultimately became full members of the caste of the first ancestor. According to Manu, the children of a Brāhman by a Kshatriya woman could attain Brāhmanhood in the third generation, and those by a Vaisya woman in the fifth.* Such children could also inherit. According to the *Mahābhārata*, (Chap. xlvii) if a Brāhman had four wives of different castes, the son by a Brāhman wife took four shares, that by a Kshatriya wife three, that by a Vaisya wife two, and that by a Sudra wife one share. Manu gives a slightly different distribution, but also permits the son by a Sudra wife to have a share of the inheritance.† Thus the fact is clear that the son of a Brāhman even by a Sudra woman had a certain status of legitimacy in his father's caste, as he could marry in it, and must therefore have been permitted to partake of the sacrificial food at marriage, and could also inherit a small share of the property. The detailed rules prescribed for the state of legitimacy and inheritance shows that recognized unions of this kind between a man of higher class and a woman of lower class were once fairly frequent in spite of subsequent prohibitions. This must have led to mixture of blood in the different castes. There is still a survival of it in the practice of hypergamy.

TRIBE AND CASTE.

Both *tribe* and *caste* are loosely applied to a social group. The tribe is defined as "the largest body

* Manu, 10, 64, 65.
† Manu 9, 149-157.

of people, speaking about what they themselves regard as one language, and having a common language for themselves as well as a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding other people as strangers." A tribe is not a close corporation. In its original form, it is an aggregate of persons who have or believe themselves to have a common origin. This, together with common political interests, and mutual defence, holds them together. Sometimes, it admits of aliens who wish to throw in their lot with it especially women obtained by purchase or capture. It is not endogamous though circumstances tend to favour endogamy. It differs from caste inasmuch as the common name does not usually imply occupation. Its members occupy or profess to occupy a definite tract, but they do not necessarily marry among themselves. The modern tendency for such tribes is to be transformed into a caste.* In fact, a tribe is a prospective caste.

CASTE AND CLASS.

The two names *caste* and *class* are often confounded with each other. They correspond neither in extent, in character, nor in natural tendencies. Each one among the castes which would belong to one and the same class is plainly distinguishable from its fellows. The class subserves political ambition. The caste obeys narrow scruples, traditional customs and local influence, which have generally no relation to class interests. More than all, the class clings to the safeguarding of an integrity which is the subject of deep concern and sensitiveness even with the humblest. It is the distant echo of the class struggles handed down by legend with which tradition resounds. By the reaction of principles on facts, two institutions have become fused together.

* *Notes and Queries of the Anthropological Institute*, p. 54.

They are none-the-less essentially independent. The hierarchic division of the population into classes is universal. But the caste system is a unique institution. The Brāhmanic ambition has taken advantage of it in order more securely to make its domination possible, but not obvious. A caste system is not necessarily the basis of theocracy. Its theory has confused the two sets of ideas. This is a fact of secondary importance. For the sake of historic development, they have to be carefully distinguished.*

CASTE FORMATION.

It is said that the Brāhmans were the trustees and repositories to the civilization of South India after the decline of Buddhism. It was the Brāhmans who prevented South India from relapsing into savagery. Brāhmanism in South India stands for civilization, and Brāhmans have guided human history and human thought for centuries. The concrete expression of this culture is found in:—

1. The worship of Siva and Vishnu;
2. Abstinence from animal food;
3. Prohibition of animal sacrifice;
4. Infant marriage;
5. Prohibition of the marriage of widows;
6. Srāddhas, the annual ceremony in honour of the dead ancestors.

These six factors have, by gradual adoption, contributed a great deal to the elevation of lower castes.†

The chief varieties in the formation of new castes are the following:—

1. *Functional caste.*—This is composed of persons following the same occupation. Instances are

* Emile Senart: *Caste in India*, p. 152.
† Richards, F. J.: *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.*

numerous in the State. Functional castes have been described by Sir E. A. Gait as aggregations of various tribes who have been drawn together by the bond of common occupation.

2. *Sectarian caste.*—This is composed of persons united by a common belief.

3. *Tribal or racial basis of caste.*—Gradual evolution of tribe into caste is an important factor in the development of caste system. Here the aborigines have contributed a great deal to it; and according to some authorities, their contributions were greater than those of the Aryans. Savage communities all over India, were and are even now, divided into a number of tribes, and each, living in a particular locality, maintained an attitude of enmity towards others in the vicinity. They became so far estranged, that there was no intermarriage and interdining. But the Aryans after their immigration in India found that they had outgrown the stage of tribal exogamy and tribal endogamy. Before the advent of the Aryans, there were wide cultural differences—cultured and uncultured—and these have raised a wall of separation between the two types, and each avoided all intercourse with the other. These tribal and cultural divisions became so strong that they could not be shaken or disturbed by the civilized Aryans, and these led to the formation of caste divisions, which with the caste regulations became more and more rigid.

4. Assimilation and survival which form the dynamics of caste, are also two important factors. By assimilation is meant that tendency which makes one community imitate the manners and customs of another community with which it comes in contact. Among some of the non-Brāhman castes may be found some, who, by following the customs of the higher castes, became assimilated with them in course of

time. It modifies the lower culture and converts it into a higher one.

5. Very often, a caste strikes out in a line for itself and in course of time revert to the original type. The Lingāyats were originally a religious sect who revolted in the 12th century against the authority of the Brāhmans, and rejected all caste distinctions. They have long deserted their principles and split up into functional and territorial groups modelled on the very caste system they sought to overthrow.

6. There are *national castes*, like those of the Mahrattas, based on actual or traditional sovereignty.

7. Differences in language and territorial divisions which often result in migration, are the two main factors in the formation of new castes.

8. Castes have risen by fission owing to a change of custom by one portion of a caste, arising from some dispute about the question of food, social etiquette, or the adoption of a new custom such as widow marriage or the like.*

The recent Census Reports afford numerous instances in all parts of India.

SUB-CASTE AND ITS FORMATION.

The sub-caste connotes no real difference of culture or occupation. Sub-castes are little known except within the caste itself. They consist of groups within the caste which marry among themselves. They attend the communal feast held on the occasion of marriage, funerals and meetings of caste panchayets and the like. Among the non-Brāhmans, instances are numerous, as among the Okkaligas, Reddies and Banajigas. Sometimes, the adoption of degrading occupation gives rise to a sub-caste within the caste. In Mysore, as in other parts of South India, a society originally homogeneous

* L. K. A. Iyer : *Lectures on Ethnography*, Chap. IV, pp. 79-82.

tends to be disintegrated according to the degree to which its members adopt Brāhmanic usages, namely, the adoption of Brāhmanic culture and refinement, as infant marriage, irrevocable widowhood, purchase of bridegroom, and abstinence from meat.

There are also other planes of cleavage, namely, linguistic barrier, difference in religious beliefs, means of livelihood, territorial division, racial distinction, all of which play a conspicuous part in the formation of sub-castes as of castes. The *jus connubi* and *jus convivi* which ramify through the divisions are the expressions rather than the caste exclusiveness.

Distinction of caste is an easy matter, but the tendency to split a caste into innumerable sub-castes deserves mention. Religion is one of the factors. If we consider religious or philosophic belief, the difference between the monism of Sankara and the dualism of Sri Mādhavacharya is seen to be as wide as that "between heaven and earth or between pole and pole." Between the two schools come the followers of Ramanuja. Their doctrines possess something in common with each of the other two; and a greater catholicity and tolerance might be expected to prevail among the Vaishṇavas. And yet a mutual exclusiveness prevails amongst them. Persons holding widely different views may be allowed to express their theological difference though at first sight it may appear to be strange. But it is really so unaccountable that this difference of views should have so acted on its social customs as to crystallize it in varying set forms so ill-adapted to one another as to defy all attempts at the cementation of the entire community. The three classes differ in their social habits, in the manner of wearing their clothes, in the mode of adorning their forehead, in their observances, such as temple festivals, household fasts and feasts, and in other ways even, to the

form of household utensils. In spite of the differences, they have something in common. All men wear the sacred thread, and the prayers offered up thrice (*Sandhyāvandanam*) are substantially the same. There is yet a curious difference which finds its expression in relation to food. A Sri Vaishṇava's mother and mother-in-law may partake of the food cooked by his wife, while neither will touch the meal prepared by the other. Among the Desasthas (followers of Mādhva), a Telugu does not marry with a Mahratti nor a Saraswat with a Konkani. Here a racial difference can be traced. Locality is also a potent factor for the clean-cut groups. The idea of caste struck its roots very deeply into Hindu life, and its eradication is neither possible nor desirable. The following criteria of the Aryan and Dravidian culture given below may be found to be interesting:—*

Aryan	*Dravidian*
Subordination of women	Freedom of women
Infant marriage	Adult marriage
Chastity	License
No divorce	Divorce
No widow marriage	Widow marriage
Gift of marriage and dowry	Bride price
Vegetarianism	Flesh eating
No blood sacrifice	Blood sacrifice
Iconic worship	Aniconic worship
Patrilineal	Matrilineal
Patrilocal	Matrilocal
Patripotestal	Matripotestal
Brāhmanic Gods	Mother Goddesses
Goddesses subordinate	Predominant
Brāhman *Purohit* and *Guru*	Own *Purohit* and *Guru*
Annual *Sraddhas*	No annual *Sraddhas*
Cremation	Inhumation

CASTES IN MYSORE, THEIR NUMBER AND SOCIAL GRADATION.

The total number of castes in Mysore varies according to the Census Reports from 1871 to 1931. The Census Report of 1871 gives the number as 101, while those of the next two are silent. The Census

* Richards, F. J.: *Side Lights on the Dravidian Problem*, Part II. *The Caste System*.

Report of 1901, pointing out certain difficulties, gives only a glossary of castes, some of which do not belong to the indigenous types. It is curious to mention that the Imperial Gazetteer of Mysore gives the number as 72. This number exactly tallies with that given in an old Malayalam work (*Jātinirnayam*). The last two Census Reports limit the number to 34 which is far too low a figure. Unlike Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore, Mysore contains indigenous tribes and castes the number of which cannot be accurately determined. Mysore is connected with all parts of India, from which numerous castes have migrated. The process of migration is still going on.

The grouping of the tribes and castes, numbering 34, as mentioned above, though convenient for census purposes, is neither scientific nor satisfactory. Communities widely differing in language, religion, customs and manners, as also in racial traits, are lumped together under a common designation, based on occupation, which under the present political, social and economic conditions is constantly changing. The principle of social precedence adopted by Sir Herbert Risley thirty years ago is now out of date. Further, the caste names themselves are being modified at the request of a large majority of the members of various castes, who hold annual conferences to discuss matters relating to caste and form resolutions for social elevation. Further, some of the sub-castes are liable to be treated as castes. In these circumstances, an alphabetical arrangement is the safest course for purposes of treatment. Nevertheless, a classification based on the evolution of material culture is tentatively attempted (*Vide* Appendix I, at the end of this Chapter).

CHANGE OF CASTE NAMES.

There has been of late, a tendency in various castes to claim for themselves some new names in

preference to those which they have long possessed. It is perhaps due to the presumption of some innate superiority based on the acquisition of wealth or other considerations. Sātanis desire to be known as "Venkitapur Brāhmans," "Vishṇu Brāhmans or Prapanna Vaishṇava Brāhmans." Some among the Nayindas (Barbers) wished to be called "Nayee Brāhmans." Similarly, "Devānga Dharma Prakāsika" would like to have their community separately shown from Neygi. Panchalas fight hard to be called "Viswakarma Brāhmans." A community in the Nāgamangala Taluk long known as "Tirukuladevaru" wishes itself to be known as "Kanikanna." Some Lingāyats in Krishnarajapetta and others wish to be called "Virasaivas." A certain journalist of the *Kurubar community* suggested that "Kurubar" should be henceforth called "Arya Kshatriyas." The Holeyas and Mādigas have been already named Ādi Karnatakās. "Komatis come under the name of Vaisyas, and disclaim like liberality to Mādigas and 'volpine intelligence.' Under Government sanction, Lambani, Besta, and Golla, are to be henceforth called Banjara, Gangakula, and Yādava." *

SUMMARY. From the foregoing account, it may be seen that the caste system existed in the embryonic stage during the Vedic period, and that its beginnings are found in the *Brāhmaṇās* and the *Puraṇas*. The latter with the traces of the dim past furnish contemporary evidence of successive modifications. Since then, it has developed through ages under the influence of circumstances which combined to form endogamous groups. Among the circumstances may be mentioned—Contact of races, of culture, and

* *Census of India*, Vol. XXV, Chap. XII, pp. 316-317

civilization; the composition and formation of powerful guilds; the influence of Hinduism in the attraction and assimilation of diverse elements; and the influence of a sacerdotal order able and willing to consolidate and regulate the multifarious groups. In fact, the caste system did not spring fully developed into existence, nor was it an artificial product of a man or body of men working consciously to that end. It was a natural growth, the result of a process of evolution. The process is still in continuation even up to the present day.

APPENDIX A

CLASSIFICATION OF TRIBES AND CASTES ON AN EVOLUTIONARY BASIS.

	Occupation	*Tribes and Castes*
I.	Hunting	.. Jennikuruba, Bettakuruba, Sholiga, Iruliga, Myāsa Beda.
II.	Fishing	.. Kilekyāta, Besta, Toreya.
III.	Pastoral	.. Kuruba, Golla, Kādu Golla, Kacha-Gauliga, Gauliga.
IV.	Agricultural	.. Are, Bakkāru, Gangadikar, Hallēkār, Holeya, Morasu Okkalu, Nādu Gauda, Parivār.
	(*a*) Market Gardeners	Tigala.
	(*b*) Betel Growers	.. Kare-Okkalu, Kotte-Okkalu.
	(*c*) Toddy Makers	.. Billava (those who collect the sap in a gourd), Halle Paikas (those who collect toddy in a pot), Idiga.
V.	Industrial	According to the quality and nature of the work.
	Primitive Industries	Skinning Cattle, Curing Hides, Madiga.
	(*a*) Leather Workers	.. Mochi, Cobbler.
	(*b*) Basket Maker	.. Mēdar.
	(*c*) Tailor	.. Dārzi.
	(*d*) Potters	.. Kumbhar.
	(*e*) Washerman	.. Agasa.
	(*f*) Barber	.. Nāyinda.
	(*g*) Cotton Cleaners	.. Pinjari.
	(*h*) Porters	.. Banjara, Kahar, Koracha.
	(*i*) Iron Mining	.. Salahua Okkalu.
	(*j*) Painter	.. Jingar.
	(*k*) Acrobats	.. Dombar, Wrestlers (Jetty).
VI.	Panchalas	.. Five Sections. Those who work in jewelry, Goldsmith. Carpentry, (Badagi), Forging (Lohar), Stone—Mason, Brass and Bronze (Kasar). The metal working castes are urban.
VII.	Neygi	.. Billi Magga, Dēvanga, Patvēgar, Patnulkar, Sāle, Togeta.
VIII.	Geneologist	.. Bards (Bhatrāzu), Dancers (Nattuvan).
IX.	Trader	.. Banajiga, Vaisya (Komati), Nagartha, Ladar, Mahratta.
X.	Kshatriya	.. Military Nobles, Arasu, Rāzu.
XI.	Priestly Class	.. Brāhmans (Smārtha, Sri-Vaishnava, Mādhva), Vader. All the group of mendicants who beg from one group or form one sect or another, Bairāgi, Dāsari, Gondāli, Helava, Gosāyi, Handi Jogi, Mailāri, Sanyāsi, Sudugādu Sidda.

Occupation	*Tribes and Castes*
XII. Special Caste Priests..	Jāmbava, Sātani, Thammadi, Maleru Jain, Lingāyat.
XIII. Outside Hinduism ..	Musalmans (Mahdavia, Bohra, Memmon. Jonakan, Māppila, Labbi, Pindāri), Christians (Roman Catholics and Protestants). Vagabonds Evil Doers, Koracha, Kepmaris Koramar Donga Darari).

APPENDIX B

POPULATION OF CASTES AND TRIBES ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS, 1931.

Caste, Tribe or Race	Mysore State including C. & M. Station, Bangalore		Caste, Tribe or Race	Mysore State including C. & M. Station, Bangalore	
	Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.
Adikarnataka ..	509,898	490,428	Mahratta ..	31,696	28,832
Agasa ..	55,879	53,611	Meda ..	3,819	3,713
Banajiga ..	77,779	74,471	Mudali ..	16,773	14,959
Beda ..	153,590	147,873	Nagartha ..	4,258	4,129
Brāhmin ..	126,542	118,621	Nayinda ..	23,797	22,419
Darzi ..	10,488	10,039	Neygi ..	27,918	26,539
Devanga ..	30,002	29,300	Satani ..	11,658	11,444
Gangakula ..	88,356	85,947	Tigala ..	46,792	43,908
Ganiga ..	22,620	22,340	Uppara ..	59,207	57,154
Idiga ..	50,076	44,593	Vakkaliga ..	663,718	648,546
Jogi ..	7,527	7,382	Vaisya ..	23,344	20,891
Kshatriya ..	21,304	19,704	Viswakarma ..	74,370	69,299
Kumbara ..	24,824	23,833	Vodda ..	84,527	80,349
Kunchatiga ..	59,207	57,357	Yadava ..	88,561	85,640
Lingayat ..	390,652	380,150			
HINDU AND TRIBAL.					
Banjara (Hindu)	26,170	24,539	Korama (Hindu)	6,893	6,714
Banjara (Tribal)	6,967	6,692	Korama (Tribal)	1,801	1,716
Banjara (Total) .	33,137	31,231	Korama (Total)	8,694	8,430
Koracha (Hindu)	5,319	4,919	Kuruba (Hindu)	218,058	213,269
Koracha (Tribal)	965	882	Kuruba (Tribal)	2,398	2,205
Koracha (Total) .	6,284	5,801	Kuruba (Total) .	220,456	447,215

APPENDIX C

CASTE INSIGNIA.

By Capt. J. S. F. Mackenzie, Maisur, Mysore Commission.

The following translation of a Canarese document tells its own story :—

" At a marriage ceremony, a dispute having arisen between the right and left hand castes of Heggaddevankote and Madras, it was referred to Kanchi (Conjeveram) and there settled. The following is an account of the insignia proper to castes, as given in the Kanchi records.

" This copy was written, in the presence of Collector Coleman and Danapan Shetti, by the heads of castes, with their full approval :—

Dated 17th April 1807.

" The insignia of the ' nadu-Deshada ' :—

" White umbrella—white horse—' Chamara ' (fans)—' Palpavada ' (cloths spread before one)—day-torch (*i.e.*, torches by daylight)—' More ' (a kind of harp)—dancing girls—red turban—trumpets—' Jayamaru ' (an ornament set with precious stones)—white flag-kettle-drums—the insignia of merchants—the lion-flag—' Hanumanta palu '—five coloured flag —the full-flag the holy coloured (yellow) tent-bell and chain—' Mantappa ' and etc. Sanga Mahesvaran throne—necklace of snakes :—all these are proper to the right hand.

1. Telega Ballala Shetti—the ' hamsa.'
2. Do Kuruba—the ' conch shell.'
3. Baridara—the ' ganda bhirunda ' (a fabulous bird having a double head and which lived on elephants), twelve poles and four corners.
4. Yene (oilmen)—Fish.
5. Konakara.
6. Idigaru—A ladder.
7. Gujarat Mochi—A flag of five colours ; and ensign with Nimosa suma.
8. Nauamora—A turtle.
9. Waddaru—A spade.
10. Karnataka Mochi—A red flag.

11. Gollaru—A silver stick used in churning.
12. Goudas—A plough.
13. Karnataka Kurabara—A black flag.
14. Teliga—'A nāga vāhana,' a cobra coiled up with head erect.
15. Jalagaru—Lotus flower.
16. Korama Shetti—The string used to tie up a bag.
17. Christians—A currybomb. ! ! !
18. Bhattaru (Bards)—A silver stick.
19. Courtezans—Cupid.
20. Delegaru—Cupid.
21. Maddale Kara (drummers who use both hands—Drum.
22. Bastaru (fishermen)—Net.
23. Budabudake—A pearl Oyster.
24. Tera-kula—A Pearl.
25. Telegaru—A trident-flag.
26. Marama pujari (*i.e.*, priest to the village goddess) The dress worn when performing service.
27. Nere-Koramaru—A dog.
28. Madivāla (washermen—'Ubi' (the pot in which clothes are boiled).
29. Telaga Hajamaru—The pipe used by snake-charmers.
30. Komtegaru—in eleven 'kambas' (poles three corners).
31. Nagatara—A dancing girl, eleven kambas and three corners.
32. Padigara—Fire; 2nd Jackal; 3rd, a fly-brush.
33. Upara—Flowers.
34. Vajara (carpenters)—An eagle or kite: eleven poles and three corners (only allowed to go in procession in their own street).
35. Koracha, Korava, Mohout—A peacock; 2nd a bear; 3rd an antelope."

CHAPTER IV.*

POPULATION.

POPULATION—DENSITY OF POPULATION IN DISTRICTS AND TALUKS—POPULATION DURING THE PAST FIFTY YEARS—IMMIGRATION—DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS—IMMIGRATION FROM OUTSIDE INDIA—SEX PROPORTION IN THE IMMIGRANT POPULATION—EMIGRANTS FROM THE STATE—DECREASE OF POPULATION IN THE MALNAD—MALNAD IMPROVEMENT—THE RESULTS OF SUCH INNOVATIONS—HABITAT ON AND ITS EVOLUTION—HUTS—HOUSES—POPULATION AND THE MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE—BIRTH CONTROL—EUGENICS—SUMMARY.

POPULATION. THE population of the Mysore State, according to the Census of 1931, is 6,557,302, of which 3,353,963 are males and 3,203,339 females. There has been an increase of 578,410 as compared with the Census of 1921. Of this, 306,846 are males and 271,564 females. The area of the State is 29,326 square miles, and the density of population, distributed among 16,591 towns and villages, is 224 per square mile. When compared with other States and provinces, it is seen that the State is the third largest in India in area, and the second largest in population. The only larger State having a larger population is Hyderabad. The population of Cochin is 18 per cent, of Travancore 78 per cent, and of Baroda 37 per cent, of the population of Mysore. The population of the State is 14 per cent of the population of the Madras Presidency, and about the same as that of the Central India Agency. Mysore is thus as fairly thickly populated as Cochin, Travancore

* Most of the information contained in this Chapter is from the *Census of India* 1931, Vol. XXV, Mysore, Part I, Chaps. I, II and III.

or Bengal. In considering the density of the population of the State, it must be remembered that fairly wide areas in the hill tracts are left unoccupied for want of facilities.

DENSITY OF POPULATION IN DISTRICTS AND TALUKS.

The following table gives the density of population in the districts of the State :—

1.	Bangalore	368
2.	Mysore	275
3.	Kolar	266
4.	Hassan	227
5.	Tumkur	211
6.	Chitaldrug	158
7.	Shimoga	128
8.	Kadur	126

From this, it will be seen that the hilly, rainy and densely forested western parts are less fit for human habitation and agriculture than the eastern parts.

The following table gives the density of population in taluks :—

1.	T.-Narsipur	457
2.	Channapatna	446
3.	Yedatore	395
4.	Seringapatam	352
5.	Anekal	352
6.	Bangalore	351
7.	Mandya	353
8.	Nanjangud	337
9.	Tumkur	337
10.	Malvalli	336
11.	Kolar	333
12.	Yelandur	323
13.	Nelamangala	306
14.	Hoskote	301

The figures given above show an increase of population, due to the extent of cultivable ground,

the fertility of the soil and the healthiness of climatic conditions. The taluks mentioned above have a population of more than 300 persons per square mile. T.-Narasipur, which stands first, has a density of 457 persons per square mile. It must be noted that, at the Census of 1921 also, the taluk had the highest density of 422 persons. Then comes Channapatna with a population of 446 persons per square mile. It is a fertile taluk with no jungles, and possesses a thriving industry. The chief town of the taluk is of considerable importance. The other 12 taluks have a density of 300 to 400 persons. It is the fertility of the soil and the irrigation facilities which enable a large population to subsist on the land. The city of Bangalore with its Civil and Military Station is urban, and provides the means of livelihood for a high density. Kolar and Tumkur have their district headquarters, and this with other factors have their high density. In other cases, the soil is fertile. The uncultivated area is relatively small, and conditions of life are normally healthy. The Malnad taluks, because of the insanitary conditions, have comparatively a lower density.

POPULATION DURING THE PAST FIFTY YEARS :— (1871-1921)

Except in one or two decades, the population of the State has been steadily increasing. There was a decrease in 1881 which was mainly due to the famine of 1877, which decimated as many as a million and fifty thousand of the population. During the next ten years, there was marked increase. The Superintendent of the Census remarks that the people surviving the famine were the hardiest and the healthiest portion of the population, and that they were predominantly of the middle years of life. During the next ten years, from 1881 to 1891, births increased and deaths decreased. During the next ten years, the increase was two-thirds of

that of the previous decade. During the first year of this decade, plague visited the State and carried off large numbers.

Still, the increase of 120 recorded by the Census of 1901 was considered to be very satisfactory. During the decade, 1891-1901, the population was still found to be recovering from the loss by famine in 1877. The increase, according to the Census of 1901, was only 48 per square mile. Plague spread over the State during the decade and this carried away large numbers. Influenza broke out in 1918, and this brought about a further diminution in the population. It was estimated that this disease carried away 250,000. Food shortage was another event which carried away a fairly good number. The war also took away a large number of young men to the front. The combined effect of all these factors was a small increase, which was recorded in the Census Report of 1921. The increase during the last decade (1921-1931) was only the normal rate for the population. The age composition was more or less normal. Seasonal conditions and public health were not worse than usual. Further, there were no circumstances influencing births and deaths to cause an undue rise or fall, or drawing a large population into the State or driving an abnormal proportion out of the State.

IMMIGRATION.

There are five types of immigration, of which, only permanent migration is herein mentioned—the Indian immigration. Of the 340,700 people born in other parts of India and enumerated in the State, 294,024 are from the adjacent province of Madras, 30,606 from Bombay which also is a neighbouring province, 2,703 from Coorg, 4,224 came from Hyderabad, 2,348 from Rajputana Agency, 1,193 from the Punjab, and 1,058 from the

Indian States of the Madras Presidency, including Cochin and Travancore. Immigrants from other provinces or Indian States number less than a thousand. The numbers coming from other provinces were very small, three from the Punjab Indian States, one from Assam States, and ten from the Andamans and Nicobars.

DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS.

The Bombay immigrants are largely found in Shimoga, Chitaldrug District, Bangalore City, and the Civil and Military Station. The Madras immigrants are found all over the State. Of the 4,027 coming from other parts of India, 426 are found in Bangalore City, 2,258 in the Civil and Military Station, 306 in the Kolar Gold Field Area and 202 in Mysore City. The number found all over the State is 775 or less than a fifth. Of the 9,340 coming from the rest of India, 5,086 are found in the four cities, 2,354 in Chitaldrug and Shimoga districts, and a small proportion remains in all other districts.

IMMIGRATION FROM OUTSIDE INDIA.

The total number of persons born outside India and enumerated in India is 3,892. Of this number, 468 are from other Asiatic countries, 3,162 from Europe, 167 from Africa, 63 from America, 30 from Australasia. The United Kingdom and Ireland give about 2,900, and the rest of the world a thousand.

SEX PROPORTION IN THE IMMIGRANT POPULATION.

A clue to the character of migration is afforded by the proportion between the sexes in the immigrant population in each case. In the event of permanent immigration, the numbers are equal. When it is temporary and due to the condition of labour or such other causes, the men will be in excess of the women, as they leave their families in their homes and come out to work by themselves. Where population native to, and resident in, the State

has relations with the people of the same communities just outside the State, the chances are that the women come over by marriage and are in excess of the men.

EMIGRANTS FROM THE STATE.

It appears from the Census statistics that the largest number of emigrants from Mysore are found all over India, especially in Madras. Next after Madras come Bombay and Coorg. Then at a great distance come Hyderabad, Burma, the Central Provinces, and Bombay States, Bihar and Orissa, Travancore, Bengal and the Punjab. It is curious to note that the Mysore-born persons are in the countries of Europe, America, the Fiji Islands and elsewhere. Many students are undergoing training in advanced subjects in the Universities of Europe and America, and labourers earn a livelihood in the Fiji Islands.

DECREASE OF POPULATION IN THE MALNAD.

There has been a real decrease of population in the Malnad since 1921.

MALNAD IMPROVEMENT.

The Malnad (the hilly district) has all along been occupying the attention of the Government for the improvement of the population labouring under various disabilities. In accordance with a scheme for bettering their condition, as much as 10·85 lakhs was spent by the Government between 1921 and 1931. Their main attention was directed towards the improvement of facilities for medical relief and the investigation of Malnad diseases, as also towards the improvement of sanitation and water-supply, the improvement of communications and opening of railways, and the development of industries. Among the improvements were (1) the conversion of itinerant dispensaries into permanent ones; (2) the opening of ten more institutions in suitable places for the benefit of the people in the inaccessible and unhealthy localities; (3) the provision of facilities for maternity

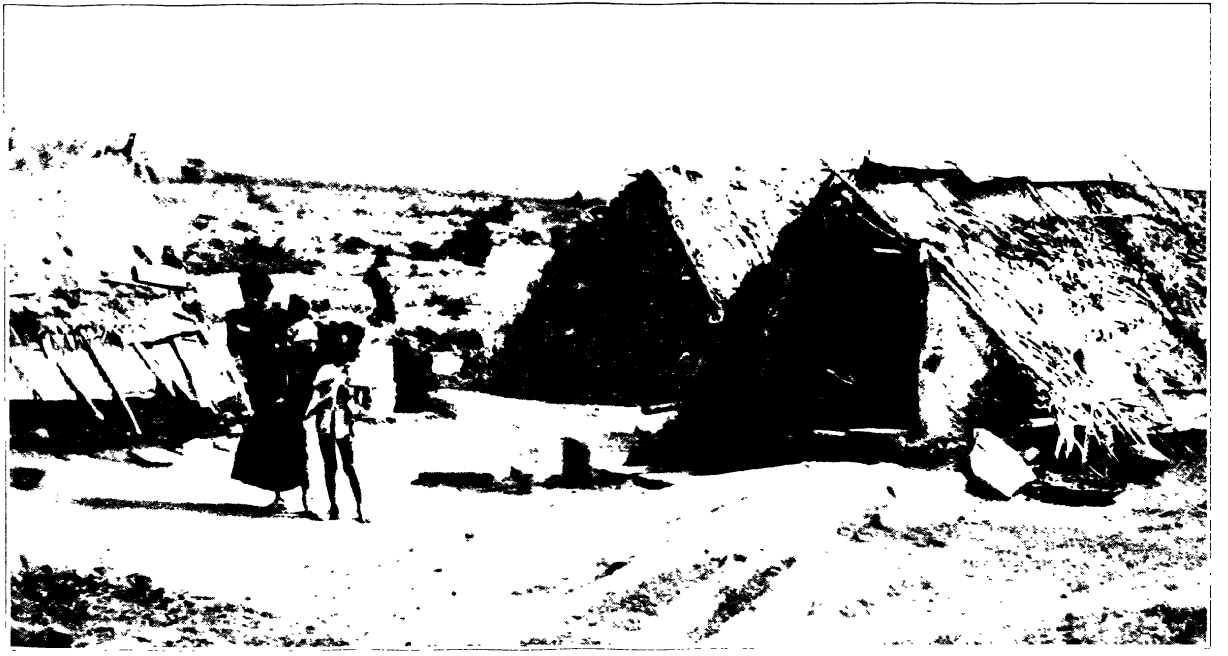
cases by the appointment of four Lady Medical Officers for the Kadur and Shimoga Districts; (4) compulsory vaccination in Municipal areas; (5) supplementary grants for the construction of wells and sanitary improvements in villages under the control of the District Boards; special grants to District Boards (6) for the improvement of the existing roads; (7) for training the people in the Malnad area in industrial pursuits; (8) for founding of industrial schools for the training of boys of those localities, and establishing High Schools at Tirthahalli and Sagar. Besides these, land mortgage banks for the benefit of agricultural debtors were established, and grants of financial assistance through co-operative societies for shifting villages were also given.

THE RESULTS OF SUCH INNOVATIONS.

The results achieved have not been very satisfactory. The change of dress from blanket to home spun dhoti of the Maidan has a harmful effect. Other changes have also been for the worse. The people have no faith in the new medical relief. Their belief that all diseases are due to the provocation of gods to whom sacrifices and prayers have been delayed still persists. In spite of all that has been done for the betterment of their conditions, they still cling to their old traditional beliefs. The primitive folk and rural people are generally very conservative. They cling to their old habits and avoid all radical changes. Development, therefore, should not be hasty and violent, but should proceed at a reasonable pace. Steady advance is more conducive and essential to real progress. For civilization is a fragile thing, and if it is driven too rapidly along its course, it may collapse altogether.

HABITATION AND ITS EVOLUTION.

Primitive man had originally no fixed dwelling. At night, he and his family took refuge under a



BESTA HUTS NEAR THE GREAT CAUVERY DAM.

Photo : [illegible]

tree or in caves. The Veddas of Ceylon, the Mala Vedans of Travancore and other jungle tribes of South India had at first no fixed abodes, owing to their migratory habits. They used to camp out in the open, here and there in the jungles erecting a wind shelter of branches, more for the protection of their fire than of themselves.

Huts.

Gradually, the jungle tribes began to erect huts with the materials to be found in the vicinity. A kind of fence covered with leaves or grass served as walls. This was later replaced by plaited bamboo mats plastered with mud. The roof was thatched with straw, reeds, grass or leaves. The dwelling had neither window nor any opening, except small crevices for the smoke to escape. The dwellings of the nomads, like the Killekyatas, Korachas and Oddens are flimsy tents or huts made of bamboo frame work, like those mentioned above. Cooking and other operations are mostly done in the open air, while the flimsy edifices are used for sleeping during the night. The Ādikarnātakas (Holeyas and Mādigas), and a few other tribes, have their huts with mud walls and thatched roofs. The huts of the poorer agriculturists are somewhat more durable, but even among these, in some cases, the old nomadic methods of hut-construction are found to be prevalent.

Houses.

Gradually, as agriculture becomes settled and progressive, man's living becomes fixed and stationary. The hut is supplanted by the house, which provides more accommodation for the preservation of his grain and other necessaries. He has to provide accommodation for his cattle either in the house (Banjaras, Vol. II, p. 148) or in front of it (Kacha-Gauligas, Vol. III, p. 507), and he has to

guard these from the attacks of wild animals or sometimes of robbers. Houses are built according to the means at their disposal. The materials are those which he can easily obtain from the neighbourhood. In Mysore, according to roofing, eight different types are distinguishable (*Mysore Census Report*, p. 35, para 46), but these can be reduced to three main types, namely, the mud and stone roof type, the thatched type and the tiled type. The houses of Holeyas and Mādigas are mostly mud-walled and thatched with straw or leaves. They consist of one or two rooms, which are used for cooking and sleeping. Their cattle are kept outside and watched during the night. The buildings of the agricultural classes are partly single-roofed, and partly of quadrangular type with an open space in the middle. In the latter type, the building immediately beyond the entrance is used as a cattle pen, and the space opposite to it serves for keeping the raw products and the implements after harvest. The inner building consists of several rooms, one for cooking, one for dining and one for sleeping. The utensils are mostly earthen or of metal according to the means at the householder's disposal. There are also houses roofed with Mangalore tiles.

In the lower stages of culture, huts as well as houses, the settlements of primitive folk, serve as small strongholds. They are surrounded with palisades, earthworks and ditches as a protection against enemies. They are built on hill crests or sometimes even in trees, as in the forests of Cochin and Travancore. The nearer we get to civilization in the higher stages, the more do separate houses and villages come into use.

For single families, there are wood houses; and for joint families, stone houses. The country tile

roofing occurs more largely in the Mysore City; and has been adopted subsequently later in Bangalore and Kolar Gold Fields. Mud-roofing, thatch, stone (slabs) and zinc sheets are found in the buildings of the poor classes. Mud and stone roofing are common in Bangalore, Kolar and Tumkur districts. Stone is easily available here, and the muds are perhaps better. Among the city areas, Kolar Gold Fields have the largest number of small sheds; Mysore, next to Bangalore City, has one building for every ten persons.

POPULATION AND THE MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE.

The review of the population problem of Mysore will not be complete without a reference to the Malthusian theory, according to which population in every country intends to outstrip the means of subsistence. The increase of food supply, according to the theory, leads to a more than proportional increase of population, and in 25 years the population will double itself under normal conditions. The ultimate check to the increase of population depends on the diminution of food supply. The increase of population depends upon the increase of births over deaths. It is said that the maximum birth rate in a normally constituted population is 45 per thousand. On the other hand, the minimum death rate is 15 per thousand each year. Based on this calculation, there is an excess of birth rate of 30 per thousand. There is thus possibility of a rapid increase and strong tendency towards it. The tendency of population to increase, results from the reproductive instinct, and the love of parents towards offspring. These are universal and powerful forces. They operate without restriction among animals. There are also, according to Malthus, counteracting agencies to the increase of population. These are termed positive and

preventive checks, among the former of which are, starvation, disease, war and misery in all its forms. By the latter, he means, those which prevent numbers from being brought into the world. The first operates through a high death rate, the second through a low birth rate; in other words, the first through excess of deaths, the second through a limitation of births.

In India, the increase of population is recorded in each census operation once every ten years. A similar increase is recorded for the Mysore State as well. It has been said, that a nation with declining birth rate is a senile nation; and that a low birth rate is a cause for anxiety. But normal birth rate is always desirable.

The subject of population presents two important problems for solution; namely, whether an increase of population in a State is desirable, and if so, whether there is scope for its maintenance. It has been said that the population of India has been steadily increasing, owing to its high birth rate and low death rate. Mr. P. K. Wattal in his study of the population problem in India, recommends "that the Indians should adopt the methods followed in the West to limit births." The same view was expressed by Mr. Ranade of the Bombay University. Sir John Strachey, an eminent administrator, echoed the same sentiments twenty years ago, and suggested that the land under cultivation with improved methods should be able to support larger population.

Taking now the position of Mysore into consideration, the Superintendent of Census Operations in 1921 observed, that so far as the State is concerned, the population has been increasing faster than the means of subsistence. Mysore, like the rest of India, is an agricultural country.

From the numerous valuable data collected by the Census Officer, it is seen that there are still more cultivable areas to be taken up. The Malnad has areas which can support a larger population than is settled on them at present, provided it goes there with sufficient determination to stand the conditions of the climate. Besides, the country is undeveloped, and its resources have to be exploited. The means of subsistence can be enhanced by a wide application of improved agricultural methods by industrial development and expansion of trade. Improvements in agriculture, mechanical industries and commerce, and cottage industries are vigorously going on in the State. So, there need be no alarm for the Malthusian scare. Tendencies to depart from the traditional occupation towards increasing the standards of income of the people are also in evidence. "But much of the funds of the State for payments go to the Imperial Government directly as Subsidy, and indirectly as Customs and other payments."

Birth Control.

The present eugenical reform cannot fail to give us an idea of the decrease of birth rate among intelligent people. It is a constant menace to the race. What is really desirable is to have more children of the better sort, and fewer of the worse variety; but not fewer and better children. Great enthusiasm is seen to-day on the part of childless reformers for negative eugenical measures; the race is to be regenerated through sterilization or birth control. Sterility is very easily acquired; but what is not easily brought about is the fertility of the better stocks. Bernard Shaw considers birth control to be the greatest discovery of the nineteenth century. He also opines that it may prove to be the greatest menace to the human race.

The chief motive for limiting the size of the families is personal comfort and pleasure rather than the welfare of the race. The argument that people should have no more children than they can rear in comfort or luxury is contrary to all biological evidence. "For the welfare of the race, it is more important, that children with good inheritance should be brought into the world, than that parents should live easy lives, and have no more children, than they can conveniently rear amid all the comforts of a luxury-loving age."

Conscious control of the birth rate is to some extent necessary, owing to the disappearance of traditional customs that checked birth-rates in the past. Customs connected with conditions of life, like pre-puberty intercourse or prolonged lactations which adversely affect women's fertility, postponement of marriage or prohibition of widow marriage, temporary abstinence from married life in obedience to traditional and similar ideas in the family,—these factors once acted as checks to low birth-rates, but are now ignored.

EUGENICS.

The term "Eugenics" means the preferential breeding of the best. It is customary to speak of negative and positive eugenics. The former refers to the prevention of undesirable births, and the latter to the promotion of desirable births. While the former is already in operation, no attempts at positive eugenics are traceable anywhere on earth. Most young men about to marry are guided by considerations other than eugenic ideas. In several American States, surgical sterilization—a very slight operation—the ligaturing of the oviduct or the *vas deference*—is performed upon various defectives incapable of self-control. "Positive Eugenics," says H. G. Wells, "remains a dream, a note of interrogation."

It is said, that "the human race could be immensely improved in quality, and its capacity for happy living greatly increased, if those of poor physical and mental endowments were prevented from multiplying. It is difficult to see how far it is possible to select for propagation. Heredity is an important factor in this connection, particularly about the laws of inheritance in their application to man. The Science of Eugenics must throw more light from a systematic inquiry as to the transmittal of inborn and acquired traits from generation to generation, with a view to the possibilities of selection and breeding. In the present state of our knowledge, no individual differentiation is practicable. We have no knowledge of the conditions which lead to the birth of individuals possessing extraordinary gifts. Only some limited applications of the principle, in extreme cases, seem now within the limits of possibility. Certain types of criminals and paupers breed only their kind, and society has a right and duty to protect its members from the repeated burden of maintaining and watching such parasites. Some kinds of disease and taint are inherited, and it is merciful alike to would-be parents and possible offspring to put a check on their transmission." Beyond this, there is little prospect under any social system by which mankind can deliberately select a portion among its members who are alone privileged to perpetuate the race. Too much stress should not be laid on what is called "race suicide." *

Some kind of restraint believed to be exercised by the well-to-do classes is often exaggerated. The prudence might possibly be exercised to the extent of impending annihilation among the higher strata

* Conklin, E. G.: *Heredity and Environment*, p. 278.

and rapid multiplication of large families in these classes is not likely. "A low type of ambition, the love of vulgar display, exaggeration of artificial distinctions, all tend to hesitation in marriage and timorousness in begetting offspring." Higher ideals and ambitions tend to the early foundation of families and to less limited fecundity. On the good side of restraint, the prevalence of prudent habits among the different strata of population is a gain in human population. Possibly the time will come, when this sort of prudence will be carried so far that the population in the advanced communities will increase no longer at all. Then a low birth rate will be balanced by a slow death rate. Avoidable sufferings and disease will be reduced to the minimum, when the average duration of life will be longer. The arts of production will continue to advance, along with a high standard of intellectual and moral life.

In India the principles of Eugenics were well known to the ancient Hindu law-givers, and were applied to their social legislation. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal refers to the historical facts, that the Hindus were great breeders of animals, and that the royal farms of animals existed on a large scale under the Mauryas. "Vasishtha expressly states that learning if lost, can be recovered. But when lineage is lost, all is lost (beyond recovery)." Even the horse is valued for its pedigree, hence a woman of pedigree is taken for wife.

The ancient Hindus had developed to a high degree, surgery and anatomy, in the period before the Codes. It is seen that there is a strong desire for human culture in the production of only the handsome, strong and superior type of citizens in a number of republics of the Punjab in particular. It was made compulsory on everyone to devote his best attention to the subject. Weaklings and

deformed babies were destroyed by public authority. The republican chiefs were selected not merely on the score of political ability but also of good looks and stature. This was known to be the case definitely for one period before 325 B.C. It is said that the seat of Hindu culture remained only in that part of the country where such severe laws about the best production of the type of man and woman prevailed. Takshasila was the place where this culture was mentioned in pre-Mauryan times. "The Kathaka, the Paraskara, the Kapisthala, the Charaka and many other schools of the Vedas had their home in the Punjab. The Kathakas had strictly to follow the laws of biological developments of their fellowmen and women. It is, therefore, no wonder, that the Hindus made a special study of the subject and embodied the results in their social laws. They were rigidly applied in their marital relations."* Consanguineous alliances were avoided in the selection of a bride. A man's choice was regulated by a bridal recipe. Further, great care was exercised in the avoidance of families on grounds of doubtful heredity. Among them were included : (1) families having no male children ; (2) those containing weak-minded members ; (3) those having members with thick hair on their body ; and (4) those having members suffering from diseases like, hemmorrhoids, phthysis, epilepsy, dyspepsia, white or black leprosy.

Yājnavalkya mentions that the families should be distinguished for good acts in ancestry, and that they should not be tainted with hereditary diseases. These rules were largely due to the researches of the early *Kāmasāstra* thinkers who evidently made a special study of the science of

* Jayaswal, K. P., *Manu and Yājnavalkya*, Chap. XIII, pp. 293-295.

Eugenics. Most of these rules are being even now observed by the Hindus all over India.

SUMMARY. The population of the State during the past decade has shown an increase. This increase would have been still greater, but for the famine, plague, influenza and other epidemics, which ravaged the State at various intervals, each of which carried away large numbers. Closely connected with population, are housing, means of subsistence, and emigration. There are various types of buildings, beginning from the mere flimsy huts, to quadrangular ones, and those of modern types, the materials for the construction of which vary, and are available from the neighbourhood. It is often said, that the steady increase of population leads to a diminishing food-supply. So far as the State is concerned, there is no need for any such alarm. There are extensive lands which are being brought under cultivation. The Government of His Highness the Maharaja are doing their best for the improvement of agriculture and industries on modern scientific lines.

CHAPTER V.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY.

INTRODUCTION—MARRIAGE AND CELIBACY—MARRIAGE AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION—MARRIAGE AS FAMILY CONTRACT—INFANT BETROTHAL—BRIDE-PRICE—CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE—ALLEGED EFFECTS OF INBREEDING—EXOGAMY—ENDOGAMY—HYPERGAMY—MARRIAGE ACCORDING TO HINDU SASTRAS—MARRIAGE BY CAPTURE—GĀNDHARVA MARRIAGE—MARRIAGE BY PURCHASE—MARRIAGE BY EXCHANGE—MARRIAGE BY SERVICE—DOWRY—MARRIAGE OF DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER—MARRIAGE DURING THE VEDIC PERIOD—MARRIAGE RITES AND CEREMONIES—POPULAR VIEWS IN RELATION TO MARITAL RELATIONS.

INTRODUCTION.

IN encyclopædical and philosophical works "marriage" has been variously defined, and most of them are merely of juridical or ethnical nature, comprehending either what is required to make the union legal, or what in the eye of an idealist, the union ought to be. "Marriage is defined as a relation of one or more men to one or more women which is recognized by law or custom, and involves certain rights and duties both in the case of parties entering the union, and in the case of children born of it. These rights and duties vary, and cannot therefore be all included in the definition." *

Marriage always implies sexual intercourse. This definition of marriage is purely biological which centres round the offspring, and does not take account of other reasons for continuation of the union even though it does not result in any offspring.

* Westermarck, E.: *The History of Human Marriage*, Vol. I, p. 26.

This, on the other hand, excludes such temporary alliances entered into, or formed, for a short period; "as among the Arabs who take a wife for a short period or even for a night." But where the whole distinction is conceived between sex relations which exist and which do not, marriage turns upon the degree of permanency, the use of such a phrase as more or less, entirely abolishes the character of the definition.*

Mr. Thomas defines marriage as "nothing else than a more or less durable connection between male and female lasting beyond the mere act of propagation till after the birth of the offspring." This definition is "wide enough to include all others hitherto given, and narrow enough to exclude all hitherto loose connections which by usage are never honoured with the name of marriage." This implies both living together and also sexual relations.†

Dr. Rosenthal, on the other hand, says "that neither duration of marriage, nor the birth of progeny constitutes wedlock." For, in the absence of progeny, the mere living together of two partners must still be counted wedlock, as long as there is the intention of procreation. It is the purpose of race propagation, rather than the actual result, that forms the first requisite of marriage. Two chief elements that constitute marriage are the legal and social recognitions of the union which must supplement Westermarck's definition, and these vary with the spirit of the age.

"Marriage," according to Havelock Ellis, "is a union prompted by mutual love, and a method of propagating the race."‡ "Marriage," says Ellen

* Briffault, R. : *Mothers*, Vol. II, Chap. XII, p. 75.
† Thomas, W. I. : *Source Book for Social Origins*, p. 455.
‡ Havelock Ellis, : *Psychology of Sex, Sex in Relation to Society* pp. 507-508.

Kay, "signifies the living together of two people upon the ground of love, and the parenthood of children." In fact, marriage may be subserved under its ethical aspect as a physio-spiritual communion between man and woman for the purpose of procreation. Marriage then as understood in the modern spirit, is the idea of race propagation, and the complete union of personalities.

MARRIAGE AND CELIBACY.

The primitive society conceived marriage to be a tribal institution with a twofold purpose, namely, the continuance of the family for self-defence by having sons, and the discharge of the primary duty of the worship of the dead by the eldest male of the line. So indispensable does marriage seem to man, that a person who does not marry is looked upon with contempt, or is at any rate disdained. Among the Hindus celibacy is regarded as an impiety and misfortune: an impiety, because one who does not marry puts the happiness of the family to peril; a misfortune, because he would receive no worship after his death. A man's happiness in the next world depends upon his having a continuous line of male descendants whose duty it is to make periodical offerings for the peace of his soul. Numerous are the stories found in the epics of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* about the sufferings of manes in hell owing to the absence of offerings from their families on earth because of the absence of sons.

Hence it is, that marriage has become a religious duty, the twelfth *samskāra* incumbent on all. Until he finds a wife, a man is only a half of the whole. Among the Hindus of the present day, a celibate is considered to be a useless member of the society, and is looked upon as beyond the pale of nature; and all women without exception are bound to

marry. Muhammadans consider marriage to be an institution ordained for the protection of society in order that human beings might guard themselves from foulness and unchastity. Among the Hebrews also, celibacy is unheard of, and marriage, as among the Brāhmans, is looked upon as a religious duty. According to the Talmud, authorities can compel a man to enter into wedlock with a woman of the community, and he who lives single at the age of twenty, is accursed by God, as if he were a murderer. There is a Jewish proverb which says, that he who does not marry is no man. The desire for offspring, particularly sons, had its root in the religious belief, and is the outcome of the idea, that the spirit of the dead would be made happy by homage at the hands of the male descendants.

The early Christian Church tried to banish sexual love altogether from the scheme of life, because it looked upon wedlock as a carnal connection, a safety valve against lust, and sanctified it by declaring it as a sacrament. According to the modern conception of marital relations, the test of successful marriage is happiness. But the generalization that happiness is the end and aim of marriage is too indefinite to be useful.

MARRIAGE AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION.

Marriage as a social institution is regarded by people in every grade of culture. It was so among the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans and the Peruvians. Even the uncultured people speculated upon the origin of social organization, and regarded marriage as having been established by some mythical ancestor. The Egyptians are said to have ascribed the institution of marriage to their supposed first king. The Indian traditions ascribed it to Swētakētu. The Chinese are said to have derived the institution of marriage from Fu-hi, the sexual relations having

been unrestricted. The Peruvians attributed the establishment of marriage to Manco Capac.*

"If the psychological causes leading to the permanent association of sexual matters were due to the mating instinct, the forces which originally determined the establishment of the institution must be due to those instincts taking precedence in primitive stages of society at least over all other factors and considerations. 'The personal desire' of man and woman to enter into the fundamental sexual and economic associations should everywhere be the basis of the social order, and all other principles of organization ought to be secondary and subordinate to that supposed primary and original foundation of the social structure of humanity. Strictly speaking, the exact reverse is conspicuously the case. Not only is the instinctive association of sexual mates absent or at least very imperfectly developed in primitive matriarchal societies, but also throughout the development of that form of association which we call 'Marriage.' It is almost invariably regarded as not depending upon the operation of those instincts. The spontaneous form of association between a man and a woman on their own initiative and without reference to the will and sanction of groups of relatives to which they are attached is nearly everywhere regarded as irregular. It would certainly have shocked their grandmothers. Among many primitive tribes, all over the world, the individual unions were looked upon as irregular and the children born of such unions were considered as bastards."†

MARRIAGE AS FAMILY CONTRACT.

From ancient times marital relations between a young man and a girl were always regulated

* Briffault, R.: *The Mothers*, Chap. X, p. 522.
† *Ibid* p. 523.

between two families all over the world. The Hindu law expressly condemns as immoral the "voluntary union of a maiden and her lover"; such unions were blamable marriages from which no good could be expected. The children of such disreputable unions were believed to be the products of love, and would be speakers of untruth, who would hate the *Vedas* and the sacred law.* The Hindu ideal is, that the daughter shall live in complete chastity and implicit obedience to her parents and kinsfolk, and await from them her husband. The father has the express and holy duty to find a husband for his daughter. Marriage is not only necessary, but is also a sacramental birth anew to the woman. "As a young man of the higher caste is born a second time, by the investiture of thread (*Upanayana*) so is she through being taken by the hands of a young man. He that does not give his grown-up fair daughter to a worthy wooer, let him be held for a Brāhman murderer."† This belief is still current among the Brāhmans and other higher castes. In the elaborate marriage institutions of China, the most fundamental principle is an alliance between the two families, and the bride and bridegroom have no concern in the transaction. The same custom obtains among all Hindu castes and among the Muhammadans of Mysore as in other parts of India. During betrothal, the formal announcement of the two families entering into the contract is invariably the rule.

Further, the service of an intermediary or a professional match-maker among the Hindus of all castes and the Muhammadans is regarded as indispensable to the settlement of a proper marriage. It is an

* *Laws of Manu*, III, 32-41 (*Sacred Books of the East*).

† *Rāmāyana*, V, i 9 10, *Manu*, 6-7; *Mahābhārata*, xii, 24-29. Vide also *Marriage Customs*, Vol. II, pp. 329-350.

old established institution among the Hindus of all castes throughout India. It is observed even by the very low castes and the aboriginal tribes. "The principle that the transaction of marriage union is a sort of diplomatic negotiation to be carried out by accredited envoys may be said to be universal in primitive society. It is etiquette to prolong negotiations, and the matter is generally settled only after the second or third visit of the diplomatic envoy." *

INFANT BETROTHAL.

For a marriage to be arranged between parties themselves, the girl being first approached directly by the man is rare in uncultured societies as in cultured ones. The world-wide practice of arranging marriages, while the parties are still infants, is much more general in savage than in civilised societies. Here a distinction should be drawn between the allotting of children of both sexes to one another at birth or before, and bespeaking and promising female infants as the future wives of children. The betrothal or the marriage of infants to one another is consistent with an equal status of the sexes. At the advent of the bridegroom to his house with the bride, his sister extorts from him a promise to have her son or daughter married to his prospective daughter or son. As soon as a female child is born and sometimes years before that event, she is promised to some one of the tribe without reference to his age. In the marriage ceremony of the Toreyas (Canarese fishermen), the bridegroom's sister meets the newly married couple, as they approach the bride's home and prevents them from entering, till she has extorted a promise from them that their child shall marry

* Briffault, R.: *The Mothers*, Chap. X, p. 531.

her child. Similarly, on the last day of the marriage ceremonies among the Telugu Banajigas, and Kammas, during the mock ploughing and sowing rite, the sister of the bridegroom puts a cloth over the basket containing earth, wherein seeds are to be sown by the bridegroom, and will not allow him to go on with the ceremony, till she has extracted a promise, that his first-born daughter shall marry her son. When a Tangalan Parayan bridegroom brings his bride to his house after the marriage ceremony, he is met at the entrance by his brother-in-law who puts rings on his second toe, and keeps on pinching his feet till he has received a promise, that the bridegroom will give his daughter, if one is born to him in marriage, to the son of his brother-in-law.*

The betrothal of infants to one another is not peculiar to India. It is the prevalent practice in New Guinea, in Micronesia, in the Philippines, in Indonesia, and among all the peoples of Northern and Central Asia. It is well known, that infant marriage is the regular practice among the Hindus, and is regarded more or less obligatory. It appears to be likewise to some extent an original usage with the Dravidian population of South India. Where patriarchal principles are established, and the father is the head of the family, it is almost invariably he who must be approached for the marriage of a daughter. He has the recognized right to dispose of his daughters, and invariably arranges the marriage of his son, and selects a wife for him.

The chief causes of child-betrothals are the following:—

1. The difficulties experienced by men in securing suitable young wives;

* Thurston, E.: *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. IV, p. 147.

2. Preservation of virginity of the girl;
3. Desire of two families to be drawn together or to cement and perpetuate their friendship;
4. Desire of parents to secure proper husbands to their daughters;
5. Result of the contact of the Aryan with the Dravidian culture;
6. Economic causes among the agriculturists and the primitive industrialists to have children earlier to help them in their domestic activities;
7. Influence of hypergamy to secure proper bridegrooms from the higher classes.

In matriarchal societies, and in communities which have preserved the traditions of former matriarchal usages, the responsibility of arranging marriages devolves upon maternal uncles (mother's brother or *Kāranavans*) as in Malabar.* The mother or the senior woman of the family has a voice in the matter. It is also common among the Malayas, the Tibetans, and the Brahuis of Beluchistan. In South India among all tribes and castes, the mother's brother is regarded as closely concerned in the marriage of both his nieces and nephews. Among the Kurubas a marriage cannot be contracted without the consent of the maternal uncles of both the parties. The bride's maternal uncle carries her all the way on his shoulder. Should he put her down on the journey, he is liable to a fine of a buffalo. The maternal uncle of a Koi girl has the right to marry her to any of his sons, or to any suitable young man whom he likes. A similar custom prevails among the Saoras, among whom the

* Nowadays in aristocratic families, fathers also are consulted. *Vide* Marriage customs of the Nayars in *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, Chap. II, pp. 22–28.

bridegroom has to give a bullock to the maternal uncle.

Among the Jogi, the maternal uncle performs the whole ceremony of marriage, and the same custom obtains among the Mogers of North and South Canara, Mukkuans of Malabar and the Uralis of Coimbatore. Among the Idigas of Mysore a man cannot get married unless his maternal uncle has previously had a bath. Elsewhere it is the mothers of the respective families who arrange or have the chief say in the disposal of the daughters and of the sons. The disposal of the daughters depends likewise upon their mother in some parts of India. In Southern India among the Parayan's it is the mother who performs the wedding ceremony. Sometimes the selection of a wife by the father, mother, or tribal brothers of a young man, is often undertaken at the particular request of the parties. Marriages are also contracted and celebrated by all the members of the two groups. The consent of the clan is also required for the settlement of matrimonial relations. An Iruliga young man, when he wishes to marry, leaves his native land and goes to live and work in some other village for a year during which time he has an opportunity of selecting a bride to his taste. But before he can marry her or even enter into negotiations with a view to do so, he must return to his native village, inform all the villagers of his intention, and obtain their permission to the proposed match. Marriages are also arranged by tribal council.

BRIDE-PRICE (MARRIAGE BY CONSIDERATION.)

The presents which it is customary to exchange on the occasion of a marriage, or the bride-price which is paid for the bride, are in many of the primitive forms of the transactions, furnished by all the relatives of the one group and distributed among

the various members of the other group. The custom obtains among most of the tribes in all parts of the world, and chiefly in India among all tribes and castes. In Vedic times brides were won by rich parents to their sons, though a certain discredit would seem to have attached to the sale of daughters. In the *Mahābhārata* we are told that "Pāndu paid the Mādra king in gold, jewels, elephants, horses, cars and various other articles for the hand of his sister, and that the purchase of women was the family practice of the king." Still more was the custom prevalent among the lower castes of the Hindus. One of the eight forms of marriage mentioned by Manu, (the *Ārsha* form) was marriage by purchase, and he admits, that some allowed the Vaisyas and Sudras to practise it. But Manu himself forbade it altogether.* No father who knows the laws must take even the smallest gratuity for his daughter; for a man who through avarice takes a gratuity is a seller of his offspring.† But the so-called *Ārsha* implied that the bridegroom sent a cow, and a bull or two pairs to the bride's father was counted by Manu and other law givers as one of the legitimate modes of marriage.† It was expressly denied that this gift was a gratuity, but there can be little doubt, that the *Ārsha* form was the survival of a transaction which might be called purchase. This is borne out by references in the older *Grihyasūtras* of Parāsara and Sānkhayana to the practice of giving the father-in-law, a hundred cows with a chariot, and by the recognition in the *Grihyasūtras* of the Kāthaka and Mānava schools of a usage by which the bride-price was paid in money to the father. Notwithstanding the prohibition in the laws of Manu, marriage by

* *Laws of Manu*, III, 24, 53.
† Parāsara: *Grihyasūtra*, I, 18.

purchase occurs to this day even among the non-Brāhman higher castes, and is also practised by the Sudras.* Among the Brāhmans of South India, the payment of bride-price is no longer in vogue.

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE.

The custom is, at one stage of culture, universal. The first kind of cousins are known by a special name. For want of a better word "cross-cousin" is used. Among a large number of people while marriages with a daughter of a father's brother or of a mother's sister is looked upon as incestuous, those relatives being regarded as brothers and sisters, the same does not apply to cross-cousins. Marriages between "cross" cousins are allowed, and those between the other kind of first cousins are prohibited. The reason for the distinction is manifest by reference to the constitution of the primitive social group; the daughters of a father's brother or of a mother's sister were members of the same group, *i.e.*, "clan sisters," while the daughters of a mother's brother or of a father's sister were members of different groups. "The distinction," says Briffault, "has no meaning in the patriarchal 'family' of husband and wife, and it can only be interpreted in terms of a grouping altogether different from that which patriarchal hypotheses suppose to have been rooted in the fundamental social constitution of humanity." But that is not all; not only are marriages between "cross" cousins permitted, while those between other first cousins are prohibited, but among a large number of people in every part of the world, the former kind of marriage is regarded in a peculiar light as the most proper and desirable union or even as a moral obligation.

* Those who see in the purchase price a sale are not law-learned men. To such as these, a man shall not give his daughter, nor shall anyone bring home such a woman. For the wife must in no wise be bought or sold.

Marriage with one's own mother's brother's daughter is called *Menarikam*, and is a fundamental social law with a large number of aboriginal tribes in South India, and it has found its way into the higher castes also. The principle is illustrated in some of those elaborate marriage ceremonies prevalent in South India. "Marriage with one's mother's brother's daughter is a universally honoured practice and is also regarded in the light of a sacred obligation. In the *Kanyaka Purana*, the sacred book of the Kōmatis, the injunction is laid down with great emphasis, "Be sure to give your daughters in marriage to the sons of your father's sisters even though the young men should be black-skinned, plain and blind of one eye, senseless, of vicious habits, though the horoscopes do not agree, and the omens be inauspicious." * It is found to be in vogue among Irulans and most of the Kurubas, and also among most of the non-Brāhman castes of Mysore. It is still in force among the matriarchal tribes and castes of Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore. It has spread to the Brahman population of the same regions. The same social law is observed by the Dravidian population of Central India where they adhere to the old Gond rule by which first cousins, provided they are not the offspring of two sisters by preference, intermarry.† "Thus among a considerable number of people all over the world, and in phases of culture, so widely different as those of the Australian and Melanesian savages, the cross-cousin marriage is looked upon as an obligation or in the light of particularly commendable and morally praiseworthy union, while at the same time marriage between children of two brothers or two sisters is regarded as incest."

* Briffault, R. : *The Mothers*, Vol. I, Chap. X, p. 568. Harold Stuart, *Madras Census Report*, p. 212.

† Briffault R. : *The Mothers*, Vol. I, Chap. X, p. 572.

Among the Koravas or Yerakulas, a custom prevails by which the first two daughters of a family may be claimed by the maternal uncle as wives for his son. The value of a wife is fixed at twenty pagodas. The maternal uncle's right to the first two daughters is valued at eight out of twenty pagodas, and is carried out thus. If he urges his preferential claim, and marries his own son to his nieces, he pays for each only twelve pagodas; and similarly, if he foregoes his claim from not having sons, he receives eight pagodas of the twenty paid to the girl's parents by anybody else who may marry them. Among the castemen of the Vizagapatam district a man may marry the daughter of his father's sister or the daughter of his mother's brother.

From the foregoing account of cross-cousin marriage among the totemic tribes and castes of Mysore, as of other parts of India and elsewhere, it may be seen that the practice must have had its origin on economic grounds. It serves the purpose of keeping together related families. Marriages among ortho-cousins (children of two brothers), as among the Muhammadans, are performed with the special object of keeping family property undivided. "It is, of course," says Briffault, "that such a purpose is served, and that the beneficially economic practice may favour its observance." At the same time, the same interpretation of the custom does not apply to the savages who have no property to transmit. To my mind the idea of distance and ignorance of the tribe in other localities, with whom they can enter into conjugal relations, must also be another reason. In my own experience girls are never given in marriage to young men who live in distant places, and about whose family and parentage, the girls' parents are ignorant. The practice of marrying

the daughters of one's father's brother is almost confined at the present day to the Arabs, Musalmans and the Moplas of Malabar. On the other hand, the marriage between the children of two sisters is regarded as incest. These are all instances of marriage of ortho-cousins, and in every instance it is stated to be the express object of keeping property in the same patriarchal family.

Among matriarchal and patriarchal families, cross-cousin marriage keeps not only the families together, but also prevents the dispersion of property. Hence in a society where inheritance runs through females, a father also wishes to provide for his son, and generally marries him to his sister's daughter. Reduction of marriage expenses, alleged as one of the reasons, is not always so in some cases. Generally the filial affection between brother and sister is extended to their children. Dr. Rivers has suggested, that in India and elsewhere cross-cousin marriages derived from the bisection of the community into two exogamous moieties or classes are found in Australian tribes. So far as India is concerned, no such organization seems to have existed. Marriages between relatives more closely related than cousins are proscribed by custom.

Dr. Westermarck who refers to economic reasons, and the strengthening of the bonds of friendship in elucidation of cross-cousin marriage, takes occasion to give very clear expression to the fundamental objection to the doctrine of evolution as applied to human society, which forms the guiding principles of his theories. Briffault protests against the method of trying to explain customs and institutions which may be satisfactorily accounted for by known facts of survivals of unknown and entirely hypothetical condition in the past. A sounder and more scientific rule of interpretation, according to him is thus laid down. "Wherever usage of world-wide distribution is found to be observed by races standing on different levels of social culture, the true explanation of its origin

is to be looked for, not in any interpretation which may appear applicable to the more advanced among the people who observe this usage. That principle is of universal application; for it is one of the most constant laws in the development of sentiments and customs, that social traditions dating from the infancy of marriage, continue to be handed down and observed long after the conditions or ideas that originally gave rise to them have disappeared. The people who observed this inherited custom, explain it in the light of current ideas and in terms of any purpose with which these customs may incidentally harmonise. Those current ideas, those advantages and uses, real or supposed, are to them only 'known facts,' and they regard them as having been the sources of the custom or institution in the first instance. In fact, their conduct is determined by social heredity, and the explanatory justification of it given in terms of existing sentiments and conditions is but the new label which every generation tacks on to inherited usages that arose amid wholly different social and psychological conditions."* "A theory which can in a satisfactory manner explain a social phenomenon by existing conditions," writes Westermarck, "must certainly take precedence of one which explains it as a survival of something hypothetical in the past." †

ALLEGED EFFECTS OF INBREEDING.

Close and constant inbreeding among animals is not attended with injurious results. On the other hand, satisfactory results are produced by it. But degeneration is brought about by artificial selection of adiposity, and other pathological characters. Similarly among uncultured races constant inbreeding is prevalent with no evil effects. There is also no evidence of such evil effects from consanguineous marriages in royal families or in general population. If there existed any constant relation between consanguineous unions and any form of racial degeneration or disease, it might be expected that such effects may be plainly manifested in the numerous population with whom inbreeding is the rule. Yet no attempt to do this has met with any success. The most thorough general investigation of the kind was undertaken by Sir George H. Darwin. It was a classic conscientious statistical enquiry. The author himself like his father was the offspring of the cousin marriage. His result concerning the incidents of insanity and mental derangements was that the percentage of offspring from cousin marriages

* Briffault, R.: *The Mothers*, Chap. X, pp. 584-585.

† Westermarck, E.: *The History of Human Marriage*, Vol. I, Chap. VII, p. 262.

to be found in an asylum is no greater than the percentage of offspring from non-related persons. The final conclusion of his investigations was that there is no evidence whatever of any evil results in the offspring from the union of consanguineous parents. The distinguished Italian anthropologist, Dr. Montigazza, arrived at the same conclusion. Similarly, Virchow says, "that by careful selection of hereditary qualities, the best results may be obtained." "In the human race," says Briffault, "the evidence of facts is, if anything, even more definite than among animals. Numerous instances are given of peoples all over the world, among whom close inbreeding takes place for centuries, and no injurious results have been observed."*

Exogamy.

The term Exogamy is used to designate the rule by which a man must select his wife from outside his own group. Endogamy, on the other hand, demands that a man must marry within his own group. Castes in India are classic examples of endogamous units. The exogamous group is mostly composed of persons who are, or consider themselves to be, united by blood or of the same kin. The nearer the relationship, the greater is the bar to intermarriage. Two kinds of exogamy are recognized among the Brāhmans, namely, the *gōtra* exogamy and *sapinda* exogamy. Both the varieties of exogamy are rigourously followed by the Brāhmans all over India; so that a man cannot marry a woman belonging to them. There is this difference, that the *sapinda* exogamy prohibits marriage of relatives within a certain number of generations on the father's or mother's side. The restriction is extended to seven generations on the father's side, and five on the mother's side. But some authorities limit the number to three in the latter case. Even so, the list of prohibited degrees is much larger than that prescribed by the Christian churches and Islam.

* Westermarck, E.: *The History of Human Marriage*, Vol. II, Chap. XX, pp. 225–229; and pp. 229–234, Briffault R.: *The Mothers*, Vol. I, Chap. VI, pp. 217–224.

The Buddhist records show that the exogamous groups among the Aryans were the *gōtras*; and that among the Dravidians or pre-Dravidians, the totem groups. The totem groups regard themselves as relatives. It is supposed that the idea of the village as an exogamous group dates back when a village was a few collection of huts in a jungle clearing, built and inhabited by a group of relatives.

Many of the non-Brāhman castes possess both a set of exogamous groups based on their totems and a set of Brāhmanical *gōtras*. A perusal of the internal structure of the tribes and castes of Mysore affords numerous examples. There is a tendency for the neglect of totemic names in favour of *gōtras* which have not been properly understood. As castes rise in social scale, a compliant priest is ready to discover an appropriate *gōtra* for the aspirant. Correct Brāhmanical *gōtras* found in lower castes are creations of this kind.

Regarding the origin and reasons for the development of exogamy, sociologists have propounded various theories, all of which differ from one another.* Space forbids me from any lengthy discussion of them here.

The endogamous groups of the tribes and castes of Mysore are given in my treatment of them; and their formations are given in the chapter on Caste. † "The endogamous rule" says Westermarck, "is in the first place due to the proud antipathy, which people feel to races, nations, castes or religions different from their own." He who breaks such a rule is regarded as an offender against the circle to which he belongs. He hurts its feelings and disgraces

* Westermarck, E,: *The History of Human Marriage*, Vol. II, Chap. XIII, p. 68.

† *Vide* Chap. III, pp. 148-150.

it at the same time as he disgraces himself. Irregular connections outside the endogamous circle are looked upon with less intolerance than marriage which places the parties on a more equal footing. So far as South India, Mysore in particular, is concerned, violations of endogamous rules rarely occur.

Hypergamy is defined as the law of superior marriage. It is now described as marrying up. It is the custom which forbids a woman of a particular group to marry a man of a group lower than her own in social standing, and compels her to marry in a group equal or superior in rank. The men of the division can marry in it or below it, and the women can marry in it or above it. The following are instances of a hypergamous division. The four classes or *varṇas* are described in the Hindu Sāstras (*Smritis*) which seem to deal with a period of transition, when caste was gradually evolved out of a series of hypergamous classes. Thus, one set of passages in Manu, Baudhayana, Vishṇu and Nārada allows a Brāhman to marry, in succession, a woman of each of the four castes, while other texts from the same authority prevent him from marrying a Sudra woman. According to Baudhayana, Gautama and Usana, marriages in which the wife was only one grade below the husband are freely admissible, and the children take the rank of the father, so that the son of a Sudra woman by a Vaisya was counted a Vaisya. On the contrary, all authorities agree in condemning marriage between men of the lower classes and women of the higher. Hypergamous unions are almost unknown in Mysore. It exists to some extent only among the Nambudiris and Nayars of Malabar and Cochin. HYPERGAMY.

Husbands are at a premium in the higher groups and become objects of vigorous competition. The INFLUENCE OF HYPERGAMY.

bride-price of the early usages disappears, and is replaced by the bridegroom-price, now paid by the high castemen in India. The rich get their daughters married in or above proper rank, and poor people are given to reckless borrowing, or finally resort to other means, if they would avoid the disgrace of letting their daughter grow up unmarried.

MARRIAGE ACCORDING TO HINDU SASTRAS.

According to the Hindu Sastras there are eight kinds of marriage, the first four of which are entirely Brāhmic. Under these forms, the father hands over his daughter to the bridegroom free, and without any price although in the *Ārsha* form it is for two head of cattle looked on as *arhana* (honour shown, or gift of honour) only. The belief is that great is the reward too in the other world for such a pious liberality. Then there is the purchase or Demon marriage, the love or *Gāndharva* marriage, the marriage by capture (*Rākshasa Vivāha*), and the marriage by stealing (*Paiśācha Vivāha*) whereby the man gets a woman by some cunning device. Of these, only the marriage by capture is allowed to the warrior. On the other hand, the Vaisya and the Sudra may marry by purchase. (*Āpastamba*, II, 11-17; *Vasishta*, 1, 28). "Without regard to his wish, a man shall give his daughter to whom he loves her and whom she loves." This is called the *Gāndharva* form by those learned in the Veda. If a man buys a maiden for goods in one of the many ways and means enticing her kinsfolk, then the wise call that the Demon form. If a man by force robs the weeping girl from her home, slaying and cutting the heads of the weeping kindred, that is known as the *Rākshasa* form. Of these, *Brāhmic*, and the *Gāndharva* forms are lawful, but the *Paiśācha* and the Demon form must never be practised. Three kinds of wives are for Brāhmans,

two for Kshatriyas, one for Vaisyas and the Sudras shall marry in their own caste.

The *Atharva Veda* has a striking hymn, describing the advantage of *Brahmacharya* or self-restraint. As girls were never married till they developed into youthful maidens, self-restraint was obviously the only means for obtaining a suitable husband among the students who returned home on the completion of their studies.

The *Brāhmic* or canonical marriage is a form of social marriage, the primary object of which is to enable a man to perform certain appointed duties (*dharma*) to society, and to provide for the discharge of those duties in the family even after death. Hence, the married life of the *Grahasta* stage of life is considered to be a very important one, on which alone vitally depend the other stages, *Brahmacharya*, *Vānaprasta* and *Sanyāsi*. For the purpose of this alliance, the selection of suitable partners is an essential prerequisite. The husband and wife have also to exercise different functions. The former, in addition to his social duties, is the guardian of the wife's interest, both temporal and secular, and the latter holds herself responsible for all the domestic functions. The bond of interdependence connects the two in permanent union, and protects it against danger from the possible effects of time on the body and mind of either partner. These advantages are absent in the other form of marriage known as *Kāma Vivāham* in which the object of marriage is only individual, and each seeks to get the best partner in his or her personal taste and happiness. Here the children "are the products of convenient alliance." The question of the ownership of the offspring has to be judged from the history of the human marriages, which have often arisen as a separate question.

MARRIAGE BY CAPTURE (RAKSHASA VIVAHA).

It was at one time thought that marriage by capture was almost a universal custom. Capture of women for wives prevailed among the Semites. In Arabia, it was common before Muhammad. Among the Hebrews, members of the military class were allowed to marry foreign women taken in war, though it was contrary to the *Law* which forbade intermarriage with the gentile.* Many survivals of this custom are found in all parts of India. Among the Malayālis, a Tamil speaking hill tribe in the North Arcot District, the bride is carried by force though this is viewed with much disfavour. Among the Mullu Kurumbans of Wynad, the man has the option of carrying a girl by force against the wishes of her parents.† Among the Gonds, a girl is carried by force by a young man with the aid of his friends to become his wife.‡ Among the Hill Muduvans, who are said to have migrated from the Tamil country to Travancore, after a marriage has been settled,§ the bridegroom forcibly takes away the maiden from her mother's house when she goes for water or firewood, and lives with her for a few days or weeks in a secluded part of the forest. They then return home unless in the meanwhile they have been found by their relations. A relic of the marriage by capture prevails among the Bogatas, a class of fishermen of the Madras Presidency. At a wedding, the bridegroom is struck by his brother-in-law who is presented with a pair of cloths. Similar customs are in vogue among the Mālas (Telugu Parayas) of the Godavary district, among the aboriginal tribes of Chōta-Nāgpur, Orissa and Chitagong hill tribes. Marriage by capture

* Westermarck, E.: *History of Human Marriage*, Vol. II, p. 234.
† Gopalan Nair: *Wynad*, p. 69.
‡ Thurston, E.: *Ethnographic Notes*, p. 8.
§ *Travancore Census Report*, 1901.

(*Vīrya Sulkam*) has been found to be in vogue among the ancient Aryans also, and according to Manu, it is one of the recognized forms of marriage, called the *Rākshasa* form. "The carrying away, by main force, of a maiden is declared by the law-learned to be the best thing." * No people have been found exclusively on real wife capture in spite of the prevalence of the custom on a more or less extensive practice in various countries. But a number of customs among savage and civilized peoples has been explained as relics of a former practice of wife capture. In some cases, the bridegroom and his friends are required to overcome the resistance, real or pretended, of the bride's relatives or to undergo a drubbing or to simulate attack and capture. Among the Izhuvans, as the bride and bridegroom step out of the pavilion, they are met by the *machun* or uncle's son who prevents the bridegroom from taking possession of her, on the score of his better claim to wed her. He is supported to contest her for the hand of the young woman, and his two friends pretend to help him in the fray. The *machun* is at last prevailed upon to let her depart on receipt of two *fanoms* or nine annas.† Doubtless, none of these customs are survivals from an earlier day of an actual capture. Some of them are designed to test the courage, adroitness and seriousness of the bridegroom. There are others who argue that the natural coyness of the female, who is obliged by custom, is not to give herself up except as a result of forcible mastery. A more closely related motive is, that capture should serve as a symbol of appropriating by the bridegroom, and subjection of the bride. These fictitious combats at weddings are more conspicuous in the higher than in the lower races of culture.

* *Laws of Manu*, Vol. II, pp. 26-33.
† L. K. A. Iyer: *Lectures on Ethnography*, Chap. V, pp. 131-132.

GANDHARVA MARRIAGE.

Closely related with the marriage by capture is the marriage by elopement (*Gāndharva* form) which was considered lawful by the warrior tribe. This assumed a state of society, in which a friendly though stealthy intercourse was possible between man and woman, before their union, when the inclination of the female was consulted. Both forms have admitted of a permanent connection, though there is nothing to show, that permanence is a necessary element in their transactions. A very different order of practice is included under the term, Marriage by Capture, namely the abduction of an individual woman, not as an incident of warfare or of raids, but as an isolated act of violence directly intended to obtain possession of the particular woman. Among such practices, three classes of facts or three merging more or less into one another are distinguishable. Some are instances of violent abduction of women against their will; in others the abduction is concerted with the woman, and the act is more an elopement than a capture; in others again, the whole proceeding is more or less fictitious, and the violence simulated, both the woman and her relation or sometimes the latter only being parties to the transaction. The stealing of the woman from one another is a common incident among the members of some uncultured societies. The *Gāndharva* or love marriage is one of the recognized eight forms of marriage. The independence of the girl is the essence of the *Gāndharva* marriage, and forms part of the orthodox system. According to Manu, it is allowed for the warrior nobility; but Baudhāyana recommends this to be lawful for the Vaisya and Sudra, and according to others for all castes, because it is based on love. According to tradition, it is said to be the best for Kshatriyas, and was thus the right of the lords.*

* Macdonell and Keith; *Vedic Index.*

This is the *Ārsha* form which appears simply as a survival from *Āsura*, the substantial price paid for the girl having dwindled down to a gift of slight or nominal value. It is one of the recognized forms of the Vedic marriage. "In Vedic times, brides were won by rich presents to their fathers, though a certain discredit would seem to have attached to the sale of daughters."* Manu says that "money or goods given to damsels, and to their kinsmen are not for their own use."† It is no sale but is merely a token of courtesy to the bride. Even in the Talmudic Law, the purchase of wives appears to be merely symbolical, the bride-price being fixed at a nominal amount. It has been said that marriage by purchase arose out of marriage by capture and elopement. Abduction, in spite of the resistance of the parents, was the primary form which arose in the beginning of compensation to escape vengeance. MARRIAGE BY PURCHASE.

Marriage by purchase‡ is the recognized form of marriage not only among the least civilized races, but also among peoples who have reached the higher degree of culture. Among the pastoral people, it is said to be very prevalent, while the common aspect of marriage is one of recent growth. Among most of the tribes and castes of Mysore, as in other parts of South India, the bride-price§ is fixed by custom, but also frequently varies according to circumstances. It is very much influenced by the rank and wealth of the families as also by beauty, strength, ability and other personal qualities of the maiden. The bride-price

* *Apastamba*, II, 6.14.

† *Manu*, III, p. 24.

‡ Purchase is merely a term of appreciation ignorantly applied by the missionaries and travellers to the marriage of uncivilized peoples.—R. Briffault.

§ The "bride-price" is sometimes sentimentally represented as "the price of virginity."—R. Briffault.

which is generally given to the father goes to meet either wholly or partly the expenses of the marriage. A portion of it goes to her mother and maternal uncle. Very often, it is spent for the bride's dress and ornaments. Along with the bride-price, presents of cloth are given to the parents-in-law at the departure of the bridegroom with the bride from her house. Where bride-price is a custom, it will be considered as disgraceful to a girl and her family if she were given in marriage for nothing. "Sometimes, what is known as marriage by purchase, may not be really so, for the bridal gift may be an expression of good-will or ability to keep a wife, and may serve as a protection to the wife against ill-usage, and to the husband against misbehaviour on the side of the wife." * In Mysore and other parts of South India, the receipt of bride-price is common among most of the tribes and non-Brāhman castes. There are also instances of the return of gifts, namely, exchange of presents which is a wide-spread practice. It may represent a return gift to the bridegroom.

MARRIAGE BY EXCHANGE.

This is a modified form of marriage by purchase, in which the bride-price is compensated by the offer of the girl in return. The custom is wide-spread and the practice of exchanging daughters is very much in vogue among the tribes of Beluchistan, in Jammu Province of Kashmere, the Bhotias of Almora, the low castes of the Madras Presidency and the jungle tribes of Travancore and Cochin. Among the Madigas of Mysore, the Nambudiri Brāhmans of Malabar, the exchange of sisters or daughters between two families to avoid the bride-price is quite common. Thus, the practice of bride for bride occupies side by side with marriage by

* Westermarck, E.: *History of Human Marriage*, Vol. II, Chap. XXIII, p. 392.

purchase as an economic measure to save the bride-price. "It is," says Sir James Frazer, "quite common among the Australian tribes."

MARRIAGE BY SERVICE.

More wide-spread than marriage by exchange, is the custom of obtaining services rendered by the bride's father. This practice is found among the very North and South American Indians, Eskimos, Siberian peoples, and in a large number of aboriginal tribes in India, and in many islands of the Indian Archipelago, and among many of the African peoples. The young man to be married has to go and live in the family of his future wife for a certain time during which he works for them as a servant. The period of work varies differently among different peoples, ranging from less than a year to 10 or 15 years, during which he may or may not get access to the girl. In some cases, he may have to live in the family for some time after the marriage or for ever. Marriage by service is only a substitute for marriage by purchase, where the suitor is too poor to pay the bride-price. It is in vogue among the lower castes and jungle tribes in Mysore, Madras Presidency, Central Provinces and Assam, and this is a development among the industrial type of society.

DOWRY.

The gift to a bride is not an act of ordinary purchase in cases where the bride's people have to present the bridegroom or his people with a return gift. The exchange of presents at a marriage is a really wide-spread practice, and frequently the amount of return gift is also fixed by custom. The return gift takes the shape of dowry by her father or parents or other relatives. This indirectly benefits the husband. It consists of food, clothes, ornaments, household goods, land and money.

Among the Muhammadans, a bride-price *mahr* was given by the bridegroom to the father or guardian of the bride. (*Vide* Vol. III, p. 406.) Among the Brāhmans and other higher non-Brāhman castes, dowries were frequently given by fathers or brothers, in order to secure the marriage of daughters or sisters. It may be assumed that in such cases, the husband or the husband's father appropriated the dowry as well as her earnings. Even in the *Epic*, the rise of the recognition of women's property as their own (*stridhanam*) was only slow. The *stridhanam* is mentioned by Gautama, but first described in *Arthasāstra* and by Vishnu. It included any presents from parents, brothers and other relatives, the marriage gifts, the bride-price (*sulka*), when given to the woman by her father, and the fine paid by her husband, if she was degraded from her position, as the chief wife in favour of another. The property fell on her death to her daughters, if she had any, if not apparently to her sons, who according to some, shared it with her sisters at any event. In case she died without issue, it belonged to her husband, if she had married according to one of the four superior forms of marriage, otherwise to her father. The Hindu Law recognized the dominion of a married woman over this property, but the husband has, nevertheless, power to use and consume it in case of distress. At present, all over India, the difficulty of finding a husband for a daughter has led to the undisguised purchase of bridegrooms. While the low caste pay for the bride, the high caste pay for the bridegroom. In some cases, very large sums are paid where hypergamy prevails. In recent times, the bridegroom-price has been affected very largely by educational qualifications and wealth of the bridegroom's family.

MARRIAGE OF DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER.

It is a common practice that the deceased wife's sister is given in marriage to the widower without extra payment or at a reduced rate. It is often regarded in the light of moral obligation rather than as a claim. It is only a survival of sororal polygyny. The people who practice it, and the missionaries and others who interpret that custom have good reasons to offer for the origin and observance of the usage. Where polygyny obtains, the women are the persistent advocates of the practice and additional wives are mostly acquired at the desire of a man's wife or wives, and are very commonly selected by them. There is nothing to indicate that they are more prone to quarrel among themselves than other persons who live together.

The practice of sororal polygyny like other traditional customs, presents many advantages that could be adduced in its observance. With people in the lowest stage of social organization, the practice of sororal polygyny and sororal succession is like that of cross-cousin marriage. Like the principle of cross-cousin marriage, that of sororal polygyny is a transaction in terms of family relationship of the wider conceptions of clan relationship. In the one case, the cross-cousins and sisters are actual cousins and sisters. Conversely or complementary aspect of the rule is the principle that when a woman marries with another family, she marries all the marriageable males of the family.

MARRIAGE DURING THE VEDIC PERIOD.

During the Vedic period, marriage was a post-puberty one, when the conjugal pair were more or less grown up, and were capable of understanding the nature and significance of the marriage ceremony. The *mantras* recited at the marriage, and the expressions that are exchanged between the husband and wife during the ceremony, particularly in the

saptapadi, furnish strong evidence to it. The function known as the *Chāthur Karma* on the fourth day of the marriage ceremony and the consummation *sēkam* take place on the night of the fourth day. The Vedic texts lay down no specific age for marriage, probably because of the education of girls like that of boys which used to take a pretty long time before the marriage.* They, however, indicate, that in early times a marriage was essentially a union of two persons of full development, and this is shown by numerous references to unmarried girls growing old in the houses of their parents and longing to seek a husband (*Rig Veda*, II, 27, 7). The unmarried daughter who lived all the life in the house of her father was called *Amāju*, and was often given a share of ancestral property for her maintenance. The choice of husband mainly rested with her. She could select a man from a number of suitors, and had for a time to remain unmarried, if she could not make a suitable selection. In fact, no girl was married before she had reached the period of adolescence. The transition from adult marriage of the Vedic period to the infant marriage of the post-Vedic period cannot be accurately determined. All the *Smritis* unanimously advocate the necessity of early marriage (Vol. II, pp. 350-351).

MARRIAGE RITES AND CEREMONIES.

Customs connected with marriage rites and ceremonies are partly social, and partly, magico-religious and religious. Here magic and religion are so intimately connected that they are inseparable. Among the Hindu castes, the service of an astrologer to find out the agreement of the bride- and bridegroom-elects, the selection of an auspicious

Vide p. 197, *ante*.

day and even the hour (*muhūrtam*), and for various other functions is essential. The choice of time for celebration is also by the Moon. The Hindus and Muhammadans choose the crescent Moon. Publicity is a very important factor. It is everywhere an element which distinguishes a recognized marriage from an illicit connection. In the Vedic hymns *Agni*, the god of fire, is called the witness of marriage (*Agni Sākshi*), and a marriage witnessed by fire, according to Hindu ideas cannot be annulled. Five of the Vedic gods, namely, Indra, Varuna, Chandra, Yama and Brahma are called and invited to be present at a Brāhman wedding. The Muhammadan Sunni Law also requires the presence of two witnesses to attest the conclusion of the contract of marriage, and to testify, that it was properly entered into in accordance with the condition laid down in the contractual performance of marriage. The Maliks insist upon the presence of two men of established reputation. The attendance of relations and friends of the bridal pair at the wedding, and the wedding feasts celebrated during the days of the marriage ceremonies, and other formalities are also additional factors. The magic and religious portions of the ceremony are described in detail in Vol. II, pp. 329-352.

Continence is an important factor, and is prescribed for the Brāhmans by the Hindu Sāstras In the *Grihya Sūtra*, it is laid down that abstinence from sexual intercourse should be observed for three nights. In one of these codes, it is said, that for three nights, the bridegroom and the bride shall sleep on the ground, be chaste, avoid salt and pungent food, and between their sleeping places, a staff is interposed, which is anointed with perfumes, and wrapped round with a garment or a thread. It is laid down by one of the law givers, " that an

abstinence of three nights would be rewarded with the birth of a Vedic scholar of an ordinary type, an abstinence of twelve nights, a really first class scholar, an abstinence of four months with a Brāhman of more exalted rank, an abstinence of six months with that of a *Rishi*, and an abstinence of a year with that of a god." "This view," says Westermarck, "derives support first from the fact, that the rule of continence after the marriage is not only necessary among the people in all parts of the world, but also among the Vedic Aryans, and secondly, its persistence in Europe and folk customs which suggest a deeper foundation than the ecclesiastical injunctions." Sometimes it is attributed to the resistance on the part of the bride.

With reference to the Vedic practice, Oldenburg says, that though the original meaning is not understood by the people, it must be sought in the fear of spirits, who in the act of copulation might slip into the woman, and endanger the offspring, and might even impregnate her. The Muhammadans also have the same idea. It is always necessary for the husband to say *Bismillah* before having intercourse, in the name of god, lest the devil should enter the woman, and make the child a villain. This belief has the support of Muhammadan tradition.

In Mysore, as in other parts of South India, the higher non-Brāhman castes have adopted the customs and formalities of the Brāhmans with the omission of Vedic recitation. The Brāhmans officiate as priests.* The consummation is put off to three months after marriage in the case of adults. It is based on the belief that it is inauspicious to a child to be born within a year after marriage.

* L. K. A. Iyer; *Lectures on Ethnography*, Chap. V, pp. 143-146.

Popular Views in Relation to Marital Relations.

In Mysore, as in other parts of South India, there has not been any serious change in the attitude of the people in matrimonial matters. Marriage in the early years is extremely rare in all communities, and the marriageable age of both boys and girls has automatically risen more on economic grounds than on other considerations. The bulk of popular opinion is towards marriage of girls before they come of age, and any undue postponement will prove detrimental to the well-being of both sexes. There has also been no change in the form of marriage. The bridegroom-price is more or less as before, both among the Brāhman and other higher non-Brāhman castes. Nor has there been any change in the performance of marriage ceremonies. Opinion is gaining ground in favour of celebration in one day in sacred places like Tirupati or Seringapatam. It is a reform in the right direction to reduce the unnecessary expenditure. Among non-Brāhmans, post-puberty marriage is permissible. Among Brāhmans, difficulties of obtaining suitable young men for girls, those of meeting the expenses connected therewith, as also the education of boys and girls, and the western ideals which the present day young men have imbibed, coupled with the unemployment question are the main factors in the raising of marriageable age. In a few cases, girls who are admittedly grown-up can be found for post-puberty marriage. By the Government legislation, the marriageable age for girls is fixed at 14. Men of advanced views are in favour of the limit fixed by the Government, while those of the orthodox party consider this as an interference with liberty and a violation of the sacred texts. From the individual point of view, marriage as practised in the State may be considered to be fairly satisfactory. For it gives each man and woman, a companion fairly early in life, and by

attachment of relationship, some kind of sanctity and inviolability of religious ceremony directs the mind to a happy conjugal life.

CHAPTER VI.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY—(*contd.*)

POLYGAMY—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—LEVIRATE—RELIGIOUS PROSTITUTION—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—CONSUMMATION OR GARBHADĀNAM—PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH—THE FAMILY—KINSHIP AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—SIZE OF THE FAMILY IN THE CASTES OF THE STATE—DURATION OF MARRIAGE AND THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN—OBSERVATIONS OF FERTILITY IN INDIA—COUVADE—GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF COUVADE—SIGNIFICANCE OF COUVADE—SEXUAL ANTAGONISM AND TABOO—SUMMARY.

POLYGAMY.

THE term polygamy is applied to the marriage of one man with several women. It is the privilege of rulers, chiefs, and the wealthy pastoral and agricultural people to be polygamous. In the case of the latter two, it is on economic grounds. The Gowndens of the Coimbatore District have several wives to help them in the management of their estates. So also are the Tamil washermen, potters, and other primitive industrial classes polygamous. Among some of the primitive communities, all the wives of a polygamous marriage are said to possess equal status and rights, but the general rule is that the first wife holds a higher position than the rest, and is regarded as the principal wife. In point of status, the first wife has precedence over others, and so long as junior wives allow themselves to be governed by the senior, there is peace and happiness. Any partiality shown to the newly married woman gives rise to jealousy which becomes a perennial source of trouble and discord to the husband. Traces of the custom are found among the Aryans, among

whom monogamy as the only form of marriage was recognized. None of the law books restrict the number of wives whom a man is permitted to marry.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

Among the Brāhmans and other higher castes there has been no appreciable change in the attitude of people in the State on the subject of widow marriage. Reform in the State is made very difficult not by the attitude of orthodox society, but by the outlook of widows themselves who are brought up in that society. In the communities which prohibit widow marriage, widows themselves are unwilling to marry. In the event of their having children any suggestion for remarriage is taken as an insult. The cases of virgin widows are far otherwise. But even here young men are unwilling to marry them, when they can afford to get suitable unmarried brides. Nevertheless a kind of widow marriage (*Kudike*) is allowed among the lower castes, namely, Agasa, Banjara, Beda, Besta, Bili-Magga, Budubudikki and others, among whom a widow can marry only a widower. The ceremony is performed only during night, and consists in giving a wedding cloth to the widow, and the tying of a *tāli* round her neck. Other formalities connected with it are described in the monographs of castes among whom this is in vogue.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE.

In the sacred literature of the Hindus, it is said that the intercourse with the wedded wife of another is destruction for men in both worlds. Adultery with a maiden compels the adulterer to marry and give her a dowry. In the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 90, 32), it is laid down, that intercourse with unknown women, or with such beings as belong to the wives of others, and maidens, was strictly forbidden. The adulterer in all cases has a short life, and goes to a hell of torment. Manu

(IX, 101) enjoins, that the wives of the four *varṇas* must be kept pure. "Unto death shall they keep wedded faith one to another." * This is recognized to be the highest duty of wife and husband. Both in the law books and in the Purāṇas adultery on the part of man and woman is highly condemned. "He that touches another man's wife is born a wolf, a dog, a jackal, then born a vulture, a snake, a heron, and a crane in succession." † The punishment in the law literature and the Purāṇas is very severe. The adulterer is punished with death. It was subsequently reduced to tortures, which in turn was reduced to imprisonment and fine. Equally severe was the punishment for the woman who committed adultery with a man of a lower caste. "The punishments are: fine, confiscation of property, banishment, branding, cutting of the offending member, death." The inveterate adulteress was generally put to death. Some of these punishments were made milder by Yāgnavalkya. ‡

Among the Kāṇikkar, a jungle tribe in Travancore, the adulterer's legs are tied to a branch of the tree with the head downwards. Straw with chillies is spread on the ground and burned. His body is swung to and fro, and he is in the meanwhile given 25 lashes with a cane on the buttocks. The adulteress gets 16 lashes. He is compelled to marry her, even though he may have been married. §

Customs connected with adultery and divorce, current among the tribes and castes of Mysore, are described in my monographs on them (*vide* Vol. II, pp. 355-360).

* *Mārkandeya Purāna*, XXXIV, 62; *Agni Purāna* 203, 15, 20.

† Nārada, XVI, II, 3; Manu, XIII, 104, 12; 145, 53; *Agni Purāna*, p. 644.

‡ Yāgnavalkya, 286-287. J. P. Jayaswal, *Manu and Yāgnavalkya. Stri Samgrahana*, pp. 164-168. L. K. A. Iyer, *Lectures on Ethnography*, 159-162.

§ *Census of India*, Vol. XXVIII, Travancore, Part I, p. 405.

LEVIRATE. This is the name given to the obligation imposed by custom or law on the brother of the deceased husband to marry his sister-in-law after the death of her husband. The custom had its origin in India from a remote period, and is wide-spread among most of the races of the world. *Niyōga* in its narrower sense, is levirate, and instances of sons born of *Niyukta* form in the Purāṇas are very many. But definite forms are prescribed for cohabitation of the women with their brothers-in-law which cannot be violated. A Brāhman as a *Niyukta* is also appointed. As is well known, the law writings only deal with the narrower *Niyōga, i.e.*, the brother or a *Sapinda* or a *Sagotra* (*pindagotra-rishisambandas*) or *Yonimatra* of the dead man; and the widow is solemnly entrusted with the begetting of offspring for the dead man, one or two but not more. Two are allowed by Manu and Gautama.* Manu first allows it and then absolutely forbids it. According to Āpastamba the custom is forbidden in *Kaliyuga*. At present, it is in vogue among some of the very low castes of Cochin and Travancore, and among the Banjaras of Mysore (Vol. II, p. 168).

RELIGIOUS PROSTITUTION. Among the Kaikolans, a woman in each family becomes a prostitute, and retains her caste. The selected girl is taken to the temple, where a sword is placed with a *tāli* (marriage badge) under it. The *tāli* is tied round her neck by a woman of her caste then present. She returns home, where she is permitted to carry on any amours she likes. She is outcasted the moment she chooses any below her caste. She is entitled to a share in her family property, just as if no such ceremony has taken place.†

* *Vide* L. K. A. Iyer: *Lectures on Ethnography*, pp. 156-158; Gautama, XVII, 5; Manu, IX, 58.

† *Manual of the Salem District.*

Among the Kaikolan musicians of Coimbatore, one girl in every family is set apart for temple service, for which she is instructed in music and dancing. For the *tāli*-tying ceremony she is taken to the temple riding on a pony. A new cloth to the idol, *tāli*, and other articles, are previously made ready. The girl is seated facing the idol, and the officiating priest gives her sandal and flowers, ties the *tāli*, which has been lying at the feet of the idol, round her neck. The *tāli* consists of a golden disc and black beads. She continues to learn music and dancing, and eventually goes through the form of nuptial ceremony. On an auspicious day her relations are invited, and the maternal uncle ties a golden band on her forehead, seated on a plank before the assembled guests. A Brāhman prepares the *hōmam* (sacred fire) by chanting *mantrams*. For real nuptials a rich Brāhman, if available, if not, another is invited as the representative of the idol. It is said, that when the man receives the first favours of the girl, a sword must be placed by her side for a few minutes. A similar custom prevails among the Jākulas, an inferior class of prostitutes of the Balija caste.*

In order to obtain a safe delivery, expectant mothers will often vow to dedicate their child to the service of God. Among the weavers of the Tirukalli Kundram in the Madura District, the eldest daughter of every family is devoted to the temple. Girls thus married to the deity are formally married, sometimes to the idol, sometimes to a sword, before they enter into their duties from which it appears, that they are often regarded as the wives of the God.†

* Thurston, E. : *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, pp. 31, 36, 40. Short, J. : *Dancing Girls of Southern India.*

† Buchanan : *Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, Vol. I, p. 9.

The practice of dedicating girls to temples or as public women known as Basavis obtains among some of the low castes of Mysore, namely, Bedas, Dombars, Holeyas (Ādikarṇātakas), Kurubas, Mādigas, Helavas, Killekyatas, an account of which is given in the monograph of each of them.

Girls dedicated to the service of temples are known as *Dēvadāsis* (servants or slaves of the gods), but in ordinary parlance they are spoken of as dancing girls. Almost every temple all over the Madras Presidency, Mysore, and Travancore has a troop of these sacred women. The institution is an ancient one. "In this country" says Marcopolo, "there are some abbeys (temples), in which are gods and goddesses; and fathers and mothers consecrated their daughters in the service of the deity. When priests desire to feast their god they send for these damsels, who serve the god with meats and other goods, and sing and dance before him for about as long as a great baron would be eating his dinner. Then they say that the god has devoured the essence of the food, and fall to and eat it themselves. These *Dāsis* consist partly of superfluous girls who are presented by their parents to the temples, and partly of those devoted to a temple in fulfilment of a vow. They are married to the god at an early age, but seldom continue to live the life of vestal virgins."* P. della Valle describes one of these dances performed in the temple of Ikkeri thus:—"Hither almost the whole city flocked, men and women and all the companies of the flowered virgins who, putting themselves into circles here and there, danced to the accompaniment of songs; yet their dancing was nothing but an easy walking round, their sticks always sounding;

* Yule: *Marcopolo.*

only sometimes they would stretch forth their legs, and now and then cowed down as if they were going to sit, one constantly singing, and the rest repeating the *kōle*. This is the *kōle* or stick dance usually performed in temples during *Dasara* holidays." Mr. Francis also refers to the *Dēvadāsis* in the same manner. "It is one of the many inconsistencies of the Hindu religion, that though their profession is repeatedly condemned by the *Sāstras*, it has always received the countenance of the Church. The origin of the caste and its euphemistic name seem both of them to date from the ninth and the tenth centuries of our era, during which much activity prevailed in Southern India in the matter of building (temples), and elaborating the services held by them. The dancing girl's duties then, as now, were to fan the idol with *Chāmarās* or Tibetan ox tails, to hold the sacred light called *Kumbārthi*, and to sing and dance before the God when He was carried in procession.* Inscriptions show, that in A.D. 1004 the great temple of the Chola King Rajaraja of Tanjore had attached to it 400 women (*talic cheri ponḍugal*) of the temple who lived in free quarters in the surrounding streets, and were allowed tax-free land out of its endowment. Other temples had also similar arrangements. At the commencement of the present century, there were a hundred dancing girls at Conjeevaram, and at Madura.† There are still numbers of them who receive allowances from the big temples of these places. Similar institutions existed in the big temples of Mysore. In former days the profession was countenanced not only by the Church, but by the State. Abdur Razak, a Turkish ambassador in the Court of Vijianagar, in the 15th

* *Madras Census Report*, 1901.

† *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Part III, p. 259.

century, describes women of this class as living in State-controlled institutions, the revenue of which went to the upkeep of the police.

When one of these dancing girls dies, her body is covered with a new cloth which has been taken for the purpose from the idol, and flowers are supplied from the temple to which she has belonged. No worship is performed in the temple until the last rites have been performed over her body, because the idol being deemed her husband, is said to be in a state of ceremonial pollution common to human mourners, which debars him from the offices of religion. There are similar institutions in the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency, and in Orissa.

In the Bombay Presidency *Seja* is the marriage of a *Naikin* (dancing girl) with a dagger. It takes place from the age of eight to eleven or before she arrives at puberty. Before the performance of this ceremony the girl is taken to the temple of one of the gods or goddesses commonly known as Mahālakshmi, Santi Durga, Vetal Vira Ravalnath and Mungēsa. Taking a flower, she sticks it gently on the breast of the idol, and prays to be informed, what she would become, whether a married woman or a *Naikin*. If the latter, the flower falls to the right, and if the former to the left, or does not fall. The omen is accordingly interpreted. A female devotee of the *Dēvadāsi* type is called *Murli*. Ordinary people believe that from this time the shadow of the god falls on her and possesses her person. At such times the possessed woman rocks to and fro, and the people believe her to be a sooth-sayer, when she is consulted as to future events.

In the Tuluva country (South Canara) women of the four traditional castes, who either owing to the dislike of their husbands or being widows, become tired of celibacy may go to a temple, obtain the *Nevaidyam* (offerings of rice) from the temple

authorities. If she is a Brāhman woman, she has the right to live either in the temple or outside its precincts, as she likes. In the event of her desire to live in it, she gets a daily allowance of rice, and must sweep the temple, fan the idol, and confine her amours to Brāhmans alone. The children of these women form a special class called *Moyalar*, but are fond of assuming the title of *stānikas*. As many of them as can find employment, go about the temple, sweeping the areas, sprinkling them with cow-dung, carrying torches before the gods and doing other odd jobs. Some of them who are debarred from these holy offices, are reduced to the painful necessity of earning their bread by honest work. The daughters are either brought up to live like their mothers or are given in marriage to the *stānikas*.* Brāhman women who do not choose to live in temples, and similar women of other castes, cohabit with any man of the same or superior status, but never with that of the lower. A large number of them are found in Sringeri in the Kadur District. Some work in temples, and some in Brāhman houses.

In Travancore, a dancing-girl attached to a temple is known as *Dāsi* or *Dēvadāsi* or *Dēvarātial*, a servant of god. The following account is quoted from the Travancore Census Report, 1901. It brings out the idea of her marriage to a deity.

Marriage in the case of *Dēvarātial* in its original import is a renunciation of ordinary family life and a consecration to the service of god. With a lady nurse at a hospital, or a sister at a convent, a *Dēvadāsi* at a Hindu shrine, such as she probably was in the early stages of Hindu spirituality, would have claimed favourable comparison. In the ceremonial of the dedication-marriage of the *Dāsi*, elements are not wanting which indicate a past quite the reverse of disreputable. The girl to be married is generally from six to eight years of age. The bridegroom is the presiding deity of the local temple. The ceremony is done at his house. The expenses of the celebration are supposed to be partly paid from his funds. To instance the practice at the Suchindram temple, a *Yogam* or meeting of the chief functionaries of the temple arranges the preliminaries. The girl to be wedded bathes and goes to the temple with two pieces of cloth, a *tāli*, betel, areca-nut, etc. These are placed by the priest at the feet of the image. The girl sits with the face towards the deity. The priest kindles the sacred fire and goes through all the rituals of the *Tirukkalyānam* festival. He then initiates the bride into the *Panchākshara mantram* if in a

* Vide *Maleru*, Vol. IV, p. 185.

Saiva temple; and the *Ashtākshara*, if in a Vaishnava temple. On behalf of the divine bridegroom, he presents one of the two cloths she has brought as offering, and ties the *tāli* around her neck. The practice, how old it is, is not possible to say. She is then taken to her house where the usual marriage festivities are celebrated for four days. As in Brāhmanical marriages, the *Nalunku* ceremony, *i.e.*, the rolling of a cocoanut by the bride to the bridegroom, and *vice versa*, a number of times to the accompaniment of music, is gone through, the temple priest playing the bridegroom's part. Thenceforth she becomes the wife of the deity in the sense that she formally and solemnly dedicates the rest of her life to his service with the same constancy and devotion that a faithful wife united in holy matrimony shows to her wedded lord. The life of a *Dēvadāsi* bedecked with all the accomplishments that the muses could give, was one of spotless purity. Even now she is maintained by the temple. She undertakes fasts in connection with the temple festivals such as the seven days' fast for the *Apamarqam* ceremony. During the period of her fast strict continence is enjoined, and she is required to take only one meal, and that within the temple, in fact to live and behave at least for a term, in the manner ordained for her thoughtful life. Some of the details of her daily work seem interesting; she attends the *Dipārādhana*, the waving of lighted lamps in front of the deity, at sunset every day; sings hymns in his praise, dances before his presence, goes round with him in his processions with lights in hand. After the procession, she sings a song or two from Jayadeva's *Gitagōvinda*, and with a few lullaby hymns, her work for the night is over. When she grows physically unfit for these duties, she is formally invalided by a special ceremony, *i.e.*, *Totuvaik kuka* or the laying down of the ear-pendents. It is gone through at the Maharaja's palace, whereafter she becomes a *Tāikkizhavi* (old mother) united only to a subsistence allowance. When she dies, the temple contributes to the funeral expenses. On her death-bed the priest attends, and after a few ceremonies immediately after death, gets herself bathed with saffron powder."*

The dedication of girls to temples and religious prostitution are by no means peculiar to India. It is a common feature of ancient civilization. The subject has been fully discussed by E. Westermarck

* Subramania Iyer, N.: *Travancore Census Report*, p. 276.

in his *History of Human Marriage* * and Briffault in his *The Mothers*, † as also by J. Frazer in his *Attis, Adonis, and Osiris.* In Babylonia, every woman was under the obligation of proceeding once in her life time, most probably before her marriage, to the temple of the great goddess, arrayed in her most splendid apparel and waiting there until a stranger threw a piece of money in her lap with the words, "I beseech our lady to favour me." She then retired with the stranger to an adjoining house and surrendered to his embraces. The practice was abolished at Hieropolis in the time of Constantine. In Phœnician temples women prostituted themselves for hire in the belief that they thereby won the favour of the divinity. The institution of consecrated heirodules, apart from the sacred prostitution incumbent upon all women which was universal in Western Asia probably dated back to the earliest form of the cult of the great goddess in Arabia, Egypt, Africa and Greece. The principal explanation of these practices was that the act of intercourse according to the principle of sympathetic magic, produced fertility, usually of the crops, though in the Babylonian case, Dr. Westermarck thinks, of the woman herself. Several instances have been recorded of people who perform the sexual act as a preliminary accompaniment to sowing the crops, and there seems no doubt that this explanation is correct. A secondary idea of religious prostitution may have an earthly king. The *Skānda Purāṇa* relates, that Kārtikēya, the god of war, was sent by the father to frustrate the sacrifice of Daksha, and at the instigation of the latter, was delayed on his way by beautiful damsels who entertained him with song and dance. It is the

* Vol. I, Chap. VI, pp. 210-213 and pp. 213-218.
† Vol. III, Chap. XXV, pp. 217-222.

practice still of dancing girls who serve in the pagodas to be betrothed and married to him, after which they may prostitute themselves, but cannot marry a man. By an Act of legislation it is now abolished in South India.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

Puberty is the period of life at which the reproductive organs begin to be functionally active. Its commencement is marked by certain external signs. It is characterised by certain changes, structural, organic, intellectual, emotional and moral. The ages at which it is reached vary very much in both sexes, and these variations occur not only in different races, but in different individuals of the same race.

Menstruation brings with it the capacity for the full sexual life, and the divine call to it is an unavoidable duty. According to the Hindu ideals, a menstruating girl in her father's house causes great sin for him. The daughter is dedicated to the divinities of married life. The father shall, therefore, marry his daughter off before the attainment of puberty. As soon as she is sexually ripe, the husband takes her home.* The girls therefore must be married before the coming of menstruation.

The rites connected with the puberty of girls belonging to the various tribes and castes have been described in their respective monographs, and the interpretations of some of the customs connected with them are herein given. Girls during their menses are under seclusion, the period of which varies with different tribes and castes. Among the hill tribes and others of very low culture it varies from 10 to 16 or even more days, while with those of the higher castes the period is limited to 3, 5, or 7 days. Among the former, the girls are lodged in temporary

* Gautama, XVIII, 21; Vishnu, XXIV, 41; Vasishta, XVII, 70.

leafy sheds or huts constructed at a distance from the family by their maternal uncle, and they are destroyed on the bathing day. They are during the period of seclusion fed with nutritious food which is served to them from a distance, and are associated with an old woman in the case of the jungle tribes, and a few of their girl friends in the case of other tribes and castes of the plains.

The girls and women during their monthly uncleanliness are subject to a number of taboos. As soon as the signs of that condition make themselves clear in a young girl, she is segregated from all but the female company, and has to live herself away from the gaze of the villagers. The very sight of her is believed to be dangerous to society. Equally dangerous is the sight of an impure woman who should seem to slip abashed into the inner apartment and be unseen by anybody. "She should cover her body with a single piece of cloth, look on herself as being in a very mean and pitiable condition becoming her state, and remain silent with her head bent down, in spirit dejected, her whole aspect prone to the ground, and eyes and hands inexpressive of any motion, sleep on the ground in a calm state of mind." On the fourth day, the sun having risen she should perform her ablution, and when afterwards she has put on her water-washed vesture, she is restored to purity. She should avoid eating meat of any kind, wearing wreaths of flowers and ornaments, sleeping during the day, chewing betels and cleaning teeth with dentifrice or any kind of tooth powders. She should drink water or any other liquid in the hold formed by both the palms of her hands. She should adjure food derived from milk. The only plates she may use for her food are the banana leaves, which, when she has done with them, are thrown away. If a cow or

other animal would find and eat them, the animal would waste away and perish. She is forbidden to see the sun, for it is believed that the sun can cause impregnation as in the familiar story of Danie. Associated with the fear is the belief that the tabooed girl might pollute the sun.*

The motive for seclusion so commonly imposed on girls at puberty, and on women during the period of uncleanliness, is the deeply ingrained dread which primitive man universally entertains of menstrual blood. A Kādar woman when questioned as to the seclusion of a girl or a woman far away in a leafy enclosure, told the writer that the whole forests were pure and entrusted to them by God, and that any defilement of them would bring on all kinds of epidemics. The same belief is entertained by the jungle tribes of Travancore, Cochin and Mysore. It is believed that the flow of blood is produced by supernatural agency. The primitive man fears it at all times, and more especially on its first appearance. A girl or a woman during such periods would never cross a river or travel in a canoe. The seclusion is to neutralize the dangerous influences which are supposed to emanate from them at such a time. "According to the Laws of Manu, the wisdom, the energy, the strength, the sight and the vitality of a man who approaches a woman covered with menstrual excrement utterly perish." † Briefly, the attitude of a man, not only savage man, to a menstruous woman, is well expressed in the rhyme :—

> Oh menstruating woman, thou art a fiend,
> From whom all nature should be screened.

(Brāhman, Vol. II, pp. 362-365; Arasu, Vol. II, p. 52; Aradhya, Vol. II, p. 36.)

* *Vide* Iruliga, Vol. III, p. 383; Kadu Golla, Vol. III, p. 227; Banajiga Vol. II, p. 110; Banjara, Vol. II, p. 168.

† Crawley, A.: *Mystic Rose*, Vol. I, Chap. III, p. 77.

The prevention of future harm, illness and weakness, loss of strength and vitality are one special object of the ceremonial at puberty.* The ideas of impurity and ceremonial uncleanliness are connected with the phenomena of disgust, and in primitive thought with the nutritive no less than with other functions. A woman in menses was, and is even now, a thing abhorrent in the eyes of the people, from the belief that she imparts misfortune to the opposite sex. Among the Hindus no man can set out on a journey, nor perform any ceremony in his house when his wife is in menses. She is in a state of seclusion, lying in a penetential mood which is supposed to be rewarded by a long life and continual good health in after years. It is believed by all Hindus that on the very day on which a woman's menstrual course begins, she assumes the character of a *chandālini*, on the second day she becomes a sinful woman, on the third day a corrupt woman, and on the fourth day she becomes an anchorite, and becomes pure, when she has performed her ablutions.

Girls during the monthly periods are subject to the influence of evil spirits, to ward off the attacks of which, a bright light *Sūtikāgni* is kept in the room, along with old brooms and margosa leaves suspended at the entrance. Among the Devāngas, branches of *Alangium lamarki* are suspended to ward off their attacks. Koracha girls are made to lie on a bed of margosa leaves and straw. *Ārathi* and *Akshate* are also waved round the face of girls.

The following extract from the *Sanatanist* of Madras relating to the Indian practice of segregating a menstruating woman might appeal to the educated young Indian, whose attitude to all old customs is one of disbelief.

* *Laws of Manu*, IV, 41.

"A study of this problem through the ages brings out astounding facts and beliefs. The menstruating woman in an orchard, can cause the insects to drop from the trees; and even in classical times, there were tales of the use of partially exposed woman for expelling the cantharis beetle from the trees.

"Schiek, a German Professor, after extended research, was able to show that the injurious substance, menotoxin, circulates in the blood corpuscles or adheres to them. It must be volatile and must escape from the skin or lungs. Schiek thinks that we are on the threshold of a great discovery, this potent volatile poison being a menace not only to the preservation of certain organic substances, but even to growing flowers. It also seems toxic to insects. In regard to unicellular organisms, it can both inhabit and accelerate the proliferation of yeast. The organism must be got rid of it, and this supports the prevalent view that menstruation is a depurative phenomenon.

"We are reminded that this so-called superstition, that the menstruating woman exerts an unfavourable influence in some directions is by no means new. The present writer remembers having been told by a young English woman, that her maid at home, a Devonshire girl, refused to whip cream or the whites of eggs, while she was menstruating. She asserted that the eggs would not whip, and the cream would not become sour. Indeed it appears that, in Devonshire, menstruating women may not attend to the milking or do the dairy work.

"Gould and Pyle (*Anomalies and Curiosities of Medicine*) quote Pliny to the effect that 'on the approach of a woman in this state (namely, while menstruating) milk must become sour. Seeds which are touched by her become sterile; and the fruits will fall from the tree beneath which she sits.' According to Fleming, menstrual blood is believed to be so powerful that the mere touch of the menstruating woman would take the polish out of a mirror, and the next person looking in it would be bewitched. The Mosaic law considered a woman during menstruation unclean; and the dispensary physicians know that the easiest way to obtain information concerning themselves from uneducated Jewish women is, to ask them when they were last unclean."

CONSUMMATION OR GARBHADANAM.

If girls are married before puberty, the orthodox view is that it is allowed to take place

within the first sixteen nights. The eleventh, the thirteenth, and certain moon-days are under a bar. It is often emphatically laid down that the husband during the *ritu* (*ritugamana*) must visit the wife, and it is a sin not to fulfil his married duty then. An evil-minded man (*dushtātma*), who does not let his wife have her right, when she has bathed after the monthly cleansing, is supposed to have committed the worst of sins and atrocities. The same sentiment is expressed in the *Mahābhāratha*.

PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH.

Customs relating to the pregnancy rites and childbirth have been described in the monographs of the tribes and castes. The taboos observed by women and their husbands are herein given. Among the high caste Hindus, the husband's hair should remain unshorn from the seventh month till ten days after delivery. A pregnant woman, during the whole period of her pregnancy, should not tie knots or braid or make anything fast, lest the child might be constricted or the woman might herself be tied up when her time comes.* A pregnant woman avoids the shadow of a man believing, that in the event of its falling on her, the child would take after him in features, though not in character. She is, at this period, liable to the attacks of malevolent spirits and towards them numerous devices are mentioned.† The monthly periodicity belongs to women and moon alike, and could not fail to be marked. Hence the conception of an anthropomorphic kind concerning the conception of women with the moon. Sexual intercourse during the period is strictly forbidden.

Taboos connected with childbirth are the same as those connected with menstruation. More often

*—† Frazer, J.: *The Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, Chap. V, pp. 293-294. *Vide* Brāhman, Vol. II, pp. 369-372.

women in childbirth are said to be unclean. Among peoples who have a specific system of taboo, she is taboo; elsewhere, as a rule, she is unclean (*vide* Vol. II, pp. 376-394 for post-natal ceremonies).

THE FAMILY. The family is the institution charged with the duty of racial perpetuation. "It includes the wife and husband and their offspring, as also other relatives who are charged with rights and duties towards parents or offspring. Among all peoples the natural expectation is that marriage will lead to the family. But it is said, that the family is the usual, but not the necessary result of marriage," because marriage, as a rule, leads to offspring, and to all the rights and duties involved in the socially approved forms of parenthood. "The individual family exists in many parts of the world side by side in perfect harmony with plural marriage. Just as marriage is a regulation of sexual behaviour, so the family is the regulation of parental and filial behaviour. These two modes of behaviour have their instinctive basis. Mothers are endowed with a strong instinct to feed and care for their children. The tendency is aroused only after the birth of the child, when motherhood manifests itself in full vigour. Family is, in fact, the basis of the whole structure—economic, ethical, moral and religious." *

The primary function of the family is to serve as the race producing unit, and all other functions are purely incidental and secondary to this biological necessity. In order to carry out this purpose, the family serves as the agency by which such regularity and permanency is given to the relations of parents and children, as will guarantee the birth and survival after a sufficient number of children to maintain the race. The

* Hankins, F. H.: *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, Chap. XIII, pp. 601-602.

family thus serves to standardize and regularize the sex relations, though it is at no time and place the exclusive agent for their manifestation.

It is in discharging the functions of procreation and rearing of children, that the family serves, amongst most peoples, as the primary economic unit in social organizations. The nature of property, and the modes of living are the two factors which determine the rights and duties of members, the divisions of labour, and also the responsibilities within the family. In primitive agricultural societies where the women owned and tilled the land, the privileges of the mothers were very great, while the fathers were loosely attached. They enjoyed a little or no authority over their wives and children. Under different economic conditions with the ownership of property or other means of subsistence vested in their fathers, the position of the wives became subordinate, though the family as a whole became highly integrated. The patriarchal order of society abolished the primitive division of labour, and made women subservient to men. "She has but her sex. She is to man a sexual prey, and man is to her an economic prey."

The modern Hindu family is the survival of the joint family type of the Indo-Aryan, the main features of which are well described in the *Dharma-sāstras* (Vol. II, pp. 394-396). The woman, as mother, occupies a conspicuous place. In the sacred *Upanishad* it is said, "Honour thy mother like a god;" "honour thy father like a god." The mother is more venerable than the father, because of her having carried, and suffered the pangs of childbirth. "It is decreed of mothers that their birth pangs shall not cease till they die." A woman has duly lived, when she with her husband practised the duties of religion, has enjoyed the

companionship with him. Some are of opinion, that the father stands above the mother.

" The latter is the wallet (from the father's seed); to the father belongs the son; he is his by whom he has been begotten. For the father the son is but a joy; but for the son the father is all. He alone gives, as an offering, his body and all else there is to give. In the whole aspect of family life at the union with a lord or with a husband and at the ceremonies connected with the holy customs of parting the hair, the father is the law, the father is heaven, and the father is the loftiest asceticism.* If the father is made to rejoice, then all the gods rejoice. At the birth ceremony the father says to the son :—

> Be thou a stone, be thou an axe,
> Be thou gold that is beyond valuing,
> Thou art the Veda called son,
> Live hundred autumns ! †

It is absolution from all sin when the father finds his joy in him. Nevertheless it is said that " there is no shadow like the mother, there is no refuge like the mother, there is no shelter like the mother, there is no love like the mother. ‡ The father on the contrary has, as his duty, to give in the ethical sense, strength, stay and protection to the wife not only to feed and cherish her, but also to take care of her."

" The family under the guidance of the father was the next factor in the child's education. Kalidasa calls a child well-trained at home, as having a real father and exhorts each and every father to bring

* John Galsworthy : *The Country House*, p. 286.

† *Mahābhārata*, 153, 33.

‡ 1,74,110, *Wilson Vishnu Purana Med Hall*, Vol. IV, p. 133; *Bhagavata Puranam*, IX, 20; *Kautilya's Translation*, 260-3.

up his children according to the religious and social virtues of sympathy with distress, of unselfish affection, of gratitude for service, of regard for elders, of social service without a sense of patronage and of self-sacrifice in the interests of other members of the community. In family life alone there is complete provision for what Froebel calls the fundamental need of childhood, self-expression. Thus, the old ideals detailed above are still cherished by the Hindus all over India.

In quite recent times, the commencement of the decline of the Hindu joint-families among the higher castes is mainly owing to the influence of western education and culture. Its beginnings are inspired by the individualistic theory. Young men of education begin to assert their rights in the choice of suitable maids, sometimes ignoring the wishes of their parents. Being able to earn their livelihood, they set up separate families. The position of the family is also weakened in its last stronghold by the actions of the State as well.

KINSHIP AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

A detailed account is given in my monograph of the Brāhman, and in my *Lectures on Ethnography*. It is superfluous to mention here again (*vide* Vol. II, pp. 396-400).

Closely connected with the family are the name and house. It is the former by which the members of the family are known, and the latter within which they live, and find seclusion from the outside world. They both contribute very much to its strength and preservation. Among the members of the same family the name is rarely used, for there is no necessity for it. In the family of a strong family likeness, it is the name that enables others to identify them, and to assign to them a definite recognisable status or position in the community.

In former times, the family name had a great importance owing to the fact, that to certain families within the State, certain public duties were assigned, and for official purposes and responsibility for certain duties, it was necessary, that the individual should bear the distinguished ranks of society. The family possesses a kind of recognition, and on it depends the status, social precedence and conventions. The family name is also an index to a great extent of man's merit and character. The natural history of names is a study in itself, the origin of which has arisen in various ways. It may have arisen either from the locality in the village or from some remote ancestor.

SIZE OF THE FAMILY IN THE CASTES OF THE STATE.

According to the recent Census statistics, the average number of children is four or five per family. The number is six for Kshatriyas, and three for Mahrattas, Medas, and the miscellaneous group. Five is the number for Vaisya, Brāhman, Darzi, Sātāni and Yādava castes. In all the other cases the number is four. In the case of occupational communities, namely, agriculturists, factory workers, professional men, such as soldiers, menials and others, the average number of children per family is four, and it is five for persons in the clerical service and the like.

When the average number is correlated with the wife for 4,847 families, it is found, that the average number of children born alive in each family is four, when the age of the wife at the commencement of married life is 13 or 14 ; five when this age is 15-19 years ; four when it is 20-29 ; and three when it is 30 and beyond. From this it is seen that young women who begin married life too early bear a smaller number of children than their sisters who begin the same life two years later. This would mean that early motherhood impairs vitality and reduces fertility. It would also appear that a woman beginning married life at 20 years or later also bears fewer number of children, and one beginning conjugal life at 30 or later bears a still smaller number. This is to be expected from a reduction in the possible number of years of married life. It has been calculated that a delay of three years in marriage reduces the number of children by one on the average.*

* *Census of India*, Vol. XXV, Mysore, Chap. IV, pp. 115-116.

When the duration of marriage is less than ten years, the average number of children for all the castes and communities, except Sātāni and Yādava is 2; and for these two communities, it is 3. Where the duration of marriage is 10 years, the number of children is 3 or 4. But where the duration of marriage is between 10 and 19 years, the number of children in the majority of cases is 4 or 5. It is 3 in the case of Meda, and 6 in the case of the Jains. Where the duration of marriage is between 20 and 31, the number of children is between 6 and 8. It is 5 in the case of Kuruba, Mahratta and Vokkaliga, and 10 in the case of Meda. Where the duration is 32, the number varies from community to community.* DURATION OF MARRIAGE AND THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN.

With reference to the life of Indian women, Mr. P. K. Wattal observes, that the early cohabitation and premature maternity tend to exhaust their frame, and impair their capacity for child-bearing. The larger number of children among Musalmans and Tribal communities is due to the small number of child marriages among them. The same author suggests that the greater fertility of these communities is owing to their inferior cerebral development. He concludes that the high birth-rate in India, in proportion to the total population, as compared with the civilized countries, indicates the primitive condition of society. Mr. Carr Saunders, relying on these statements to support a theory, says that the lower the civilization, the lower is the fecundity. He continues that evidence of this kind may have to be interpreted as pointing to a lower degree of fecundity more among the lower races than among the civilized. If this view is correct, we should expect to find in such countries as India and China, a higher fecundity, than among the primitive races, and also lower fecundity than among the European races. There are some indications to show that this is so. At first sight it might seem, that the well known fertility of these races suggests a higher fecundity than in Europe. But on a closer examination from reliable data, it is found to be lower than in Europe. The figures for 1,000 are 160 in India and 196 in England. It must be remembered that in both the countries, certain factors bear on fertility, namely, early marriage in India, and restraint from intercourse, and contraceptive methods in England. It can hardly be supposed, that the former is more effective than the latter in the decrease of fecundity. It is very probable that there is in India an indication of lower vitality. There is here a distinction to be noted between OBSERVATIONS OF FERTILITY IN INDIA.

* *Census of India*, Vol. XXV, Mysore, Chapter IV, pp. 115-116.

fecundity and fertility. The former refers to the power of reproduction, and the latter to the degree of reproduction. The view seems to be that each marriage in India contributes a smaller number of children to the population than in England. In spite of this, universal marriage produces a higher rate of birth for the population taken as a whole. The lower fertility in India is due to a certain extent, to the lowering of vitality consequent on early marriages, and to lower fecundity due to racial inferiority. It is difficult to agree with the view that the average marriages in India are less fertile. The number of children per mille is 200, while Mr. Wattal's figure is 160.*

COUVADE.

The word couvade † was first used by Tylor as a technical term in anthropology to designate a series of related customs connected with childbirth. These customs require, that the father of a child at, or before its birth, and for some time after the event, should take to his bed, submit himself to diet and behave generally as though he, and not his wife, were undergoing the rigours of confinement. In its perfect form the husband observing the couvade, takes to his bed, and pretends to be lying in, sometimes even simulating by groans and contortions, the pains of labour, and sometimes even dressing in his wife's clothes. While in bed, he is pampered and fed on dainties, nurses the infant and receives the felicitations of his relatives and friends. Frequently, for some time before the birth, there are some instances from the very commencement of his wife's pregnancy. The husband is required to submit to a strict diet, and to avoid hard work or the handling of weapons and tools, and also to abstain from hunting, smoking and other amusements. Numerous

* *Census of India*, Vol, XXV, Mysore, Chap. IV pp. 118-119.

† The word couvade is French and means "Brooding or hatching." It has also been suggested that couvade is derived from the Spanish Encover, Cueva, etc., and refers to the covering or withdrawing of the husband. This etymology is not generally accepted. Some German Ethnologists have termed the custom *mannerkindvett* whence the English name of man-child-bed is sometimes employed.

instances of these curious customs, and also of many degenerate forms of couvade, are current among the primitive tribes all over the world. Even in the most complete forms of couvade, the husband's lot is not always a happy one. He is not always the pampered object of his wife's attention, but often has to submit to starvation for a long period, and to ceremonies that involve him in severe physical pain.

Plutarch, Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus have recorded the custom as having existed in their days. The rearing of infants by men, a custom which, according to Diodorus Siculus was observed among the Amazons of Western Libya, may possibly be connected with couvade. There were two legendary races of Amazons, those of Pontus, near the borders of the Black Sea* and those of Libya.† In both these tribes the women exclusively managed all the affairs of Government, and the army was composed solely of female soldiers. To the men were delegated all menial duties, and all household cares, together with the rearing of children. When the Amazons bear children, the male infants are immediately handed over to men, who rear them on milk or upon cooked foods, according to the age of the children. As to the female infants, soon after their birth, their breasts are burnt so that they do not grow with the other parts of the body, and that the development of the breast may not be an obstacle to military exercises. This superiority of women and the consequent subordination of men—the gynecocracy—is held by some writers to be related to couvade.

Couvade has been recorded from many localities in India. In Madras when a Kurava woman feels the pains of childbirth, her husband puts on some of her clothes, has the woman's mark on his head,

* Herodotus, IV, 110-117, and Diodorus Siculus, II, 44.
† Diodorus Siculus, III, 53.

and retires to bed in a dark room. As soon as the delivery is over, the baby is washed and placed beside the father who is tended with various drugs; while the woman is left alone in an out-house. Her pollution lasts for 28 days, and her husband's only for fourteen. When a Nāyadi woman is in labour, her husband shampoos his abdomen, and prays to God for safe delivery. The Parayans of Cochin fast for several days before the delivery of their wives. When a Pulayan woman is delivered of a child, she leaves the house, and returns to it after two weeks, while her husband is confined during the period, and undergoes the treatment usually prescribed for women on such occasions. A similar custom prevails among the Dombars and Lambadis after the birth of a child. The husband is under treatment, and remains at home, while the wife goes about her work as usual. The same custom prevails among some of the Assam tribes. During the pregnancy of his wife, a Lushai husband avoids all hard work because it is thought, that it would be injurious to the childbirth. He should not dismember an animal, lest his child should be born with corresponding limbs. In the event of his giving any article of clothing to a man, his health would be permanently impaired. A Ladaki man will not leave his home during the period, usually before a month, of his wife's lying-in. Still less will he cross a flowing water at such a time. In the Central Provinces and Bihar, a man must not thatch or repair his house during his wife's pregnancy. Brāhman and other high caste men allow their hair to grow during the period of their wife's pregnancy. The custom is a survival of couvade.

"Mr. Rice, in the *Mysore Gazetteer*, says that among the Koravas when a woman is confined, her husband takes medicine for her. At the instance of the British Resident,

I made enquiries, and learned that the Kukke (basket-making) Koramas, lying at Gopala Village, near Shimoga, had this custom among them. The husband learns from his wife, the probable time for her confinement, and keeps at home awaiting the delivery. As soon as she is confined, he goes to bed for three days, and takes medicine consisting of chicken and mutton broth spiced with ginger, pepper, onions, garlic, etc. He drinks arrack, and eats as good a food as he can afford, while his wife is given boiled rice with a very small quantity of salt, for fear that a very large quantity may induce thirst. There is generally a Korama midwife to help the wife, and the husband eats, drinks and sleeps, but does nothing. The clothes of the husband, wife and midwife are given to a washerwoman to be washed on the fourth day, and the persons themselves have a wash. After this purification, the family gives a dinner to the caste people, which finishes the ceremonial connected with child-birth. One of the men examined by me, who was more intelligent than the rest, explained that the man's life was more valuable than that of the woman, and that the husband, being a more important factor in the birth of the child than the wife, deserves to be better looked after."

The custom of couvade has been recorded from various parts of Northern India. Thus amongst the Miri tribe of the Brahmaputra valley "the father is represented as a second mother, and goes through a fiction of a mock-birth, the so-called couvade. He lies in bed for four days after the birth of his child; and during this period he is fed as an invalid." *

Similar purification ceremonies are performed by the father in Central India. "This habit of the husband taking a purifying dose, after his wife has borne a child, is very common among many of the forest tribes of Central India. The father is purified in a different way by the Deshasht Brāhmans of Bombay, who insist, when a birth occurs in the family, on the father's jumping into a tank with all his clothes on; after which he is allowed to pour drops of honey and butter into the child's mouth, as a sign that it is admitted into the caste."

* Dawson, W. R.: *The Custom of the Couvade*, Chap. IV, pp. 22, 24, 25, 26.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF COUVADE.

From the foregoing account, it is seen that the custom has been in existence among many of the tribes in all parts of the world, from a remote period. Even Pliny, Strabo, Diodorus, Plutarch, Apollonius, and Valerius Flaccus made mention of this custom as having existed even before their days.*

SIGNIFICANCE OF COUVADE.

Max Müller proposes feminine tyranny or henpecking as the explanation of this custom. Two explanations of the practice have been suggested by Bachofen, supported by Tylor, which he afterwards abandoned for the former. Bachofen," takes it to belong to the turning point of society when the tie of parentage, till then recognised in maternity, was extended to take in paternity, this being done by the fiction of representing the father as a second mother. He compares the couvade with the symbolic pretences of birth which in the classical world were performed as rites of adoption. To these significant examples may be added the fact that among certain tribes 'the couvade is the legal form by which the father recognises the child as his son.' In other words it is a piece of symbolism, whereby the father asserts his paternity, and according to his rights as against the maternal system of descent and inheritance. Tylor finds it most frequent in what he calls the maternal-paternal stage represented by peoples with whom the husband lives for a year with the wife's family and then removes. As a record of the change from the maternal to the paternal system, and as a means whereby that change was effected, it should not, as he points out, occur in the purely maternal stage."

SEXUAL ANTAGONISM AND TABOO.

The conception due to the difference of sex and sexual characters renders mutual sympathy and

* Dawson, W. R.: *The Custom of the Couvade*, Chap. VII, pp. 57-69.

understanding more or less difficult, and this is the characteristic tie in all periods of the grades of culture. Woman is not easily understandable by man. Man and woman are different from each other both physically and mentally. What she lacks on one side, she has more on the other. "She is through and through a creature constructed on other lines, standing nearer to Nature, and for this reason like Nature she is problematical. She is believed to be the guardian of the secrets of Nature, and it is not possible to explain the wonderful magic power of woman. She is the component of man, and his partner in health, sickness, poverty and wealth; and yet she is different from man. This difference has had the same religious results, as have attended other things which man does not understand. The woman's attitude towards man is also of the same nature. "In the history of the sex there have been always at work two complementary physical forces of attraction and repulsion, and man and woman may be regarded as the highest sphere, in which the law of physics operates. In love, the two sexes are drawn to each other by an irresistible sympathy, while in other matters, there is more or less of segregation due to and enforced by human ideas of human relations."* "Complete equality between man and woman," says Block, "is impossible."

The primitive theory and practice of separation of the sexes are illustrated by the following examples:—

A Hindu wife does not mention the name of her husband. She generally speaks of him as the father of her child or the master of the house. Among the Kirhiz, women may not utter the name of the male members of the house, to do so being considered indecent. It is also a common rule that a man may not address his wife by her name, in the

* Crawley: *Mystic Rose*, Chap. III, p. 44.

Solomon Islands, and when he is forced, shows considerable reluctance to give the names of women; and when prevailed upon to do so, pronounces them in a low tone, as if it were not proper to speak of them to others. Among the Todas there is some delicacy on the part of the males in mentioning the names of women at all. They prefer to use the phrase, wife of so-and-so. A son-in-law does not address his parents-in-law by name. Besides those mentioned above, there are also other instances of taboo. No Hindu female may enter the man's apartment. Among some of the forest tribes, a man may not pass over the garments of his wife or other women. The Vettuva women of North Malabar, whose leafy garments are supplied to them by their husbands every morning, throw them after wearing a new one on the following day. Any person treading or passing over them, may be bewitched.

Evidence drawn from respective occupations of the sexes throws further light upon sexual taboo. Sexual differentiation in primary and sexual characters necessitates some difference of occupation, and religious ideas of primitive men have emphasised a biological separation. Among the Todas, women may not approach *tirieri* where the sacred cattle are kept, nor the sacred *palal*. A Brāhman woman cannot touch an image nor perform *pujas*. The Arabs of Mecca do not allow women religious instruction, because it would bring them nearer their masters. There is again a widely spread custom which enforces the separation of the sexes during certain periods. Both during the menstrual period and at childbirth, the women are under seclusion. Many are the taboos observed by them during the period. Similarly all pre-natal and post-natal ceremonies are based on a number of taboos. Wives do not mention the names of their husbands

even in dream, lest it might bring them to an untimely end. Further, they may not mention the names of parents-in-law, their brothers-in-law, and sisters-in-law. Names of relations related by marriage to the speaker are tabooed in the East Indies, the reason being based on a fear of the ghosts whose attention might be attracted by the mention of their names.*

SUMMARY.

Hindu marriage especially among the Brāhmans and other higher castes is sacramental, and for a life-long union. Celibacy is condemned on religious grounds. Infant betrothals and marriage arose more on economic grounds and to remedy certain other evils. But this did not mean that consummation took place soon after marriage. The married girls used to reside with their parents in their own families until they came of age, after which consummation took place.

Marriageable age of girls in India has been automatically rising on economic grounds. Competition among well-to-do parents arose to secure eligible young men of education and of respectable families. This led to the purchase of eligible bridegrooms among the Brāhmans, and other higher non-Brāhman castes. The custom of purchasing brides continued as before. The Sarada Act has seriously affected the sacramental marriage of the Brāhmans and other higher castes. It has struck at the root of Hindu religion and the time-honoured usages.

There is, however, a tendency to reduce the marriage expenses. The Hindu joint family is breaking up in favour of individual ones. Signs of feminism are beginning to be visible. All these innovations appear to be the outcome of education, clash culture, and modern industrialism.

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* Frazer, J. G. : *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 146-150, 338, 358.

CHAPTER VII.

TOTEMISM.

INTRODUCTION—EXISTENCE OF TOTEMISM AMONG THE NON-ARYAN TRIBES—TOTEMISM IN MYSORE—TOTEMIC TRIBES AND CASTES—CLASSIFICATION OF TOTEMS AND GENERAL OBSERVATION—DECADENCE OF TOTEMISM—ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF TOTEMISM—CONCEPTION THROUGH EATING THE TOTEM—THEORIES OF TOTEMISM—SUMMARY.

INTRODUCTION.

"TOTEMISM," says Schmidt, "is an enigmatic phenomenon, the belief of certain peoples that their families and clans stand in a definite blood relationship to particular species of animals."* It has exercised a great influence both on religion and on human schemes of relationship. J. F. McLennan was the first who undertook to attach himself to the general history of humanity. In a series of articles in *The Fortnightly Review*, he set himself to show that totemism was not only a religion, but one from which were derived a multitude of beliefs and practices which were found in more advanced religions. His pronouncement attracted the attention of the scientific world. Henceforward, totemism became an integral part of all subsequent evolutionary theories as those of Lubbock, Tylor, Spencer, and others. Owing to the lack of sufficient material then available, they could not arrive at a correct understanding of the subject. Still less was its relation to religion properly appreciated. But McLennan and many others assumed that a religion existed between totemism and exogamic grouping. It remained for Robertson Smith to expound that

* Schmidt: *The Origin and Growth of Religion*, Chap. IX, p. 103. Translated by Rose.

the Semitic religion was founded on totemism, and "consequently it was the foundation of Western European civilization." This, though provocative, stimulated the study of native peoples, especially in Australia.

To Sir James Frazer was due the most eminent service in the collection of the data of totemism. "It will be," says Schmidt, "for all time to come, the foundation of all collection and materials." Frazer himself had three times changed his opinion on the subject. In his first publication, he thought that totemism was a half-religious and a half-social phenomenon, and spoke of the religious and social aspect. But in his second work, he laid down the maxim that "the aspect of the totemic system which had hitherto been accustomed to be called religious deserved to be called magical." * In his third work, he went further in that direction and began with the following declaration: "The theory that in the history of mankind, religion has been preceded by magic, is confirmed inductively by the observation, that among the aborigines of Australia, the rudest savage as to whom we possess accurate information, magic is universally practised whereas religion in the sense of propitiation or conciliation of the higher powers seems to be nearly unknown."†

Frazer's principal work rejects the idea of religious character more strongly than ever by the following statement: "Pure totemism is not in itself a religion at all, for the totems, as such, are not worshipped, they are in no sense deities, they are not propitiated with prayer and sacrifice. To speak, therefore, of a worship of totems, pure and simple, as some writers do, is to betray a serious misapprehension of the facts.‡

* Frazer, J. G.: *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. I, p. 4.
† *Ibid*, p. 141.
‡ *Ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 27.

Frazer defines a totem "as a class of material objects which a savage regards with superstitious respect, believing that there exists between him and every member of the clan an intimate and altogether special relation."* He further states "that the totem object is generally an animal, less frequently a plant, and rarely an inanimate object, and the rarest of all, an artificial object or an artifact."

This may come under three classes of totems, but the classification seems to have no significance in tribal life. If, on the contrary, they are considered from the standpoint of their relations to individuals, three types at least may be observed.

1. Clan totems or case in which the totem is equally related to all hereditary members of the clan or gens. These are also regarded as the most common form of totem.

2. Sex totems, like those reported from parts of Australia, where all the males of the tribes have one totem, the females another.

3. Individual totems, or the first type described by Andrew Lang and familiar to students of the American Indians under the name individual guardians.

Most writers on the subject have concentrated their attention on the clan totem. The totem complex has been variously described, but the usual conception includes some or all of the following :—

1. A totemic name.
2. An exogamous group.
3. Belief in a descent from the totem.
4. Taboos such as prohibiting the killing and eating of the totem, touching, calling by the true names, etc.

* Frazer, J. G.: *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. I, p. 3.

5. Relation to the totem similar to that in a brotherhood.

Frazer's work on totemism relates that it exists largely in the aboriginal Australia, Melanesia, and North America. Turning to the old world, it appears in India in "doubtful form." Among the people of Africa, it appears sporadically south of the Sahara, and the probabilities are that it was at one time almost universal as in Australia. "The complex of ideas, attitudes and practices is congenial to an early mentality and therefore characteristic of it."

Regarding the diffusion of totemism through so large a part of the human race and over so vast an area of the world, two views are given. "It may have originated in a single centre and spread thence either through peaceful intercourse between neighbouring people within whom the institution took its rise, or, it may have sprung up independently in many different tribes, as a product of certain general laws of intellectual and social development, common to all races of men who are descended from the same stock. However, these two solutions of the problem are not mutually exclusive; for totemism may have arisen from them to others. There is some indication of such a diffusion of totemism from tribe to tribe on the North-West Coast of America." *

EXISTENCE OF TOTEMISM AMONG THE NON-ARYAN TRIBES.

The existence of totemism current, among the non-Aryan tribes of India, was brought to light by the Ethnographic Survey, inaugurated by Sir Herbert Risley, who gave a comprehensive account of the data then available in his Imperial Census Report of 1901. Since then, the subject has been intensively studied by Sir James Frazer and

* Wissler, C.: *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, Chap. XI, 197-198.

others interested in the subject. Fresh light has been thrown on the social organization of the aboriginal tribes, many of whom belonging to the Dravidian Stock, retain a social system based on totemism and exogamy. The totemic tribes have been carefully studied in Mysore both by the late Mr. Nanjundaya and myself. But Sir James Frazer himself has, after a careful study, given an interesting account of the subject which is given below. *

Among the lower Hindu castes and the indigenous hill-tribes of Mysore as among those in the Presidency of Madras, there is a system of sub-division into exogamous groups known as clans or septs, which recognize descent in the male line, and the children belong to the father's clan, bear the name of an animal, a plant, or some other artificial or natural object, the members of which do not eat, cultivate, burn, carry, or make any use of them.

TOTEMIC TRIBES AND CASTES IN MYSORE.

In the State of Mysore, the Kurubas, a caste of shepherds, take their name from *Kuri*, "a shepherd," and rank with the Sudras. They are distributed all over the State. Their language is Kannada, but those of them who live on the border of the Telugu districts have adopted the Telugu tongue. The caste is divided into more than a hundred exogamous septs or clans which are known in the Vernacular as *Kulas*. Hardly any one can give a complete list of these clans. It is said that Revana, the original ancestor of the caste, divided it into as many divisions as there are grains in four seers of paddy, and that being unable to find plants and animals enough after which to name them, he was obliged to call some of the clans after the

* Frazer, J. G.: *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. IV, pp. 14-16.

manner of objects. Many of the names seem to have been "adopted without any inward significance"; but on the other hand, it is well ascertained that the things which give their names to some of the clans are not eaten or otherwise used even now by members of the clans. Such things therefore fall within the definition of a totem. Thus, people of the *Ādu* or Goat clan (*Kula*) abstain from eating or killing the female goat. People of the *Āne* or Elephant clan are said not to ride on elephants but only to use them as beasts of burden. The members of this clan abstain from eating the kitchen herb (*Celosia albida*) from which they take their name. People of the *Arasina* or Saffron clan refrain from using saffron; but as saffron is a commodity of every day use, they have transferred their respect to *Navane* grain or *Panic* seed (*Panicum*). But still they do not grow saffron. Members of the *Arasu* clan, the meaning of whose name is doubtful, will not cut the banyan tree. Members of the *Atti* or Indian fig clan will not cut that tree nor eat its fruit. Members of the *Bandi* or cart clan ought perhaps strictly to abstain from using a cart; but that is too much to expect of them, so they satisfy their conscience by not sitting in the cart in which their god is carried. People of the *Basari* or *Ficus infectoria* clan and people of the *Bela* or wood-apple tree neither cut nor burn the tree after which they are named. Members of the *Belli* or silver clan do not use silver toe-rings. Women of the *Balagara* (glass bangles) clan use only bangles made of bell-metal. Members of the *Bevu* or margosa tree clan worship the tree, and will not cut it or burn it, nor use its oil for lamps. People of the *Benne* or butter clan do not use butter. Members of the *Chatta* or bier clan will not carry their dead on biers but only by hand.

Women of the *Honnu* or gold clan will not wear jewels of gold. Members of the *Hurali* or horse-gram clan do not abstain from gram because it is deemed a necessary article of food, but they abstain instead from jungle pepper. People of the *Menasu* or pepper clan neither cultivate the pepper creeper, nor cut it. Members of the *Nagare* (a kind of tree) clan do not sit under the shade of the tree, much less do they cut or burn the tree. Members of the *Onike* or pestle clan do not touch a pestle but use a wooden hammer instead of it. In all, no less than one hundred and eleven of these exogamous septs or clans are recorded. Besides those which have been mentioned, there are others which take their names respectively from the dog, rabbit or hare, he-goat, she-buffalo, scorpion, ant, ant-hill, sandalwood tree, pipal tree, tamarind tree, cummin seed, pumpkin, jasmine, cotton, the sun, moon, night, salt, bell-metal, pearl, conch-shell, manure, milk, butter-milk, a drum, cage, reel of thread, arrow, knife, garland, rope, temple, pickaxe, bracelet, fire-brand, toe-ring, bamboo-tube, needle, ring, weaver's shuttle, etc. Members of the same exogamous sept or clan (*Kula*) are regarded as brothers and sisters and therefore may not marry each other. Children belong to the clan of their father. A man may not marry his cousin, the daugher of his mother's sister; but he is particularly recommended to marry his cousin, daughter of his mother's brother. A man may marry two sisters, but not simultaneously. A widow is allowed to remarry, but she is forbidden to marry her deceased husband's brother or even any man of his clan. (Vol. IV, pp. 63-67.)

The Holeyas are a low caste of Mysore, who number about a tenth of the total population of the State. They are employed as agricultural labourers and artisans. They are

divided into many exogamous septs or clans (*Kulas*), all of which descend in the male line only. The clans take their names from the elephant, buffalo, rabbit, snake, cuckoo, fig-tree, tamarind, beans, plantain, musk, jasmine, a thorny plant (*naggaligaru*), ears of corn, pigeon, pea, betel leaf, garland, milk, honey, sun, moon, earth, gold, silver, lightning, ant-hill, burial ground, temple, sheep-fold, oil-mill, bolt, bag, crow-bar, nose-ring, saw, umbrella, etc. When the name of the clan denotes an edible plant, grain, and so forth, the members of the clan abstain from eating the thing from which they take their name. When the thing is a tree, people of the clan show their reverence for it by not felling it or burning the wood. It is said that when a man of the *naggaligaru* clan is pierced by a thorn of the plant, he may not pluck it out for himself, but must get a member of another clan to do so for him. A man may not marry his cousin, the daughter of his mother's sister, but he generally marries either his niece, the daughter of his elder sister, or his cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother or his father's sister. He ought not to marry a niece who is the daughter of his younger sister; but if no other suitable wife is to be found, the objection may be overruled. A man and his brother may marry two sisters simultaneously, but the custom does not recommend it. A widow is allowed to marry again, but is forbidden to marry any of her deceased husband's brothers: she may, however, marry one of his cousins. In no case may she marry a man of her father's clan. (Vol. III, pp. 329-330.)

The Bestha caste is composed of fishermen, lime-burners, palanquin bearers and cultivators. At the last Census (1901) they numbered about 153,000 persons and were scattered all over the State of Mysore. They profess the Hindu religion and worship

the ordinary Hindu gods. They are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*Kula*), some of which bear the following names: Gold (*Chinna*), Silver (*Belli*), Sun (*Surya*), Moon (*Chandra*), Goddess (*Devi*), Charioteer (*Suta*) Cloud (*Mugilu*), Marriage Chaplet (*Bhashinga*), Pearl (*Muttu*), Precious Stone (*Ratna*), Musk (*Kasturi*), Coral Bead (*Havala*), and Jasmine (*Mallige*). It is said that the members of the Silver clan do not wear silver ornaments except at marriage. No man may marry a woman of his own clan or sept (*Kula*). Polyandry is unknown, but polygamy is freely practised. The same man may not marry two sisters simultaneously, but the first wife's sister is generally preferred as a second wife. Two brothers may marry two sisters, the elder brother marrying the elder sister and the younger brother marrying the younger sister. The price of a bride is twelve rupees; for a second marriage, she is to be had at half price. A widow is allowed to marry her late husband's brother, but such marriages are rare. (Vol. II, p. 243.)

The Komatis (Vaisyas), who are a trading class of Mysore, rank high in the scale of castes. They are Hindus by religion, and almost as strict as Brāhmans, in observing rules of personal cleanliness and restrictions as to eating and drinking. Their language is Telugu, but in the Kannada districts of the State, they speak Kannada, and some have almost forgotten their mother-tongue. They are divided into a hundred and one exogamous septs or clans (*Gotras*), and some of which are grouped together in exogamous classes or phratries. One such group (class or phratry) comprises three clans, another four, and even seven groups include three clans each; and sixteen groups include two clans each. The great majority of the clans are named after plants, grains, fruits, or flowers, and members of the clans

abstain, or used to abstain, from eating or otherwise using the things from which they derive their name. However, in many families, no such taboos are observed. Sometimes, when people forget what their original taboo was, they regard the *pandanus* flower as the thing which they may not use. Among the plants, fruits and flowers which give names to the exogamous clans (*Gotras*) are the flowers of the tree *Bauhinia purpurea*, the fruit of the tree *Emblica myrabolan*, lime fruit, pumpkins, green pulse, red lotus, black lotus, white lotus, snake-gourd, the gourd *Momordica*, a bitter-gourd, black gram, Bengal gram, and kitchen herb (*Closia albida*), plantain fruits, a small kind of castor oil seed, pigeon peas, a prickly tree with an edible fruit (*Prosopis spicigera*), the gigantic swallow-wort (*Calotropis gigantea*), the long pepper, the pungent fruit (*Photos officinalis*), flax (*Linum usitatissimum*), mango, pomegranate, bamboo seed, panicum grain, wheat, grapes, guava, dates, the Indian fig, sugar-cane, the fragrant grass (*Cyperus rotundus*), cuscus grass, chrysanthemum, asafœtida, red water-cresses, horse radish, red radish, nutmeg, mustard, the fragrant screw pine, sandalwood, tamarind, and civet. Other objects which give names to clans are curds of the goat, red ochre, alum, camphor, and white silk. Apparently, none of the clans is named after animals. A boy is obliged to marry his cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother. (Vol. III, pp. 572-582.)

The Devāngas are a caste of weavers who are found all over the Madras Presidency as also in Mysore. Some of them speak Telugu and others Kanarese. The Telugu-speaking section of the caste is the more conservative of the two; they have not adopted the Brāhmanical ceremonials to such an extent as their Kanarese-speaking brethren. These

Telugu-speaking Devāngas are divided into a large number of exogamous clans or septs, of which, the following are given as examples.

In this curious and miscellaneous list of names, there are few plants and still fewer animals. The majority of Devāngas are worshippers of Siva and wear the *Lingam*. When one of these animals dies, very elaborate funeral ceremonies take place, and the dead beast is carried in procession by the Devāngas. They have a special reverence for Basavanna, the sacred bull, and the burying of the Brāhmini bull is regarded by them as a sacred and meritorious act. Thus, like many other people in India, the Devangas retain the old social organisation in exogamous clans after they have accepted the Hindu religion. They have now adopted Brāhmanic *gotras*. (*Vide* Vol II, pp. 122-123.)

The Gollas are the great pastoral caste of the Telugu people. Their hereditary occupation is tending sheep and cattle, and selling milk, but many of them have now acquired lands and are engaged in farming; and some are in Government service. Like many other Telugu castes, the Gollas are divided into exogamous clans or septs *intiperu* and *gotras*. Among the former, the (*intiperu*) are the following :—

Agni, fire.	*Kokala*, woman's cloth.
Avula, cows.	*Katari*, dagger.
Chinthala, tamarind.	*Mugi*, dumb.
Chevvula, ears.	*Nakkala*, jackal.
Gundala, stones.	*Saddikudu*, cold rice or food.
Gurram, horse.	*Sevala*, service.
Gorrela, sheep.	*Ullipayala*, onions.
Gorentla, henna (*Lawsonia alba*).	*Vankayala*, brinjal (*Solanum melongena*).

Members of the Raghindala (*Ficus religiosa*) *gotra* in the Golla caste are not allowed to use the leaves

of the sacred fig or pipal tree as plates for their food. Members of the Palavali *gotra* never construct palavali or small booths inside the house for the purpose of worship. Members of the *Akshathayya gotra* are said to avoid rice coloured with turmeric or other powder (*akshantalu*). Members of the Kommi, Jammi, and Mushti *gotras* avoid using the kommi tree (*Prosopis spicigera,*) and the *Strychnine, Nux-vomica,* respectively. The Gollas had adopted the Hindu religion, some of them worshipping Vishnu and others Siva. (Vol. III, pp. 202-203.)

A sub-division of the weaver caste in Mysore is known as Bili Magga (white loom) from the white muslin and other cloth which they weave. They speak the Kannada language, but their origin is unknown. They are divided into sixty-six exogamous septs or clans (*Gotras*), which are distributed into two groups known respectively as the Siva and the Parvati group or as the male and the female group. Each group contains thirty-three clans (*Gotras*) with the usual prohibition of marriage between persons bearing the same family name. Most of the clans are named after animals, plants, implements, and so forth: and members of the clans appear to deem it sinful to injure the things whose name they bear. Among the objects which give names to the Bili Magga clans are the buffalo, bull, horse, serpent, squirrel, sparrow, Brāhmanic kite, banni tree, another kind of tree *Pongamia glabra* asafœtida, cummin seed, the pandanus flower, jasmine, grass, flower, pepper, butter, milk, saffron, turmeric, sand, field, forest, the sun, white nest, boulder, cart, pestle, plank, pot, rope, and tank. (*Vide* Vol. II, p. 279.)

The Nayindas are a caste in Mysore whose business is that of shaving. But their profession is deemed inauspicious, and people, particularly married women

of the upper classes, will not mention the name of the caste. If they are to refer to a barber, they call him "one who is not to be thought of" or "one who is not to be named," especially when they allude to him at night. The caste falls into two main divisions according as the members of it speak the Kannada or the Telugu language. The Telugu-speaking Nayindas are further sub-divided into a number of exogamous septs or clans, which are named after animals, plants, flowers and other objects, with the usual prohibition of killing, cutting or using them. Thus, the *Chitlu* clan is named after a tree, which the members neither cut nor burn. People of the *Gurram* or horse clan will not ride on a horse. The *Jambu* clan takes its name from a kind of reed, which the clanspeople will not eat. The *Kanagula or Honge* clan are called after a tree, the *Pongamia glabra*, which they will not cut nor burn nor use the oil of the seed. People of the *Karu* clan will not cut the *karu* tree from which they take their name. Members of the *Mallela* or jasmine clan and of the *Samanti* or chrysanthemum clan will not use the jasmine and chrysanthemum flowers respectively. People of the *Navilu* or peacock clan will not eat peacocks. People of the *Pasupu* or turmeric clan will not raise the crops of turmeric; and the people of a clan named *Uttareni* after the *Achryranthes aspera* will neither cut, nor touch that plant. In most sections of the caste, widow marriage is allowed, but the widow is forbidden to marry the brother of the deceased husband, whether elder or younger. (Vol. IV, pp. 432-433).

Other totemistic tribes and castes like those above mentioned are the Banajiga, Beda, Hasala, Morasu Okkalu, Sada, Sale, Tigala, Togata and Odda. Totemic clans current among them are given in my treatment of them.

CLASSIFICATION OF TOTEMS AND GENERAL OBSERVATION.

Some of the totem animals, plants and inanimate objects to which the Mysore tribes and castes are attached are thus classified :—

Animals.	*Trees and Plants*	*Inanimate Objects.*
1. Lion.	1. Banyan.	1. Arrow.
2. Tiger.	2. Fig.	2. Axe.
3. Bear.	3. Mango.	3. Plough.
4. Wild Boar.	4. Pipal.	4. Potters' wheel.
5. Elephant.	5. Champaka.	5. Mortar.
6. Monkey.	6. Sandalwood.	6. Pestle.
7. Porcupine.	7. Bastard teak.	7. Pot.
8. Civet cat.	8. Bel (*Aegle marmelos*).	8. Cart.
9. Bandicoot.	9. Mango.	9. Umbrella.
10. Horse.	10. Cocoanut.	10. Stick.
11. Buffalo.	11. Arecanut.	11. Conch shell.
12. Cow.	12. Sago.	12. Knife.
13. Bull.	13. Date.	13. Sword.
14. Sheep.	14. Screw pine.	14. Gold.
15. Cat.	15. Toddy palm.	15. Silver.
16. Dog.	16. Palmyra.	16. Iron.
17. Mouse deer.	17. Bamboo.	17. Pearl.
18. Peacock.	18. Millet.	18. Card.
19. Cuckoo.	19. Jasmine.	19. Oil mill.
20. Sparrow	20. Pepper.	20. Crowbar.
21. Scorpion.	21. Paddy.	21. Sun.
22. Ant.	22. Plantain.	22. Moon.
23. Fish.	23. Prickly plant.	23. Cradle.
24. Deer.	24. Turmeric.	24. Musk.
25. Mongoose.	25. Soap-nut.	25. Glass bead.

From the list of animals, plants, and inanimate objects given above, it may be seen that the ordinary totem names are those of the prominent animals, trees and plants which are now held sacred by the people. Names of domestic and agricultural implements, mortar, pestle, plough, etc., serve as clan-names. Traces of totems are found among the eponymous Rishis or saints as Bharadwāja (a lark), Kausika (kusa-grass), Agastya (from the Agaste flower), Kashyapa from kachchap—a tortoise, Taittiri from titar, a partridge. Similarly, the origin of some are attributed to animals, as Rishyasringa to an antelope, Mandavya to a frog, and Kanada to an owl. Members of a clan do not injure the

animals; and when the corpse of an animal like the cobra is seen or heard, they shave themselves and bathe as if it is one of the members of their family. At the marriage ceremony, the totem animal or plant is worshipped. Women are tatooed with the representation of their totem animals. A similar respect is paid to the inanimate objects after which certain septs are named. All domestic and agricultural implements command similar reverence in some ceremony or other. Thus, a kind of intimate relationship is established between the totems and the members named after them. They are supposed to be consanguineous. The members of the same clan cannot intermarry, and marriage can take place only between members of different clans. Further, the clan organization thus formed leads to a system of relationships known as classificatory. It is said that the idea of kinship within the clan was prior to the idea of descent from a common ancestor, whether an animal or plant, a god, an eponymous ancestor, and that the sentiment of clan relationship was prior to that within the family. In India, the migratory and hunting stage has long passed. Only the secondary or the agricultural stage obtains. There is ample evidence to show that in the same tribe or caste, the exogamous clans trace their descent from plants, animals or eponymous ancestors, and many of the clans are named after villages, or have names to which no meaning can be attached. It may, therefore, be safely concluded that these exogamous clans must have been derived from the original ones which must have been the original unit of society.

The Dravidian tribes of South India including Mysore are divided into a number of exogamous septs or clans distinguished by names supplied by fauna and flora of their past and present habitats.

With the acquisition of the knowledge of agriculture and the use of metals, some more totem names have also been added.

DECADENCE OF TOTEMISM.

The decline of totemism has been caused chiefly by the spread of caste system. The origin of caste is partly occupational and partly racial. When applied to the Dravidian tribes of Southern India including Mysore, the process of transformation of independent tribes into castes by means of legends. *Puranic* or otherwise, has been and is still going on (*vide* Origin and Tradition of the Tribe and Caste in Vols. II, III and IV). In many cases, claims are successfully contested to gain reluctant admission into the castes of the Hindu social heirarchy. This is a process of transformation of tribes into castes. It is curious to note that tribes once with very low culture, have gradually imbibed the culture of the higher classes, assumed new caste names or became merged into the already existing castes, by adopting Brāhmanic *gotras* or names of new Puranic heroes as their original ancestors. This process is still in continuation.*

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF TOTEMISM.

Primitive tribes all over the world attach undue importance to the sanctity of food. Strict rules relating to the choice of foodstuffs, their preparation and mode of eating are prescribed in their religion, and are still observed by them. Equally important are the rules relating to diet, and the preparation of food in higher religions, and the regulations concerning food are very elaborate among the Jews, Muhammadans, Christians, and the Hindus. The chief sacrament of the Christian religion is a mystic meal. The rites of some pastoral tribes, like the

* *Vide* Chap. III, pp. 146, 149, 153, 154.

Todas, are very elaborate in connection with the preparation and preservation of the sacred property of the milk of their buffaloes. The strictest prohibitions affecting a menstruous woman have reference to her handling or cooking food, which would become poisoned and have the most dangerous effects on anyone partaking it. The idea is still the most persistent survival of the taboo on a menstruating woman. Hence the numerous restrictions to which women are subject in regard to food, and they arise mostly from fear, lest all animals and plants of the same species should be sympathetically affected and injured.*

There is a close connection between food and reproduction. Knowledge of reproductive physiology is of recent date. Conception was held as being due to the influence of supernatural agencies.† Many instances are given of Immaculate Conception through other agencies. In a large number of myths and stories of virgin birth, conception is brought about through the medium of things eaten. "The goddesses and princesses of China conceived usually by eating a lotus flower." The Manchus were descended from a girl who conceived through eating a red fruit. The divine mother in Japanese tradition conceived by eating cherries. Similar mythical stories are found in the Hindu Purānas as well. Throughout Northern India, cocoanuts are eaten for the express purpose of bringing about conception. Hindu women are also impregnated by eating pellets of rice that have been consecrated by a priest. ‡

Further, it is believed that there is a kind of relationship between food and offspring. It is

* Briffault, R.: *The Mothers*, Chap. XVIII, p. 441.
† *Ibid*, p. 452.
‡ *Ibid*, Vol. II, Chap. XVIII, p. 452.

a universal axiom that eating the flesh of an animal communicates the qualities both physical and psychical of that animal to the consumer. Courage is acquired by eating the flesh especially the heart of lions, tigers, jaguars and the like; swiftness and sagacity by eating antelopes and other swift-footed game. Ability to run and jump is developed by partaking of the meat of kangaroos, and emus. Swine's flesh gives people small eyes. Squirrel's flesh causes rheumatism, while that of a white buffalo is liable to cause leprosy. On the other hand, the flesh of heavy-footed cattle makes men sluggish and slow; and eating hare and deer makes them timid. These effects of food are particularly constant and pronounced where a pregnant woman is concerned, and what she eats is accordingly the object of special attention. Special care is therefore taken as to the choice of food to be taken so as to produce good qualities, physical and mental, in their children. Further, the notions regarding the articles of food to which pregnant women are subject must be satisfied at all costs.*

In India, it is thought that if the fancy of a pregnant woman is not gratified, the child will be weak, and that it will have the evil eye. The peasantry are also convinced of the necessity of gratifying the longings of their pregnant women. It is sometimes thought that the flesh of an animal may lead to a complete assimilation of the eater with the eaten.†

The development of the hunters' skill was among the greatest achievements of growing human efficiency. The art of twenty thousand years ago deals almost exclusively with animals. The sport on which his food supply and his life depended, was

* Briffault, R.: *The Mothers*, pp. 455-456.
† *Ibid*, Chap. XVIII, p. 459.

the centre of interest of primitive man. The animal on which his existence depended was his totem. The idea of intimate relation existing between a man and a natural object is known as a totem, as is prevalent in many parts of the civilized world. None of the people who still retain totemic notions is able to give any clear account of their original significance. And those notions must have undergone many and great transformations. Their original significance being lost, new ones have become attached to them or the established tradition has persisted after all the meaning and purpose have faded away. If the totemic ideas were connected with the food supply itself, it must have completely changed with most people in the course of migrations and altered economic conditions.*

"By far the largest number of totems recognised by primitive tribes are animals or plants. A large number of natural or even of artificial objects are regarded as clan totems. There can be no doubt that the totem was originally an animal or a plant. But to suppose that the others are equally original and primitive would be inconsistent with the most characteristic and universal ideas connected with the totem. The savage indentifies himself to be of the same race, of the same species, of the same blood. He tries by every means to impersonate his totem and to assimilate himself with it. But we find tribes whose totems are the wind or the sun or even a tool or weapon such as nets, axes, knives. It is not clear that a man could get to the length of identifying himself permanently with the wind or with a net or an axe, and believe himself to be identical with those objects and be descended from them." †

* Briffault, R.: *The Mothers*, Chap. XVIII, p. 460.
The Ramayana: Birth of Sri Rama and his brothers.
† Briffault, R.: *The Mothers*, Vol. II, Chap, XVIII, pp. 461-462.

Again, the totem is frequently tabooed and held sacred. It may not be eaten or killed or injured but in some instances may not even be looked at. The totem animal or plant which is held sacred is killed and eaten. The question which has roused much interest and discussion is whether the ritual eating of the totem constitutes an essential part of the totemic practices.*

CONCEPTION THROUGH EATING THE TOTEM.

Impregnation is caused through eating animal food and the child is formed out of that food. In support of this statement, we find in the *Upanishads*, "Animals spring from seed, and the seed is the food." Therefore, it is clear that what is food is the seed and cause of everything; from food are born all creatures that live on earth. Afterwards, they live on food and in the end return to it.† From these instances, Sir James Frazer has set forth a theory that totemism is essentially a theory of conception. It is also an expression of primitive social organization. The unity of the primitive clan is conceived to be founded on the totem and on the community of totems, all social relations are based. "When the totemic peoples are asked to explain the significance of their totem animal, they express it by saying that is their "father," their "grandfather" and "the ancestor of the clan."

THEORIES OF TOTEMISM.

Much of the literature on totemism is devoted to theories of origin, the best known being those of Spencer, Tylor, Lang, Frazer, Haddon, Müller, Jevons, in England; Durkheim, in France; Thurnwald, Graebner and Wundt in Germany; Powell, Fletcher, Hill-Tout, and Boas in America. Not a

* Briffault, R.: *The Mothers*, Vol. II, Chap. XVIII, pp. 461-462.

† *Upanishads Maitrayana*, VI, 10, 11. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XVI, pp. 313-315.

single one of the theories proposed has been widely accepted, even as a working hypothesis.

SUMMARY. A careful study of totemism in Mysore reveals its existence among most of the tribes and castes of non-Aryan origin. It is now in a state of decadence owing to the process of transformation of tribes into castes. Tribes of very low culture have been imbibing the culture of the higher Hindu castes, as endogamous groups, by the adoption of the Brāhmanic *gotras*, or the names of *Puranic* heroes as their original ancestors. Totemism is closely connected with exogamy, and clan organization, as also with magic and animism. Anthropologists are still at variance as to its origin. Many theories have been propounded, and very few of them are satisfactory. Originally, totemism and matriarchy went together.

CHAPTER VIII.

MAGIC.

INTRODUCTION—KINDS OF MAGIC (WHITE AND BLACK)—INSTANCES OF WHITE MAGIC—INSTANCES OF BLACK MAGIC—MUHAMMADAN MAGIC—POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE MAGIC—MAGICIAN'S ACTIVITIES—POSSESSION—POSITIVE MAGIC OR SORCERY—DIVINATION—MAGIC AND SCIENCE—MAGIC AND ANIMISM—MAGIC AND RELIGION—SUMMARY.

INTRODUCTION.

THE origin of magic is buried in obscurity, owing to the absence of reliable data. It can be studied only from what is now found among the primitive people. It may be assumed that the simplest magic, beliefs in charms, rites and spells, are of the earliest type. It is, however, difficult to find many of these practices in their original forms in our study of the backward peoples, partly owing to the lack of correct observation, and partly owing to the saturation of magic with animism.

The primitive mental habit is best described by the term "unscientific," and positively by the term "religious" in the ordinary connotation of the word. Primitive man cannot distinguish between natural and supernatural, between subjective notion and objective reality. He considers the creation of his imagination in the same way in which he perceives the objects in the external world; and while the latter is always changing, the former never passes away. "It is plain," as Dr. Jevons points out, "that man is turned loose among the innumerable possible causes with nothing to guide his choice, the chances against making the right selection are considerable. Further there can be no progress

in science until man is able to distinguish between possible and impossible." Experience might teach this real difference, but the vast majority of the human race have learned, that like produces like.

Magic signifies the manipulation of mysterious power operating mechanically. The magic force is impersonal, and it does not exist on a personal will. It may be set in operation, and be released by the will of the magician or other qualified person with appropriate words, phrases, gestures or symbols.* It generally includes many forms of the art of working wonders by mysterious and supernatural means. All magical practices appear to originate from the assumption, that some kind of power is involved to intervene in and to manipulate the natural order of events. The person who is skilful in invoking these powers is known by various names such as a medicine man, shaman, magician, and sorcerer; and these names have been derived in some way or other from tribal names. Throughout this chapter, the term magician or sorcerer is preferred. These professionals often make a display of their powers, and indulge in contests to see how one can bring the other down. Any tribesman may go to these professionals for help in causing the death of a rival, and in the same manner the intended victim may appeal to another professional for protection.

KINDS OF MAGIC (WHITE AND BLACK).

According to Hindu *Sāstras*, there are two broad divisions of magic—the White and the Black. The former refers to harmless devices to control weather, the growth of crops and the like; the latter to the monstrous devices to obtain by unlawful means, mastery over others by spells, love potions, etc. These two divisions come under Frazer's designation

* L. K. A. Iyer: *Lectures on Ethnography*, Chap. VIII, p. 188.

of "sympathetic" magic which includes two divisions—"homeopathic" and "contagious" magic, working under the laws of similarity and contiguity. Homeopathic is also known as imitative when applied to magic. In practice, the two types are often combined. While homeopathic or imitative magic may be practised by itself, contagious will be found to involve an application of the homeopathic or imitative principle.* Instances of the main divisions of magic are given in the following pages.

INSTANCES OF WHITE MAGIC.

In some parts of India, seeds are sown by women, who in sowing them let their hair hang loose down their back, in order that the rice may grow luxuriantly, and have long stalks. Seeds for the kitchen gardens are sown by men and women standing, lest they might not germinate and grow well. Many are the magical rites practised at weddings, during pregnancy, at birth, to procure offspring, and to ensure its safety, as also to determine the sex and even to resuscitate the dead. The magical rites performed at weddings are often symbolical. In some parts of India, a naked woman ploughs the soil in times of scarcity to ensure crop. A Telugu bridegroom of the Balija caste, at his wedding, performs a miniature ploughing. Similar rites are performed by the Kammas, Pallis, Sempadavans and Thottiyans. Among the Kāppus, a milk post is planted and if it takes root and grows, it is a happy union. The parting of the bride's hair is probably an imitation of the ploughing rite. In Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, the Nayar girls and those of other non-Brahman castes in their *tāli*-tying ceremonies, have to plant a jasmine

* Frazer, J. G.: *Magic Art and Evolution of Kings*, Chap. III, p. 54. Thurston, E.: *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. III, pp. 100-103, Vol. VII, pp. 235-237, Vol IX, p. 192.

shoot whose flowers they should present to the deity.*

A conspicuous instance of homeopathic magic is found in the various rain-making ceremonies. In all these, the processes of nature are imitated more or less faithfully, and the assumption is, that the imperative ceremonial will exert a supernatural influence upon natural processes so as to bring them to pass. Some of these rain-making ceremonies are extremely elaborate. The rising of the wind is imitated by an individual climbing a tree, and swaying among the branches and whirling about his head a bull-roarer. Dark clouds are imitated by dark coloured cloths or similar materials, lightning by the use of fire, thundering by the beating of drums, and the falling of rain by a sprinkle of water. Homeopathic magic is extensively used in medical practice. As instances of the kind, it may be said that a decoction made from yellow flowers or from a plant with yellow leaves is calculated to produce a suitable jaundice. The bloodstone is sometimes used for hæmorrhage. The motto of homeopathic medicine, *similia similibus curantur* is an expression of this doctrine.† Similarly, there is a widespread belief that the eating of deer meat will make one timid, while the flesh of the wild boar or other ferocious animal will make one lion-hearted or stout-hearted.

When rain is badly wanted, an effigy known as *Koman* (the king), is made of straw and dragged round the streets. Its funeral is performed with great attention to details. People of the higher castes read portions of the *Virāta-parvam* of the *Mahābhārata*, in the hope that the land will be as fertile as the country of the *Virāts*, where the Pāndavas lived.

* *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, p. 24.

† Frazer, J. G.: *Magic Art and Evolution of Kings*, Vol. I, pp. 278-279. F. H. Hankins: *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, p. 548.

When the tanks and rivers threaten to breach their banks, men stand naked on the bunds and beat drums, and if too much rain falls, naked men point fire brands at the sky. Then nudity is supposed to shock the powers that bring the rain and arrest their progress. According to Mr. W. Francis, when too much rain falls, the way to stop it is to send the eldest son to stand in it stark naked with a torch in his hand.

To bring down rain, Brāhmans, have their *Varuna-japam*, or prayers to Varuna, the rain-god. Some of the lower classes, instead of addressing their prayers to Varuna, try to induce a spirit or *dēvata* named *Kodumpāvi* (wicked one) to send her paramour Sukra to the affected area. The belief seems to be that Sukra goes away to his concubine for about six months, and, if he does not then return, drought ensues. The ceremony consists in making a huge figure of *Kodumpāvi* in clay, which is placed in a cart and dragged through the streets for seven to ten days. On the last day, the final death ceremonies of the figure are celebrated. It is disfigured, especially in those parts which are usually concealed. Vettiyans (Parayan grave-diggers), who have been shaved, accompany the figure, and perform the funeral ceremonies. This procedure is believed to put *Kodumpāvi* to shame, and to get her to induce Sukra to return, and stay the drought. According to Mr. W. Francis, the figure, which is made of clay or straw, is dragged feet first through the village by the Parayans, who accompany it, wailing as though they were at a funeral, and beating drums in funeral time.*

There are again, rain charms, when water is flung on girls going in procession, and the fall of the

* Thurston, E.: *Omens and Superstitions of Southern India*, pp. 308-309.

drops on the ground is supposed to encourage the clouds to drop their fatness. If a man wants to ensure a good crop of cotton, he pulls out the fibre from some of the finest bolls of his field, making the thread as long as possible without breaking it. Then he and his family fill their mouths with rice, and blow it as far as possible in every direction, the obvious intention being that the white cotton may grow as high and as widely as the scattered grains.

INSTANCES OF BLACK MAGIC.

The most common practice of killing the enemy of a man or injuring him is by making his figure in clay and transfixing it with an arrow which has been barbed with a thorn or by moulding a figure of wax and melting it in a fire. Sometimes an earthen image is made and nails are stuck into it. As the images are injured, to the same extent are injured the human victims on whom this black art is exercised.* A figure representing the enemy to be destroyed is drawn on a small sheet of metal, gold by preference, on which some mystic diagrams are also inscribed. The sorcerer then declares that the bodily injury or death of the person shall take place at a certain time. After that he wraps up the little sheet in another sheet or leaf of metal (gold, if possible) and buries it in a place where the victim is expected to pass. Sometimes instead of a small sheet of metal he buries a live frog or lizard enclosed in a cocoanut shell after sticking nails into its eyes and stomach. At the same moment at which the animal dies, the person expires also. †

The sacred literature of the Hindus bears testimony to the practice of magic in ancient times, and the *Atharva Veda* gives numerous instances. Similar

*Frazer, J. G.: The *Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, p. 64.
† L. K. A. Iyer: *Lectures on Ethnography*, Chap. VIII, pp. 191-194.

practices are in use among the people of modern India also.

The following are the instances of black magic :—

" Let the sorcerer obtain the corpse of a maiden, and on a Saturday night, place it at the foot of a *bhuta*-haunted tree on an altar, and repeat a hundred times : *Om ! Hrim ! Hrom !* O goddess of Malayala who possessest us in a moment ! Come ! Come ! The corpse will then be inspired by a demon and rise up ; and if the demon be appeased with flesh and arrack (liquor), it will answer all questions put to it." *

A human bone from a burial-ground, over which some powerful *mantrams* have been recited, if thrown into the house of the enemy, will cause his ruin. Ashes from the burial-ground on which an ass has been rolling on a Saturday or Sunday, if thrown into the house of an enemy, are said to produce severe illness, if the house is not vacated.

The Parayans of Malabar and Cochin are celebrated for their magical powers, and for the practice of *odi cult.* †

MUHAMMADAN MAGIC.

It is said to be a branch of spiritualism (*ilm-i-ruhānī*). It is divided into two classes : one which is high and related to the deity (*ulwi-rahmānī*), while the other is low and devilish (*sifla, shaitānī*). The latter is closely connected with the black art proper (*sihr, jadu*). Much of Musalman magic closely agrees with that of Babylonia which is always regarded as one of the homes of magic. ‡ Many of the practices and magic figures are closely allied to those of the Hindu magic. Magic is condemned by the law. Whoever obtains a little knowledge of astrology is conversant with a branch of magic.

* *Journ. Anthrop. Soc., Bombay,* II, 1890, pp. 282-5.

† *Cochin Tribes and Castes,* Vol. I, Chap. IV, pp. 77-81.

‡ Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia, 1903. Herklots Islam in India, Chap. XXVI, p. 218.

It is said that the believers in Islam should not believe in magic.

"The invocation of spirits is an important part of Musalman magic, and this (*da'wat*) is used for the following purposes: to command the presence of the Jinn and demons, who, when it is required of them, cause anything to take place; to establish friendship or enmity between two persons; to cause the death of an enemy; to increase wealth or salary; to gain income gratuitously or mysteriously; to secure the accomplishment of wishes, temporal or spiritual." *

To become an expert in magic, the magician must acquire his knowledge from some learned guide (*murshid*). Because he alone is a competent guide who is acquainted with the great names of the deity (*ism-i-'azam*). The names describe his attributes, but the great names are short invocations used in this science and they are of two kinds, namely the mighty attributes, (*ism-i-'azam*) and the glorious attributes (*asmā'-ut-husnā*). They are of two kinds: fiery or terrible (*Jalāliya*); watery, airy and amiable (*Jamalī*). Besides these, he alone is a true guide, (*murshid*) to whom the demons have given information concerning things great and small, and he in whose bosom is the knowledge of all truths. It is incumbent on such a man not to boast of his acquirements and the power of working miracles. He should also not be over-anxious to display his powers.

For a student of this science, the first requisite is purity. No dog, cat or stranger may enter into his closet and perfumes such as aloes, benzoin, or gum benjamin should be burnt. If he has to go out for a necessary purpose, he wears on going out

* The same magical practices are described in a work on Hindu Magic known as *Dattātraya Tantram.*

of doors, a special cap (*taj*), and a loin band (*lūng*) leaving his other clothes inside and hanging his impure garments on a clothes line (*alagnī, algani*), or he merely performs the minor ablution (*wazu*) and then he re-enters his closet. The object of changing the clothes is that flies may not be attracted by them and thereby cause defilement. If he experiences a pollution (*ihtilam*) by day or night, he instantly bathes. During the *chilla* or forty days' preparation he sleeps on a mat. During this time, some people fast and bathe twice a day. In performing the forty days' rite they go to a house or place outside the town, or to a mountain, cave or well, or some place where water is at hand. The noise of a town distracts the attention and in this work the mind must be concentrated, and thought must not wander. Diet depends upon the character of the names to be recited. If they are terrible (*Jalāliya*) the use of meat, fish, eggs, honey, musk, quick-lime, oysters, and sexual congress are prohibited. In the use of the amiable (*jamalī*) names, butter, curds, vinegar, salts and ambergris are forbidden. In using both classes of names, the following are abominations: garlic, onions, asafœtida, blood-letting. Failure to obey these rules involves imminent danger to life. Besides these, two chief rules are to eat only things lawful and to speak the truth.

The following are some of the instances of black magic current among them:—

When persons suffer from demon possession, the symptoms are: some are struck dumb, others shake their heads, some go mad and walk about naked, they feel no inclination to do their usual business, but lie down and become inactive. In such cases, if it be required to make the demoniacs speak, or to cast the devil out, various devices are employed which will now be described.

The use of magic circles or geometrical figures to control the Jinn is very like the *Tantrik* methods used in India, or the *Yantrams* of South India, the Madras Presidency. Magic circles, squares or other figures are drawn on the ground or on the plank with various coloured powders, cow-dung ashes (*bhabhut*), ashes, charcoal or sandalwood, and when the demoniac is seated in the centre of the figure, the incantation (*afsun*) is recited. Round these diagrams, fruits, flowers, betel, sweets and sometimes spirituous liquors are placed. Some people sacrifice a sheep before the circle, sprinkle the blood round it and place a lamp lighted with a charmed wick (*palītā*) upon it. Or they merely kill a fowl and sprinkle the blood round it. Some give a rupee or two to a person possessed by the devil, who has to place it within the diagram. Then the Arabic incantation is recited over some cow-dung ashes or over five kinds of corn, the exorcist each time blowing on the object and throwing it at the head and shoulders of the demoniac. Or he breathes on flowers and throws them at him. He burns some perfumes such as powder (*abir*), aloes (*'ud*), benzoin or gum benjamin, coriander (*dhuniya*), wood aloes (*agar*), or sandalwood near the patient, and recites the invocation twenty-one times, directing the patient to sit with his eyes shut and to smell the fumes well while he repeats the supplication. During the recital of the incantation, if any motion of the body be observed, the exorcist should say, "If thou be a male devil, bow thy head to the right, if a female to the left, if a hermaphrodite forward." Some demons violently shake the head and body of the demoniac. When the recital is finished, the exorcist asks the patient whether he feels any intoxication, lassitude, sense of weight in his head, any fear in his mind,

or if he believes that some one behind him is shaking his head. If any such symptoms appear, the case is one of demon-possession, otherwise not. The incantation (*afsun*) is an appeal to various demons, Fathūna, Habībeka, Almīn, Saqika, Akesan, Balīsan, Talīsan, Sūradan, Kahalan, Mahalan, Sakhin, Sadidan, Nabian, and it invokes them by the seal (*khatim*) of Solomon, son of David, to come from east and west, right and left. When the demoniac is possessed, the exorcist recites an incantation over a rattan, and gives him a sound flogging which makes him tell everything. He is then allowed to depart with some sacrifice.

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE MAGIC.

Magic may be exercised both positively and also negatively. It is exerted positively when it is used to bring certain phenomenon to pass. It is used negatively, when it is employed to prevent a certain event from happening. The most universal form of negative magic is taboo. The essence of taboo is that one must refrain from doing, saying, or touching certain things. Otherwise, something dreadful might happen. One must not touch sacred objects, nor pronounce sacred names, nor do anything which may indicate an attitude of disrespect, irreverence towards persons, objects, animals, or divinities believed to possess some mysterious power.

POSITIVE MAGIC OR SORCERY.

The term "sorcery" has been already explained. Many are the imprecations against demons, sorcerers and enemies! Malabar has been long the land of magic and sorcery, and a short account of the various practices prevailing among the people is given here. Kuttichāthan is supposed to be a mysteriously working mischievous imp in the Malabar demonology. He is supposed to be a well-nourished twelve-year old boy. Some say that

they have seen him *vis-à-vis* having a forelock. There are people in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, who still think that he and others like him are so many missiles which are thrown at anybody when they like to achieve their purpose. They are, like Shakespeare's Ariel, little active bodies and most willing slaves of their masters who happen to control them. Their victims bear unbearable agony. The clothes of victims take fire; their food turns to ordure; their beverages become wine. Stones fall on all sides of them, but not one of them may be seen to injure any. Their beds become a bed of thorns. With all this agonizing mischief, Kutti-chāthan does no serious harm. He oppresses and harasses, but never injures. Household articles and jewellery of value may be left in the premises of homes guarded by these mischievous imps and no thief dares to lay his hand on them. The invisible sentry keeps watch over his master's property and has unchecked powers of movement in any medium. As remuneration for his services, Chāthan wants nothing but food. In the event of starvation, Chā-than would not hesitate to remind his master of his power and of others like him; but if ordinarily cared for, he and others like him would be most willing drudges. As a protection against infinite power secured for their masters, the malignities done through their instrumentality recoil on their masters or promoters who die childless after much physical and mental agony.

Another method of oppressing humanity believed to be in the power of sorcerers is to make men and women possessed of spirits. Here women are subject to their influences more than men. Delayed puberty, permanent sterility and still births, are common ills of a devil-possessed woman. Sometimes, the demon refuses to leave the body unless the exorciser

would promise them a habitation in his own compound and arrange for daily offerings to be given. Very often this is done. Hysteria, epilepsy and other disorders, are ascribed to the possession of devils who can also cause cattle disease and accidents of every kind. Throwing stones on the houses and setting fire to the thatch are supposed to be their ordinary recreations.

Primitive tribes all over India and other countries of the world believe that magicians and sorcerers can assume the figure of any animal they like. The Parayan and Panan sorcerers have powers of witchcraft by which they can transform themselves into cats, dogs, bulls, tigers and other wild animals, as they choose, to carry on mischievous practices.* The Mundas of Chōta Nāgpur have similar beliefs in transformation "to witch away the lives of man and beast." The Todas and Badagas are mortally afraid of the Kurumbas, who are believed to possess the power of destroying men, animals and property by witchcraft. Thus, sorcery is a living article of faith among the ignorant and backward people as also among the jungle folk.

DIVINATION.

It is the art of obtaining knowledge of secret things or of future events. It has been practised in India from the earliest times. It still exercises a powerful influence over the people. Arian describes how the sages used to predict the character of the season and any calamities which may befall the State. Chengiz Khan, when he was at war with Prester John, tested the skill of the Pagan and Christian diviners, the latter gaining the victory. This is an instance of the taking of omens from wands or arrows which appear all through Indian literature.

* *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, Chap. IV, pp. 77-80, Chap. X, pp. 176-179.

Magical arts which have been systematized into pseudo-sciences include omens, dreams, chiromancy or palmistry, astrology and the like. The underlying principle is the same throughout. "Belief in magic," says Tylor, "is one of the most pernicious delusions that ever vexed mankind." Broadly speaking, it belongs to the people of low culture, from whom it may be traced upward. Much of the savage art still remains substantially unchanged. Many new practices are in course of time developed. Both the older and newer developments have lasted more or less among the cultured peoples. A few instances are herein given.

Many forms of divination are practised at the present day. It is often used to ascertain the result of a marriage engagement. Sacred plants and grains are used in divination. The Korachās tell fortunes by shaking rice in a winnowing fan, an instrument which itself has mystic power, and prophesy good or evil by counting the grains left behind. The Mundas of Chōta Nāgpur, when selecting a site for a house, lay a little rice at each corner of the site, and if it be found undisturbed in the morning, the building may commence. In sickness the same people drop oil into water and name a god with each drop. When the oil forms a single globule, that god is the one to whom sacrifice should be offered.

The Mullu Kurubas (jungle tribe) of Malabar are said to "have a gift of prophecy, some being initiated in the art known as *Kotīveykal*, literally planting betel vine. The professor, when consulted about any future event, husks a small quantity of rice by hand, places it inside a scooped shell of a dried *kuvvālam* fruit (*Aegale marmelos*), and asks one of his men to plant the betel vine. The man understands the meaning, takes out the rice, and spreads it on a plank. The professor invokes the

Puthādi deity, makes a calculation, and gives his reply, which is generally found to be correct."*

The principal tribal deity of the Kuruvikkāran beggars is Kāli or Durgā, and each sect possesses a small metal plate with a figure of the goddess engraved on it, which is usually kept in the custody of the headman. It is, however, sometimes pledged and money-lenders give considerable sums on the security of the idol, as the Kuruvikkārans would on no account fail to redeem it. At the annual festival of the goddess, while some cakes are being cooked in oil, a member of the tribe prays that the goddess will descend on him. Taking some of the cakes out of the boiling oil, he rubs oil on his head with his palm. He is then questioned by those assembled, to whom he gives oracular replies, after sucking the blood from the cut throat of a goat.†

When anything is stolen in a family, a Brāhman is sent for, who writes down all the names of the people in the house who are suspected. Next day, he consecrates a piece of ground by covering it with cow-dung and water, over which he recites a long prayer. The people then assemble on this spot in a line facing the Brāhman, who has with him some dry rice, of which he delivers to each person the weight of a four-cornered rupee or that quantity weighed in a sacred stone called *Sālagrām*, which is deposited in a leaf of the pipal or banyan tree. At the time of delivering it, the Brāhman puts his right hand on each person's head and repeats a short prayer ; and when finished, he directs them all to chew the rice, which at a given time must be produced on the leaves masticated. The person or persons, whose rice is not thoroughly

* Gopalan Nayar : *Of Wynad, Its People and Tradition, 1911.* pp. 70-1.
† Thurston, E.: *Omens and Superstitions of Southern India.* Chap. X, p. 282.

masticated or exhibits any blood on it, is considered guilty. The faith they all have of the power of the Brāhman, and the guilty conscience operating at the same time, suppresses the natural flow of saliva to the mouth, without which the particles of rice bruise and cut the gums, causing them to bleed, which they themselves are sensible of, and in most instances confess the crime.

In India, divination has passed through two stages of development. At the outset, it seems to have been practised chiefly with the intention of obviating the evil consequences of omens and portents. At a later period, it operated rather to ascertain the exact nature of the good or evil which those signs were supposed to indicate. Both phases presuppose the firm belief in omens and portents which appear to be a common feature of the *Vedic Samhitas*. Birds are invoked to be auspicious, and certain birds like pigeons and owls are said to be messengers of death. In the later Vedic books, especially *Adbuta Brāhmaṇa* which forms the last part of *Sadvimsa Brāhmaṇa* of the *Sāmaveda* and the XIII chapter of the *Kausika Sutra* of the *Atharva Veda* are found common incidents, diseases of men and cattle, agricultural calamities, loss of ornaments, earthquakes, phenomena in the air and the sky, miraculous happenings to altars, idols, and electrical phenomena. In each case, the god is invoked to whose province the particular incident belongs, and the *mantra* or ceremony for the expiation of the evil sign is prescribed. The second treatise is different from the first in this, that in it, the omens and portents are specialized and varied. The Brāhman who is to prescribe the remedy for them must belong to *Atharva Veda*. The house priest of the king had to ward off the evil influences which menaced the sacred lore of *Atharva Veda*. The

expiatory ceremonies and *mantras* continued to be looked upon as an important matter. This art of divination formed part of the religion of the *Atharva* priest. There were probably already in early times, sooth-sayers and fortune-tellers of no religious character (*naimittika*, *mauhurtika*, *sāmudrika*) who made special branches of prognostics their speciality. Subsequently, this became a part of astronomy and astrology. Thus what once belonged to the *Atharva* priest was appropriated by the astrologer.

"The *Segee* feast is held in honour of a goddess of that name, and this feast is held at one place in every parish in Munjerabad. and in other localities. The feast lasts for no less than fourteen days, five of which, however, are taken up with preparations of one sort or another. It consists of dancing, offerings of fowl, rice and fruit, and fire-walking in addition. On one of the days of the feast, all the villagers present—the farmer and toddy-drawer caste—provide themselves with fire-brand made of dry plantain leaves, twisted close round the green pith of the plantain tree. These brands measure from five to six feet in length, and are about six or seven inches in circumference. The whole of the people of the castes indicated then divide themselves into equal numbers, and, their heads being protected by a blanket, wound round the temples, fall to with the brands all lit. At first this firebrand goes on pretty evenly; but as the combatants get fewer, four or five will attack a single man, and probably one who has made himself obnoxious in some way or other to his assailants. This feast affords an excellent opportunity for paying off old scores, and as it occurs once a year, accounts may be settled with great punctuality. The blows are often very severe, and I have little doubt that on these occasions, something much harder than tightly bound plantain fibre, finds its way into the brands. The natives themselves can give no account of the origin of this singular custom, and I have never heard of one similar to it in other parts of India." *

MAGIC AND SCIENCE.

In magic there is an assumption of uniformity of the cause and effect as in natural law. Frazer

* Elliot, R. H.: *The Experiences of a Planter in the Jungles of Mysore*, Vol. I, pp. 67-68.

argues that the two views are identical, the only difference being that magic makes the wrong assumption regarding the casual relation. He calls magic "the bastard sister of science," and holds that all magic is necessarily false and barren; for were it to become true and fruitful, it would no longer be magic but science. Similarly Tylor calls magic an "occult science or pseudo-science." From this point of view a scientific theory which has been found erroneous and rejected, really represents a form of magic.

This view has undoubtedly a certain validity, and it has been severely criticised owing to the omission of two important facts. "In the first place in a large proportion of magical rites it is not assumed that there is such a perfect and consistent uniformity in the operation of cause and effect as will necessitate the accomplishment of the event which the magical event is designed to bring about. In the second place it is observed that a large proportion of magical rites are performed with solemnity, humility and reverence. These two objections however apply to those magical rites which represent magic in its purest form. Such rites represent only the fringe of the great field covered by the magico-religious."*

MAGIC AND ANIMISM.

Tylor regarded magical procedure as an expression of animism. To him magic was peculiarly primitive, appropriate to such levels of development, and its occurrence in modern society is explainable on the principle of survival. Wundt favoured this idea and opined, that magic and its allied concepts as secondary or as derived from the basic belief in animism. Frazer on the contrary, saw in magic something simpler than animism, something more

* Hankins, F. H.: *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, Chap. XII, pp. 549-550.

uniformly distributed all over the world and considered that it was older and the background to all systems of beliefs. This is contrary to the position of Tylor, and tends to dispute the foundation of the animistic theory. But Frazer went more deeply into the subject and tried to prove that the basic ideas in magic are grounded in psychological process of association.*

Magic and religion according to Marett, are two methods dealing with mystical powers of the world. "When these powers are thought of as impersonal the means of dealing with them are magical, and when thought of as personal or spiritual, are religious. It is very important to note the distinction in the mental attitude prevailing in the two kinds of practice. In magic the ceremony is confidently expected to produce the intended effect except by faulty performance or more powerful magic." In religion the ceremony is designed to conciliate or propitiate powers superior to man, powers which may or may not be moved by his approach to them. Whenever spiritual beings are used as tools or otherwise manipulated in compulsory ways for the achievement of ends desired by the manipulator, the basic conceptions and techniques are magical. These apparently religious ceremonies which compel a divinity to use its power for a prescribed purpose are magical in essence. But the distinctly religious ceremonies are those which move the divinity but really may not. The distinction is subtle. Therefore magic assumes the miraculous intervention of wilful personal beings able to dominate certain phenomena. The two are so closely related, that very similar means are so often employed by

MAGIC AND RELIGION.

* Frazer, J. G.: *The Magic Art and Evolution of Kings*, Vol. I, pp. 237-240.

both in dealing with the scarcely distinguished potencies.

Magic, according to Frazer, represents a more primitive thought than religion. He contends that magic preceded religion, and that it was gradually abandoned in favour of the latter, because its value became little by little discredited. Man originally tried to control everything as he liked before he had any conception of gods. He then prayed to them for what magic failed to achieve. Frazer tries to express that man was ever active from the very beginning for general rules, by which he thought he could turn natural phenomena to his advantage. But man soon found out his mistake. He became conscious of his helplessness, that led him to believe in the importance of the supernatural beings with which his imagination peopled the universe. It also enhanced his conception of their power and greatness. He had already thought of their existence in the world, and considered himself their equal. But as magic failed him, he began to attribute the power to the supernatural beings. His conception of the world was, that it was dominated by a conscious agency though no longer his own. If he was weak, the beings that controlled the world and its gigantic machinery, were more powerful. His old ideas of equality with the gods slowly vanished, and he resigned the hope of directing the course of nature by magic. Henceforward, he began to look to the gods for all that he wanted. With the advance of knowledge, prayer and sacrifice assumed the leading part in religious ceremonies, and magic became relegated to the low level of the black art.

His hypothesis is logical and clear when taken as a thing in itself; but when considered with objective conditions, it violates almost every principle

of the psychology of primitive people. The postulates of magic and religion are largely due to the inertia of habit. Man at all times has been at the mercy of his association of ideas, and is relieved from their domination only through the development of reflection and critical faculty. Magic and religion, according to Frazer, are diverse schemes devised by primitive man for the manipulation of the world to his advantage. "They are," says King "quite independent of any conscious purpose in their origin, and that far from the one being succeeded by the other, they are coincident, and develop from different phases of types of man's reaction in this world." The status of magic and religion existing among primitive races is a refutation of Frazer. They exist side by side, nor is one in the hands of the ignorant, and the other in the possession of the more intelligent. Man's generalization was the direct outcome of the psychological processes of habit and association. "There is no evidence," says King "that the development is coincident with any decline in man's belief in the reality of magical agencies."* Dr. Frazer does not think that prayers and sacrifices succeeded in the long run in turning natural phenomena more largely to man's advantage than did magical practices.

Jevons, in his *Introduction to the History of Religion* agrees in the originality and independence of religion in relation to magic. In the same way he disregards the genetic aspects of the development of experience. Starting with the same assumption of an idea of supernatural powers, he attempts to draw from it opposite conclusions.

"Even witchcraft," says Bloomfield "is a part of religion. It has penetrated and become intimately blended with the holiest of Vedic rites. The broad current of popular religion and

* King. *Development of Religion*, pp. 165-170.

superstition has infiltrated itself through numberless channels into higher religion that is presented by Brāhman priests. It may be assumed that the priests were not able to cleanse their own beliefs from the mass of folk belief with which it is surrounded." Some good authority holds that the very name of Brāhman is derived from "Brahman," a magical spell, so that, if they are right, the Brāhman would seem to have been a magician before he was a priest.

SUMMARY. The origin of magic is buried in obscurity. Probably it dates back from the old and new stone ages. It can be studied only from what is prevailing among the people of low culture. Closely connected with it are sorcery and witchcraft. It was at one time thought that the magicians and sorcerers could achieve anything by their black art; but they soon discovered their mistake, and resorted to prayers and sacrifices. Magic and religion belong to elementary religion, without having any connection between them. Some believe that magic belongs to two distinct phases of thought, while others opine, that religion is saturated with magic, and ultimately it pervades in all forms of worship among the civilized races of the world.

CHAPTER IX.

ANIMISM.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF ANIMISM—PRE-ANIMISM—PRIMITIVE CONCEPTION OF THE SOUL—DEMONS AND SPIRITS—BHUTAS—BHUTA WORSHIP—GUARDIAN DEITIES—SACRIFICE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE——POSSESSION——SPIRIT POSSESSION AND EXORCISM—ANCESTOR WORSHIP—CONNECTION OF DEMONOLATRY WITH LATER BRAHMANISM—FETISH WORSHIP—DREAMS—DREAMS AS OMENS—SUMMARY.

INTRODUCTION.

ANIMISM is the doctrine which places the source of mental and physical life in an energy independent of, or at least distant from the body. It includes the idea of personal soul and spiritual beings generally as determiners of human destiny. Belief in the existence of spiritual beings in the broad sense of the term is very widespread. "It has been a more influential factor in the development of popular philosophies and social psychologies throughout the world than any single concept held by man. It still influences the thought of the lower and higher culture. People who repudiate all primitive ideas of ghost as grossly erroneous and childishly superstitious still cherish some vague notion of soul and of spiritual immortality. It forms the basis for all historical forms of worship."*

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF ANIMISM.

A brief summary of the comprehensive system of the Animistic theory of Tylor is given below. "Primitive man forms his first idea of a something (a soul) different from the body. This leads to two biological problems, the first of which is the

* Hankins, F. H.: *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, Chap. XII, p. 551.

phenomena of sleep, ecstacy, illness and death, as also dreams and visions. Here, the primitive man saw the body more or less abandoned by the principle of life, and therefore isolated and by itself. In the second class, the figures and dreams, and the appearances in vision seem to present this incorporeal principle of soul in isolation. The conception of the soul thus developed was applied first and foremost to the soul of man. As corollaries, there arose the belief in the continued existence of the soul after death and transmigration. Hence arose the tendance of the dead. The idea of retribution did not arise till then" (*Primitive Culture*, pp. 1-76).

According to primitive thought man conceived of the duality of body and soul in beasts and plants, and then of all the rest, like what he possessed. Being thus organized like himself, he thought of his relationship with the rest of the world.

"Ancestor worship was the cult of the dead men who had no earthly body, and therefore pure souls. From this primitive thought, he passed to the conception of spirit (p. 101). These spirits could take possession of individual bodies, not their own. This was the explanation of 'possession.' Illness and death were considered as resulting from the entry, and harmful effects of such a spirit. The same application holds good for fetishism (*Ibid* 131), and the worship of stock and stone, from which arose idolatry. A few chips, scratches, or daubs of paint would be enough to a rude post or stone to turn it into an idol (p. 153). The principle of the separate existence of pure spirits was again applied to nature. The various parts of the world appeared to primitive man as animated by such spirits and of their phenomena due to them. Hence arose the worship of nature which was a beginning of natural philosophy (p. 169) with its special forms of worship of rivers,

water and the sea (p. 191); of trees and forests (p. 196); beasts (p. 208); totems (p. 213) and serpents (p. 217). All these developments culminated in the worship not of a concrete individual, but of a whole species (p. 220). From this arose the further development of the polytheism of the higher races (p. 224), the Sky god (p. 231), the Rain (p. 235), the Thunder god (p. 237), the Wind god (p. 241), the Earth god (p. 244), the Sun (p. 259) and Moon (p. 271). A still further extension of the same idea leads to the development of the higher polytheism of higher civilized races. Another line of development produced those gods who preside over particular stages and functions of human life, the gods of water (p. 248), of fire (p. 251), the deities of birth (p. 276), and of agriculture (p. 277), the god of war (p. 278) and of death (p. 280), connected with whom is the deified father of the race (p. 282)."

Traces of a dualistic system, beneficial and harmful, are found even at the lower stages. But neither monotheism nor pantheism has ever been found in the religion of the savage tribes in any part of the world. According to Tylor, monotheism arose in various ways: (1) by the simple process of raising to divine primacy, one of the gods of polytheism itself, who may be either one of the primeval ancestors or one of the nature deities, (2) supernatural hierarchy on the model of human hierarchy, or (3) a doctrine of the conception of the universe as animated by one greatest all-pervading divinity, an *anima mundi* in short. "In the last case, a tendency arises either to fuse the attributes of the great polytheistic powers into more or less common personality or else to remove the limit of theological speculation in the region of the indefinite and the inane" which results in an unshaped divine entity, looming vast, shadowy, and calm beyond and over the material world, too

benevolent or too exalted to need human worship, too huge, too remote, too indifferent to concern himself with the petty race of men (pp. 304-305).

Thus, the theology of the lower races has reached its climax in conceptions of supreme deity, and these conceptions in the savage and barbaric world are not copies of one common type. They are widely differing among mankind. Among the people of lower culture, animism has its distinct and consistent completion in the doctrine of supreme deity.*

PRE-ANIMISM.

Tylor's theory of animism so far influenced the world that it was accepted by a number of students of ethnology and religion almost without alteration. But it was criticized by many anthropologists in England, France, Germany and the United States. Two theories arose in time to shatter the long-disputed predominance of animism, both of which justly emphasized the fact that a whole series of phenomena which Tylor derived from the fundamental concept of spirits really required no such concept; and that most of the evidence tended to show that the period of animism is by no means the oldest, but was preceded by the age of pre-animism. In the latter, the concept of spirit was not yet so clearly developed, and certainly not so extensively applied to the whole nature as Tylor assumes. Pre-animism is of two different forms—pre-animism of magic or material pre-animism, and pre-animism of monotheism or personal pre-animism. "There are extensive regions" says W. Schmidt, "which cannot be comprehended by the animistic theory, and are of earlier date than animism. Magical power which is a supernatural force inherent in inanimate

* Schmidt, W.: *The Origin and Growth of Religion*, pp. 74-77.

matter as such and preceding from it really needs no in-dwelling spirit to explain its nature and effects.* Likewise the living, undifferentiated personality, not analysed in any such definite way into body and soul, suffices fully to explain the characteristics and activities of which it is the centre. That remarkable personality, the supreme being of the primitive tribes, undergoes no such process as death which in other cases brings about the separation of soul and body; naturally, there is, therefore, all the less occasion here to supply the concept of spirit."†

PRIMITIVE CONCEPTION OF THE SOUL.

According to Tylor, "it is a thin, unsubstantial human image, in its nature a sort of vapour, film or shadow; the cause of life and thought in the individual it animates; independently possessing the personal consciousness and volition of its corporeal owner, past and present, capable of leaving the body far behind, to flash swiftly from place to place; mostly impalpable and invisible, yet manifesting physical power; and especially appearing to men, walking or asleep as a fantasm separated from the body of which it bears the likeness, continuing to exist and appear before men after the death of the body, able to enter into, possess, and act into bodies of other men or animals and even things."‡ The primitive conception of spiritual beings makes them neither grossly material nor yet wholly immaterial. There are, of course, great variations in these conceptions. Mostly ghosts and spirits are thought of as images or doubles, modelled after the original and with human needs and passions. They are sometimes identified as ghosts and souls

* Marett, R. R.: *Threshold of Religion*, 1 *Pre-animistic Religion*, pp. 1-33.
† Schmidt, W.: *The Origin and Growth of Religion*, p. 83.
‡ Tylor, E. B.: *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I, p. 429.

endowed with the instincts of love and hunger. They suffer from cold and heat. They are warmed by fire. The soul is thought of as located in some special part of the body, the loss of which would mean death. Ghosts and souls are generally endowed with great rapidity of movement. They are endowed with a capacity to assume various shapes with unusual powers.

CONCEPTION OF THE SOUL.

(*a*) *As embodied* :—1. It is conceived as the life of the body. The body and soul are thought of as inseparable. In this case, the qualities of the soul may remain in the flesh even after death. It is believed that some cannibalism is due to the desire to secure the benefits of the soul as illustration of contageous magic. It is also a foundation of such funeral customs as providing food for warming the corpse and other burial customs.

2. *As the life blood* :—The idea is probably derived from the fact that an excessive letting of blood results in death. From it are derived blood sacrifices, an atonement and a great amount of blood symbolism. The christian doctrine of transubstantiation is an interesting modern form of ancient ceremonial eating of the God, practised in the Mystery Religions of the Greeks and in the cults of Attis, Adonis, Osiris, Dionysus, Demeter and other saviour gods of Pagan times, as such practices have in them an element of contagious magic.

3. *As the heart* :—This is clearly related to the foregoing. The cessation of the beating ot the heart brings on death.

4. *As breath* :—As a flame, or even as a name.

(*b*) *As disembodied* :—Here the soul is thought of variously as a shadow, reflection, ghost or phantom.

When a man dies he gives up the ghost. To step on the shadow was considered extremely injurious as stepping on one's self. Magicians utilise disembodied souls as managers. Souls are commonly attributed to animals and associated with it everywhere is the doctrine of transmigration and reincarnation of souls. They may return in the form of all sorts of animals and insects.*

DEMONS AND SPIRITS.

The jungle tribes and the people of the lower castes, from the cradle to the grave are oppressed with a feeling that they are haunted by spirits of all kinds, some malignant, some mischievous elves to whose agencies are attributed all kinds of sickness and misfortune. Hence the main object of their religious life is to identify their particular demon and devise proper means of either scaring them away or propitiating them.

In South India this belief is very widespread in every village. They are supposed to lurk everywhere on the tops of palmyra trees, in caves and rocks, in ravines and chasms. They are also supposed to haunt woods, wells, tanks, deserted houses and cemetries. They fly about in the air, ready to attack any unprotected victim. They may also take up their abode in some object whether living or dead. They are believed to be most mischievous during the first part of the night, and their fury diminishes with the advance of night. Hence the villagers are in constant dread of these invisible enemies. So they turn to their guardian deities of the village, whose duty it is to ward off these evil spirits and protect the village from epidemics of cholera, smallpox or fever; from cattle-disease, failure of crops, childlessness, fires,

* Hankins, F. H: *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, Chap. XII, pp. 554-555.

and all the manifold ills to which flesh is heir to in their habitat.

They are distinguished as belonging to two classes, namely, non-human ones or fiends, and human spirits. The former are endowed with superhuman powers, and possess material bodies of various kinds which they can change as they like, and which are subject to destruction. As free agents, they can choose between good and evil, but a disposition to evil predominates in their character. The so-called Asurās, Dānavās, Daityās belong to this group, all personations of the hostile powers of nature or of mighty human foes, both of which have been eventually converted into superhuman beings. This group as a whole seems to be derived from pre-animistic beliefs, the worship or dread of "powers" the vague impersonations of the terror of night, hill, cave or forest. They appear in the Vedas, as malevolent beings, hostile to the orthodox gods. Muir says, that these evil spirits were borrowed by the Aryans from the aborigines of India. It is safer to conclude that they were the result of pre-animistic beliefs, as it is probable that the Aryan view of the demon world was coloured by their association with the indigenous races.*

The early man entertains vague terrors about their mischievous activities, and the places where they dwell. Meitheis believe that their demons occupy hills (T. E. Hodson, *The Meitheis*, p. 120). The Konga Malayans of Cochin worship the two demoniacal deities named after the rocks in which they reside. The Eravallars believe that their forests and hills are full of dangerous demons who live in trees, and rule the wild beasts. Some of them afflict particular families or villages and are

* Hastings, J : *E. R. E.*, Vol. IV, pp. 601-603.

propitiated not in the hope of gaining any benefit for their worshippers. The Nāyādis worship a group of demons one of which brings them gain, and is abused for his ingratitude of the hunt if it proves unsuccessful. Similar beliefs are current among the Iruligas, Sholigas, Hasalars of Mysore.

Spirits have no recognised forms. They are supposed to have various origins, but the common belief is that they are the disembodied souls of human beings who have met with sudden or violent death. They may also take up their abode in some object, whether living or lifeless. They are satisfied only with the offerings of blood. It is believed that mastery over spirits can be obtained by incantations, and those who subjugate them in this way, have power to command them to do their behests. But the methods of subjection are very dangerous, and many lose their lives in so doing. The spirits so subjugated should always be kept employed, lest they might oppress their master. It is believed that the spirits of the deceased persons become ghosts under the following conditions, namely, absence of funeral ceremonies, death with strong attachments to worldly objects, and by violent or accidental deaths. They are capable of transforming themselves into any animal or object as they please. Some assume the shape of a giant with uncouth frame, with fang-like teeth and matted hair, and a height that reaches the sky. Sometimes a spirit transforms itself into a gigantic and terrific being taking possession of the man, if he becomes afraid. There are various beliefs current as to the way in which spirits enter and leave the body. According to one belief, when a person gets frightened by the apparition of a ghost, it enters his body, through one of the organs, and makes him senseless and violent. According to another belief, a ghost, as mentioned above, takes an airy form and enters the body

through any channel through which air can enter the body. It leaves the body by the same route.

There is also a belief, that evil spirits enter the body through the thumb, and get out by the ears. According to some, a ghost makes its way into the body through the anus and gets out by the same route. Others maintain that it enters the body through the nostril and gets out by the same passage. Some say that it finds entrance and outlet through the skull. There are others who are of opinion that the immaterial form of a ghost can find admission into the body by the right side and egress by the same way. Various methods are employed to repel or conciliate evil spirits. If the spirit after death is to pass to the abode of the *pitre* or sainted dead or to undergo the necessary stages of transmigration, the funeral rites (*srāddha*) must have been performed. Hence the family spirit is generally benevolent, it must be propitiated with offerings during the days of the new moon, on *sankrānties* and at other auspicious times, as also before marriage and other ceremonies when its blessings are invoked. Thus arises the very common classification of spirits into the "inside" and the "outside" the former usually friendly, and the latter usually hostile. The friendly house spirit passes into the protecting family deity. In cases where funeral ceremonies are not performed owing to the failure of obtaining the corpse, the spirit becomes restless and malevolent ever trying to do harm to the survivors.

BHUTAS. Besides the fiends or non-human spirits who are ever hostile to man, there is another important class of evil spirits, or ghosts of human beings known collectively as Bhūta (Skt. '*bhu*' to become). In South India there are three names to designate these spirits—*Bhūta, Prēta, Pisācha.* The first name

is generally applied to all the three classes. These beings, always evil, originate from the souls of those who have died untimely or violent deaths or been deformed, idiotic or insane; afflicted with fits or unusual ailments, or drunken, dissolute or wicked during life. "The precise distinction between the three classes is that the *Prēta* (Skt. '*Prē*' to depart from life) is the ghost of a child dying in infancy, or of one deformed, imperfect or monstrous, events attributed to neglect in performing ceremonies prescribed during the ten days, when according to popular notions, the limbs of the embryo are forming in the womb; such a ghost becomes a misshapen, distorted goblin. The *Pisācha*, on the other hand, is derived rather from mental characteristics, and is the ghost of a madman, habitual drunkard, treacherous and violent tempered. *Bhūtas* emanate from those who die in any unusual way by violence, accident, suicide, or sentence of law; or who have been robbers, notorious evil doers or dreaded for cruelty and violence. The death of a well-known bad character is a source of terror to all in the neighbourhood, as he is sure to become a *Bhūta* or a demon, as powerful and malignant as he was in life." (M. J. Walhouse, *Jai*, V. p. 408.) They are represented with small thick bodies of a red colour with pig tails round their heads, horrible faces, the teeth of a lion in their mouths, and their bodies covered with ornaments. Some believe the *Bhūta* to be a deity that troubles infants, and the *Pisācha*, a deity that lives on flesh. *Bhūtas* and *Pisāchas* are the attendants of Siva. The span of life of *Bhūtas* and *Prētas* is very long, but those whose descendants offer them usual oblations gain their emancipation sooner.

It is believed that *Bhūtas* and other evil spirits possess forms of human beings, but their feet are

turned backwards. They can transform themselves into any form they like. They have a tendency to trouble people, but when satisfied, they are said to be friendly. They are malignant and are of ferocious appearance. But those that are friendly behave like human beings. They are ever inclined to do harm. There are many kinds of *Bhūtas*. The spirit of the childless man who leaves the world discontented becomes a *Bhūta*. The ghosts of the unburied belong to this group. They abide in trees, and at midnight wander about the fields to frighten travellers. They prefer dirty places to those which are clean, and houses mostly round cemeteries. They are outside the temples of gods, but lurk in the vicinity in the hope of getting a portion of the offerings, and the priest-in-charge is ever vigilant to scare them away by ringing the bell and blowing a conch shell. They are generally naked, and are fond of women whom they occasionally abduct. They eat rice and animal food. A person beset by them is advised to invoke the deities *Kāli*, *Durgā* and *Siva*. Brāhman *Bhūtas* are especially dangerous owing to the horror felt at the death of holy men by violence, and the absence of performance of funeral ceremonies. Even Sri Rāma was so polluted by the death of Rāvana, whose ghost became a *Brahma-rākshasa* or Brahman demon, that he was obliged to wander from one holy *tīrtha* to another to get rid of him. They naturally infest burial and cremation grounds which are their usual habitat. They transform themselves into owls, bats, jackals which appear at night.

BHUTA WORSHIP.

Every village in Canara as in Mysore has its *Bhūtasthāna* or demon temple, the *pūjāri* (priest) of which is a member of the Billava community. The *Bhūtas* are a legion among them, and the most

dreaded is the *Kulkuti* (*vide* Religion of the Billava, Vol. II, pp. 290-294).

GUARDIAN DEITIES.

These are generally known as *Grāma Dēvatās* or village deities who are supposed to be the leaders of hosts of evil spirits. It is only by conciliation, that these demon bands can be brought under control and prevented from doing harm to mankind. They are generally non-human spirits, though their ranks are recruited from those of human origin. They are often identified with the mother (*māta*) earth. Hence women are found participating in demon propitiation. This gives rise to the worship of female deities whose names are legion. In Mysore, as in other parts of South India, different names are given to them in different villages. The most prominent among them are the seven sisters, who in Mysore are called *Māris*. Their names are given below :—

1. Bisal Māri (the Sun).
2. Goonal Māri.
3. Kel Māri (the earthen pot).
4. Yeeranagere Māri.
5. Hiridevathi (the eldest sister).
6. Chammandamma.
7. Uttanahalli Amma.

Of the seven *Māris*, Hiridevathi is said to be the eldest, and in every year the *Māri Jātra* * (festival) is held in honour of her, generally during the month of February. It lasts for about four weeks; and consists of the following :—

1. Māri Saru.
2. Māri Made.
3. Māri Sidi.
4. Kelamana Habba.

* Whitehead, H. ; *The Village Gods in South India*, Chap. V, pp. 80-84.

This festival is celebrated on a grand scale by the Toreyars of the locality. These seven sisters are vaguely regarded as wives of Siva. Bisal Māriamma is said to be the *Grāma Dēvata* of the Mysore City. But in Mysore villages Mahādeva Amma is the principal goddess, and Huliamma (tiger goddess) is the next in importance. Originally the village deities had simple names, such as *Ūramma* (village mother), *Peddamma* (great mother). But gradually the imagination of the villagers invented special names for their guardian deities, some of which are local as Uttanhalli Amma; Pātalamma, Kollapur Amma, Mudalagiri Amma, Challapur Amma and the like. Village deities are a miscellaneous collection of spirits, good, bad and indifferent, that defeat all attempts at classification. Māri or Māriamma is the most dreaded of them. All kinds of epidemics such as smallpox, cholera, plague, influenza and other maladies to which flesh is heir to, are attributed to her, because of the indifference or negligence on the part of villagers in propitiating her with due offerings. Consequently, the members of the non-Brāhman castes in Mysore, as in other parts of South India, celebrate grand *jātras* in honour of her during the months of February, March, April and May.

In Mysore the worship is redolent of the soil, and evidently belongs to the pastoral and agricultural communities. The village is the centre round which the system revolves, and the chief object for which it exists is the protection of the villagers. It is possible to trace the origin of these rites to a nomadic stage of society; and many of them have lost their significance.

SACRIFICE, AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

In most of the *jātras* (festivals) celebrated in honour of Māri, Mādangi and others, slaughter of buffaloes, goats and fowls, plays a very important

part. Demons representing the deities are blood-thirsty, and so blood is shed before them. In many cases the *pūjāri* (priest) drinks a portion of the blood, and eats a portion of the offerings presented to the deity. Here the deity is believed to reside in him, when he becomes inspired. In festivals where buffaloes are slaughtered, they are bathed and smeared with turmeric (yellow powder) and *kumkuma* (red powder). They are garlanded with flowers and margosa leaves. A goat is sacrificed, and its blood is sprinkled on the joints and wheels of the car. They are conducted in procession round the village and then an attempt is made to cut off the head of each of them with one blow. It is inauspicious to kill them with more than one. The blood is allowed to flow into a ditch which is carefully guarded. The carcasses are removed to an open space. On their heads are placed lights, and the faces are smeared with fat, turmeric and *kumkuma*. The right foreleg of each animal is cut off and stuck into the mouth. The flesh, etc., of the buffalo is cooked and eaten by the *Chakras* and their relatives. The heads are worshipped for a few days, after which they are carried in grand procession by the Holeyas to their quarters, to be eaten up, if they are not putrid. Rice mixed with blood is scattered at the boundaries of the village, and also on the fields by farmers, who believe that the devils are satisfied, and will not molest their crop. The demons are particularly fond of blood.*

From the foregoing account, it is believed that the deity takes only the essence of sacrifice, while the priest, and those who participate, eat the body. Another idea suggests that the sacrifice is analogous

* *Vide* Agasa, *Worship of the Seven Sisters*, Vol. II, p. 21.
Billava, *Worship of the Bhutas (demons)*, Vol. II, pp. 290-294.
Madiga, *Māri Jātra*, Vol. IV, pp. 156-163.

to the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. Dr. Elmore says that both the explanations are not satisfactory. He says "that it is the blood which the spirit wants and blood which is offered to it. It is quite probable that originally it was the life as symbolized by the blood which was desired. It was the giving of life to redeem life. The blood is the life in the thought of these people, as well in that of the Hebrews, and when a fowl or other animal is beheaded, the blood is poured out, and the desire for life is satisfied. There is yet another explanation which is rather speculative. "It is the same as that which leads to human sacrifice or the burying of wife, weapons, etc., with a dead man." Bishop Whitehead, explains this on the totemistic basis. So far as South India is concerned, these explanations are not convincing. The writer has seen their performances in Cochin, Malabar and Mysore. The castemen who are the worshippers have been asked for the reason of the blood sacrifice. The simple answer is that they like the offerings. Man in the primitive stage has been eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the animals hunted by him. He feels quite satisfied with a sumptuous meal and gives a similar meal with prayers in devotion, when he believes, that the deity is satisfied and pleased to reward him with what he wants.

It must be noted in this connection, that the male demons are not correspondingly so numerous. The most dreaded of them is the Mundiyan, who is said to strike men and cattle with all kinds of ailments. The name Mundiyan signifies one who is like a cow. He is supposed to be very tall, and his body is of black colour, and covered with black hair like a cow. There are many forms of Mundiyan to whom many mischievous acts are ascribed. There is the *Shulai-mundiyan* or furnace devil, who is worshipped by

potters and who dread breaking their pottery, while it is being burned in the kiln. There is another type known as *Sholamundiyan* or graveyard Mundiyan, who lives in places where dead bodies are either buried or burned. There is also a third one called *Kumizhimundiyan* or bubble Mundiyan who dances on the surface of water. All these are worshipped with offerings when occasion necessitates. There is another who is known as Mallan living in the forests of Cochin and Travancore. There are also the spirits of wicked men who are worshipped after death. In Mysore they have been promoted to the rank of "Sainted Dead." The Jains also have a similar class of spirits and demons.

Possession.

The primitive man with his conception of the soul and the animistic world thought of strange or unusual spirits, living in individuals, other living beings or even in inanimate objects. This conception led him readily to explain abnormal behaviour, or the manifestation of unusual powers, evil-mindedness. insanity, epilepsy, hypnotic and trance states. Similar conditions are believed to be due to possession by alien spirits. Such spirits figure very largely in primitive minds, and these lead the magician to the practice of driving the evil spirits by exorcism. Closely connected with these are the beliefs in oracles, prophecy, soothsaying and mediums. The priest or the magician with his assumed intimate knowledge of these things becomes the prophet and diviner. Special localities are sometimes believed to be particularly imbued with the magical potency of particular divinities ruling special kinds of events. The priest or magician holds communion with the spiritual power, miraculously endowed with divine potency, is really able to forecast the action or policy of the divinity whom he patronises.

SPIRIT POSSESSION AND EXORCISM.

The control of a demon by a magician plays an important part in animism. A demon may be used as a protection by his master as he desires. Sometimes a magician with the aid of spells can induce a demon to enter a receptacle, and he becomes a marketable commodity. Among the Pulluvans of Cochin, a man who wishes to bring a demon under his control must bathe in the morning for forty one days, and cook his own meals. He should have no association with his wife, and be free from all pollution or other impurities. Every night after 10 o'clock he should go to a tank, and plunge neck deep in water, and pray to his deity with the words, "I offer my prayers, so that thou mayst bless me with what I want." Thus with thoughts concentrated on the deity, he should utter them 1,001, 10,001, and 100,001 times during the period. Should he do these in spite of all obstacles and intimidation by the demons, the deity will grant him his desires. In Mysore, among the Hasalars, Malayans and other jungle tribes, when a man dies, his spirit is supposed to be stolen by some one's devil, who is pointed out by an astrologer, who divines by means of cowry shells or rice. His son, by measure of precaution, redeems the spirit by offering a pig or a fowl; and he promptly shuts it up in a pot, which is periodically supplied with drink and food to prevent it from escaping or doing mischief. Spirits are thus conciliated by offerings of food, by removal to some distant place or by flagellation.*

ANCESTOR WORSHIP.

The worship of ghosts lead to ancestor worship. It is power that man fears, and the mysterious power of the superior dead comes almost everywhere to be the most fearful beings in his cosmology. Thus

* *Vide* Magico-religious beliefs in Banjaras, Vol. II, pp. 179-182.

out of ghostology arises ancestor worship with the associated worship of heroes which has produced a type of religion which still remains in much elaboration in the cultures of India as well as in Japan and China. Besides this, it has given rise to demonology or a generalised worship of spirits, the powerful and mysterious agencies which explain all the phenomena of earth and sky which have not become commonplace. In course of time ancestor worship may become the only superstition as also earlier beliefs in all sorts of ghosts, demons, witches, fairies, and spirits.

CONNECTION OF DEMONOLATRY WITH THE LATER BRAHMINISM.

The origin of demonolatry lies buried in obscurity. This form of worship was independent of and anterior to Brāhminism. The following evidence may be given in support of the above statement. (1) In all Brāhminical myths the demons are represented as being the ancient enemies of gods. (2) All Brāhminical legends mentioning the original inhabitants of Southern India refer to a period when demons ruled over the jungles, which were inhabited by a race who ate flesh and offered living sacrifices. (3) All words used in Southern India relative to the Brāhminical religion are Sanskrit, while the names of demons worshipped by the low caste men, and the words referring to devil worship are in the vernacular. (4) There is no priestly order devoted to the worship of devils; on the contrary every devil-worshipper is or may be his own priest. (5) The offering of living sacrifice is opposed to all Brāhminical ideas. (6) A clear proof of the un-Brāhminical origin of devil-worship is obtained by reference to the history of demons themselves. (7) There are evidences that the Brāhminical system was considered by the members of very low castes as a hostile and rival creed and opposed as such.

There is a mythical record of the adoption of the aboriginal demonolatry into the Brāhminical system, and of the object in view of this alliance, in the Puranic story of the sacrifice of Daksha.

FETISH WORSHIP

The fetish is an object containing an indwelling spirit which is worshipped, because it is capable of influencing those connected with it. In India the root idea of the fetish is that the object is occupied by some spirit. The worship of material objects has persisted from a remote period; for, in the Veda references to the worship of weapons and implements like the plough and ploughshares are met with. In Mysore, as in other parts of South India, numerous instances of this form of worship are current among the various tribes and castes. In the month of Bhādrapada (August-September) the Agasas (washermen) worship the washing tub, the steaming pot and the ironing apparatus with the offerings of flowers and animals, (Vol. II, p. 21). On the Vijayā Dasami day the Brāhmans perform *pūjās* to the books, and other sacred writings; the Kshatriyas, their swords and weapons; the Vaisyas (merchants and bankers), their account books; Clerks, their books, pens and ink-stands; Grain merchants, their weights; Daily market gardeners, their scales; Weavers, (Devangar, Bili Maggas, Kaikolans, Patvegars, Gonigas), their weaving apparatus and implements; Farmers, their oxen and agricultural implements; Artisans, their tools; Darzis, their scissors; Potters, their wheel and moulding clay for luck; Mādigas, their scrapers and other tools; Gānigas, their oil-mill; Nāyindas, their razors, scissors and mirrors; the Begging castes (Handi-Jogis, Mondaru, etc.,), their begging bowls and bags; and Dancing girls, their musical instruments. Certain stones are venerated owing

to their perforations which suggest the abode of spirits like the *Sāligrāma*, in which they are said to be the work of *Vajrākrita* or thunderbolt. Among the wrought stones, the grind stone is naturally a symbol of fertility, and as such, it is used in marriage and birth rites. The winnowing-fan is often used in magical rites. The broom derives its sanctity from its use in purification and expulsion of evil spirits. The potter's wheel is venerated as a symbol of fertility in marriages; and if a child born of the marriage is deformed, it is said that the potter's thumb must have slipped. Thieves and burglers worship the implements of their craft. Weapons are emblems of power. The Kshatriyas and aristocrats of higher caste, represent by the sword, the absent bridegroom, and to it, as his representative, the bride is married.

Generally, fetishes are believed to act as charms, amulets or talismans possessing magical power derived from God or a spirit. They are not worshipped, but are believed to be powerful regulators of the mysterious agencies which control human weal and woe. Such fetishes are often worn by individuals. One of the most common fetish objects is the grave, because the ghost of the dead hovers there. Burial places, whether caves, mountains, lakes or trees, are taboo. A corpse possesses magical power, and is therefore tabooed. So also is a haunted house. Under the principle of contagious magic these objects possess the vital essence of the person from whom they come. Closely related is the primitive and similar Catholic traditions regarding the potency of relics, of saints or other powerful personages. They are convinced to be invaluable as charms against malevolent forces, a guarantee of good luck; while many fetishes are possessed by a ghost soul. It is clear that some of them are

possessed by other spiritual essences. In fact, any sacred object such as a cross, a wayside shrine, any sort of image or idol conceived to be imbued with the potency of any kind of god or demon partakes of the qualities of a fetish.

In connection with the ritual on fetishism in India, there is a universal practice to smear any and every kind of fetish with red ochre or red paint. The right red stain thus produced represents the blood of sacrifices made to the fetish which were originally human. The sacrifice of human beings was once prevalent in India, *sub rosa*, at any rate throughout the historical times to the present day and there is hardly any important building or architectural structure in the country that has not a story connected with its foundation for the purpose of providing it with a ghostly one. Under the influence of modern civilization and under the pressure of the governing authority all these have vanished.

DREAMS. The beliefs regarding the cause of dreams are very many. One of these is that the memory of known facts or incidents heard or seen causes dream. They are also supposed to be caused by disorders in the brain, by always brooding over the particular occurrences, by anxiety or by doing sinful acts. Persons who are indebted to the ancestral spirits are said to be troubled by dreams. A full meal at night before going to bed is also believed to cause dreams.

There are three conditions of human existence: (1) *Jāgriti* (wakefulness); (2) *Swapna* (dream); and (3) *Sushupti* (sleep). Events which impress the mind strongly during wakefulness are reproduced in dreams. Very often thoughts that never occur to our mind appear in dreams. They are ascribed

to the impressions made on the soul during past lives.

It is often said that the interpretation of dreams goes by contraries; and yet a good dream is believed to be an indication of future good, and bad one of future evil. There are some persons whose dreams are always fulfilled. Dreams dreamt by a person pure of mind and heart, seldom fail to become real. It is said that occurrences in the first quarter of the night are generally believed to be fulfilled in a year, those in the second quarter of the night in six months, those in the third quarter of the night in the course of three months and those in the last quarter of the night in one month. A dream during an hour and a-half before day break, is realised immediately. A person who has had a bad dream should immediately go to sleep, and not communicate it to any one. If he has a good dream he should not sleep on that night after its occurrence. A good dream should never be told to a bad or low-minded person.

The chief passage in Vedic literature for explanation of the psychology of dreams is *Brihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*, IV, 39, 14. Two theories are advanced in dreams: (1) the soul takes its material from the world and constructs for itself by its own light the object which it sees; (2) in sleep the soul abandons the body and roams where it wills. Hence the injunction not to awaken suddenly, one who is sleeping, for in that case, the soul may not find its way back to the body. It is an evil which is hard to cure. For the present purposes, the second hypothesis is more important. Its difference from the first theory is ascribed by Deussan to the poetic form in which it is presented. There are a number of stanzas both in the *Rigveda* and in the *Atharva Veda* which speak of an evil dream as the calamity comparable with sin, disease and witchcraft.

In the hieratic literature, the manipulation of these stanzas in the rituals is quite a commonplace thing. Thus at *Aitarēya, Āraṇyaka* III, 2, 4, 18, it is said that one who has had an evil dream is ordered to fast, cook a pot of rice in milk and make oblations of it, each accompanied by a verse of the *Rātri Sūkta*, feast the Brāhmans and eat the leavings of the oblations. Similar directions are given in *Sānkhayana Grihya Sūtra*, V, 5, 3, 13, with additional requirement that milk must be from a cow that is not black, and that has a calf of the same colour. In *Āsvalāyana Grihya Sūtra* the oblation is of rice grains, and is made to the sun with the verses of the *Rigveda* V, 82, 4, 5, and 47, 14, 18. In the *Atharvan Ritual* the practices are more striking, while reciting *Atharva*, VI, 45, 46. The person who has had a dream washes his face. When the dream was very bad he offers with these hymns a cake in the land of the enemy. The ceremonies show that the purpose is not to secure immunity from the actual discomforts of nightmare, as also that the dream is not merely looked upon as a bad omen, but as an actual contamination. This view is but the logical result of combining the theory that in dreams, the soul leaves the body, and actually undergoes the experience which the waking mind remembers with the Vedic belief, that sin is not only a moral delinquency, but much more a quasi-physical contamination. Under these circumstances an excursion into dreamland must have appeared to the Vedic mind as fraught with possible dangers. Thus at *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 8, 4, 4, persons returning from a funeral, among the precautions to escape the uncanny influences, wipe themselves with an *āpamarga* plant, imploring it to drive away, among the other evils, bad dreams.

Auspicious dreams naturally appear much less frequently in the ritual. At *Chāndogya Upanishad*,

V, 2, 8, 9, it is stated that if during the progress of a sacrifice intended to procure the fulfilment of a wish, the sacrificer sees in his dreams a woman, he may infer the success of his sacrifice.

Dreams as Omens.

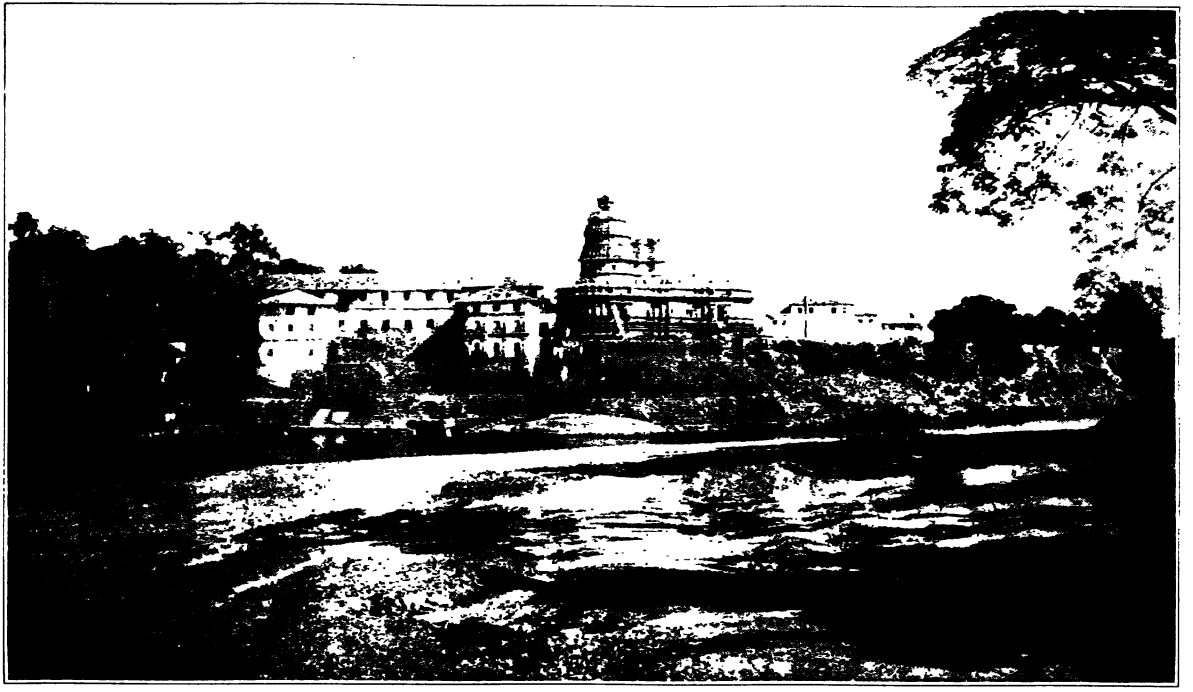
That the interpretations of dreams must have begun to occupy the attention of the Brāhmans at a very early period is implied in the very fact of the recognition of the evil character of some of them. It is also corroborated by the mention at an early time of certain minute particulars as constituting evil dreams. Thus *Rigveda*, VIII, 47, 15, mentions as ominous, the making of an ornament or the wearing of a garland. The *Aitarēya Āraṇyaka* gives a number of dreams that forbode death; if a person sees a black man with black teeth and that kills him; if a monkey jumps upon him; if he is swiftly carried by the wind; if he swallows gold; emblematic of life and vomits it; if he eats honey or chews; stalks or wears a single red lotus or drives a chariot harnessed with asses, or boars or wearing a wreath of red flowers, drive a black cow with a black calf towards south.

Summary.

The doctrine of animism reveals the belief in a separate spiritual existence, as the germ of religious ideas. Sir E. B. Tylor adopted this as his minimum definition of religion. It is considered to have risen simply from the evidences of the senses interpreted by the crude childlike science of the savage. Stahl, on the other hand, regards the vital principle and the soul as identical. From this has risen the belief in the existence of demons, spirits, ghosts and *bhūtas* all of which are worshipped by the people of lower culture owing to their malevolent propensities to do

Vide A. Iyer L. K.: *Lectures on Ethnography*: VIII, pp. 206-208 and *Anthropology of the Syrian Christians*: Chap. IX, pp. 146-147.

harm. It is believed that they are supposed to afflict mankind with all kinds of epidemics. Numerous village festivals bear testimony to their propitiation of them with prayers and sacrifices. Animism leads to ancestor worship. The control of demons by magicians play an important part in the worship of the village gods and goddesses.



A VIEW OF THE VIDYARANYASWAMY TEMPLE, PATASALA, AND THE BUILDINGS WITH HALLS FOR FEEDING BRAHMANS WHO GO THERE FOR THE WORSHIP OF THE DEITIES AND HIS HOLINESS. NOTE THE RIVER TUNGA IN FRONT.

CHAPTER X.

RELIGION.

INTRODUCTION—VEDIC RELIGION—THE BRĀHMANAS—THE UPANISHADS—TRANSMIGRATION AND RELEASE—VEDIC SACRIFICE—TRANSITION FROM VEDISM TO BRĀHMANISM—BRĀHMANISM—DEVELOPMENT OF HINDUISM—THE THREE SUPREME GODS—SAKTI CULT—MOTHER CULT—WORSHIP OF MOTHER EARTH—PROMOTION OF DRAVIDIAN GODS TO HINDUISM—HEROES AND HERO GODS—ASCETICISM—TAPAS (PENANCE)—SANYĀSI.

INTRODUCTION.

MYSORE, like other parts of South India, was once a stronghold of Buddhism and Jainism. Herein flourish, Brāhminism and Hinduism with all their religious sects; as also the chief seats of the representatives of their founders who still exercise their holy influence over the religious training of their followers. Herein are the great temples, which bear testimony to the ancient Hindu architecture and religious prosperity. His Highness the present Maharaja, a "Rājarishi," has been respecting and sympathising with the religious tenets of his subjects with his philosophic mind.

An account of the religious beliefs of every tribe and caste has been given in their respective monographs. Only a brief summary of the various forms of religious worship of the people is attempted in this chapter.

VEDIC RELIGION.

Religion may be defined subjectively as well as objectively. "Subjectively, it is the knowledge and consciousness of dependence upon one or more transcendental personal powers to which man stands in reciprocal relations. Objectively, it is the sum of

the outward actions in which it is expressed and made manifest, as prayer, sacrifice, sacraments, liturgy, ascetic practices, ethical prescriptions and so on."* In these are included the body of beliefs entertained by men regarding the divine or supernatural powers, which are expressed by words in the form of prayer and praise, or by act in the form of ritual and sacrifice. Three main successive stages may be clearly marked in the religion which is recorded in three corresponding phases of Vedic literature, namely, the *Vedas*, (*mantras*), *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upanishads*, all of which come under the general head of *Sruti* (that which is heard or revealed).

The Vedic gods have been thus classified :—

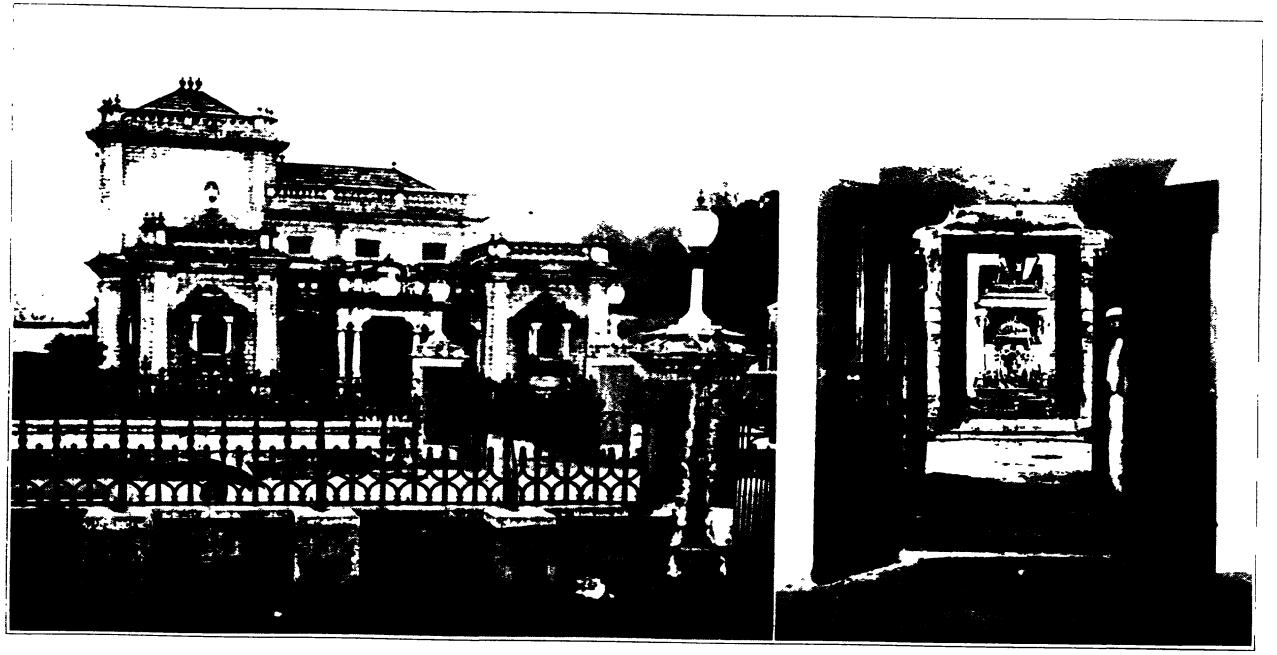
1. The Celestial gods: Dyaush-pitar, Varuna, Mitra, Sūrya, Savitar, Pūshan, Vishṇu, Ushas, the Aswins, and Ādityas.
2. The Atmospheric gods: Vāyu, Indra, Parjanya, Rudra, and Maruts.
3. The Terrestrial gods: Prithivi, Agni, and Sōma.

The religion as depicted in the *Rigveda* is a worship of natural phenomena, personified as gods with powers which man cannot control, yet amenable to prayers and sacrifices. By prayer and praise the worshipper brings the deity nearer to his will; by sacrifice he was given vigour to battle with his enemies, to grant them health, wealth, prosperity, rich harvests and long life.

THE BRAHMANAS.

They represent a theological transition. They are so called because of the utterance of Brāhman, or of an exposition of religious truth (*Brahman*). In contrast with these *Brāhmaṇas*, the hymns

* Schmidt, W.: *The Origin and Growth of Religion*, Chap. I, p. 1.



LEFT -THE TEMPLE OF CHANDRAMOULESWARA. RIGHT - THE INNER SANCTUM OF THE TEMPLE: NOTE THE PUJA ARTICLES IN FRONT ON A WOODEN SEAT.

and prose formulæ recited, sung, or muttered during the sacrifices, are called *mantras*. The word *mantra* meant originally, religious thought, prayer, sacred utterance, but from an early date, it also implied that the text was a weapon of supernatural power. The *Brāhmaṇas* are chiefly concerned with sacrifices to gods, and the religion of the *Brāhmaṇas* is a continuation of that of the *Yajurveda Samhita*, and therefore comes under Vedic Religion.* The Aryans had then been used to the Indian climate, and had spread along the valley of the Ganges, where the climate was more depressing, and this had influenced their minds. Distinct ideas of sacrifices and significance of rituals were explained. Religion was becoming a thing of spirit, and they were questioning the utility of the ritual. It became the duty of the Brāhmaṇs to explain to the worshippers, the importance of the time-honoured material ceremonies. Fire which consumed the sacrifice was interpreted as speech. The ritual was given a more intellectual and spiritual interpretation. In the *Brāhmaṇas* are found, the minds of thinkers going away from old beliefs towards another kind of religion. The *Brāhmaṇas* express belief in a future state. They assert that a reward awaits all beings in the next world according to their conduct in this world.†

The *Brāhmaṇas* are found to be merged into the *Upanishads* which contain the essence of a new religion. It is rather a philosophic and a pessimistic one. The philosophy of the *Upanishads* reveals but one real existence, the Universe, the supreme *Brahman*, *Ātman* or self. The *Upanishads* are saturated with profound pessimism. In the *Vedas* THE UPANISHADS.

* Barton, G. A.: *Religions of the World*, Chap. VIII, p. 148.
† Brahmanism, Vol. II, pp. 440-441.

there is a genuine youthful joy in life; in the *Upanishads*, on the other hand, life is considered an evil. The essential element of life is desire which leads to pain. He only attains the happiness of *Brahman* or self who is free from desire. The chief aim of the *Upanishads* is to explain the reality and discover the absolute. All their teachings centre round the great conception of *Brahman Ātman* and the reality of the Universe. The doctrine is said to have reached even in the Brāhmaṇās, where it is taught that no material thing is to be loved for itself, but for the self that is manifested in it. "The *Brahman*," says Yājnavalkya, "is that which rests in all things, and is distinguished from all things, which all things know not, of which all things are the body, (that is material representation or form) which controls all things within, that is thyself (*Ātman*), the immortal inner controller, the inner seer, the unheard hearer, the unthought thinker, and the unknown knower. There is no other thinker, no other knower, there is no other seer, and there is no other hearer. This is thyself, the immortal inner controller." Whatever is other than this does not exist. A monistic doctrine could not well be more pronounced.

TRANSMIGRATION AND RELEASE.

The pessimism of the *Upanishads* is intensified by the belief in the transmigration of souls. This belief is by no means peculiar to India. It is found in most of the religions of the world. The doctrine of transmigration and *Karma* has exercised a profound influence on Indian thought. It makes its appearance an event of such great importance as to make it the natural starting point of a new period. There is no trace of transmigration in the hymns of the *Vedas*; only in the *Brāhmaṇas* there are to be found a few traces of the lines of thought from which the doctrine arose. In the *Upanishads* and

SRI VAISHNAVA TEMPLE, MAGADI. OBSERVE THE HILL TEMPLE NEAR IT.

in all later Hindu literature, the doctrine is universally accepted, and enters as an active force into almost every element of Hindu thought. They are to be found in the *Brāhmaṇas* and yet the two are found linked together in a doctrine of moral reward for the first time in the *Upanishads*. The creation of this master-conception is certainly the work of the Aryan mind, borrowed from the aborigines. The man who in his own self realizes the truth of the *Ātman*, is thereby liberated from the chains of transmigration, and from the slavery of worldly things. He is an emancipated spirit, and at death will enter into bliss, and will never be reborn.

The theory is, that souls are born and die many times, and that a man's conduct in one life determines his position in the next, good conduct being rewarded, and evil conduct punished. In the earliest passages in which the doctrine appears, that is all what is stated ; but soon it received a more definite form.*

Those whose conduct has been satisfactory will quickly attain a higher birth, the birth of a Brāhman, or a Kshatria, or a Vaisya ; but those whose conduct has been abominable, will quickly attain a lower birth, the birth of a dog, or a hog, or an outcaste; and it was this form which became the basis of the orthodox Hindu belief. Caste is the chief element of the reward of one's action. The word for action, *karma*, is used for the mysterious power which, according to this doctrine, causes all action to work itself out in requital in another life. The conception was soon deepened and broadened. It was recognized that a man's body, mind, and character, and also all the details of his experience were elements of the reward. Men also recognised

*Farquhar, J. N.: *Outline of Religious Literature of India*, Chap. II, p 34.

that, since each life is the reward of foregoing action, and since the actions of each new life demand another, for their reward or punishment, the process of birth and death *saṃsāra*, can have had no beginning, and no end. The soul is therefore eternal.

This theory appeared to play a prominent part among polytheists, and included gods, demons, animals and plants as well as men. In fact there was no living being that was not subject to the law of rebirth. There was no divine power that controlled the process; the concept of a Supreme exalted high above all other gods had not risen in the minds of men who created the doctrine.

VEDIC SACRIFICE.

The sacrifices were held in the open air or in a shed erected for the purpose near the house of the sacrificer. No temples or sacred places existed in those days. The word *vedi* (altar), seems to denote in the *Rigveda* the area on which the rite was carried out. It was strewn with sacred grass, that the gods might come and sit down on it. Upon the *vedi* the oblations were laid out; and there also were the sacred fires prepared. The chief oblations were milk, melted butter, grain and cakes. The *Adhvaryu* shed them on the fire and muttered his formulæ the while. At certain points in the ceremonies the *Hotri* recited hymns.*

In the *Soma*-sacrifice the priests brought the twigs of the Soma plant, expressed the juice with the press-stones, purified it, mixed it with milk, and then poured into basins, and set it out on the altar for the gods to drink. The *soma*-hymns were sung by the *Udgātri*, while the *Adhvaryu* was busy with these ritual acts. The sacrificer, being, by the rites, admitted to the company of the gods, then

* Farquhar, J. N.: *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 14.

THE BRAHMAN PUNDITS AND STUDENTS OF THE SRINGERI MUTT. THE LATTER LEARN THE VEDAS, SASTRAS, AND THE ADVAITA PHILOSOPHY.

drank of the divine beverage, and was thereby made a new man. The priest also drank of the *soma*.

Without the help of skilled priests, these great sacrifices were quite impossible. Hence an advanced sacerdotal training already existed, and is alluded to in the hymns. By the time the nine books of the *Rik* were gathered, the priests formed a distinct profession, though they had not yet developed into a caste.

Thus with the supremacy of the Brāhman was combined the dogma of the efficacy of sacrifice. By sacrifices, the gods obtained Heaven (the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*). According to the other Vedas, "should sacrifice cease, for an instant, to be offered, the gods would cease to send rain, to bring back at the appointed time, the dawn and sun, to ripen the harvest, because they would no longer be inclined to do so."*

The various kinds of sacrifices are divided into two principal classes; namely, *nitya* (regular) and *naimittika* (accidental) *karmāni*, one following the course of the year or the duties imposed upon man during life, the other comprising incidental offerings occasioned by special wishes of the sacrificer. The sacrifices of the domestic ritual which are described in the *Grihya Sūtras* are generally performed by the householder and his wife, but they often invite a priest to function in their stead or to assist. Persons of high rank, especially kings, had their spiritual adviser, the *Purohita*, for it is said that the gods would not eat the food of a king who had no *Purohita*. The sacrifices of the *Srauta* ritual are very complicated, and require priestly help, and the number increases up to sixteen. Nearly, all the functions are left to this band of scholarly priests. The priests have to be selected

* Barth : *Religion of India*, 1882, p. 32.

from the families of Brāhmanical castes, and particular care has to be taken in the selection of them. They should be without bodily defects, and well instructed ; for any blunder in the strict observation of rules in the pronunciation of the sacred *mantras* might destroy the efficacy of the sacrifice, and even endanger the health and life of the priests and *Yajamāna*. Similarly, particular care was taken for the selection of the day fit for sacrifices, and the place for *tantra*, the sacrificial tissue was woven. There were no temples as in later times, but the special character of the sacrifice, and priestly knowledge determined the spot where holy grass had to be strewn as carpets for the gods, and the fires to be made. All *Srauta* sacrifices require three fires, *Āhavania*, *Dākshina* and *Gārhapatya*, fires corresponding to heaven and earth, and dedicated to the world of gods and ancestors of men. The sacrifice was conceived as a magic system strongly wielding all powers in heaven and earth, and the priests held the system in their hands. They were believed to be supreme, and omnipotent, and were therefore looked upon as gods on earth. The rewards which the worshippers desired to obtain from gods were mostly material blessings, prosperity, wealth and cattle, rich crops, chariots, wives, children, health, long life, protection from danger, victory in war and rich spoil.

TRANSITION FROM VEDISM TO BRAHMANISM.

It must be noted in this connection that the leading note of the Vedic hymns is cheerfulness. The great gods are the benevolent patrons of their worshippers, and the religion is, on the whole, a healthy and happy system. Neither asceticism nor austerity, neither pessimism nor philosophy, disturbs the sunshine of the early date. The early Aryans were often at war with the aborigines. The evils

which assailed were the works of the demons against whom the kindly gods waged successful warfare. It is a popular error which vitiates the conclusions regarding the early history of the Hindus to suppose that the indigenous tribes were all savage barbarians. Collectively, they were known as Indo-Aryans, whose religion, like that of their modern representatives, was a form of animism. They had reached the belief in the existence of soul after death. In short, it seems probable, that in material culture and religious belief, they were not far below the standard of Indo-Aryans. The importance of this consideration lies in the fact, that this uniformity of culture facilitated the union of two rival stocks, and led to the amalgamation of the two cults of the conquerors and the conquered, from which the modern Hinduism, as will be shown below, was evolved.

BRAHMANISM.

The literature connected with Brāhmanism is all the work of or inspired by Brāhman hierarchy. But the main contributions are the *Sūtras*, *Purāṇas* chiefly the epics of the *Ramāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*, the law literature and the *Bhāgavat Gita*. There are four types of *Sūtras*, which are of great importance in the Hindu religion. They are the *Srauta*, the *Grihya*, the *Dharma* and the Magic books. The *Srauta Sūtras* are so called because of their revelations in the highest sense. They are handbooks prepared for the use of priests for reference in the performance of their great Vedic sacrifices, that is, those for which three or more sacrificial fires, and priests belonging to each of the three orders, were necessary. The *Grihya* manuals describe the minor rituals, and sacrifices which are obligatory on the family. The *Dharma* manuals on the other hand, lay down the rules of *dharma*, *i.e.*, the Hindu law of conduct. The word *dharma* means that which is

obligatory. The fourth *Sūtra* or magic books treat of magic and demonology which form part of *Atharvaveda*. It represents the popular beliefs rather than those of the intelligent, and betrays a belief, that their attacks could be warded off by Agni, Indra, and the Maruts against the darkling brood of demons, wizards and witches which rise above the horizon from the lowest depths of the folks' consciousness. The two great epics, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* are religious. They are polytheistic and sacrificial. The chief deities are Brahma, Vishṇu and Śiva. In the popular mind, the three stand on equality. They form the triad. It is also interesting to note that Rāma and Krishna, the heroes of the epic are represented as incarnations of Vishnu.

It is said that South Indian Brāhmanism was developed on lines of evolution, different from those of the North. The Brāhmanical reaction to Buddhism and Jainism was completed, and Hinduism in its form was firmly established. The Brāhmans now controlled the law, and the social influence of the people. The theory of caste was firmly established, and they were placed at the head of society. The movement led by the Kshatriyas against them had collapsed. The Neo-Brāhmanism, hereafter to be called Hinduism, developed in two ways ; firstly, by the creation mainly illustrated by the epic and *purānic* literature of a gallery of deified personages, the legends regarding whom were largely drawn from the existing folk-lore or popular tradition, and by reconstruction of traditions to a certain extent connected with the system which they superseded ; and secondly, by the adoption of deities, religious myths and cults, derived from races beyond the Brāhmanical pale. The two great epics and other *Purāṇas* as also the adoption of the indigenous creeds furnish instances of the kind.

DEVELOPMENT OF HINDUISM.

The term Hinduism has been variously defined, but not one definition represents its real characteristics. A Hindu is one who generally follows the rules of conduct and ceremonial laid down for him, particularly regarding food, marriage, and the adoration of gods. The chief contributions from the Brāhmanic period to Hinduism were a great system of religious philosophy, the dogma of the efficacy of sacrifice and the doctrine of metempsychosis. Many non-Aryan tribes were gradually converted to Hinduism. It is naturally common on the outskirts of the territory long occupied by the Hindus. This process has been from times of yore, and even now, going on all over India and even in Mysore. At one end there is the animism of the very low castes and at the other theism of the higher castes. Between the two extremes there is room for every form of belief and practice that human imagination can conceive. Orthodox Hinduism is what Brāhmans teach and the majority of Hindus believe. Brāhmanic theologians reckon five principal manifestations of the divine spirit, namely, Śiva, Vishṇu, Sakti, Surya and Ganapati. Sakti in the female form is personified as the consort of Brahma, Vishṇu or Śiva. Among many of the non-Brāhmanic deities conceived in the form of Sakti is Kāli, Durga Bhavāni and Dēvi.

THE THREE SUPREME GODS.

Brahma, Vishṇu, and Śiva are the three most important gods of the Hindu pantheon. They are highly exalted above the rest of the gods and divine beings. Brahma, the creator of the world, is the *Prajāpati*, *Hiranyagarbha* of the *Vedas* and *Brāhmaṇas*. His origin and basis are somewhat speculative. (In popular worship), he does not occupy a corresponding status, as the other two, in spite of his sublime character, in the religious feelings of the

masses. Therefore the worship of Brahma is not as popular as that of the other two, in whatever form they adore their favourite deity. Owing to the sectarian tendencies of the Hindus, the three supreme gods are regarded in principle as of equal dignity, and form a kind of triad, which in the doctrine of the *Trimurti*, has been long acknowledged. The conception of this deity varies. Sometimes, he is identified with the universe, and is described as the source out of which all creation evolves; sometimes he is regarded as a secondary deity subordinate to Brahman. The generally accepted opinion is this: *Svayambhu* (first born) rose from primeval darkness, created the waters, deposited in them a seed, and this became a golden egg in which he himself was born as Brahma or *Hiranyagarbha*. *Purushasūkta* hymn of the *Rigveda* gives a different version. There was the *Purusha* in the beginning, and from him the world originated. The deity rising from this *Purusha* was Nārayana, who is identified with Brahma. But he is usually identified with Vishṇu. There is also another version, that part of creation was attributed to *Prajāpatis*: Daksha, Atri, Marīchi and other *rishis*, whose progeny is described in the legends of the epics and the *Purāṇas*. Thus, it is said that man favours to reduce the importance and dignity of Brahmā, and to deprive him of active devotion. This absence of devotion was mainly because of his being a god of the philosophers than of the common people. This process of neglect is clearly marked in the *Mahābhārata*. It is said that there are only three temples dedicated to him in India, one at Pushkara in Ajmere, another at Idor and the third at Khed at Mahikantha in Gujarat. In South India his cult is more persistent, shrines being dedicated to him at Chebrolu in the

Krishna District, at Kalahasti in South Arcot, and at Mitrānandapuram in Trivandrum. Brahma is said to be too abstract an idea to be a popular god. In the *Rigveda*, Vishṇu is one of the prominent gods. There he is extolled for the three steps with which he encompassed the universe. In the *Rigveda*, he is intimately associated with Indra, as his friend and companion. In classical mythology he is called Indra's brother (*Indrānuja*). Vishṇu's position in the *Brāhmaṇas* is the same as before. In the *Brāhmaṇas* it must be observed that Vishṇu is repeatedly identified with sacrifice—an honour which he shares with *Prajāpati* whose position he gradually usurps and thus assumes the position accorded to *Prajāpati*. According to Manu, Nārayana is identified with Brahma; but afterwards Vishṇu is Nārayana. To Vishṇu is ascribed the ten *avatāras* (incarnations). The ancient deeds of divine might have been transferred from Indra and other gods to Vishṇu. Vishṇu thus acquired a group of worshippers. Further the two great epics became religious works glorifying the god Vishṇu. Since then they have been regarded as Vaishṇava scriptures. Another advance towards a theistic faith and theology is the didactic epic, the far-famed *Bhagvat Gīta*. The Vaishṇava sect identify its own god Vishṇu on the one hand with the *Brahman Ātman* of the *Upanishads*, and on the other, with Krishna the hero of the epic. There is now a double interpretation here. Vishṇu is declared to be the Absolute, the one without a second, the source of all things and all beings. Krishna, who has been recognized as a partial incarnation of Vishṇu-Brahman, is declared to be a full incarnation with the title of *Bhagavān*, blessed Lord. The poem is known as *Bhagavat Gīta* (the Lord's song). Śiva is the *Brahman* of the *Upanishads*, the Eternal,

the Supreme, the source of all gods, all beings and all things. He appears in various human disguises or forms to test, or teach or gratify his worshippers. *Pāsupatha* is the name of Śiva theology which corresponds with *Pāncharāthra* of Vaishṇavism. As a system of religion both are scarcely distinguishable. Both are also heterodox.

Besides the three divinities, there are semi-divine animals such as the Snake, Hanuman the monkey, Garuda the eagle, Jatāyu the vulture, and Nandi, Śiva's bull, (*Vide* Vol. II, p. 446).

SAKTI CULT. Saktism refers to the worship of the active female principle (*Prakriti*) as manifested in one or other of the forms of the consort of Siva—Kāli, Dēvi, Pārvati and many others. It is believed that the *Tantrik* ritual and beliefs are older than the age of Buddha. On the one hand, it has been supplied with a philosophical justification being a popularised version of the *Sānkhya* principle of the union of the soul of the universe (*Purusha*) with the primordial essence (*Prakriti*). It regards the self-existent being, as not only a single solitary and impersonal one, but as also a duplex, and acts through the associated female principle which again is conceived to be possessed of a higher degree of activity and personality. Combined with this is a literal interpretation of various passages in the Veda, in which the will and power to create the universe are represented as originating from the Creator as coexistent with Him and part of Himself. On this theory, the belief is more closely connected with Saivism with than any other religious system. It originates in philosophical Brāhmanism, and traces back its history through Brāhmanism to the earliest Vedic conceptions.*

* Monier-Williams, 180; H. H. Wilson, 124.

On the other hand, Saktism has a second and less reputable side, and this is more present to the vast majority of its adherents than any philosophical speculations and reminiscences of Vedic doctrines. The impersonation of the female energy in the form of Mother Earth appears among the non-Aryan tribes in the cult of the village goddess (*Grāmadēvata*) some of whom are purely local or tribal while others, like Kāli or Māriamma, though they still retain some local characteristics, have become national deities. Even in the Veda, Prithvi appears as a kindly guardian deity (Macdonell, *Vedic Myth*, 88); but with her by a process of syncretism it she has been associated with non-Aryan cult.

THE MOTHER CULT.

The Mother cult constitutes the bulk of religious practices and sentiments. All good and bad luck emanates from the Mothers. It is they who when angry send diseases and death. The statement is quite true when we consider the religious beliefs of the aboriginal inhabitants and those of lower culture in South India. The native cult is represented by the local deities whose numerous shrines may be seen in all villages and in the neighbourhood of towns. The real cult of the aboriginal population is addressed to the deities of the shrines who represent the worship of the land before the arrival of the Aryans. The goddesses bear a multitude of names, and are associated with an equal diversity of attributes. The people acknowledge that these numerous goddesses are only different names for the same goddess. She is frequently spoken of as Māta (the mother). These village Mothers have become associated with diseases with which they are supposed to afflict mankind. There is *Māramma*, the goddess of smallpox; *Kokkālamma*, the goddess of measles, *Uddālamma*, the goddess of swollen necks,

Chāmuṇḍi, the mistress of death, and *Bhagavati* of Malabar for all kinds of diseases and prosperity.

WORSHIP OF MOTHER EARTH.

The worship of Mother Earth began after the adoption of the settled life by the early Dravidians with the earliest experiments in agriculture. Among many savage races, the Earth diety is spiritualised as female (Tylor, 1.3.26, Vol. I). This predominance of mother worship in India is a survival from the matriarchate. In the ritual of sympathetic or mimetic magic, women fasting, seated on the ground bear testimony to it. The Earth after each harvest becomes exhausted and, if she is to continue to discharge her functions, she must be periodically refreshed and roused to new activity. In primitive dances women kneel and tap the ground with their hands in time to the music, as if coaxing the earth to be fertile. The offerings to the deities mark the two-fold conception of the goddess. In her benevolent form she is the mother of all things, giver of corn, producer of fertility in man and beast. Accordingly, she is presented with offerings of flowers, milk or the fruits of the earth. In her malevolent form she is appeased by blood sacrifice of animals. This conception of the mother goddess seems to be the most important element in the Dravidian cult which has been imparted into Hinduism. Like the Earthly mother, the other mothers appear in a double manifestation at once benignant and malevolent.

The theory underlying the practice of sacrifice is the desire to attain communion with god, by joining with him in the consumption of the flesh of the victim or the fruits of the earth, offered at his shrine. In the modern view of the Dravidians it is purely a business transaction or an arrangement that, if the god fulfils the desire of the worshipper,

he will receive a sacrifice in return. No special time is appointed for the Dravidian sacrifices. At the more important festivals the victims are slaughtered throughout the day and night. They are generally offered annually, and the victims vary from year to year.

The Dravidian feasts may be roughly divided into two classes: (1) those celebrated at the chief agricultural seasons—ploughing, sowing, harvesting, the object of which is to promote the fertility of the soil and the growth of crops; and (2) those intended as a means of purgation, the periodical expulsion of the malign spiritual powers which menace the community. The line between these two classes of festivals cannot be clearly drawn and ceremonies of the one occasionally merge in those of the other.

PROMOTION OF DRAVIDIAN GODS TO HINDUISM.

The spirit of Hinduism has always been catholic and it has always been ready to give shelter to foreign beliefs, provided it was permitted to assimilate them in its own fashion. A few instances may be given of the Dravidian gods promoted in this way. The cases of Bhairavan, Ganesh, and Hanuman are instances of the kind. The adoption by the Hindus of these aboriginal gods is often marked by a legend which tells that an image was accidentally found, and the agency by which it is said to have been recovered is often that of a member of one of the non-Aryan tribes.

HEROES AND HERO-GODS.

From a remote period there have been in India famous warriors or heroes promoted to the divine rank and worshipped as the patrons of town, district or guild. The Indian heroes come under two broad divisions, namely, ancestral heroes and epic heroes, the former being the founders of families, of clans and dynasties. The founders of the Solar and Lunar

races, as well as the founders of dynasties are of this class. The Epic heroes of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana* belong to the second class. The heroes of the *Rigveda* are all ancient seers or priests. The most important of them are—(1) Manu, (2) Adharvān, (3) Atri, (4) Kanva, (5) Kutsa, (6) Ushana, (7) Angiras, (8) Bhrigus, (9) the seven seers (*Sapta Rishis*).

Holy men receive personal adoration during their lifetime. After their death, their image, bust or some representation of theirs are worshipped with offerings of sandal paste, flowers, frankincense, lamps fed with ghee and the swinging lamps (*ārati*). Every sect of Hindus has a spiritual head or *guru* who is worshipped on special occasions. Festivals are celebrated in honour of them.

To begin with, the heroes of the epic age, the great *Rishis*, saints or seers, regarded as men who lived on earth, usually seven in number, are identified with the seven stars in the constellation of the Great Bear and receive homage as ancestors of the Brāhmanic *gōtras* or section to which they have given their name. In recent political agitations among the Mahrattas, Śivaji was deified as the founder of their state. Legends have been invented that his passing was marked by simultaneous appearance of a comet, a lunar rainbow and an earthquake. Another remarkable development of hero-worship is the deification by criminal or nomadic tribes of notorious robbers. The Banjaras reverence Mittu Bhukaya, a notorious freebooter. The Agasas of Mysore worship Madivāla Māchayya. The Bestas worship Siddappāji and Rājappāji.

ASCETICISM. In India ascetic practices have been prevalent from very early times. Tradition and legend have united to glorify the ascetics; and religion has

sanctioned and encouraged devotion to them. The highest reward of place and power has been within their reach, if only their austerities have taken a sufficiently protracted and severe form. The thought that underlies the conception of asceticism, and prompts the adoption of ascetic life, is the desire to escape from *Samsāra*, the never-ending cycle of existences in which all created beings are involved, and which brings along with it, the sufferings and misery to which all beings are subject. There is, therefore, no wonder if people who consider their life on earth to be really pessimistic, welcome the endurance of present hardship and suffering. with the hope of future reward of deliverance.

TAPAS.

The word *tapas* is derived from the root *tap*, 'to be hot' or 'to burn.' Therefore in the first instance, it is warmth or heat, then the feeling or sensation usually painful, thus 'pain or suffering' in general. Therefore it came to be applied to religious penance, austerity or devotion. It is said that the ascetic habits were not unknown to the early Aryans. To them the gods were open-minded, and did not wish to be forced or cajoled by human suffering. Their life was not deceived by the pessimistic tendencies of a later age. Nevertheless some glimpses of the meaning of *tapas* are recognized and practised. (*Satapata Brāhmaṇa*, X, 44-47.) The world is conquered by *tapas*. Numerous instances are given of saints and heroes of old, even of the gods themselves, as enduring self-inflicted tortures for thousands of years, in order to attain supreme or enhanced powers. The Supreme Being Himself endured age-long austerities in order to create Śiva. Śiva himself performed *tapas* for thousands of years.

In the *Upanishads*, on the other hand, the theory and practice of *tapas* are completely assumed. Even

where its efficiency is denied partially, or grudgingly conceded, the existence of widespread influence of ascetic ideals is taken for granted.

In the oldest *Upanishad* literature, the ascetic calling is obligatory at a special stage or at a period of life. The famous teacher Yājñavalkya recommends the abandonment of house and property, and also the retirement to the forest for the practice of austerities to sever actually and ideally every tie that binds to earthly existence. In complete harmony with the spirit of the *tapas* it is deprecated in comparison with knowledge, as an inferior secondary way to the highest bliss, Brahman. Nevertheless, the importance of *tapas* is highly recommended. Elsewhere, asceticism and the study of the Vedas, are placed side by side as the real conditions of a true insight. It is also believed, that those who practice asceticism in the forest ascend on the way of the gods.

Further, *tapas* is indefinitely associated with *Upanishads* in the third *āsrama*, the life of an anchorite or *Vānaprastha* in the forest. On him the practice of asceticism is obligatory. Only gradually and not clearly or definitely within the *Upanishad* period, was a distinction drawn between the third and the fourth higher stage, the essential nature of which was not merely self-mortification, but the entire voluntary surrender of all worldly possessions, and the concentration of thought and affection on the Supreme. This last stage is identified with *Brahman*. He who knows this, has passed the *āsrama*; and *tapas* is no longer necessary or profitable to him, because what the ascetic has been striving for, has been already achieved. Thus, the theory of *āsramas*, and with it, the doctrine of *tapas*, take on in the *Upanishad* literature a distinct ethical colouring. It is only

in the later treatises, that the separation between the last two stages is completely carried out, and the duties and obligations of which are clearly defined.

It is in the Law Book of Manu (Chap. VI), that the formal conditions and rules of the ascetic life are set forth; they are largely and repeatedly quoted and amplified in the later *Dharmasāstras*. These rules were observed in the fullest detail. The rights and privileges of an ascetic life to the twice-born, the directions for their sacrifices, the kind and quantity of food prescribed for them, the rules for begging food and the manner of eating it, as also subjects for meditation are distinctly laid down.

SANYASI.

A *sanyāsi* is one who has cast off home and possessions. The name is applied to one who abandons or resigns, or one who retires from all worldly concerns, and is no longer bound to recite the *mantras*, and to perform sacrifices, but is obliged to read the *Āranyakas* and *Upanishads*. A *sanyāsi* may have been a married man, but there are those who have become so without going through the previous stages of *grahasta* (householder), and *vānaprasta* (anchorite). Only a Brāhman has the right and privilege to become a *sanyāsi*. It was subsequently extended to the twice-born, and finally all restrictions were removed. Admission to the ranks of ascetics was accorded to men of every position and degree.

A brief account of the ordination of a Brāhman is herein given.

A Brāhman who wishes to be ordained as *sanyāsi* must perform the following preliminary ceremonies:— (1) doing *krchchra*, penance, and the performance of the eight *srāddhas*, namely, *Dēvasrāddha* for the *Trimūrthis* (Brahma, Vishṇu, and Mahēswara); (2) *Rishi*

srāddha in lieu of Devarishi, Rajarishi, and Manushyarishi; (3) *Divyasrāddha*, in lieu of Vasu, Rudra and Ādityas; (4) *Manushyasrāddha*, in lieu of Sanaka, Sanandana and Sanathkumāra; (5) *Bhutasrāddha*, in lieu of the five great elements, eleven senses and four classes of creatures;—*Andajam* (born out of eggs), *Swedajam* (born out of perspiration), *Udbhijam*, and *Jarāyijam*; (6) *Pitresrāddha* for father, grand-father, and great-grand-father; (7) *Mātresrāddha* for mother's father and mother's grand-father; (8) *Ātmasrāddha* for himself, his father, and grand-father, should his father be alive. In each of the eight *srāddhas*, two Brāhmans should be fed. He should perform the eight *srāddhas* either in one day or eight days with the *mantras* of his *Sākha* in one *yajnapaksha*. Then he should worship and feed the Brāhmans according to the rules given in *Pitreyagna*.

He should then offer *pindas*, balls of rice, to the *pitris*, and gladden the Brāhmans with *tāmbula* (betel leaves and nuts). After giving them presents he should dismiss them. After this, he has to perform other ceremonies for which he should pluck off seven hairs from his head.

As he has again to perform the rest of the preliminary ceremonies he should keep seven or eight hairs on his head, and finally have a clean shave of his head, whiskers and moustaches. After this he bathes, and performs the evening *Sandhya* with the recitation of *Gāyatri* a thousand times. He then worships fire with oblations of ghee reciting the *mantras* of his own *Sākha*. His food is confined to eating three handfuls of fried rice powder, and sipping water thereafter. He should maintain the fire, and seated on a deer skin, he spends the night in the perusal of *Purāṇas* to avoid sleeping. Early on the following morning he bathes, and after cooking a few handfuls of rice on the fire, he should offer to the fire sixteen

oblations according to the *Purushasūkta mantras.* After the performance of *Aupāsana*, *Agnihōtra Vaisvadēva*, and *Stālipaka*, he performs the three *hōmas* (sacred fire—*Brahma hōmam*, *Purushasūktha hōmam*, and finally *Virāj hōmam*). He brings them to a close, and throws the vessels into the fire and gives presents (*dakshiṇa*) to the Brāhmans as also to Brahma who had been invoked for the occasion. With prescribed *mantras*, he should attract Agni (fire) unto himself. Coming round it, he performs *namaskāram* to the fire. This is called *Agni-ātma-samārōhanam.* He then descends into the water up to the navel, and gives *arghya* (water-offering) to the *Ashta-dikpālakas* (guardians of the eight quarters). He then dispenses with *Gāyatri*, making *Sāvitri* enter into *Vyāhriti.* Dressed in a deer skin or in a coloured cloth, he takes leave of the members of his family with appropriate blessings, and tells them at the same time, that he is in no way connected with them thereafter. Going to a tank, and taking three handfuls of water, he throws them into the air, saying that he has renounced all in this world. He says at the time, "I offend none, I am offended by none." He says further that he has renounced all desires, offspring, wealth, and even fourteen worlds, as also the *vaidika karmas*, *dharmas* as well as *preshochāranam.* Walking a few paces towards the north he meets his *guru* who salutes and blesses the *sishya* (disciple), and also gives him a *kaupinam* (under-garment to cover exposure) and *kāshaya vastram* (an ochre coloured loin cloth). He then teaches the *Mahavākyam* (*Pragnānam Brahma* (*Rigveda*), *Aham Brahmāsmi* (*Yajurveda*), and *Tatvamasi* (*Atharvaveda*). Performing *namaskārams* to his *guru* he receives the designation of *Bhārati or Sarasvati.* Then follows *pariyanka śaucham* (purification of the body by a layman).

There is also what is called *Yogapatti*, which is giving the *sishya* a high seat, and by sprinkling water, *puja* is performed by the priest with a blessing, that he can similarly ordain. The *yatis* and others, assembled there then perform *namaskārams* to him. He is then given a *danda* (stick).

There are six classes of *Sanyasis—Kutichaka Bahudaka, Hamsa, Paramahamsa, Ṭurīyāṭīta* and *Avadūta.*

The *Kutichaka* is one who wears the tuft of hair, holy thread, staff, bowl, loin cloth and tattered cloth. He worships mother, father and teacher, and has potsherd and sling. He is one who is uttering *mantras,* who takes food in one and the same place, who wears vertically holy ashes as sect mark, and who has a staff.

The *Bahudaka* is one, who like Kutichaka wears the tuft of hair, tattered cloth as well as the sect marks. He eats eight morsels of food by going on alms.

The *Hamsa* is one who wears the matted hair and the three vertical sect marks, and eats food obtained by going on alms. He wears only the loin cloth.

The *Paramahamsa* is he who is without tuft of hair and holy thread. He begs food from five houses in a day, wears one loin cloth, and sacred ashes. He has to give up the rest.

The *Ṭurīyāṭīta* is one who goes naked and may either take fruits, eating them with his mouth like cows, or may beg food from three houses. The naked man having the body alone, has the bodily actions quiescent like the dead body. Such a one is *Ṭurīyāṭīta.*

The *Avadūta* is he who without any rules takes his food to the mouth like a boa constrictor from all persons, without restrictions, except those of ill-repute and outcastes. He is ever engaged in the realisation of the Real.

The rules to be observed by the first three are the same as those for the orders of life from the celibate to the *Sanyāsi*. For the next three, they have no waist-cord, bowl and staff.*

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* Nāradaparivrājaka-upanishad.

CHAPTER XI.

RELIGION (*contd.*)—FESTIVALS, FASTS AND VOWS.

FESTIVALS AND FASTS—THE UTTARĀYANA AND DAKSHINĀYANA—SOLAR AND SEASONAL FESTIVALS—FESTIVALS IN HONOUR OF VISHNU AND SIVA—VRATAS OF TELUGU BRAHMAN MAIDENS AND MARRIED WOMEN.

FESTIVALS AND FASTS.

ALL Hindu festivals and fasts are of a socio-religious character; and the seasons auspicious and inauspicious for their celebration are described in the sacred literature of the Hindus. Among the former is mentioned (1) the *Uttarāyana* or the northward progress of the sun, which begins from the winter to the summer solstice, *i.e.*, (*Pushya* to *Āshāda*); (2) the light half of each month from new to full moon; (3) the month of *Vaisākha*; (4) the *Sankrānti* days; (5) the days under the rule of the Moon, Mercury, Jupiter, and Venus, *i.e.*, Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday; (6) the three and a half lucky times—*Dasara*, (*Āswija Sukla* tenth), *Dipāvali* (*Kārthika Sukla* first), *Varshapradipada* (*Chaitra Sukla* first), and *Nāgapanchami* (*Srāvaṇa Sukla* fifth).

The *Dakshināyana* is the southward progress of the sun which begins from the summer to the winter solstice, *i.e.*, from *Āshāda* to *Pushya*. The following are the inauspicious seasons: (1) the dark half of each month from the full to the new moon; (2) intercalary (month) or *Adhika māsa*; (3) the days under the rule of the Sun, Mars and Saturn, *i.e.*, Sunday Tuesday and Saturday; (4) the rainy season, *i.e.*, the four months from *Āshāda Sukla* tenth to *Kārthika Sukla* tenth.

THE UTTARAYANA AND DAKSHINAYANA.

It is the natural instinct of man to welcome with joy that half of the year when the sun's warmth and the duration of days are on the increase, and to have a feeling of depression during the other half when light and warmth are on the decrease. The sun appears to be withdrawing from the world. The former is known as god's day, and the latter as god's night. Further the sun in his northward progress is believed to protect the gods, and in his southward movement is believed to protect the fathers. The path to the south is believed to be occupied by the spirits of the dead.

There is, in the *Bhīshma* and *Anusāsana Parvas* of the *Mahābhārata*, a well known story of the mortally wounded Sage Bhishma during the six months of *Dakshināyana*. He had the determination to live till the commencement of *Uttarāyana*. Though badly wounded with arrows, he lived till the expiry of the period, *i.e.*, for fifty-eight nights, and just at the commencement of the *Uttarāyana* he expired. As in the case of the sun, the period of the waxing of the moon appeals to the natural instinct of man as being a happier period, than that of its waning. After the full moon day, the moon gradually rises late, when the ordinary man considers it to be a moonless night, because he does not rise in time or until after he has gone to sleep. Manu says that the dark half is a day of the manes (the dead) for work, and the light half a day for sleep. Thus the spirits are most active, and likely to influence men during the dark half, as the unlucky time. It is for this reason, that the season is set apart for the performance of memorial service for the departed during the dark half of the month of *Bhādrapada*, and at every new moon day of the month. It is said that the spirits of all who die go first to the moon, while those who die during the light half

"delight the moon with their spirits." Those who die in the dark half are sent to be born again.* The *Vishṇu Purāna* says, that the moon nourishes the gods in the light fortnight; the *pitris* in the dark fortnight.† Even now the Hindus are apprehensive of their death during the dark half, and feel happier as to the death of their relations in the light half. This accounts for the fact that there are very few festivals or holydays in the dark half of the month, with the exception almost entirely of those in honour of Śiva, the terrible, or of one of his manifestations. The month of *Vaisākha*, *Sankrānti* days and Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays are said to be auspicious, while the intercalary month known also as unclean month, Tuesdays and Saturdays are said to be inauspicious. The four months of the rainy season are equally inauspicious. *Ardhōdaya* is the occurrence of the five following events at one time, occurring once in 25 years (sunrise coinciding with a new moon, the sun being in *Makara*, the moon occurring in *Sravaṇa nakshatra* on a Sunday, in the month of *Pushya*). This day is said to be very auspicious. *Kapila Shasti* or the simultaneous occurrence of the six following events: the month of *Bhādrapada*, the dark half of the sixth, on Tuesday, joined with the *Hasta nakshatra*, at the *Vyathipada yoga* and all these must occur during the day time. The last occurrence was on the 12th of October 1912. The new moon falling on a Monday, *Akshaya Thrithiya* or *Vaisākha Sukla*, falling on a Wednesday, and the moon in the *Rōhini nakshatra*, are equally auspicious.

SOLAR AND SEASONAL FESTIVALS.

The sun worship was general during the Vedic period under the two names of Surya, Savitri or Savitar. A great part of *Bhavishya Purāna* is

* *Kawshitaki Upanishad.* S. B. E. I, p. 274.
† H. H. Wilson's translation, p. 303.

consecrated to him. In India it is now confined to the morning, noon and evening prayers with the recital of *Gāyatri* by the Brāhmans. At present, there are no shrines and images of the sun. But temples exist at Konarak, near Puri and at Gaya. The sun is also worshipped as Surya Nārāyana. In Sankarāchārya's time (eighth to ninth century) there were six recognized sects of sun-worshippers, worshipping the rising sun as Brahma, the noon sun as Siva, and the setting sun as Vishṇu. But no such division is known at the present day.

Makara Sankrānti is a general name given to the day on which the sun enters the house called *Makara* (Capricorn). The holy period is observed for two days. It comes on the 13th or the 14th of January. In South India, there is the cattle feast on the second day, when cows and oxen are washed and adorned in their best and then adored and sumptuously fed. The feast is called *Gōpuja, Māttu Pongal* or cow-worship. The newly harvested rice is cooked. A bath in the holy river of the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna or Cauvery with another is considered to be highly meritorious.

Ratha Saptami.—This holy day falls on the seventh day of *Māgha* or on the same day after the entry of the sun into *Māgha* (Capricorn). The details of the rite are too well known to be given here. The ceremony connected with it is believed to secure freedom from sickness or sorrow for the year.

Māgha Suddha Panchami, Māgha Suddha Saptami and *Māgha Suddha Navami,* are also considered sacred.

Mādhva Navami.—This holy day is observed by the Vaishṇavas.

Mahā Sivarāthri.—This falls on the thirteenth day of Kumbha (February—March), and is sacred

to Śiva. This day is considered to be the first day of Vaivaswatha Manu, the first son of Vaivaswan, the Sun.

Polika Purnima, Dol Jātra or Kāmadahana.—This is a popular festival in *Phālgun*, and has its origin in the worship of the sun who is well on the northward course, and brings the welcome burning heat. Numerous legends are connected with it. Dr. Crooke says that the festival is very ancient, and has probably been borrowed from the aborigines by the Aryans. It may signify the burning of the old year to usher in the new. The use of the indecent words might be to repel the evil spirits, who would check fertility in man, animals and crops. The indecent acts, horn-blowing, drum-beating or other loud noise are also intended for the same purpose. There is the burning of a bonfire on the full moon night after an all-day fast. A *Kāmapūja* by girls is performed on that day.

Mahāvishuva Sankrānti, the Hindu New Year.—Vishuva is the first point of Aries or Libra. There are the vernal and autumnal equinoxes when the sun enters the signs of Mēsha (Aries) and Tula (Libra) in the months of *Chaitra* and *Aswija*. Both the *Sankrāntis* are largely observed in Mysore as in other parts of India. The former is called *Vishu Punyakālam*. It is the beginning of the agricultural year in Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore. Leaves of the nim tree are eaten on this day.

Sri Rāmanavami—It is a festival celebrated in honour of the birthday of Sri Rāma, the seventh incarnation of Vishṇu. It takes place in the month of *Chaìtra* (March—April) on the ninth day of the bright fortnight, when the asterism *Punarvasu* is in the ascendency. Men of all grades and ranks observe the *Vratha* for obtaining prosperity, long life and wisdom. The festival is observed all over India, and Sri Rāma is worshipped.

Chaitra Purnima.—This holy day is observed in honour of Chitragupta, the chief accountant of Yama. He is believed to record the commissions of men to punish or reward them after their death, according to their merits or crimes. Various preparations of rice are made, and Brāhmans are fed.

Yugādi Pandiga is another festival which takes place during the month of *Chaitra.*

In the month of *Vaisākha Akshaya Thrithiya, Parasurama Jayanti, Sankara Jayanti* (festival observed in honour of Sankara) are observed.

Narasimha Jayanti.—This festival is in honour of Narasimha (Man-lion), the fourth incarnation of Vishṇu, in which he killed the giant Hiranyakasup. The Śri Vaishṇavas fast till the evening, when after worshipping god, they take their food. Jaggery water is distributed among Brāhmans.

During this month the birthday of His Highness the Maharaja is celebrated in the *Chitra* asterism. It is called *Varsha Vardhanti.* In Āshāda, *Suddha, Ekādasi,* the 11th day after new moon, is observed by pious Brāhmans.

Karkataka Sankrānti is the day on which the sun enters the house of Crab, when water offerings are made to the spirits of the dead.

Gopadma and *Jyostamba Vratams* are also observed, being holydays.

Vyāsa Puja.—This falls on the full moon day in *Āshād,* when *pūjas* are performed in honour of the Saint Vyāsa. There is a tradition that the great Sankara is an incarnation of Vyāsa. This is generally performed by Sanyāsis.

Vara Lakshmi Vratam.—This is celebrated on the last Friday of the bright fortnight in the month of *Āshād.* Women worship the goddess Lakshmi, consort of Vishṇu, for health, wealth and prosperity.

Nāga Panchami.—This holy day falls on the fifth of *Srāvan* (July—August) and is held to be sacred for snake-worship.

Garuda Panchami.—This holy day is observed in honour of Rāghavēndraswamy.

Āpastamba and Aswālāyana Upākarma.—This falls on the full moon day in *Srāvan*, and is a holy day for the twice-born castes. Brāhmans perform a kind of expiatory ceremony for the neglect of Vedic studies during the year. On the following day every Brāhman recites *Gāyatri* 1,008 times.

Sri Krishna Jayanti.—This holy day falls towards the end of August and refers to the birth of Sri Krishna. It is observed both by Smārthas and Sri Vaishṇavas who fast during the day and worship the deity during the night. The *Gollas* (cowherds) observe this holy day in particular, because Sri Krishna is believed to be one of the Yādava community.

Kedāra Vrata.—Śiva and Mahālakshmi are worshipped.

Puja to Dhānya Sankara.—Brāhmans are specially fed on this holy day.

Ananta Vratam.—This is a religious ceremony observed by males only. It occurs on the 14th day of *Srāvan*. Early in the morning the Brāhman priest performs a *Kalasapūja* by invoking the god Ananta (Mahā Vishṇu), for which he is presented with cloths and money.

Sukla Tritiya (third day after the new moon) is also observed as a holy day.

Vināyaka Chaturthi or Ganēsa Chaturthi.—This holy day falls in *Bhādrapada Sukla. Pūjas* are performed for 22 days. Rice, cocoanut and fruits are given to daughters and relations. Ganēsa is worshipped in the form of a clay figure, representing a fat human body with elephant's head riding on a mouse. From the primeval attributes of this deity,

he seems to represent the harvest festival. There seems to be some connection between Ganēsa and the harvest of the early crops. Owing to the uncertainty of the later crops for want of rain, it is important to worship the remover of the difficulties at this time of the year. It is said that he has no place in the Vedas or early *Purānas* (*Rāmāyana*).

Gauri Festival.—This festival is celebrated on the seventh, eighth, and ninth of *Bhādrapada Sukla*. The goddess is the wife of Śiva and mother of Ganēsa. She is considered to be the goddess of harvest, and protectress of women, and closely follows her son when the early crops are ripe, and require rain. She is a popular goddess, and yet she is confused with Durgā and Kāli. It is said that she is the survival of another deity since the pre-Aryan days.

Swarna Gauri Vratam or Gauri with golden colour.—Parents send turmeric and *kunkum* or two rupees to their daughters.

Navarāthri, Dasara, Durgapūja.—The festival lasts for the first ten days of the bright half of *Aswija*, and begins at the time of the autumnal equinox. It is compounded of four separate feasts, namely, (1) the *Saraswati* feast from the seventh to the ninth; (2) the *Lalita* feast; (3) the *Durga* feast from the first to the tenth; and (4) the victory on the tenth. These four do not become clear to the popular mind. The whole period is observed as if it were due to one cause.*

Saraswatipūja.—Saraswati appears in the *Rigveda* as a river goddess; in the *Brāhmaṇas* she is identified with *vach* (speech), and in later myths and to-day she is considered to be the patroness of letters, and the goddess of wisdom and speech. Regarding *Vijayadasami*, several legends are given to explain the origin of the festival. Of these, two

* *Vide* Vol. II, pp. 56—71.

are most popular. It was the day on which Sri Rāma propitiated Durgā who, pleased with his prayers and offerings, helped him to kill Rāvaṇa. The five Pāndava brothers having completed their twelve years' service in disguise unrecognized in Virāta's palace took up arms from their hiding place in the Saṃi tree, and proceeded to battle against their cousins, the Kauravas whom they defeated.

Sārada Abhishekam.—A *kalasam* (a vessel filled with water), painted with chunam and decorated with mango leaves with the figure of a snake's hood at the top, is worshipped. Cocoanuts and plantain fruits are given to Brāhmans.

Lakshmipūja and Dīpāvali.—This festival is observed for five different reasons, namely, worship of wealth, celebration of Vishṇu's victory over the demon Naraka; celebration of Vishṇu's victory over Bali; and the expression of brotherly and sisterly affection. It is also said to commemorate the crowning of Sri Rāma on his return from Lanka.

Narakachaturdasi takes place on the night of the 13th or 14th lunar day of the dark half of the month of *Aswija*, the condition being that at the time of sunrise, it should be *Chaturdasi*, the 14th lunar day. The feast is observed by taking an oil bath at the time of sunrise before day break. According to a popular tradition, it is the day on which the demon king, Narakāsura, who was ruling over the kingdom of Pragjyotisha (Western Assam), was slain by Sri Krishna. The legend is found in the *Purānas*, though there is no reference to the particular day either in the *Vishṇu Purāna* or the *Bhāgavata Purāna*. The *Dharmasāstras*, however, state that oil bath at the time specified above is compulsory on all who are afraid of *Naraka* (hell).

Balipādyami.—This is a continuation of the Dīpāvali festival, and is observed on the first day

of the bright half of the month of *Kārthika* (November —December). In some parts of the country the religious ceremonies prescribed in the *Sūtras* are strictly performed on this day. A figure of Bali is drawn on the floor inside the house, with five different kinds of coloured chalk powder; and the offerings are made to this figure by repeating a Sanskrit verse.

As the verse indicates, Bali is regarded as having attained *mōksha* by the grace of Vishṇu; and people make offerings to Bali with a request that he might help them in attaining the abode of Vishṇu. The day is also called *Kaumudi*, because of such offerings made by people on earth to please Bali. It is believed that the state of a person's mind on this day will last for the whole year, and hence all are expected to be as lively as possible on this day. The Gujaratis reckon their year from about this period, and open fresh accounts on the Dīpāvali day.

Star and Planet Worship.—The Pole Star is an object of worship at wedding; Mercury and Jupiter are worshipped on all Wednesdays and Thursdays respectively of *Srāvaṇa* of which they are lords. Venus is worshipped on Fridays in *Srāvaṇa*. Sukra is considered masculine by the Hindus, and yet Sukra worship is merged in Lakshmi worship. Saturn is adored on all *Srāvaṇa* Saturdays with the object of obtaining wealth. The worship of Hanumān or Māruti, the monkey god, is becoming combined with that of Saturn.

Rishipanchami (Seers' fifth) *Prāyaschit* (atonement) *Bhādrapada Sukla* fifth. On this day and on *Srāvaṇa* full moon, stars other than planets are worshipped. In Vedic times the spirits of certain departed great seers of the earth are believed to have inhabited some of the stars, the most famous being the seven brighter stars of the constellation Ursa Major. Later, the seers became identified with the stars

they inhabited. The seven *rishis* worshipped are Kāsyapa, Atri, Bhāradwaja, Viswāmitra, Gautama, Jamadagni and Vasishta; or Kratu, Pulaha, Atri, Angirasa, Vasishta and Marichi, with whom is associated Arundhati (the fainter star close to the middle one of the Bear's tail). This is a woman's festival, and worship is offered to atone for unwitting sin communicated by reason of impurity.

FESTIVALS IN HONOUR OF.

Vishṇu and Siva Festivals.—Vishṇu was originally a Vedic god. At a later date, he received the name of Nārāyaṇa, an early divine name connected with creation. The epic poems became the Vaishṇava scriptures, Krishna, the hero of the *Mahābhārata*, and Rāma, the hero of the *Rāmāyana*, were declared to be incarnations of Vishṇu. Festival days are appointed in honour of the two gods, and they are observed all over India. The days in honour of Man-lion (Narasimha), Dwarf (Vāmana) and Rāma with axe (Parasurāma) are much less observed, while the three first and the last two are ignored except by priests and the ultra-orthodox. Vishṇu is considered the protector and preserver of men, beneficent and kind. The following are his ten incarnations:—

1.	Matsyāvatāra	.. Fish, Chaitra Sukla third.
2.	Kūrmāvatāra ..	.. Tortoise incarnation, Vaisāka Sukla fifteenth.
3.	Varahāvatāra ..	.. Boar incarnation, Bhādrapada Sukla third.
4.	Narasimhāvatāra	.. Man-lion incarnation, Vaisākha Sukla fourteenth.
5.	Vāmanāvatāra	.. Dwarf incarnation, Bhādrapada Sukla.
6.	Pārasurāmāvatāra	.. Rama with axe incarnation.
7.	Rāmachandrāvatāra	.. Chaitra Sukla ninth to eleventh.
8.	Krishṇāvatāra	.. Srāvaṇa Krishṇa eighth. This is the only incarnation celebrated in the dark half of the month.
9.	Buddhāvatāra	.. Aswini Sukla sixth.
10.	Kalkyāvatāra	.. Srāvaṇa Sukla sixth.

Ekadasi Days.—Owing to limitations of space an account of the Avatāras and Ekādasi days is not attempted here and the reader is referred to the books dealing with them.*

Śiva Holidays.—The regular worship of Śiva is the post-Vedic development of Rudra Śiva of the *Rigveda*. He has many of Rudra's attributes. He is associated with mountains, blue-throated, clad in skin, and has a fierce and terrible side to his nature. Rudra was a storm god. He is believed to have appeared on earth in man's form from time to time. His best known manifestation is that of Kālabhairava. No such well-defined or well-developed theory of successive incarnations is known as in the case of Vishṇu. The light half of the thirteenth, called *Pradōsha* (late evening), is sacred to Śiva, who is worshipped in the evening. The dark half thirteenth is called Śivarāthri (Śiva's night) which is also observed as *Pradōsha*. Both are observed throughout India.

Every Monday is devoted to Śiva worship by the orthodox. Women desiring children fast every Monday for a year.

Durgāshtami or the bright half eighth is another day devoted to Śiva worship.

Skanda or Karthikeya, the patron of war, is another son of Śiva who is worshipped on *Kārthika Sukla* sixth or new moon. He was extensively worshipped in ancient times.

Tripura Purnima.—Kārthika full moon. This day is next to Śivarāthri in importance for Śiva worship.

Kālabhairava is worshipped as a manifestation of Śiva on every dark eighth, and particularly on the dark eighth of *Kārthika*. He is believed to be

* *Feasts and Holidays of Hindus and Muhammadans*; Gupte, *Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials*; M. M. Underhill, *The Hindu Religious Year* and *The Hindu Year*.

black, riding by night on a black horse accompanied by a black dog.

Festivals of Animistic Origin.—This includes (1) the worship of the tutelary deity, (2) animal worship, (3) spirit worship, and (4) worship of plants and inanimate objects. Each worship has a story behind it. The reader may consult the interesting volume by the late Rai Bahadur B. A. Gupte on the subject.*

In all forms of Hindu worship, women play a subordinate part owing to their supposed impurity; but they have their own forms of worship of female deities. They have the various *vratams* or vows for the securing of good husbands, conjugal happiness, for avoidance of widowhood, for birth of children, and for acquisition of wealth. An account of women's religious practices is given below.

VRATAS OF TELUGU BRAHMAN GIRLS AND MARRIED WOMEN.

Taken as a class, the Telugu Brāhmans are very superstitious, and their women perform a very large number of *vratams* (vows). Those performed by Telugu and Kanarese women, both Brāhman and non-Brāhman, are dealt with below. A very favourite deity is Gauri in whose honour many of the rites noticed below are performed. These ceremonies give a vivid idea of the hopes and fears, the aspirations and forebodings of Hindu womanhood.

The following ceremonies are observed by girls after betrothal and before union with their husbands:—

Atlutaddi.—This takes place on the third day after the full moon, and an early meal is taken before sunrise. The goddess Gauri is worshipped in the afternoon and after the presentation of ten cakes to ten matrons, the deity invoked is dismissed. The object is to secure a young and agreeable husband.

* *Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials.*

Uppu (salt), (*Uppu Gauri*).—This consists in making a present to any matron, of a pot of salt, full to the brim, at the end of the year, with a view to secure a long enjoyment of the married state.

Akshayabandar (*Pasupa Gauri*).—This consists in making a present of a pot full of turmeric to any matron at the end of the year, with a view to avert the calamity of widowhood.

Udayakunkuma.—This refers to putting of red *kunkuma* mark on the foreheads of five matrons before sunrise, with the object of being always able to wear the same mark on her own forehead, *i.e.*, never to become a widow.

Padiharu Kudumulu.—This refers to the presentation of sixteen cakes once a year, for sixteen years, to a matron. This is for the attainment of wealth.

Kalika Gauri Devi.—This refers to showing to a matron, the antimony box, with a preparation of which the eyes are trimmed to give brilliancy, and wearing on the head, turmeric rice (*akshatalu*). The object of this is said to be to give sight to blind relatives.

Skandanomi.—This refers to abstaining for a year from the use of *arum* (*Amorphophallus campanulatus*), of which the corns are an article of food. They are presented to a matron with a silver and gold representation of Skanda to be worn on the neck. The object to be attained is that she, who performs the rites, may never have to shed tears.

Gummadi Gauri Devi.—This refers to the presentation at the end of the year to a matron, of a pumpkin in the morning and another in the afternoon, with a silver one at meal time and a gold one to be worn round the neck. This is to prolong married life.

Gandala Gauri Devi.—This refers to the distribution of twenty-five different sorts of things, to be

distributed to matrons at the rate of five of each sort to each. The object of this is to avert evil accidents of all kinds, which may threaten the husband.

Chittibottu.—This refers to putting the *kunkuma* marks on the foreheads of five matrons in the morning, for the attainment of wealth.

Salla Chukka.—Rubbing butter-milk, turmeric, *kunkuma*, and sandalwood paste on the threshold of the door. The object is the same as in the previous one.

Tavita Navami.—It is to avoid touching bran for any purpose, for the prolongation of married life.

Nallapusala Gauri Devi.—It is the presentation to a matron of a hundred black beads with one gold one, the object being again to avert widowhood.

Mocheti Padmam, (Muga Nomu).—It refers to the worship of the same deity, and the putting on the forehead mark (*bottlu*) to four matrons in the first year, eight in the second, and so on, increasing the number by four each year for twenty-seven years. This presentation has to be made in silence. The object is the attainment of wealth.

Mogado Sellu.—The performer washes her face thirteen times daily in a brass vessel and offers to some matron, some rice, a pearl, and a coral.

Undrallatadde.—On the thirteenth day, after the full moon, taking food before sunrise, the girl worships the goddess Gauri in the afternoon, and at the time of dismissing the deity invoked (*udyāpana*), she presents five round cakes to as many matrons as are invited. The object of this is to secure her would-be husband's affections.

Sravaṇa Mangalavaram Nomu.—In order to avert the risk of all accidents, in the month of *Srāvaṇa*, the goddess Gauri Devi is worshipped and Bengal gram is distributed to married women.

Savitri Gauri Devi.—She is worshipped with the offering of nine different articles on nine different days after the sun has entered the winter solstice, the sign of Capricorn. This is also practised to secure a husband's affection.

Tsaddikutimangalavaram.—This is a kind of self-mortification, and consists in eating on every Tuesday for one year, nothing but cold rice boiled on the previous night, and feeding a matron with the same.

The following are some of the ceremonies practised by young women after attaining the marriageable age :—

Prabatcha Ādivaram.—It is to offer worship to a married couple, and limit the taking of food to a single meal on Sunday. This is done with the object of having children.

Apadhalem Ādivaram.—This refers to taking but one meal on every Sunday, and making a presentation to five matrons, of five cakes with a flat basket of rice, jackets, and other things. This is for obtaining wealth.

Magha Ādivaram—This refers to a total abstinence from some one article of food for one year, another the next year, and so on for five years; also limitation to a single meal every Sunday, and the presentation of cloths to Brāhmans upon the dismissal of the deity invoked for worship. The object of this seems to be to secure reunion with the husband after death.

Dhāppitti Ādivaram.—This refers to abstinence from salt on every Sunday for a year, with a view to secure the longevity of children.

Udayapadmam.—This is to take, for one year, a daily bath, and to draw the representation of a lotus with rice flour every morning near the sacred *tulasi* plant (*Ocimum sanctum*), which is grown in many

Hindu households, on an altar of masonry. The object of this is to restore a dead husband to life again, *i.e.*, to secure reunion in the next life.

Kanne Tulasi.—This is to avert widowhood; those who perform this rite present thirteen pairs of cakes in a gold cup to a Brāhman.

Karthika Chalimidi.—This refers to the distribution of *chalimidi*, which is flour mixed with sugar water, for three years; in the first year, half a seer of rice, in the second year, two and a half seers, and in the third year, twenty-six seers, the object sought being to restore life to children that may die.

Kailasa Gauri Devi.—This refers to grind one and a half *visses** of turmeric without assistance in perfect silence, and to distribute it among 101 matrons, the object being to avert widowhood.

Dhatrya Lakshmi.—As a charm against tears, matrons light a magic light, which must have a cotton wick of the weight of one pagoda (a gold coin), and of a quarter of a *viss* of ghee (clarified butter).

Dhanapalalu.—Giving four different sorts of grain, for five years, to a Brāhman, to atone for the sin of the catamenial discharge.

Nandikesudu.—The distribution of five seers each of nine different sorts of grain, which must be dressed and eaten in the house. This is done for the acquisition of wealth.

Nityadhanyamu.—Daily giving a handful of grain to any Brāhman with the object of averting widowhood.

Phalala Gauri Devi.—This is performed by the presentation of sixteen fruits of sixteen different species to any married woman with a view to secure healthy offspring.

Pamidi Puvulu.—With the view to avert widowhood and to secure influence on their husbands,

* One *viss* is a Madras measure and is equal to 3 lbs. 2 oz.

young wives practise the daily worship of thirteen flowers for a time, and afterwards present to a Brāhman, the representations of thirteen flowers in gold, together with a *lingām* or *panavaṭṭam* (the seat of the *lingam*).

Muppadimudu Punnamulu.—To avert widowhood, cakes are offered on the occasion of thirty-three full moons; on the first, one cake is eaten; on the second, two, and so on up to thirty-three.

Munikartulu.—For the attainment of wealth, women light seven hundred cotton wicks steeped in oil at the three festivals of the full moon, *Sankrānti* and *Sivarātri.*

Magha Gauri Devi.—The worship of the goddess Gauri in the month of *Māgha* will avert widowhood.

Visṇuvidia.—To atone for the sin of the catamenial discharge, food is eaten without salt on the second day after every new moon.

Sokamuleni Somavaram.—The taking of food without salt every Monday, will restore children from illness or death.

Chitraguptulu.—Burning twelve wicks daily in oil, for the attainment of happiness in a future state.

Sukravaram.—For the acquisition of wealth, women sometimes limit themselves to one meal on Fridays, and feed five married women, on each occasion after dismissing the deity invoked for worship.

Saubhagyatadde.—To avert widowhood, another practice is, to distribute on the third day after every new moon, unassisted in silence, one and a quarter *visses* of turmeric among thirteen matrons.

Kshirābdhi Dvādasi.—Keeping a fast day specially devoted to the worship of Vishṇu, with a view to secure happiness in a future state.

Chinuku Dvadasi.—A woman takes a stalk of Indian corn fresh by pulling up, and with it pounds rice flour mixed with milk in a mortar. This is to

avert widowhood in this world, and to secure happiness in the next.

Women who have lost children frequently perform the following two ceremonies for restoration to life or restoration in a future state :—

Kundella Amavasya, (Hare's New Moon).—To give thirteen different things to some married woman on every new moon for thirteen months.

Kadupukadalani Gauri Devi.—The presentation of thirteen cakes to thirteen matrons.

The following ceremonies are often performed after the cessation of the catamenial discharge, to atone for the sin contracted by its occurrence :—

Annammuttani Adivaram.—The eating of yams and other roots on every Sunday for three years, or, under certain conditions, for a longer period.

Rishipanchami.—On the fifth day of *Bhādrapada*, to eat five baḷusu (*Canthium parviflorum*) leaves, and to drink a handful of ghee.

Gomayani.—To eat three balls of cow-dung every morning for a year.

Lakshavattulu.—To burn one lakh (100,000) of wick lights.

Lakshmivarapu Ekadasi.—From the time when the eleventh day after new moon falls on a Thursday, to observe a fast, and to worship the *tulasi* plant for eleven days.

Margasira Lakshmivaram.—The mistress of a family will often devote herself to the worship of Lakshmi on every Thursday of the month of *Mārgasira*, in order to propitiate the goddess of wealth.

Somisomavaram, (*Amavasya Sōmavaram*).—A special worship is performed on every new moon that falls on a Monday, with the giving away of 360 articles, two or three on each occasion. This is performed with a view to attain atonement for sins and happiness in a future state.

There are many ceremonies performed by women to whom nature has denied the much coveted joys of maternity. Among these may be noted :—

Asvathapradakshinam.—In villages is often to be seen a margosa (*Melia azadirachta*) tree, round which a pipal tree (*Ficus religiosa*) has entwined itself. The ceremony consists in a woman walking round and round this tree several times daily for a long period.

SUMMARY.

All Hindu festivals and fasts are of a socio-religious character, and the seasons, auspicious and inauspicious, for their celebration, are described in the sacred literature of the Hindus. The two seasons into which the year is divided are *Uttarāyana* and *Dakshināyana*, each consisting of six months determined by the movements of the sun. It is during the *Uttarāyana* or the bright half of the year, that most of the important festivals are held. During the other half, the worship of the ancestors takes place.

There are also special festivals and fasts in honour of Brahma, Vishṇu and Śiva. Among the Hindus, women play a secondary rôle in the performance of religious ceremonies. But there are forms of worship (*vratams*) special to them in which they take a leading part, and men play only a subordinate part. The object of their special worship is confined to the attainment of happy married life, children, wealth, desire for the long life of their husbands and the like.

The religion of the Hindus, especially that of the Brāhmans, is that which is described in the *Vedas*, the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upanishads*. It is one of polytheism derived from nature worship. Gradually it became a philosophic and pessimistic one. The philosophy of the *Upanishads* reveals but one existence in the Universe, the supreme *Ātman*. The pessimism

of the Upanishads is intensified by the belief in the transmigration of souls. The doctrines of transmigration and *karma* exercise a profound influence on Indian thought. This philosophic side of worship was further developed into monism by Sankara, Ramānuja and Madhava.

By a process of evolution, there has been a transition from Vedism to Neo-Brāhmanism which is said to be the work of, or inspired by, the Brāhman hierarchy. The Vedic deities became transformed into others with distinct powers. The Trinity—Brahma, Vishṇu and Śiva—and their consorts became the chief gods and goddesses for human adoration. Their sons also became the secondary gods and goddesses. To these were added the non-Aryan gods and goddesses. Further, two other religions—Buddhism and Jainism—had their profound influence on Hinduism which has become an all-absorbing one. Finally, plants and animals became associated with the deities and became objects of adoration.

Closely connected with the worship mentioned above, are the fasts and festivals celebrated in honour of each deity. These continue all through the year. The deities are located in temples, and the religion is a socio-religious one.

CHAPTER XII.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

INTRODUCTION—TOILET OF THE CORPSE—DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD—FEAR OF THE SPIRIT—GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CORPSE—MOURNING—FASTING—ERECTION OF HUT OR MOUND—PURIFICATION—FUNERAL FEAST—FOOD FOR THE DEAD—FUNERAL CUSTOMS AMONG THE MUSALMANS AND CHRISTIANS—SUTTEE OR WIDOW BURNING—SUMMARY.

INTRODUCTION.

SAVAGES all the world over are not conscious of the fact that death is a natural phenomenon, and that it must come to everybody. It is their belief that it is caused by some malevolent spirit that has not been propitiated with sacrifice. It is specially the case with diseases like "dementia," the delirium of fever and the like, which are all attributed to the action of some indwelling spirit. The belief is extended to epidemic diseases, each of which is due to the working of a special disease-spirit. It has been already said that death is also caused by magic.* Regarding the origin of death, the best known story is that which is mentioned in Genesis: it is the result of man's disobedience to the Divine Command.

Mention is made of death in the *Rigveda*.† The *Atharvaveda* is full of charms to avert it.‡ "Seven times did the sages keep out of death by effacing their foot-steps. From these accounts it is seen that they knew of only one kind of death, and that caused by old age is natural."§ According to the

* *Vide* 'Hasalar' Vol. III, p. 396.
† *Rigveda* VII: 59-12; X 13 13-5; X 14-15.
‡ *A. V.* i 30-33; Ii-28-i; viii, 2-17; XI, 6-11.
§ Bloomfield, *The Interpretation of the Veda.*

Hindu conception death is to be avoided at night, in the dark half of the moon or again in the dark season (*Dakshināyana*)—middle of July to the middle of January—and during *Jyēshta-panchami*. A most elaborate ceremony is performed to avoid such a catastrophe during these specified times. From the Vedic literature, it is seen that the allotted span of man's life on earth is 100 years. Nevertheless, the loss of physical strength and the evils of old age are clearly recognized.

REMOVAL FROM HOUSE OR BED.

It is a widespread custom to take the dying man out of bed and lay him on the floor or on *kusa* grass (*acynosuroides*). When a Nambudiri Brāhman is at the point of death, his body is removed with his head towards the south to a cushion of *kusa* grass on the floor of the *Thekkini* or southern hall.* Similarly, the dead body of a Nayar is laid on a plantain leaf spread on the floor,† and while it is there, a lamp is kept burning.

It is believed to be sacrilegious to allow the last breath while lying on a bed in a room with a ceiling, which is supposed to obstruct the free passage of the breath. This practice is observed by the Hindus all over India including Mysore. The reasons for this practice are not quite clear. It is probably an attempt to bring the dying man into touch with the earth, so that the soul may pass into the realm of the dead beneath.

TOILET AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD.

In all tribes and castes, great care is taken for the toilet of the corpse. The dead body is washed, well dressed in new garments with the caste marks put on the forehead, chest and hands; for the dead must enter the spirit-world in the best array.

*—† *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, Chap. XI, p. 266; Vol. II, Chap. IV, p. 91.

Among the Hindus both burial and cremation are in vogue. The well-known distinction drawn between *Agnidagdhas* and *Anagnidagdhas* testifies to them. Funeral ceremonies, as mentioned above, are very elaborate, and passing from the Vedic times to the period of the *Grihyasūtras* (collection of domestic rules), cremation is considered to be one of the sacraments. Special regulations are given for the choice of the place of cremation, which, in some respects, resembles the place of offerings to the Gods. The duly selected spot is purified, and a formula is employed to scare away demons or ghosts. When the soul leaves the body, it is regarded as weak and helpless, and therefore death rites resolve themselves into tendence rather than worship. "It is well known," says Baudhāyana, (*Pitremēdha* III I-4) "that through *Samskāra* after birth, one conquers earth, and that through *Samskāra* after death, heaven. On this day, I shall go to my father and fulfil the sacrament of the cremation." The Hindu funeral services seem to fulfil a double purpose, both for the individual and for the community. In the absence of performance of funeral rites, the restless spirit of the dead is supposed to wander in this world chiefly owing to its inability to reach the blissful realms. It is on this ground that every attempt is made to propitiate the spirit of the dead, and to prevent its return. Allusion in the Vedic literature to pour water, and to chase away the spirit is a strong evidence of this theory. In the ceremony performed before the presentation of oblations to the gods and to the manes extinguishing of lighted lamps (*Rākshōgna*) is referred to, and this serves the purpose of the expulsion of evil spirits. When a man dies, his body is buried or cremated, but the soul always wanders in the vicinity. It is his ghost, and as it has no real body, it becomes restless and

uncomfortable with a desire to wander. It has also an insatiable desire to frequent its old haunts. If the funeral rites are not performed for a man whose death is not known to his relations, he becomes a *pisācha* or foul wandering spirit with a strong inclination to wreak vengeance upon the living by many violent acts. To prevent the possibilities of harm from the ghost, an effigy is made and burned; and after this, death rites are performed to satisfy the spirit. The Brāhmans, when cremating their dead, cry out "Away, go away, O death; injure not our sons and our men!" (R. V. X, 18-1). The Brāhmans and other higher Hindu castes believe that the removal of the bone and ashes of the dead and depositing them in the Ganges or other sacred rivers brings peace to his spirit, and relieves the survivors from harm. The wide prevalence of cremation leads us to ponder over the reasons for this method of the disposal of the dead. The reasons for such a practice have been thus stated by Bendan:

"Cremation is the most effective method of preventing the return of the dead, and this dispels the pollution caused by death. It protects the body from wild beasts. It removes the deceased from the machinations of the evil spirits, and the process is a means of securing warmth and comfort in the future world. It eliminates the process of transformation, a process detrimental to the living and the dead." *

Burial among the Sudras and other low castes has also for its chief object, the prevention of the ghost from tormenting the living. The method of disposal is also supplemented by ceremonies to render

* *Death Customs*, Chap. II, p. 30.

Of the two modes of disposal, burial is earlier and goes back to the Neolithic age. G. Allen: *The Evolution of the Idea of God.* By the introduction of cremation, the conception of ghost merely suffered an airy change. He grew more shadowy, more immaterial, more light and more spiritual.

the survivors safe from the spirit of the dead. Care is also taken to prevent the deceased from falling into the hands of an enemy, or being destroyed by wild beasts. The devices intended to prevent the return of malignant spirits are manifold. "In some cases a cairn is raised over the grave, or as an additional precaution, the excavation is filled up with stones or thorns. Sometimes when the grave is enclosed by a fence too high for the ghost 'to take it,' particularly without a run. Such an enclosure has the additional advantage of marking the place as taboo. This was the origin of the stone circles erected round cairns, which subsequently developed into the artistic railings of Buddhist *stupas*." Another common method is to deceive the spirit by carrying out the corpse feet foremost or by a special door, so that it may not find its way back by removing the house ladder or by forcing the bearers to carry their burden at a trot and to change the place on the road. Special precautions are taken not to name the dead at least for some time after death, lest the soul might consider it an invitation to return.

The methods of disposal of the dead are :—

1. Cannibalism—no clear instance in India.
2. Dolmens and other stone monuments.
3. Exposure to beasts and birds of prey.
4. Cairn burial.
5. House burial.
6. Disposal in water.
7. Tree burial.
8. Platform burial.
9. Jar burial.
10. Contracted burial.
11. Shelf or niche burial.
12. Concealed burial.

Among the very low castes and jungle tribes, it is believed that the soul on its separation from the body is a naked feeble manikin exposed to all kinds of injury until, by the pious care of its friends, a new body is provided for it. This often takes, as a temporary refuge, a hut, a stone, a tree, or a piece of sacred grass lest the soul might abide in an animal or an insect. Among the jungle tribes the soul is ordinarily supposed to live in a tree. It is a belief which may have been in some instances suggested by the habit of tree burial.*

FEAR OF THE SPIRIT.

The custom of carrying out the dead body by some other way than that of the ordinary door is very common. The evidence of this custom is found from South Africa to the farthest limits of Asia, from the Indian Archipelago to the Islands of the Southern Ocean.† The custom still prevails among certain Hindu castes that when death occurs on an inauspicious day, the dead body is removed not through the door but through a temporary hole made in the wall. The corpse is carried out feet foremost so that the ghost may not find its way back to the house. In some places, the corpse is passed out in a sitting posture through an opening in the wall.‡ The Banjaras reverse the process; instead of the ordinary door, they make another entrance, for the usual way of exit is supposed to be polluted by the passage of the spirit of the dead. A similar custom is found among the Maghs of Tippera. When a Brāhman proceeds to the place of cremation, it is always the eldest son that goes first, and the youngest last, in funeral procession. But the order is reversed on the homeward march.

* *Vide* Spirit p. 194.
† Bendan, E.: *Death Customs*, Chap. IV, p. 57, 58.
‡ Thurston, E.: *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, p. 137.

The spirit of the deceased is represented as thirsty. Among the high caste Hindus, a jar of water is hung on a *pipal* tree for the refreshment of the spirit.* A similar custom prevails among the Sauras. In Southern India, a small pit in a conspicuous part of the house is made and filled with water. Around it are placed a few green cocoanuts with their mouths open.

GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CORPSE.

Since the ghost is in a realm of the mysterious and uncanny, it is naturally saturated with danger. "The potency of the mysterious, is the fundamental historical basis of religion." † "The very awful contact with the dead body leads one to show respect and reverence to the departed, to perform acts of service, and to propitiate the ghost." And wherever we turn, we see in society numerous instances of this conception. So long as the dead body remains in the house, neither the inmates nor their neighbours can eat, drink or work. The service in the neighbouring temple is entirely suspended until the dead body has been removed. "An examination of concrete material shows that perfect pandemonium centres round the corpse." ‡ Innumerable mourning customs, death taboos, purification rites, and various devices adopted to prevent the return of the deceased, point to a confirmation of Marett's and Farnell's views. The universal attitude towards the corpse is therefore mystical and supernatural; and to the relations of the dead a separation from it is alarming." §

MOURNING.

In Southern India, the sons get shaved immediately after cremation for the performance of

* Crooke: *Popular Religion and Folklore of North India.* Vol. II, p. 61.

† Thotwell: *The Religious Revolution of the Day,* pp. 111—122.

‡ Farnell: *Evolution of Religion,* p. 104.

§ Bendan, E.: *Death Customs,* Chap. III, pp. 84, 92, 94.

the funeral ceremonies during the ten days of mourning. Among the Kunbis, an agricultural caste of the Bombay Presidency, the male mourners shave their heads.

Many are the taboos observed during the period of mourning some of which are :—

1. The use of leaves instead of metal dishes.
2. Seclusion at home.
3. Absence from work and all amusements during the days of mourning.
4. Avoidance of betel-chewing and perfumes.
5. Avoidance of sumptuous meals, (the object of seclusion is to get a revelation into the mystery of life).
6. Fasting.
7. Abstinence from sexual intercourse.
8. Abstinence from eating meat and drink.

FASTING. Fasting plays an important part in death complex, the object of which suggests an indiscretion for the survivors to touch food, until the deceased is properly provided, owing to the fear of its return to the old haunts. It may also be regarded as a purificatory ceremony, especially, when the survivors come in contact with the dead.

Another object of fasting after death may be to acquire supernatural powers, for then the survivors would be able to cope with many dangers which may beset them, largely because of the extraordinary powers with which the ghosts are endowed. Food restrictions may be due to (1) propitiation; (2) the acquisition of supernatural powers; (3) the desire to avoid any possible future defilement.*

* Bendan, E.: *Death Customs*, Chap. VI, p. 108.

Among the Chakmas, a bamboo post or other part of the dead man's house is burnt with him. The Banjaras put up a shed after death. Myāsa Bēdas erect a flimsy hut for worship. Dēvāngas erect in some places a hut of milk-hedge (*Euphorbia tirukalli*) branches over the grave.* Before the grave of a Dēvānga is filled in, a rope is tied to the *kudumi* (tuft of hair on the head) and brought towards the surface. Over the end of the rope, when the grave has been filled in, a *lingam* (phallic emblem) is placed so as to be above the head of the corpse and worshipped daily throughout the death rites. In some cases, a small edifice is also put up for future worship.† Bēdas erect a mound over the grave.‡ Dāsaris plant a *tulsi* plant (*Ocimum sanctum*) near the grave. Hallekars are buried under a heap of stones and Idigas do likewise.

ERECTION OF HUT OR MOUND ON THE GRAVE.

The temples of the Kurubas of North Arcot are said to be crude, low structures, resembling an enclosed *mandapam* (shrine) supported upon rough stone pillars. A wall of stones encloses a considerable space round the temple, and this is covered with small structures formed of four small flat stones. The stone facing the open side often has a figure sculptured upon it representing the deceased *gauda* or *pūjāri*, to whom it has been dedicated, and here periodically, and always during the annual feasts, *pūjā* is made, not only to the spirits of the departed, but also to all those who have died within the clan. It seems impossible not to connect this with those strange structures called by the natives "Pandava temples." They are numerous where the Kurubas are now found, and are known to have been raised over the graves of the dead. Writing concerning the Kurubas and Irulas, Mr. Walhouse states, "that after every death among them, they bring a long water-worn stone (*Dēva-kotte-kallu*), and put it in one of the old cromlechs which are sprinkled over the Nilgiri plateau. Some of the larger of these have been piled up to the capstone with such pebbles which must have been the work of generations.

* *Madras Census Report*, 1901.
† Thurston, E. : *Ethnographic Notes*, p. 136.
‡ Vol. II, p. 223.

Occasionally too, the tribes mentioned make small cromlechs for burial purposes, and place the water-worn pebbles in them." According to Mr. Grigg, some of the Kurumbas of the Nilgiris deposit a bone from the pyre in a *sāvumane* (death house), a small cromlech surrounded by upright stones, and bring some resemblance to the more ancient cromlechs found on the hills. "These *sāvumanes* are said to have been made by their forefathers. The suggestion is hazarded by Fergusson, that the Kurumbas of the southern hills are the remnants of a great and widely spread race who may have erected dolmens. Writing concerning the Kurumbas or shepherd caste of Kaladgi, a correspondent of the *Indian Antiquary*, states that he came across a tomb only four years old." It was a complete miniature dolmen about eighteen inches every way composed of four stones one at each side, one at the rear and a capstone. The interior was occupied by two round stones about the size of a man's fist, painted red, the deceased man resting in his mother earth below.*

SACRIFICE OF ANIMALS.

The sacrifice of a goat at the grave of the Vedic Indian and apparently burnt with the body was to permit it to act as a guide to the deceased in the other world. And the slaughter of a draft ox enabled the dead to have a means of conveyance *en route* to the region beyond. After burial, a cock is sacrificed so as to bear the sins of the departed. A male calf is made a scapegoat on the morning of the eleventh day after death for the purpose of leading the dead by a happy road to the other world. The gift of a cow either a short time before death or on the twelfth day *sapindikarana* also serves the same purpose. In all these cases, we find not only destruction resorted to, but such is invariably followed by other observances which point to the conception of the dead. The fear of pollution deserves consideration. Here also the attitude of fear seems to be the paramount consideration especially to the spirits of the departed who are supposed to return

* *Indian Antiquary* IV, 1907 (3) *Manual of the Nilgiri District*, (1) *Manual of the North Arcot District.*

to their old haunts. The object of the practice of sacrifice of animals and human beings is to provide for the wants and comforts of the dead so as to prevent its return; and to afford companionship, and lead the way to the realms beyond.*

Among the Hindus as the funeral party returns home from the cremation ground, a purifying ablution is performed by all the relatives to the seventh degree and clad in one garment, they plunge into water, before entering the house. They must chew *nimba* leaves and step upon a stone. Herbs are placed upon the fire which is invoked to protect the relatives and likewise water to cleanse the mourners. The house of the dead is cleansed with water mixed with cowdung, and sprinkled with sanctified water by means of which it is purified. The same kind of ceremony took place among the Romans on the tenth day named *Denicales feriæ*. Among the Romans also it was the custom of the whole family to undergo an elaborate purification to remove the pollution arising from contact with the corpse. The house which contained the dead body was also swept with a kind of broom. PURIFICATION.

The period of impurity lasts for three days in the case of some tribes. But it varies with the degree of relationship, and extends from two to ten days. This is supplemented by the age and sex of the deceased. In the *Grihyasūtras* pollutions last for three or eight months. In later times, the mourning periods last longer. According to the *Vishnupurāna*, the time of impurity for a Brāhman is ten days; for a Kshatriya twelve; for a Vaisya fourteen; for a Sudra one month or thirty-one days. The higher the caste the less the inconvenience. In all

* Sydney Hartland, E.: *Primitive Law*, Chap. IV, p. 85.

cases before purification, shaving takes place followed by a bath, after which they are sprinkled with sanctified water. In some parts of Malabar on the fifteenth day after death, the purificatory ceremony is performed. Gingelly oil is rubbed on the heads and bodies of those under pollution. This sprinkling and the bath which follows are supposed to remove the pollution.* On the tenth day after death, the sons of the deceased member of the Nayādi caste return home at the end of various other ceremonies, and cowdung mixed with water is sprinkled over them by their relatives, before which the floor of the hut is also cleansed with the same mixture.† The Mukkuvan (sea fishermen) corpse-bearers after anointing themselves with oil, bathe in the sea before the burial ceremony. After interment the bearers and the sons of the deceased bathe in the sea. Again upon returning home they are met by a barber woman who sprinkles on them rice and water.‡ The death pollution lasts for seven days, during which the sons abstain from salt and tamarind. The Agasas of Mysore observe pollution for three days, but the chief mourner is purified only on the eleventh day. Among the Thiyans of Malabar, the *pulakuli* or bath for the removal of pollution is the final ceremony of the unpleasant consequence of death. Members of the family rub themselves all over the body with oil, and are sprinkled with cow's milk and gingelly oil; after which they wash themselves with soap and bathe. Some, for want of means, keep a piece of cloth in an earthen vessel with its mouth tightly closed, and if funds permit take it out and perform the ceremony.§ The

* *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, Chap. IV, p. 91.
† *Ibid* Vol. I, Chap. III, p. 54.
‡ *Ibid* Vol. I, Chap. XIV, p. 270.
§ *Ibid* Vol. II, pp. 484-485.

pollution or the impurity is then supposed to be removed. Both the barber and the washerman play a conspicuous part in purification.

Summing up the evidence, the following seem to be the form of purification practised by Hindu castemen :

(1) Bathing and change of garments ; (2) Use of fire ; (3) The use of cowdung and salt ; (4) The use of rice and oil ; (5) The sacrifice of certain animals ; and (6) Abstinence from ordinary pursuits of life.

FEASTS.

The spirit of the dead is fed on the third and eleventh day. In the case of Brāhmans and other higher castes, it takes place both at home and at the riverside or by the side of a tank. In the case of other castes and tribes, the relatives and castemen are fed on the pollution-going day.

FOOD FOR THE DEAD.

The soul after its separation from the body is believed to assume a form which is as small as a thumb. Its throat has the size of a needle's eye, and it suffers from thirst which no amount of water can assuage ; for the watchmen of Varuna, the God of Water, prevent it from drinking. It is therefore supplied with water and *pinda* offerings * for ten days. In this state, it is known as *prēta*. It is seized by the dreaded messengers of Yama, who hold a preliminary inquest to make sure that the right soul has been arrested. If it committed sins, during its lifetime, it would have to undergo miseries in hell. From hell, it returns to the world. †

* Vol. II, p. 484.

† The realm of the dead is variously located in the west or the south, sometimes in the east according to the Rigveda, (X. 15, 7) which speaks of the fathers *aruninam upasthi*, in the bosom of the dawn. The dead are sought for in earth and air, and heaven, in sun, moon, and stars, (in the last very rarely). Different views, originating at different times among different peoples are frequently met with. All these finally emerge in the Vedic ritual and its hymns, (Hillebrandt, A : *Vedic Mythology*, Breslau, 1891-1902, III 414 ff.)

By these ten days' rites and offerings, the spirit has been enabled to escape from the same number of different hells, and gradually a new body with all its organs has been created. The order in which the organs of this new body are formed is sometimes thus defined. On the first day, the dead man gains his head; on the second, his ears, eyes and nose; on the third, his hands, breast and neck; on the fourth, his middle parts; on the fifth, his legs and feet; on the sixth, his vital organs; on the seventh, his bones, marrow, veins, and arteries; on the eighth, his nails, hair and teeth; on the ninth, all remaining limbs and organs and his manly strength. The rites of the tenth day are usually specially devoted to the task of removing the sensations of hunger and thirst which the new body then begins to experience. All the agnates offer oblations of water, *tharpana*, to the spirit of the dead. The house and the vessels which it contains are purified so as to remove the last taint of the death pollution; the fireplace at the scene of the obsequies is broken, and a handful of water is offered to assuage the thirst of the spirit. After bathing at a spot higher up the stream than that where the obsequies were performed, the officiant and other relatives go homewards, first being sprinkled with the five products of the sacred cow (*panchagavya*), and taking care to lay a ball of uncooked meal on the road behind them, so as to attract the attention of the ghost and dissuade it from returning in their company.

On the eleventh day, the chief rites consist in the gift of a cow (*kapila-dāna*) to the chief Brāhman, and the loosening of a scape-bullock (*vrishothsarga*) in the name of the deceased. This seems to be partly a survival of the ancient rite of animal sacrifice,

and as a means of removing the taboo of death. It is released with the dedications: "To father, mother, and relatives on the father's and mother's side, to the family priest (*Purohita*), wife's relatives, those who have died without sons, and who have not had the due obsequial ceremonies performed, may salvation come by the release of the bullock." At the present day, the animal is usually branded with the divine emblems of the discus and trident, and henceforth is allowed to wander free in the village lands. Food is again cooked, and offered to the manes with the invocation: "You have finished your course, and have reached the abodes of bliss. Be present, though invisible, at this rite." The general effect of the ceremony is that the spirit ceases to be a disembodied ghost, and becomes enrolled among the sainted dead. On the twelfth day, food is again offered, and water poured at the root of a sacred fig-tree for the refreshment of the spirit.

The series of rites is often known as *Nārāyana Bali*, or *Vishnu oblation*, and facilitates the release of the spirit. The soul of the deceased does not pass at once into the world of *Pitris*; it remained separate from them for a time as a *prēta* or a spirit. The dead man reaches the circle of water, and the manes through the instrumentality of *Sapindi-karma*. The grandfather now drops out, as only three rice balls are presented. As one of the manes, he receives his place in the ancestor cult, which has taken deep root in Hindu life. To feed the ancestors, to propitiate or keep them away, and to summon them away are the purposes served by the *Srāddhas*. The *Srāddhas* are performed either on special occasions or annually on the *tithi*. To the former belong the birth of a son *nāmakarana* and other ceremonies, when the manes are spoken as

"cheerful" and are honoured in the same way as the gods; to the second belongs the daily worship of the manes, that on the day of new moon (*Āmāvasya*), the monthly worship (*Sankramaṇa*) the great offering of the manes, and the *astaka* celebration with the *anvastakya* which coincide with the close of the year.*

No *Srāddha* is performed for girls who die unmarried, and for boys only if they have not undergone initiation and investiture with the sacred thread. Special rites are performed in the case of those whose ghosts are universally regarded as malignant. Such cases are those of a woman dying in child-birth or in a state of impurity. Her corpse is generally anointed with the five products of the cow, sprinkled with water, a little fire is placed on the chest, and it is then either cremated or buried. In such cases, it is a common rule that no rites are performed until the ninth day after death, when, if the family can afford the cost, the ceremonies of the last few days, as already described, are performed. To these is added a special rite of expiation, which is intended to free the household from pollution. Similar rites of a special kind are performed when a man is drowned, dies on an unlucky day, or in the case of one originally a Hindu who becomes an outcaste, a Christian or a Muhammadan. In this rite, which is known as *Nārāyana Bali* (oblation to the God Nārāyana), the *Srāddha* or expiation is usually performed over an image of the deceased, made of barley or some other grain. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, XX, 522 f.; Risley, op. cit. i. 266, ii. 191; Crooke, op., cit. i. 90, 210, ii. 465.)

The *Srāddha* is performed throughout India with more or less diversity of practices by all orthodox Hindus. Among the castes of a lower grade, the primitive custom of feeding the dead has been to some degree extended after the example of their Hindu neighbours. The main point of difference is the abbreviation of the rite, which does not extend over a period so long protracted as in the case of the orthodox, and the ceremony is very often limited to the last few days of the mourning season.†

The ruder tribes of the plains also do likewise. The beatified souls of men enjoy communion with all the gods. They are in rank a little below the minor gods and live with them. Every

* Vol. II, pp. 480–487.

† Jevons: *Introduction to History of Religion*, p. 194.

tribe invokes the deceased souls of the ancestors in endless array at every ceremonial, after invoking the minor gods. They specially remember those men renowned for great or good actions, as for reclaiming waste lands, for extraordinary bravery, for wisdom in council, or for remarkable integrity of life. They believe that beatified souls may act as intercessors with some of the gods.

The custom of providing food for the dead prevails in all ages and in all parts of the world with rare exceptions. It is based upon the animistic conception of the soul, which on its departure from the body is regarded as a tiny feeble entity conscious of the same wants as those which are left in life and dependent till it attains its final rest upon the pious care of the survivors. The same belief appears in the provision of clothes, weapons, and even companions for the spirit in the next world. The last usage is illustrated by the use of Suttee, and by the massacre of slaves and dependants whose spirits are believed to accompany the spirit of their master. The common explanation of such rites is that they are intended to make the departed soul so comfortable in deathland that it may have no inducement to return and annoy the survivors; but this is not the only reason that has been suggested for this and the kindred customs of burying his goods with the dead man. Crawley argues that the practice is based on the dread, on contact with articles belonging to the dead which have become infected with the taboo of the corpse, that the idea of providing for the wants of the spirit, though often combined with the dread of taboo is probably later in origin. Jevons tries to establish a gradation in the class of custom. Originally, the dead were supposed to suffer from hunger and thirst as the living do and to require food for which they are dependent on the living. Eventually, the funeral feasts were interpreted on the analogy of those at which the gods are feasted with their worshippers. The food offering, however, enables us to date ancestor worship relatively. It was not until agricultural times that the sacrificial rite became the cheerful feast at which the bonds of fellowship were renewed between the god and his worshippers. It could not therefore have been, until agricultural times, that the funeral feast came to be interpreted on the analogy of the sacrificial feast. This he believes to be corroborated by the fact that ancestor worship dates from the rise of the family, a comparatively later institution in the history of society. The feeding of the dead is inconsistent with beliefs of orthodox Buddhists, Jains and Lingayats, and cremation of Sanyasis.

MUHAMMADAN AND CHRISTIAN CUSTOMS.

The funeral feast is an extension of the practice of feeding the dead which marks the solidarity of the clan. The kinsmen enjoy a solemn meal in the presence of the dead. Jevons suggests one motive for the custom, that the feast which is spread with the dead man's favourite delicacies is to tempt his soul to return.

According to the Koran, every soul must taste death.* It is believed that the exact date of each person's death is foreordained.† In the case of a believer, angels of mercy clad in white come and invite the soul to the rest which is with God, and the soul comes out with a delicious smell of musk which the angel sniffs with satisfaction; the soul is handed on from angel to angel till it reaches the souls of the faithful who rejoice and question it about those left behind on earth. But the angels of wrath come to the dying infidel, and his soul departs with a bad smell which disgusts, and they bring it to the soul of the infidel. This idea is elaborated in other traditions in which the soul of the righteous is said to issue forth like water from the skin, and the angel of death seizes it. But the angel in white snatches it from him and wraps it in shroud with an odour of musk, and conveys it to the seventh heaven, where the believer's name is registered, after which it is returned to the body on earth to undergo the questioning of the grave. But the dying infidel is visited by black-faced angels, and the soul is drawn out like a hot spit out of wet wool which sticks to it and is wrapped in sack-cloth, smelling fetidly, and it is violently thrown upon the earth, to be examined by the angels of the grave. The body is treated with a ceremonial which varies little in different parts of the Muslim world, and is nearly the same for men and women. ‡

* III, 182.
† XVI, 63.
‡ Hastings, J.: *E.R.E.*, Vol. IV, pp. 365-368. Herklot: *Islam.*

Among Christians, the soul of the dead is taken to purgatory, where it is detained till the judgment day, when souls are judged according to the good or evil they have committed during the life-time. The good go to heaven and the sinful to hell. Prayers are offered on behalf of the dead, and the aid of the saints is sought.

SUTTEE OR WIDOW-BURNING.

Widow-burning is the relic of once widely spread savagery, which has subsequently become an ancient institution of the Indo-Aryan based on the primitive idea that in the shadowy life of the next world which is supposed to be more or less like that of the present, the dead chief or king needs the service and companionship of his wife or wives. In the *Atharva-veda* the suicide of the widow on the death of her husband is said to be "an ancient duty." * She ascended the funeral pyre, and lay by the side of her husband. As in the *Rigveda*, the widow is made to rise up from the funeral pyre, and is led away by her new husband. The ancient custom and the ancient duty of the widow to burn herself on her husband's death has given place to a second marriage. In later times, this ancient custom was revived under the influence of the Brāhmans anxious to obtain command over the property of the widow. Oriental scholars like Max Müller, Professor Wilson and others consider the text in the *Rigveda* cited as a religious sanction of the practice "mangled," "mistranslated" and "misapplied." The change of text is regarded as the most flagrant instance of what has been done by an unscrupulous priest.†

* Lanman, C. R.: *Atharvaveda* XVIII, III; 2. *Harvard Oriental Series*, Vol. VIII. Cambridge, Mass. 1905.

† Max Muller: *Selected Essays on Language, Mythology and Religion*, 1881, I, 335.

INSTANCES OF WIDOW-BURNING IN THE PURANAS.

Widow-burning is said to be foreign to the two great epics. There is only one instance of it in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (VII, 17, 14). But statements that it is the duty and nature of a good wife to follow her lord in death, can be found in both the poems. In the *Mahābhārata*, it is said that one of the wives of Pāndu, (after a lengthy argument with her co-wife) ascended the funeral pyre. So did four of Vasudeva's wives. But five of Krishna's wives burned themselves not with the soulless body of their lord but only later on, after a very bad experience.* In the great war of *Mahābhārata*, royal warriors and others have been killed, but no reference is seen as to the death of their wives. The few instances therein referred to must have been later interpolations.† The *Mahānirvatantra* most emphatically curses the faithfulness of wives; every woman is a picture of the goddess, and if a woman in her blindness climbs on to the dead lord's pyre, then she goes to hell (X, 79-80).

The historians of Alexander found the custom prevailing at Taxila in the fourth century B.C. But the earlier law books do not recommend it.‡ Manu enjoins the widow to lead a life of ascetic austerity. It may have lingered in the remote corners of India. It is said that about the sixth century of the Christian era, it was revived and recognized in the Hindu customary law.

According to some authorities, death by self-sacrifice occurred from early times in Aryan India. The Kshatriyas in particular, the forefathers of modern Rajputs who are endowed with the strongest feeling for private property in regard to their wives, may have known it. ‡ The glory of Sati, the meritoriousness

* Sir Charles Eliot: *Hinduism and Buddhism*, II, 168.
† Vincent A. Smith: *Oxford History of India*, p. 665.
‡ Tod: *Rajasthan*, II, 102.

of the widow's death and the way in which she shall burn herself are well described in *Garuda-puranasarod* (X, 25-35). Throughout the Middle Ages, the custom and practice of the widow's self-sacrifice held its own. It never prevailed with the same intensity everywhere. It was never popular in the Punjab. Nevertheless, as many as 330 women were cremated with the corpse of Suchet Sing of Kashmir, and four wives and seven concubines perished with Maharaja Ranjit Sing. The rite was common in the neighbouring hills. But the real feeling was expressed in the touching verse of *Ādi Granth*,* the Sikh scriptures.

"They are not Satis who perish in the flames,
(O, Nanak.)
Satis are those who live with a broken heart."

It was never a wide-spread and well-established institution in South India. Pyrard de Lavel records the burning of five or six Brāhman widows at Calicut. But this could not have been referred to the Nambudiri Brāhmans, among whom the custom was absolutely unknown. Dr. Burnell says that wherever the custom prevailed in South India, it was introduced by the Brāhmans. In Vijayanagar, where numerous cases occurred, some archæologists identify the cinder mounds at Bellary with these sacrifices. In Madura, it was only the wives and concubines of princes who immolated themselves. In Mysore *Māstikallus*, memorial stones attest the prevalence of the custom. But these women maintained the tradition that it was right for the daughters of the old race to do so; and some Brāhman widows followed the example. The rite was common where Brāhmanism was most

* Crooke, W.: *Things Indian*, p. 448.

powerful in Bengal, and along the Ganges valley beyond Benares, as also in Oudh and Rajputana.

METHODS OF IMMOLATION.

They varied in different parts of the country. In South India wherever it occurred, the woman jumped or was forced into the fire pit, in which her husband's corpse had been previously placed. In Western India, she was laid in a grass hut with a torch held in her left hand. Along the Ganges valley, she lay or was forced upon the already lighted pyre. In Nepal, where the rite survived till recently, she was laid beside the corpse. A pile of inflammable materials was placed behind their heads, and when these were lighted, both the bodies were kept down by long poles of green wood which were held and pressed by relatives on either side.*

In Rajputana, Suttee prevailed to a larger extent. When the Suttee started on her death journey, a mark was made on the gateway with her hand steeped in saffron. These marks were after her death carved in stone. They still remain to show the number of women who devoted themselves to death. Many such marks are still seen in Bikaner, Boondi and Marwar. Barbosa reports that it was the common custom of the Lingayats of South India to bury the widow on the death of her husband. It was said to be a perverted account of the Lingayat custom brought to the West by the Arab merchants.†

SUMMARY.

Primitive man all over the world has no clear conception of death. He believes that it is caused by malevolent spirits to whom prayers and sacrifices have not been offered.

Primitive man believes in a continued life which undergoes three different stages of evolution.

* E. Thompson, : *Suttee*, Chapter II, p. 29.
† Crooke, : W. P. *Things Indian* p. 451.

In the first stage, the difference between life and death is vaguely understood. The dead are thought of as yet bodily living. In the second stage, death is recognized as a physical fact, and is regarded as temporary. In the third stage, the soul is regarded as distinct from the body; it survives in a separate and shadowy form, and in this stage it is believed to be immortal.

The element of fear in the mind of primitive man arose from his belief in the existence of spirits or ghosts. From this arise all funeral customs and ceremonies for the worship of the dead. By a process of evolution, these beliefs are current among the people of the higher culture, to which the Hindus are no exception.

CHAPTER XIII.

OCCUPATION.

INTRODUCTION—THE COLLECTIONAL STAGE—DIVISION OF LABOUR—HUNTING AND FISHING—ELEPHANT HUNTING IN MYSORE—THE HORTICULTURAL STAGE—THE SETTLED AGRICULTURE—AGRICULTURE IN MYSORE—CROPS AND CULTIVATION—PRINCIPAL CROPS, SOWING AND HARVEST—IRRIGATION—RECENT AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENTS—LAND TENURES—RURAL AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES—VARIOUS TYPES OF BASKETRY, MAT-MAKING—WEAVING—POTTERY—OTHER MINOR INDUSTRIES—RURAL INDUSTRIES OF VARIOUS TALUKS OF THE STATE—RURAL INDUSTRIES AND THEIR DECLINE—CASTE IN RELATION TO OCCUPATION—SUMMARY.

INTRODUCTION.

THE term "material culture" includes technology and economics. Hankins divides the stages of material culture of man into five broad types; namely, "(1) the collectional stage; (2) the pastoral stage; (3) the horticultural stage; (4) the stage of settled agriculture, or of village urban economy; (5) the stage of commerce and industry or of urban economy. These divisions are not mutually exclusive, but one merges into another."* Instances to illustrate the stages of culture found among the various tribes and castes of Mysore as also of those in other parts of South India are given below.

THE COLLECTIONAL STAGE.

The prime necessity of primitive man is food-quest. He was a collector of what the primeval forests provided for him, and his time was mostly

* Hankins, F. H.: *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, Ch. XI, p. 487.

occupied in quest of food. He had no tools at the outset, and his hand was the first tool. Gradually, with his hand he learned to make a number of tools to increase his food supply. The question arises "whether the primeval phase of acquisition was accompanied by group co-operation and solidarity." It is said that the earliest groups were very small. Since most of the food secured was seized and eaten on the spot, it might be supposed, that food gathering was to some extent an individual enterprise. Professor Karl Bucher calls this first stage in human economy, "the individual search for food" and his views have been widely accepted. Such instances are unknown among the jungle tribes of South India at present.

DIVISION OF LABOUR.

Owing to her child-bearing function, woman learned how to glean a substance from a relatively small area. Her knowledge of vegetable life and of the smaller forms of animal life became extensive. Man, on the other hand, was privileged to roam widely. There was at no time a complete individualism in food gathering. Co-operation between the sexes and among members of the group was always necessary for protection and maintenance. Group solidarity is greatest when danger threatens, and even among the earliest food collectors, it must have reached a high pitch in the presence of the large wild animals. Further, the family is an important economic unit among the lowest savages. Men are required to play their part in the maintenance of women and children. The moral code enjoins generosity in times of food scarcity. In fact, among the most primitive peoples, food is shared with any hungry person, even strangers to an extent that seems incongruous to our "property-ridden minds." Even at present, that liberality is extended to strangers and friends.

The collectional period includes hunting and fishing. Before the close of the collectional period, man must have considerable knowledge of plants and animals, as also great skill in hunting and fishing.

In her exploitation of the vegetable world, woman at first took from the hands of Nature, those fruits and other parts of the plant that were ready for consumption without further preparation. "At the next stage, with digging stick and carrying basket, she went to search out roots and such other parts as might be prepared for consumption by roasting or perhaps by boiling with hot stones." Finally she gathered seeds of all kinds, especially seeds of grasses, which at her hand were to undergo a multitude of transformations. Wherever tribes of mankind have gone, women have found out gradually the main sources of food supply. The occupations necessarily grouped around any vegetable industry, were the gathering of the plant or parts to be utilized, the transportation of the harvest from the field to the place of storage, the activities necessary to change a raw food stuff into an elaborated product, and finally, the cooking and serving of the meal. It may be stated, that all these processes in savagery were the functions of women, and in their performances they gradually possessed a multitude of callings, some of which subsequently belonged largely to men.*

HUNTING AND FISHING.

In a hunting community like the South Indian hill tribes, the conditions of life were not so favourable to a high standard of progress in culture. Because, climatic conditions were unfavourable and the supply of water, food and the bare necessities of life used to occupy all their time. Where food-supply was abundant, little effort was required to

* Mason, O. T.: *Women's Share in Primitive Culture*, Ch. II, p. 15.

secure a livelihood, and this afforded no stimulus to advancement. A very effective check on progress was also caused by the migratory character of the hunting community, which depended upon either the seasonal movement of the game or scarcity. Therefore, their habitations were usually of a flimsy and temporary character except where the rigour of the climate demanded protection against storm and cold. As the number of individuals forming the group was, at the outset, comparatively small owing to a wide expanse of country required for the support of each member, the social organization was loose, because the solitary hunter had not yet learned to appreciate the advantage of co-operation and subordination. Authority rested with the old men or headmen or sometimes centred round the skilled hunter. The culture of a hunter was generally of a rude type, and his implements and weapons, made out of the materials existing within his reach, showed a remarkable capacity to adapt himself to his environment. The use of the bow and arrow was almost universal. The blunt arrow was used in many localities for killing birds. He had knives and spears in a variety of forms. Slings were also in use among them. It was not merely in the device of weapon that primitive man showed his peculiarly acute quality of mind. The methods and devices used in hunting, tracking and fishing showed a capacity for close observation of the habits and psychology of wild animals which with steady ability was turned to full advantage. He also exhibited his strength, fleetness of foot, capacity for flight, cunning and aptitude for concealment from the animal world.* In the simplest form, the acquisition of animal food did not differ

* *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, Ch. I, pp. 17-18; Vol. II, *Bedas*, pp. 224-227.

materially from the earliest method by which a primitive community procured its supplies of vegetable food. In each case, the process was one of simple collection. The pursuit of wild animals with the object of securing the prey by tiring it out demanded exceptional speed and endurance, but the results were often disappointing. Primitive man, therefore, adopted other means of approaching his prey sufficiently to enable him to disable and kill it. Both tracking and stalking required highly trained powers of observation coupled with great skill to avoid attracting the attention of the quarry through its senses of smell or hearing. The habit of primitive man's slow and noiseless movements through jungle and forest without disturbing even a twig, has been recorded. The hunter does not merely rely entirely upon his own skill in tracking. He utilizes the natural instinct, speed and scenting powers of the dog. Various forms of decoy are also in use. Very often, a wounded bird is fastened to a tree. It is then attracted by the cries. Sometimes the cry of the bird is imitated by the hunter. Another form of decoy is an imitation of the action of the prey or the bird or animal.* Snares are usually set in a path frequented by the game or at the approach to a waterhole. As Mr. Crooke observed long ago: "The jungle tribes acquire a marvellous insight into nature and her secrets. His eyesight and power of hearing are wonderful. He sees or hears a tiger creeping down a ravine long before sportsmen will. Everything in the forest has a meaning for him, the grunt of the monkey as the tiger comes beneath his tree, the hoarse alarm bark of the stag. From the way, the vultures hover in the air, he will tell whether

* *Vide* Kāttu Mahrāti or Jangal Jāti, Appendix.

SOME KURUMBER GIRLS OF THE MYSORE-COORG BORDER FORESTS.

Photo: Eckstedt.

NEWLY CAUGHT ELEPHANTS INDUCED TO CROSS THE RIVER AT KARAPUR

the tiger has finished his meal or tearing the carcase. Every displaced pebble denotes to him a footmark; a broken grass stalk will tell him something."

Mention may be made here of elephant-hunting in which the jungle tribes take an active part and find occasionally an occupation.

ELEPHANT-HUNTING IN MYSORE.

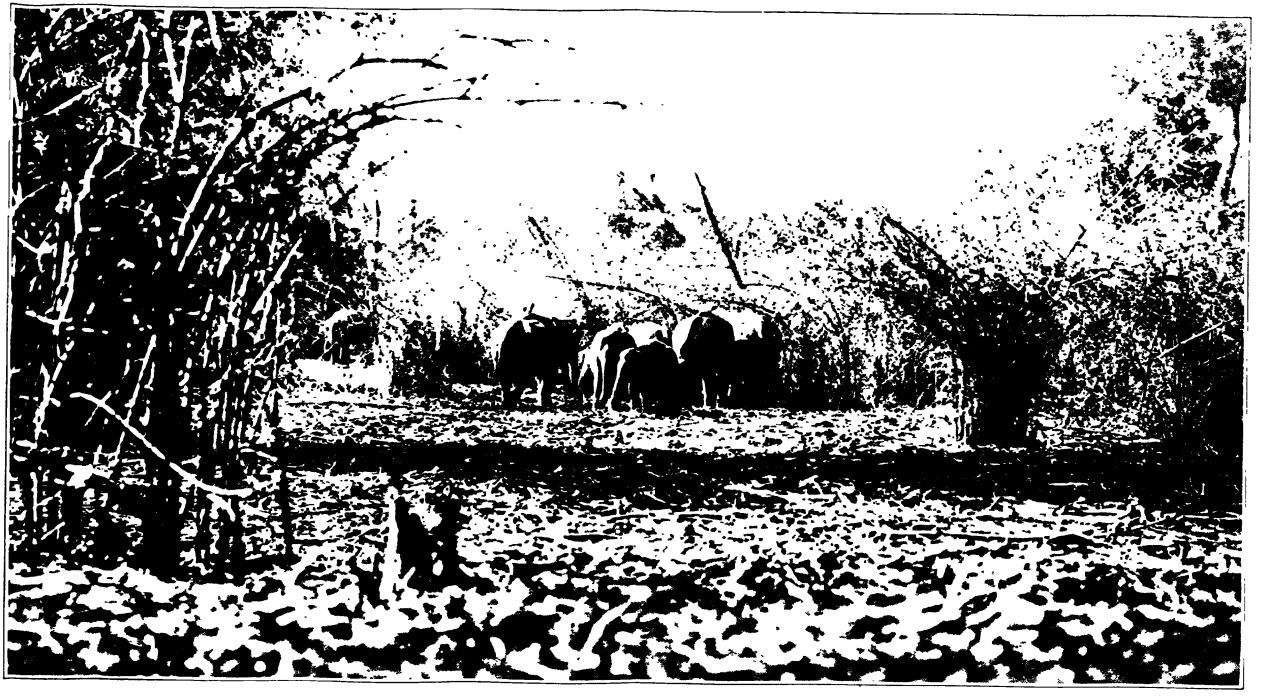
Mr. P. S. Govinda Row, the retired Deputy Forest Conservator of Mysore, mentions that the history of elephant-hunting dates in India so far back as 2,000 years, and "that of the various methods of capturing elephants described by the old Greek and Latin writers, as having been in vogue among the inhabitants of India, the khedda system is one." The methods adopted in India for the capture of wild elephants are the following:—

(1) Pit-falls, (2) Noosing or Maidan shikar, (3) Hunting with trained elephants, and (4) Driving into kheddas or enclosures.

In Mysore elephants are carefully preserved by the State, and are sufficiently numerous to be at times a nuisance. The capture of a herd is a lengthy business, involving months of preparation. The preliminary beat occupies several weeks. After the herd is located it is moved very quietly, so that it may not be alarmed, a mile or two a day, in the desired direction. At Kakankote a sharp bend in the river with a low sloping bank on one side and high precipitous banks on the other, offers specially favourable conditions for the operation. On these occasions the herd is moved into the triangle formed by the river, and its retreat is cut off by an army of beaters. The beat takes place at about seven o'clock in the evening, under a low moon hanging in the western sky. The beaters raise a pandemonium with guns, horns, drums, and bamboo clappers, drive the herd into the river bed and

light the jungle behind it. Escape up or down the river is closed by lines of *kumkis*, or trained and tamed elephants, and the only way out for the terrified herd is up a ramp leading to the large stockade. Everything goes like clock-work; as the last elephant enters the stockade, the gate is released and the herd is captured.

The next process is the drive of the herd into a small stockade, 30 yards or so in diameter, in which the roping up is effected. After being driven into the main stockade, which may enclose an area of 50 acres or more, the herd is left for a few days to settle down. A ditch, nine feet wide and as many feet deep, has been dug all round; and an army of spearmen who relieve each other in watches, keep the herd from damaging the fence or the ditch. This is really the most interesting stage, for the great beasts are seen under natural conditions. Angry old cows who have mislaid their calves in the drive will charge at the spectators only to be pulled up by the ditch and an extraordinarily uncomfortable experience may be enjoyed in perfect safety. A herd previously captured is in readiness for roping up. The drive into the small stockade is always a ticklish business as the herd has lost its first terror of human beings and may give trouble. On one occasion one cow who had lost her calf, turned particularly nasty, and as near as possible got a *mahout* who had fallen off one of the *kumkis* and only escaped being rolled on by crawling under a clump of bamboos. She was left to be dealt with later, and the rest of the herd was safely caged. The roping up is done with the aid of *kumkis*, who go about the business with cynical unconcern. It is a remarkable fact that the wild elephants take no notice of the men on the *kumkis*, whom they seem to regard as part of the tame animal. The



A HERD OF ELEPHANTS IN THE FOREST, KARAPUR.

largest beasts are cut out first, and pushed and paraded, but the *kumkis* go up against the stockade. Men crawl out from under the beams of the latter and get ropes fastened round the hind legs of the wild animals, and tie them to stumps of trees left in the ground for the purpose. Stout ropes are then fastened round the chest and round the forelegs, if necessary, and the beast is then left to be led away later. The older animals accept their fate with resignation, but the youngsters protest vigorously, and their squeals and antics provide the comic element of the performance. The captured animals are then taken for a bath in the river. One enormous beast that had been rounded up by himself, was suspected of having escaped from captivity. He would have been dangerous to the stockade, hauling the five *kumkis* to which he was roped all over the place. The wild elephants feed the twenty-four hours round, except for a minute ort wo of sleep at intervals. They show little of the loose skin of their brothers in captivity. Finally, they are placed in small cages or crushes, which prevent all freedom of movement, and are man-handled for months until the safety-point is reached, when, after the State selection has been made, they are sent down to Malabar for sale.*

The migratory habits of the jungle tribes all over South India are no longer continued. They have more or less fixed habitations, known as hamlets consisting of a few flimsy huts put up wherever the supply of water is close at hand. They work for contractors in the collection of forest produce and for the Forest Department. They get their wages in money. Hunting and fishing form only their supplementary occupations. In Mysore, fishing is

* Govinda Rao, P. S. : *Elephant Catching, Ancient and Modern.* Vide *Elephant Catching in Cochin Forests.* Vol. I, Chap. I, pp. 18-19.

confined only to rivers and tanks, and the fishermen are the Bestas who use a variety of nets such as fish-traps, line-fishing.*

THE HORTICULTURAL STAGE.

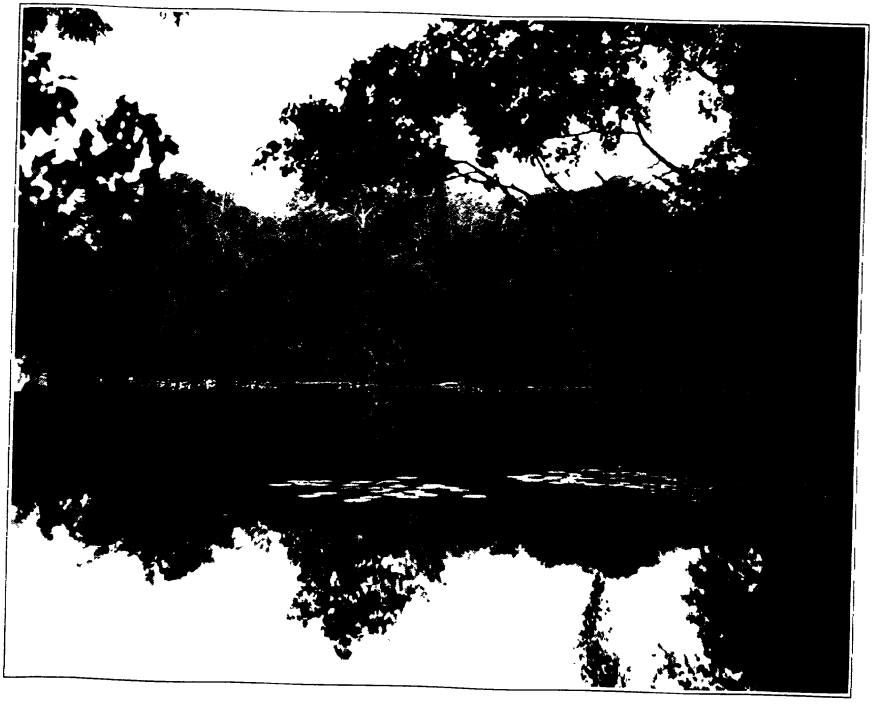
This is a distinct type of occupation based on the cultivation of plants. It is designated as hoe-culture, garden culture and horticulture. The jungle tribes of Mysore grow small kitchen gardens around their habitations, and depend on the forests around for the roots, tubers and fruits. The garden culture is the commencement in the development of agriculture, in which the garden supplements the natural supply of food. In some localities this grows up out of the hunting and fishing life. But much depends on climate and character of the plant and animal life. Gradually, an intimate knowledge of the plant life and of their habitat is acquired. And this leads to an elementary hoe-culture. Tylor says that "where wild fruits are plentiful, sheer idleness and carelessness are the main causes of their indolence or social inertia."

It may be reasonably supposed that women in the hunting and fishing stage began the cultivation of food plants. They might have widely cultivated small quantities of plant foods, corn, pumpkins, yams, tuber and grains to supplement the main supply of food, in favourable localities. As primitive hoe-culture increased in importance, hunting and fishing became their secondary occupation to supplement their resources. This necessitated an increase of tools and weapons, as also methods of food, storage and preservation. During the hoe-culture period, most of the labour was done by women.

THE SETTLED AGRICULTURE.

It is said that the true agriculturists are compelled to move their settlements owing to the

* The Cochin Tribes and Castes, Vol. I, Chap. XIII, pp. 241-251.



A TYPICAL FOREST SCENERY, KARAPUR. NOTE A POND WITH THE REFLECTION OF TREES IN IT.

exhaustion of the soil. For further advance, it is necessary to learn how to gather abundant subsistence from a given habitat so as to make possible permanent villages. This necessitated some improvement in tools, and the method was the most important. It evolved naturally from the hoe, just as it had evolved from a crooked stick. It was only necessary to turn the handle about and fasten a man or woman, an ox, or a cow thereto. The first plough was of wood; in others, it had a stone blade. But its real efficiency was developed only when the cutting edge was made of iron. The plough indicates that the man rather than the woman became the chief cultivator of soil. The sickle dates from the Neolithic age. But those of bronze and iron were great improvements. These instruments together with cattle to tread the grain into the soil, made planting possible and harvesting of grain crops on a relatively large scale. There are five stages in agriculture: "(1) the settled village life; (2) a plot for cultivation till the exhaustion of the soil, and then the choice of a new one; (3) the improvements in the methods of cultivation by the use of cattle and sheep to graze on the pasture to fertilize the ground for the next crop; (4) the division of the fallow soil into the field system; (5) the yearly intensive agriculture."*

It is said that the planter, the farmer and the gardener did not first appear. Their work primarily belonged to woman who was at first, a field botanist, and lastly a planter. It is said that the digging stick is the beginning of agricultural implements, the progenitor of the hoe, the spade and the plough. It would be difficult to find a tribe so low down as not to know its use. A patent-office examiner would

* Hankins, F. H.: *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, Chap. XI, pp. 492-495.

declare that nothing could be simpler than to rub a stick on a rock to give it a point. Hardening this point in fire came later. This was the implement used by primitive man all over the world for food gathering.

FORESTS. The peculiar situation of Mysore within the tropics, surrounded by lofty mountain chains which give it a temperate climate, gives rise to the formation of a rich and varied flora.

"The forests of the country which form the principal source of revenue, cover an area of 2,975 square miles, exclusive of scrub jungle which grows on much of the waste land. They are roughly divided into ever-green and deciduous forests, and these are again distributed in three distinct forest belts of very unequal width and run north and south. These are the ever-green belt, the dry belt and an intermediate one which may be called the mixed belt. The ever-green belt of forests is confined to the west, and includes the country in the Western Ghats and below them, extending from the north of Sagar taluk to the south of Manjarabad. Its greatest width which is at its northern extremity nowhere exceeds from 12 to 14 miles, and at some points is not more than six. The tree vegetation is magnificent. Many of the hills are covered to their summits with heavy forest, while the valleys and ravines produce trees which can scarcely be rivalled in India. In some parts the undergrowth is dense, elsewhere the forest is open, and on all sides are trees with clear stems to the first branch from 80 to 100 feet in height.

"The mixed belt of forest extends over the whole length of the province from the extreme north of Sorab taluk to Bandipur in the south of Gundlupet taluk. It is very unequal in width varying at different points from 10 to 40 or 45 miles. It includes the great number of timber-producing State forests and large tracts of district forests of sandal-wood. In it are the Kans of Sorab taluk and other portions of Nagar. The areca-nut and cardamom gardens of western Mysore, the coffee plantations of Koppa and Manjarabad and the rich flats of Sagar, Nagar, Tirthahalli, Chikmagalur and Heggaddevankote are unrivalled. The division between this rich and productive belt and the far less useful strip to the west of it cannot be very easily defined. The presence of a fine nandi and blackwood tree which grows abundantly and attains great size on the eastern confines of the ever-green belt forms a sufficiently clear line.

A GROUP OF TIGALA MEN.

The eastern limit may be taken to be a line, which, commencing near Anavatti in the north, would run south-east to half-way between Shikarpur and Honnali; thence due south to Sakrebyle where it turns due east till it reaches a point north of Lakkavalli; thence south through Lakkavalli and along the eastern crests of the Baba Budans to Vastaral on through Palya, and passing a few miles west of Arkalgud and Periyapatna, it turns south-east to Antarsante, and so by way of Kurnagal reaches Bandipur. The forests yield abundance of valuable trees and minor forest produce which bring a large revenue to the State."

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture in Mysore, where irrigation is absent, is chiefly dependent on the rains. If they are sufficient and seasonable, it prospers; but such a favourable conjunction is only occasional. Wet crops irrigated from river channels or perennial wells, and products of the self-sustaining black soil, are therefore least affected by vicissitudes of the season.

"The soil in Mysore varies from black cotton to light sandy loam. A red-coloured loam, or clay loam, predominates. Differing from other soils of India, they are generally deficient in phosphoric acid most of them containing barely 0·05 per cent. The percentage of potash is much higher, averaging three or four times that of phosphoric acid. In the hilly virgin forest region in the west of the State, where coffee is largely grown, the percentage of nitrogen is very high, averaging more than 0·2 per cent. in the surface soil and nearly 0·15 per cent. in the second foot. In the eastern portion of the State, where the land has been cultivated for a long time, less nitrogen is found. The surface is generally undulating (though flat in some parts and very hilly in others), here and there broken up by rocky hills and gravelly ridges. The annual rainfall varies from about 200 inches in the Western Ghats to about 25 or 30 inches in the eastern part of the State. Excepting rice, coffee, cardamoms, pepper, arecanut, and betel leaf, very little cultivation is carried on in the forest region of heavy rainfall in the extreme west. The other part of the State, with a rainfall varying from about 20 to 60 inches, grows principally ragi, jola, various pulses and oil plants on the 'dry' lands, with cotton and tobacco in some localities and principally rice and sugarcane on the irrigated fields."*

* Rice, L.: *Imperial Gazetteer, Mysore* p. 55.

CROPS AND CULTIVATION.

Cultivated lands are usually classed as dry *kushki*, wet *tari*, and garden *tota* or *bagayat*. In the first are raised crops which do not require irrigation, *pair-āramba*. The wet crops are those dependent for their growth entirely on irrigation, *nir-āramba*. The products of garden cultivation are fruits or drugs requiring a moist situation with an abundant supply of water. Gardens are of four kinds: *tarkari-tota*, vegetable gardens; *tengina*, or *adike-tota*, cocoanut or areca-nut plantations; *yele-tota*, betel-leaf plantations; and *huvina-tota*, flower gardens. The agricultural seasons are two, and the produce is called *Kartika fasal* or *Vaisaka fasal* according to the time of ripening. In the Mysore district, the seasons are named *karu* and *hainu*. In parts of the Malnad, the former has the name *kodu*.

The farmer's calendar is regulated by the rains that fall under each of the *nakshatras* or lunar asterisms, after which they are called. The following are the names, with the generally corresponding months:—

Nakshatra	*Lunar Month*		*Solar Month*	
Asvini ..	Chaitra			
Bharani ..		April ..	Mesha ..	Aries
Krittika ..	Vaisākha			
Rohini ..		May ..	Vrishabha	Taurus
Mrigasira ..	Jyeshta			
Ardra ..		June ..	Mithuna ..	Gemini
Punarvasu ..	Ashādha			
Pushya ..		July ..	Karkataka	Cancer
Aslesha ..				
Magha ..	Sravana			
Pubba ..		August ..	Simha ..	Leo
Uttara ..	Bhādrapada			
Hasta ..		September	Kanya ..	Virgo
Chittā ..	Asvija			
Svati ..		October ..	Tula ..	Libra
Visakha ..	Kārtika			
Anuradha ..		November..	Vrischika ..	Scorpio

A GROUP OF TIGALA WOMEN.

Nakshatra	*Lunar Month*		*Solar Month*	
Jayeshta ..				
Mula ..	Margasira			
Purvashādha ..		December ..	Dhanus ..	Sagittarius
Uttarashādha ..	Pushya			
Sravana ..		January ..	Makara ..	Capricornus
Dhanishta ..	Magha			
Satabhisha ..		February ..	Kumbha ..	Aquarius
Purvabhādra ..	Phalguna			
Uttarabhādra ..		March ..	Meena ..	Pisces
Revati				

Bharani rain is considered to prognosticate good seasons throughout the year. This is expressed in the Telugu proverb *Bharani vaste dharani pandudu*—if *Bharani* comes, the earth will bring forth. The rains from *Mrigasira* to *Aslesha* are the sowing time, for food grains in the earlier part, and horse gram in the later. *Svāti* and *Visākha* rains mark the close of the rainy season. *Anurādha* to *Mūla* is the reaping time, when only dew falls. At this season the future rains are supposed to be engendered in the womb of the clouds. Sugar-cane is planted in *Purvabhadra* and *Uttarabhadra*.*

The absolute dependence of all classes on the *panchanga* or almanac is thus explained by Buchanan:

"Although, in common reckoning the day begins at sunrise, yet this is by no means the case in the *chāndramānam* almanac. Some days last only a few hours, and others continue for almost double the natural length: so that no one, without consulting the *panchāngadava* or almanac-keeper, knows when he is to perform the ceremonies of religion. What increases the difficulty is, that some days are doubled, and some days altogether omitted, in order to bring some feasts, celebrated on certain days of the month, to happen at a proper time of the moon, and also in order to cut off six superfluous days, which twelve months of thirty days would give more than a year of

* Rice, L.: *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pp. 101-102.

twelve lunations. Every thirtieth month one intercalary moon is added, in order to remove the difference between the lunar and solar years. As the former is the only one in use, and is varying continually, none of the farmers, without consulting the *panchangadava*, knows the season for performing the operations of agriculture. The *panchāngadavas* are poor ignorant Brāhmans, who get the almanac from some one skilled in astronomy. This person marks the days, which correspond with the times in the solar year, that usually produce changes in the weather, and states them to be under the influence of such and such conjunctions of stars, male, female and neuter; and everyone knows the tendency of these conjunctions to produce certain changes in the weather." An astrologer (Kaniyan) is an indispensable person for similar purposes in the village organization of Cochin, Malabar and Travancore.*

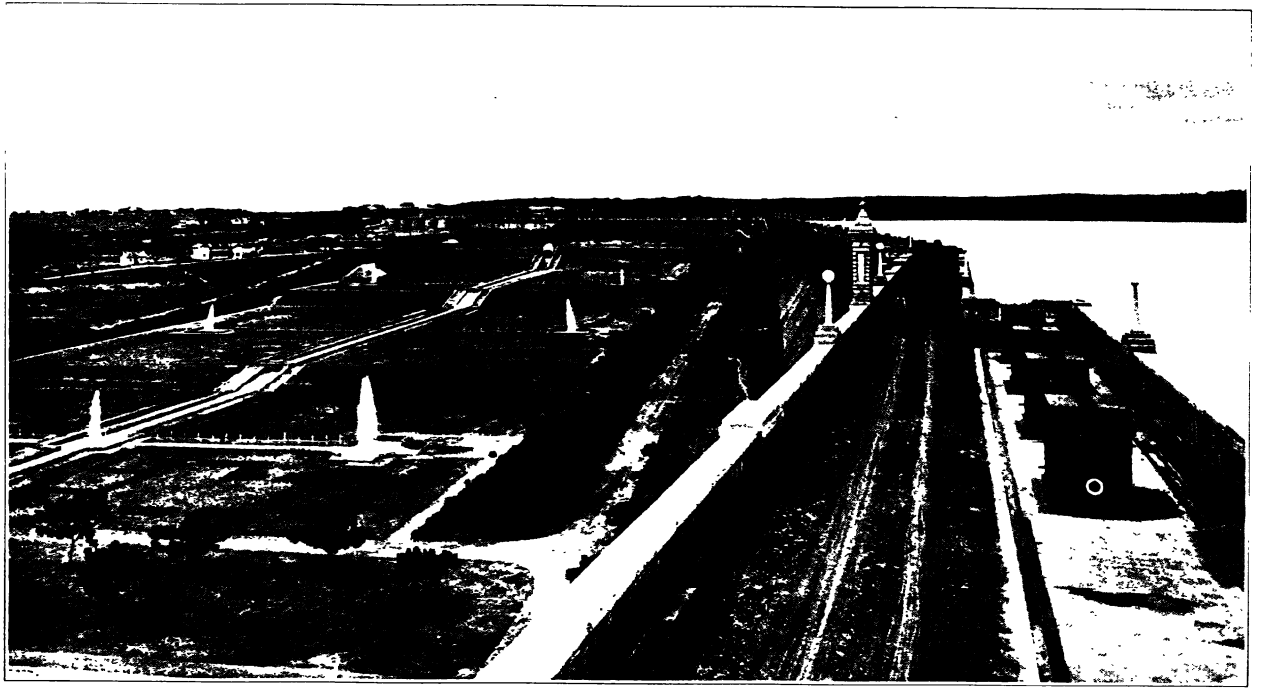
PRINCIPAL CROPS.

The staple food-grains are: ragi (*Eleusine coracana*), rice (*Oryza sativa*), jola (*Sorghum vulgare*), other millets (*Panicum*), grain (*Dolichos biflorus*), and other pulses. Oil seeds include gingelly (*Sesamum*) and castor (*Ricinus*); the chief fibres are cotton and san-hemp; among spices may be mentioned chilli or *capsicum*, ginger, coriander, cummin seed, etc., and among miscellaneous crops—tobacco, mustard, onions, garlic, etc.

SOWING AND HARVEST.

The months for sowing the principal crops are June and July, and November is the general harvest time. But the pulses *avare* and *togari*, which are sown along with ragi, ripen two or three months later. Horse gram is sown in October or November and ripens in three months. Of rice, there are two crops, the *Kārtika* fasal maturing in October or November and *Vaisākha* fasal, or hain, maturing in April or May. The ordinary sugar-cane is planted about April and takes twelve months to mature. Other kinds are planted in August or February, and require fourteen months. Cotton is sown in

* *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, Chap. XII, p. 227.



VIEW OF THE KRISHNARAJASAGARA DAM AND RESERVOIR AND THE TERRACE GARDENS IN THE REAR OF THE DAM.

June and ripens in six months, continuing to yield for four months, and the second year's crop is better.

Kumri or shifting forest cultivation is practised only by the wild hill tribes in the west and south, and is permitted in some parts under certain restrictions. Under this system, the jungle is burnt down and the seeds sown.*

Agricultural implements in general are such as have been in use for ages. The principal new appliance that has been to some extent adopted is an iron mill for extracting juice of the sugar-cane, which has in many parts replaced the old cumbrous apparatus.

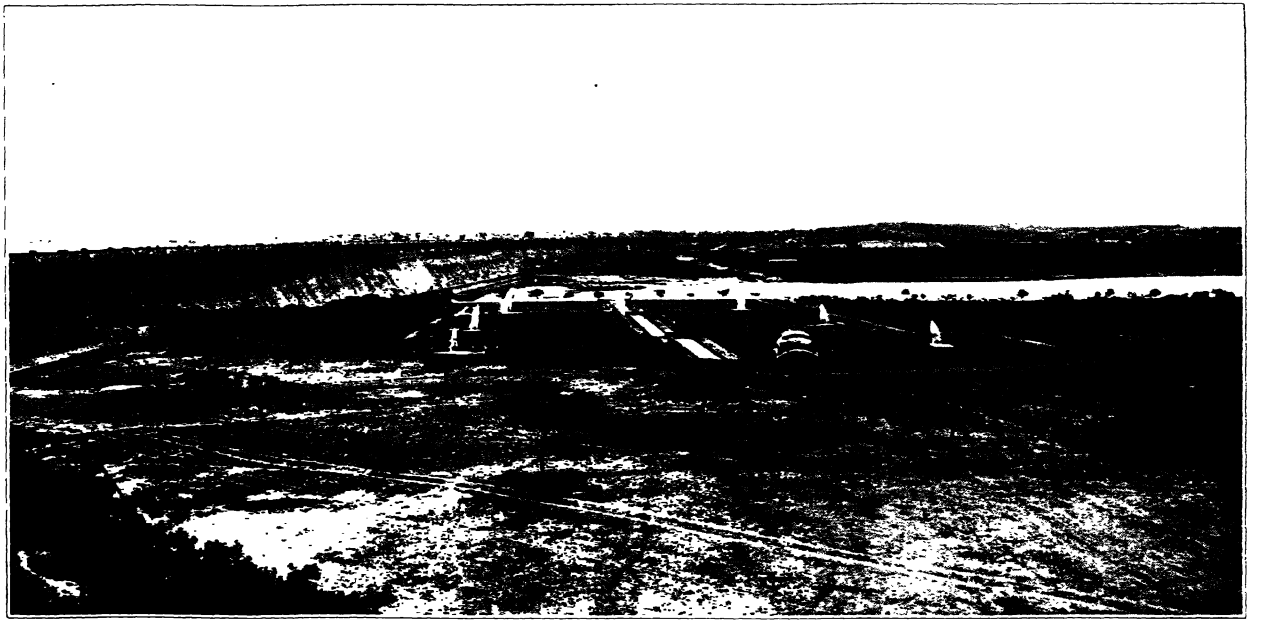
IRRIGATION.

The sources of irrigation are channels drawn from dams on the rivers, besides tanks and wells. The most important of the river channels are in the south of the State, connected with the Cauvery and its tributaries. Most of them were originally constructed centuries ago, but have been improved and extended. The water is let out according to the needs of the rice or sugar-cane crops, and confined to the proper seasons for them. To put an end to complaint of unequal distribution, the management of the river channels in the irrigation season was in 1888 put under the *Amildars* of the taluks through which they run, and the hot season supply to sugar-cane and garden tracts was arranged to be given at fixed assessment which includes the full value imparted by soil and water combined. The valuation of the channel water supply is determined on the basis of quantity, duration and facility, according to the established capacity of each channel. The supply of water from tanks is similarly regulated. The receipts from river-fed channels in 1903-04 amounted to 6½ lakhs, and the net profits to 5 lakhs. The best wells are those throughout the north-east, fed by *talaparigis* or spring-heads. The water is raised either by the *yāta* or by the *kapile*. The former, also known as *picottah*, is a lever with an iron bucket attached at the water-end by a bamboo rod. The lever is weighted at one end with stones or else raised and depressed by a man standing on it near the fulcrum post. The *kapile* has an inclined plane or ramp down which bullocks draw a stout rope attached to a large leathern bucket.

* Rice, L. : *Imperial Gazetteer, Mysore*, pp. 55-56, *Vide* Vol. II, pp. 80-84.

RECENT AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENTS.

"Considerable attention has been paid to the improvement of irrigation during the past ten years. A sum of Rs. 227 lakhs is spent on important irrigation works including Rs. 178 lakhs on the Krishnarājasāgara Dam Works, the Irwin Canal and other allied works. There were other works also which were either completed or were in progress, namely, a reservoir across the Kumudvati river near Ajjampur, Sowlanga tank and an anicut across the Bhadra at Gopalfall in the Shimoga district, and the repairs of numerous large tanks in the various parts of the State. All these have brought a very large additional area under cultivation. It is recorded in 1931, that the total irrigated area is 1,109,696 acres, and this shows the largest increase of 25 per cent during the past ten years. Thus more land is brought under cultivation, and the area under irrigation also has increased, and along with it various other improvements were also introduced. The Department of Agriculture has been conducting investigations into the quality of seed, and trying to substitute better seed within the reach of agriculturists. More attention was paid to the quality and distribution of manure. The Department of Animal Husbandry and the Veterinary Department have been trying to improve the breed of cattle, and reduce the loss by disease. The village panchayets and local bodies have been getting good bulls by the help of the Agricultural Department, for serving cows in other localities. Efforts are being made to introduce improved agricultural implements preferably such that local organizations can provide the requisite supplies. Co-operative Societies are formed to provide agriculturists with some kind of credit facilities. For relieving the debt of larger magnitude, a Land Mortgage Bank has been introduced, and Agricultural Debt



VIEW OF THE TERRACE GARDENS AND THE CAUVERY RIVER FROM THE SOUTH BANK OF KRISHNARAJASAGARA.

A COCOANUT AND ARECANUT GARDEN. OBSERVE THE HALEPAIKA CLIMBING FROM ONE TREE TO ANOTHER.

Regulation has been passed. The resources of the Forest Department are placed at the disposal of the agriculturist, much more easily than before, and grazing in State forests is allowed as soon as other resources fail. Rural health conditions are being investigated by the Department of Health. Malaria and Hookworm receive special attention. Medical aid is provided in rural parts."*

LAND TENURES.

"The land tenures in the State are Sirkar or State and *inam*. The former are held under the *raiyatwari* or individual tenure on payment of *kandāyam* or fixed money assessment settled for thirty years. *Kandāyam* lands are held direct from the State on annual leases, but the assessment is not generally altered or raised during the period for which it is fixed. The ordinary rates of assessment apply to the whole extent of the raiyat's holding and not to the area actually cultivated, as he has rights to a certain extent over included waste. Remission of assessment is not given in individual cases; but where there is general loss of crop in a locality, and consequent distress, remission may be granted as a measure of relief."

BATAYI LANDS.

2. "*The Batayi Lands*:—These are such wet and garden lands situated under artificial reservoirs and canals as are cultivated by the raiyats on the condition of the produce being divided into certain proportions between them and the Government. In former times this was a favourite tenure with the cultivators, as they were responsible for any money payments, their gains depending entirely on the state of the crop and the value of the yield. The extent of *batayi* land has been greatly diminished of late years by its conversion into *kandāyam* tenure; but though the Government no longer shares the crop with the actual cultivator, a class of middlemen has risen who take on lease the assessed land from the Government and sublet it to raiyats on *batayi*. Garden lands are very seldom held under this tenure.

KAYUMGUTTA.

3. "*Kayumgutta*.—The term is applied to certain villages, which having declined in their revenues or become depopulated and waste were given by the Government to applicants on fixed money rents for ever. The amount determined upon

* *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. XXV, Mysore, Part I, pp. 15-16.

was generally the ancient beriz; such of these as have fallen into the hands of improving capitalists have become valuable property. In the early part of the last century even flourishing villages were granted to court favourites on this tenure, and some of the valuable lands were thus held.

JODI. 4. *Jodi* villages and lands are those which were granted originally by Governments to Brāhmans, Jangamas and other holy persons and establishments, as also to builders of *chatrams*, planters of topes or trees and upon lighter assessment than the old recorded valuation.

SHRAYAM. 5. *Shrayam.*—The term is applied to such lands as are granted to individuals undertaking to reclaim them from waste lands and bring them under cultivation upon progressively increasing rates. They are free of assessment for the first year, and the demand increases thereafter yearly from one quarter to full rates in the fourth or the fifth year. For the planting of timber, fruit and fuel trees, unassessed waste or dry lands, if unoccupied for ten years consecutively, are granted free of assessment for eight years, then rising by quarter rate to full assessment in twelve years.

INAM. 6. *Inam tenure.*—The conditions on which *inam* tenures are held vary very much. Some are free of all demands, while in others the usual assessment is reduced. The grants differed in origin according to the gifts made to Brāhmans for religious or charitable purposes, to village servants for maintenance or construction of tanks, wells or otherwise.

Besides these prevailing tenures, there are others which may be mentioned. In former times tanks were frequently constructed by private individuals to whom one-fourth, in some places, and in others one-fifth of the land, was granted rent free, on condition that they should keep them in repair. These tanks are called *Kodagi kare*, and the persons holding the land are called *Kodagi inamdars*. There is a considerable extent of land under garden cultivation in Tumkur, Shimoga, Kadur, Hassan and Mysore, where areca-nut and cocoanuts are grown in large quantities. Areca-nuts, grown in Shimoga and Kadur districts, are noted for their superior flavour, and are exported in large quantities.*

RURAL AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES. Many forms of technique are used in the process of combining different materials into one composite

* Rice, L. : *Imperial Gazetteer, Mysore and Coorg*, pp. 79-82.

whole. The outstanding types are cording or strapping, sewing, basketry, weaving, network and gluing. The process of cording is extensively used by peoples all over the world. All manner of animal and vegetable materials such as strips of hide or leather, sinews, stems of climbing plants, pliant twigs, bast, and strips of bark are used for this purpose. Twisted cords, and threads of vegetable fibre or animal sinews are also extensively used. In the process of sewing or stitching, a needle or an awl, or a drill in the case of harder materials is used to pierce the edges of the materials and to sew them together. The spindle is used in making threads of cotton or wool. These play an important part even now in primitive industries.*

BASKETRY.

The term "basketry" includes all kinds of woven vessels in which the materials are not spun: but there is a class of flat textile made precisely after the same fashions as basketry, commonly designated matting. Basketry and matting together constitute a most important division of savage invention. They are the chief art that is more beautiful among the civilized. "Enlightened nations express their æsthetic conceptions in lace and embroideries." The savage woman gives vent to her sense of beauty in basketry.†

VARIOUS TYPES OF BASKETRY.

There are four real different types of plate work or basketry.

1. "Two sets of strips at right angles to each other are plated together in such a way that the strips of the one set pass over a certain number of those of the other set so that the meshes running in the same direction project one above another in the form of steps. Usually the number of strips thus crossed is

* Max Schmidt: *The Primitive Races of Mankind*, pp. 130.

† Mason, O. T.: *The Origins of Invention*, Chap. VII, pp. 228; Smithsonian Report 1883, Part II, pp. 291-306.

two or three. Sometimes only one is crossed, when it is called "chequer-work" or "chess-board pattern." But seeing that the difference between the one mesh and two or three mesh style is solely a difference of external structure it is better to classify all the three under one type. A suitable name would be "steps and stairs style." *

2. "In the second style of basket work a number of rods, leaf stems, wisps of grass, palm fibres or bunches of threads are laid parallel and fastened together in such a way that a double or sometimes a triple thread is run continuously or repeatedly through a hole, so that the two strands of the double thread at each turn encircle one of the rods or wisps. As the double thread is the most important feature in this style of plating, it may be called double thread basketry. This style which is very widely distributed over the world is mainly used in making mats of all kinds as hammocks, baskets, mosquito nets and numerous other articles of that sort.†

3. "A third style of basketry is that in which two sets of strips cross each other in various directions and are intersected with a third set running in a different direction so that they are conjoined, both with each other and with this last set. The best name for this style is the "cane chair" style.

Baskets are frequently plated in this way; but it is mostly used to make wicker cases for other objects such as pumpkin skins.

4. "The fourth style of basketry is a kind of coiled work in which the coils of a spiral of vast strips of cane or other similar material start from the centre of the basket bottom and are joined together by a plating strip. This strip is coiled, continuously round two successive coils of the spiral.† This style which is used in all the types that Mason included under the name of coiled work is usually called spiral-roll work and has many points of resemblance to net work.‡

The most simple and rudimentary specimen of this wattling fence in which two pieces are woven among a row of stakes and twisted into a two-ply rope at the same time. In basketry this is called twined weaving. Two weft-fillets or twigs are carried along at the same time between the warp elements, only they alternate in passing each other above and below so as to make a twine. If all the warp sticks are pulled out these two weft strands would be twined together, as in a two-ply thread continuously from beginning to end. If the elements or whole

* Max Schmidt: *The Primitive Races of Mankind*, p. 131.
†—‡ *Ibid*, pp. 130-133.

are split osier or other twigs, the work will be open and strong. If they are of fine root, or grass, or bast or spun thread, or yarn, the work will be fine and close like cloth, and will hold water. Fences of this type are seen enclosing paddy flats in the hilly tracts of Mysore, Malabar and Cochin.*

Mat-making is like basketry. The warp-threads are set up in a frame, and the weft is wrought in by twisted work, by twine work, after the manner of tapestry work. All over the world, cloth and matting were thus produced. Mat-making art is hand-weaving without any frame or machinery.†

Closely connected with basketry is weaving which is truly another form of it. It is therefore necessary to understand clearly the principle that distinguishes the two techniques from each other. The intermediate stages between the two are to be found in the "one mesh steps-and-stairs" basketry, but in certain types of the double thread style, it runs alternately from right to left through the series of plaiting strips which correspond to the warp in weaving. The details of the technique are somewhat complicated, and can only be referred to the chief features of the process. In the first place, a number of threads called the warp are stretched parallel to each other on an apparatus called loom, of which there are two varieties—a vertical and a horizontal one. In the simplest arrangement of the warp, a thread is wound continuously round fixed rods at some distance apart, so that a row of parallel threads is formed on the front side, and another row on the rear side between the rods. Space forbids any detailed description of the art.‡

The decoration of basketry and textiles is after all a kind of chess playing. Each stitch is restricted to a definite area, and if the maker is skilful, the area will be definitely small. The decoration of basketry is the development of geometry, producing straight lines on wallets and curved lines on true baskets and jars. These lead to the formation of triangles, rectangles and polygons of every sort to everything that can be made out of dots and small figures. Basket-making also introduces and keeps before the mind the elements of arithmetic. It would be very difficult to find another savage occupation which exacted so extended an account and such ready use of figures. The basket-maker must hold in her memory and count in a twinkle any number of stitches, certainly up to twenty.§

* Mason, O. T.: *Origins of Invention*, Chap. VII, pp. 228, 239–240.
† *Vide* Vol. II, 286, Vol. III, 136, Vol. IV, 480.
‡ *Vide Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, p. 380.
§ Mason, O. T.: *Origin of Invention*, Chap. VII, p. 253.

The colouring of textiles, both basketry and weaving, is an ancient art. In the first place, nature assisted the weaver by supplying brown, black, red, green, yellow filaments in a multitude of shades. The rest is the art of invention. Some vegetable substances assume new colours when buried in marshy places. Many are the indigenous methods of producing different colours, but everybody knows that vegetable dyes need the addition of a mordant to make the colours adhere. This part of the art was worked out in savagery.

"The true textile," says Mason, "begins with spinning or the making of yarn. This involves the separation of the fibrous tissue from starchy and other foreign matter, and the twisting of the fibre so as to make a strong yarn. Or it involves the removal of hair or wool from animals and subjecting them to the same operation." "In its beneficial results, this is surpassed by none other invented by savages. When one considers the millions of flying spindles now whirling in all the factories of the world, one does not wonder that the Fates or controllers of human destiny were worshipped in the form of three very plain women, one making yarn, the second spinning it out, the third with the fatal shears. It is easy to believe that the first yarn was twisted between the palms of the hands or on the thigh by means of the palm. The cobbler in untwisting the thread keeps alive the latter process. But the spindle is a very old device. The simplest form in use to-day is a stick or rod of wood. The one who used it sat on the ground with legs extended. The yarn was fastened by one end to the middle of the stick. The spinner held the bunch of fibre in the left hand, and rolled the stick along on the thigh quickly with the right hand, and catching and carrying it back to the groin where it stopped twirling. The spun yarn was wound on the stick as soon as it was sufficiently twisted, and this made a sort of fly-wheel." "It was a very easy step in advance to put some weighty object upon this stick inventing thereby the spindle whorl. And if the spinner wished to get up and walk around, it would be necessary to have a spindle-stick with a hook or notch on the upper end. Stick, whorl-notch, that is all, there is in the spinning. All other inventions were for the purpose of doing the work faster and finer."

POTTERY. Clay is said to be the most docile of all materials. It is compared with stone, bone, horn, wood, hide, fibre and so forth. It is easy to work because it

is so pliable and superior to all substances mentioned above. As soon as people had fire, became sedentary, and ate farinaceous food, the pot came to be born. In the last and simplest analysis, sun-dried bricks are the most primitive things made of clay. They are masses of rude paste worked up by hand and dried in the sun. In Babylonia, in Egypt, in Peru, in Mexico, it is the same story. The potter in making pots uses one or all of these methods, namely, modelling, moulding and coiling. It is difficult to say which of these is oldest among these three processes. Moulding pottery is a common method now, and it must have been practised most extensively in the ancient times.

The forms of primitive pottery are an ever pleasing surprise to the archæologists and technographer. If a bowl or dish or pot or jar be mounted inside or outside of a basket or gourd, the shape is preordained up to the point where the work has to be constructed or gathered in. This is the dividing line where the artist has to withdraw the mould and proceed alone. In modelling the rest of the jar or in building by coiling, she has got to imitate natural objects or those fabricated from other materials. These are abundant in the endless shapes of gourds and shells, horn and wood, bark and basketry.

Quarrying, carrying, washing, assorting, mixing, tempering, modelling, moulding, coiling, smoothening, polishing and shaping all with humble enough tools, but with artistic instinct, a marvellous knack, and an educated eye of a modern builder might envy how the savage potter finishes the vessel. It is less than one-eighth of an inch in thickness. These processes have not been repeated thousands of times, but millions of times as any area will testify where such work has been going on.

This account cannot close without a brief reference to the functions of pottery. "Long ago, women

made pottery for themselves to wear out, and only a little for the convenience of men. The first woman that made the pottery, perhaps set the vessel on her head, and went to the spring for water. A procession of women have been walking about over the earth ever since with jars over their heads. This first woman used another jar to cook food, and another to keep it clean, and away from the vermin and insects. Her grand children are repeating the process to this very day, the self-same things. It matters not who makes pottery. They are making it for women. Their convenience is alone consulted in its form, its temper and material. Its decorations are borrowed, and though her hands be longer grimmed with the paste, her hands and imagination preside over the world."*

RURAL INDUSTRIES IN VARIOUS TALUKS OF THE STATE.

Besides these industries, the following also form part of the old rural economy throughout the State. In this group may be put down oil-milling, goldsmithy, blacksmithy and carpentry. There are also others which are localized in certain centres, and there are sandalwood carving, bangle making, ivory carving, rattan work and toy making. The names of the rural industries and the places where they are carried on are given below:—

Name of Industry.	District	Taluk
1. Cotton-weaving	Bangalore ..	Dodballapur, Anekal, Hoskote and Magadi.
	Mysore ..	Gundlupet, Nanjangud, Mandya, Seringapatam, Krishnarajpete, Panche at Melkote.
	Tumkur ..	Pavagada and Tiptur.
	Chitaldrug ..	Challakere and Molakalmuru.
	Hassan ..	Arkalgud.
2. Silk-rearing ..	Bangalore ..	Magadi, Anekal.

* Mason, O. T.: *The Origins of Inventions*, Chap. V, pp. 154-155; *Vide* Vol. IV, pp. 14-15.

Name of Industry	District	Taluk
3. Wool-weaving	Mysore ..	Mandya.
	Tumkur	Madhugiri, Pavagada, Sira and Chiknayakanhalli.
	Chitaldrug ..	Hiriyur, Challakere.
4. Silk-worm rearing	Bangalore ..	Hoskote (658 families), Devanhalli (356 families), Magadi (369 families), Channapatna (1,714 families), Closepet (375 families), Kankanhalli (313 families).
	Mysore ..	Mandya (1,664 families), Malvalli (535 families), Yelandur (90 families), T.-Narasipur (474 families), Chamarajnagar (999 families), Nanjangud (266 families).
	Kolar ..	Kolar (635 families), Chintamani (14 families), Chikbalapur (227 families), Sidlaghatta (677 families).
	Tumkur ..	Kunigal (1,265 families).
5. Shoe-making ..	Chitaldrug ..	Chitaldrug (220 families), Hiriyur (125 families), Challekere (76 families), Hosdurga (67 families).
	Mysore ..	Malvalli (97 families) and Gundlupet (45 families).
	Kadur ..	Tarikere (51 families).
	Shimoga ..	Honnali (49 families).
6. Silk-reeling ..	Bangalore ..	Bangalore City.
	Mysore ..	Mandya and Krishnarajpete.
	Kolar ..	Kolar and Sidlaghatta.
	Tumkur ..	Kunigal.
7. Comb-making	Bangalore ..	Magadi, Channapatna, Kankanhalli.
	Mysore ..	Yedatore.
	Kolar ..	Srinivaspur.
8. Rope-making ..	Tumkur ..	Chiknaikanhalli, Kunigal and Tiptur.
	Mysore ..	Krishnarajpete.
9. Metal-work ..	Bangalore ..	Magadi.
	Mysore ..	Chamarajnagar and Nagamangala.
	Kolar ..	Chintamani
	Tumkur ..	Tumkur and Koratagere.
10. Beedi-making	Hassan ..	Arsikere.
	Mysore ..	Yedatore.
	Chitaldrug ..	Molakalmuru.
	Hassan ..	Alur and Hole-Narsipur.

RURAL INDUSTRIES AND THEIR DECLINE.

1. *Iron Industry.*—The metal was found all over the State, and was obtained from ore and black sand. The principal places where iron was smelted were Magadi, Chiknaikanhalli, Malvalli, Heggaddevankote and several parts of Kadur, Shimoga and Chitaldrug Districts. A village not far from Kadur town where this industry flourished at one time came under my observation. The industry was driven from the field by the cheaper imported articles from Europe, made on a large scale with the aid of modern machinery. The inhabitants of the village, called Salahuva Vokkalu, still remember the time when smelting operations were carried on and their village is strewn with the slag.

2. *Brass and Copper.*—Brass-casting and sheet metal work were carried on on a large scale at Magadi, Nagamangala, Sravanabelgola, Seethakal and other places. Magadi was noted for lamp-stands, and Nagamangala for the images of gods, *vāhanams* (vehicles of gods), *brindāvanams, and mandāsanams.* Old brass vessels were used for casting. Sheet metal work in brass and copper was largely carried on at Sravanabelgola, Nagamangala and other places. Brass was melted and beaten into the thickness of bottoms of vessels, for which there was great demand owing to their better wearing qualities, and handsome appearance. Import of cheaper substitutes as enamelled iron, chinaware and aluminium wares has somewhat reduced the status of this industry.

3. Manufacture of gold lace was an important industry carried on in Bangalore till about 1870. The imports of French lace killed this industry altogether.

4. Coarse paper was manufactured at Dodderi in Challakere Taluk as also at Ganjam near Seringapatam, at Channapatna and one or two other places. The industry died out owing to its inability to stand in competition with foreign imports.

5. *Manufacture of glass bangles.*—Till very recently, the glass used in the manufacture of bangles was made at Molakalmuru, Mattod, and Anivala in the Chitaldrug District, and Thovinakere in Koratagere Taluk. The decline of this industry is due to various causes, the chief of which are the scarcity of fuel, the difficulty of securing leases of lands on moderate rents for the collection of soda, and higher wages, as also the imports of similar foreign articles of superior quality with attractive designs at comparatively lower prices.

6. *Wire-drawing Industry.*—Channapatna was noted for the quality of its steel wires for musical instruments. The wires were in demand throughout Southern India. It is said that

during the reign of Hyder Ali, the wires were sent to Delhi, and a demand for them was created. The industry began to decline when there was a fall in the demand for it. Its quality was also affected when the imported wire took its place.

7. *Manufacture of musical instruments.*—This was carried on to some extent by Brāhmans of Magadi, and Mysore. *Tamburis, Veena* and *Sitar* were being made, and they were in demand in the State, Hyderabad, as also in other parts of India. The wood used was *halasu* or jack wood, noted for its properties of resonance. Steel wires were also obtained from Channapatna. *Veenas* were also made at Mysore by Muhammadans engaged in the rose wood inlay work. The demand during recent times for these instruments fell considerably owing to the popularity of cheap harmoniums and gramophones. The industry had also to compete with those of superior quality imported from Tanjore and Miraj.

8. *Sugar Industry.*—The Ashtagram Sugar Works were established at Palahally in 1847 for refining jaggery into sugar. The factory was started with a view to develop the resources of sugar manufacture in the tract. The industry flourished for a long time, but declined owing to the foreign import of sugar at a lower price, and the abolition of countervailing duty on the import of bounty-fed sugar.

9. *Art-ware Industry.*—Mysore has been remarkable for its carving on sandalwood. These are carried at Sorab and Sagar. The articles made by them are the images of Hindu gods and goddesses, animals, boxes, caskets, walking sticks, etc. The art of inlaying ebony and rosewood are also being developed by a few Muhammadan families of Mysore.

10. *Lac-turnery.*—This is an old indigenous industry practised at Channapatna by "Chitragars." The wood used is *hale* or *eigi* which grows on waste lands round about the town. It is a soft wood of fine grain, which admits of being turned under a bow lathe worked by one hand. The tree is cut down, and logs and thick branches of the tree are cut into small pieces suitable for turning. Coloured lac imported from Northern India is used. Miniature imitations of vessels and implements are made on a large scale. Their colours are smooth and hard, and do not pull off. Models of vegetables, leaves, fruits and animals with proper colours and shades are made. The industry needs a good market for sale.

11. *Hand-loom cloths and Kamblis* (*blankets*).—These are getting displaced by mill-made articles. The latter are preferred owing to their comparative cheapness and better appearance.

12. *Paintings.*—Every village in the past had a few painters who used to paint *Puranic* deities, and many Hindu families maintained them. Paintings of another kind printed in litho or other presses began to sell cheaper, and the old paintings have almost entirely vanished. Similarly, indigenous scents were replaced by foreign ones.*

Thus many of the village industries owing to their inability to compete with machine-made ones are disappearing or have already disappeared. Further, the general taste has undergone change under the influence of western culture and offers another factor accounting for their decline.

CASTE IN RELATION TO OCCUPATION.

Occupation has at all times exercised and is even now exercising a powerful influence on the Hindu social system. The two main reasons which have led to change of occupation are economic and social. As an instance of the former may be mentioned, the occupation of the Brāhmans. According to the laws of Manu, the Brāhmans have to study and teach the sacred scriptures, which entitle them to be a priestly class. It is enjoined that if a Brāhman cannot subsist by his hereditary occupation, he may pursue the occupation of a Kshatriya, Vaisya or even a Sudra to maintain his family. Throughout ages, they have not been pursuing the occupation of learning and teaching the sacred lore. Government and administration have been all along Brāhmanical professions. Under Hindu rule, they have been ministers and councillors of kings, and they have not forgotten their political power. They have struggled much to maintain their political ascendency under a semi-democratic system. At times, they have also discharged the functions of Kshatriyas by commanding armies in times of necessity. They have enlisted themselves as

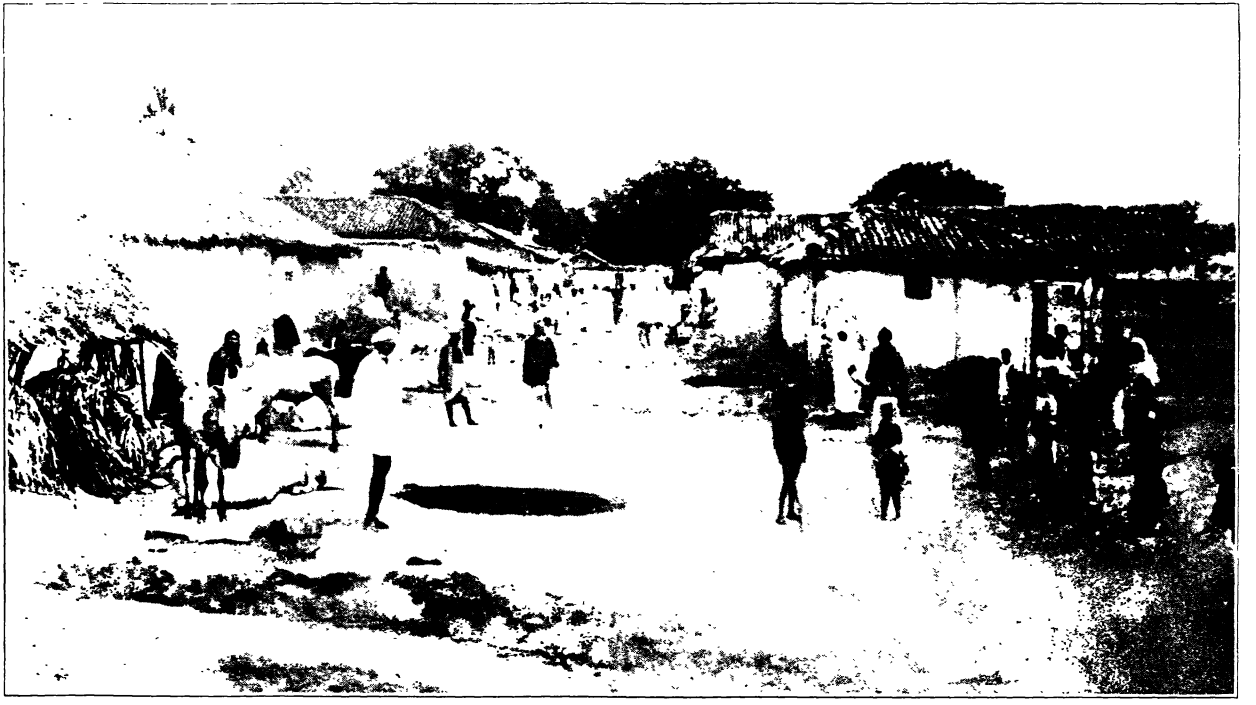
* *Census of India*, Vol. XXV, Mysore, p. 227.

soldiers. Even at present, they are found in all walks of life. Similarly, other castes also have followed the examples of Brāhmans. The second reason is the ambition for social elevation by adopting some occupation more respectable than their ancestral calling as will be seen below. Social ambition is laudable enough, owing to its being based on some self-respect. But unfortunately, it takes a long time for the removal of or mitigation of the stigma of birth in places where the origin of man is known. A potter, a barber, a worker in leather, may be or become a cultivator; but remain as unclean in general estimation as their unregenerate brethren who still make pots or eat fish. A change of occupation may not be objectionable; but what is objectionable is the means of livelihood which is regarded by the caste itself as degrading. The change of occupation brings social elevation, and at other times social degradation.

Under modern conditions, the growth of factory labour and other mechanical industries attract a large number of all classes to towns. This process tends gradually to the abandonment of their hereditary occupation. The castes in Mysore which have long been in their traditional occupations are the Vokkaligas, Tigalas, the Panchalas, the Neygi the Kumbaras, the Kunchitigas and the Komatis. Only 50 per cent of them pursue their ancestral calling. Similarly, the Bedas, Bestas, Upparas, Kurubas, and the Madigas are more and more dissociated from their traditional occupation, and the workers following the specified calling are only 10 per cent in each case. Again, the Agasas, the Devangas, the Ganigas, are still dividing their strength between their hereditary and other occupations. The Lingayets have no traditional occupation, and yet a vast majority of them are

agriculturists. The Âdikarnatakas (Holeyas and Madigas) are depressed classes numbering a million. Among the Holeyas, 34·5 per cent are village watchmen and agricultural labourers, and 29 per cent are cultivators of lands. Similarly, of the actual workers among the Madigas, 37 per cent are cultivators of land, and 33 per cent are field labourers. Agriculture has become the subsidiary occupation of nearly all the castes of Mysore.

SUMMARY. Different stages in the material culture of man have been described. The basic element in his economic life consists in food-quest, clothing, shelter, fire and tools. Of these, food-quest and clothing are the most important. The different stages through which man has passed are hunting and fishing; then a pastoral life, and lastly agricultural and industrial. The tools necessary for these stages of life were invented by them as necessity arose. Their survivals can be noticed among the people of different cultures in Mysore as in the rest of South India. The primitive implements are still in use in all primitive, agricultural and industrial operations. Nevertheless modern methods in agriculture and industries are being introduced. Cottage industries which people have been long pursuing are being displaced by machine industries on the western model.



A TYPICAL VILLAGE SHOWING THE TYPES OF HOUSES.

CHAPTER XIV.

VILLAGE COMMUNITY IN MYSORE.

INTRODUCTION—PRIMITIVE VILLAGE, ITS ORIGIN AND GROWTH—RACIAL ELEMENTS IN THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY——ARYAN INFLUENCE ON EARLY VILLAGE COMMUNITIES——VILLAGE CONSTITUTION—VILLAGE COMMUNITY IN MYSORE——VILLAGE OFFICIALS AND THEIR DUTIES——DISTRIBUTION OF JUSTICE, VILLAGE PANCHAYATS——VILLAGE IMPROVEMENTS AND RECONSTRUCTION——SUMMARY.

INTRODUCTION.

IT is a well-known fact in South India that the primitive village must have been the parent of the earliest form of the later city, which is invariably built round a centre, the site of the original market place and the temple. A close observation of the locality round which the village is built, affords indubitable evidence as to the country from which it has originated. In South India the village of the aboriginal tribes is invariably so arranged that the sacred grove in which the trees of the primeval forests still remain is the home of the local gods. In doing this, we have to fix our initial starting point in a very early age of human history, for we find everywhere the remains of villages, probably of the neolithic age; but the people living in them had reached a fairly advanced stage of civilization, for they grew cereals, millets, possessed cattle, sheep and goats, and cultivated fruit trees. It must also be assumed that these villages were all founded on the same system of communistic property of land, which was the distinguishing form of land tenure. The original system on which these villages were founded, must

therefore have been elaborated by a forest people. It also follows that agriculture was systematically practised on a large scale, in the forest lands on a communal basis, which was afterwards followed by re-distribution at various intervals, due of course, to the evolution of private property as a result of effective occupation.*

PRIMITIVE VILLAGE, ITS ORIGIN AND GROWTH.

The term, "village," is used in various senses, and much depends upon the constituent elements. Originally it must have consisted of a group of families based on kinship or common descent which, in course of time, was forgotten. It is also held that two types of villages, one possessing land in collective ownership, and the other with independent holdings have existed at a remote period. The latter is in all probability an evolution of the former. It is also held that a distinct existence of a type of Indian village with the joint ownership, cannot be proved to be a feature either of the past or of the present. It is said that the earliest villages in India were those founded by the Dravidian races, the dolichocephalic Australoids who called themselves the sons of the tree, and are now represented by the Gonds, and their Indian cognates some of whom still use the boomerang. These people made the village, and not the family, their national unit. They also held that parents of children should be brought up by the mothers and maternal uncles, and they should therefore be regarded as the children of the village. Thus each village was ruled by the mothers and maternal uncles of the children born in it. It is impossible to determine accurately, whether the original founders of the first Indian village were a homogenous race or not; for the unity of the race

* Hewitt, J. W.: *The Pre-Aryan Communal Village in India.*

was, as already mentioned, both improbable and impossible; and almost all the lower castes of Southern India were, and are even now, ready to admit any one of higher social standing than themselves into the caste, if he complies with the custom of the tribe. In spite of the absence of any definite information as to race, it is probable that the first tribes who laid the foundation for an organised society must have been the later neolithic people or the Dravidians who had, either alone or by long association, developed a distinct type of humanity, the most distinctive marks of which may still be seen in the survivals of the physical types of their descendants even after complete miscegenation during the long lapse of ages. When we carefully study the manners and customs of the people in the villages we find that they all go back to the matriarchal stage of society organised by the Dravidians at the bottom of the list. It is to these people and their maternal ancestors, the Dravidians, that we have to look for the original Indian village. They must have begun their life as a race of hunters at first, subsequently betaking themselves to agriculture after a gradual clearing of forests. It is said that "the race flourished in Central and Southern India in the early stone age, counting ages before the Vedas were written," and it was the growing of rice which led to the formation of permanent villages among the matriarchal races.

RACIAL ELEMENTS IN THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY.

It has been said that three distinct races in India took part in the formation of the Indian Village Community. They were the Mongoloid, the Dravidian and the Aryan races. To the first of these belonged the Kolarian tribes of Western Bengal and Central India; to the second, the Dravidian tribes who speak Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese and

Malayalam, and the Gonds, Khonds, and Oraons, who speak the cognate dialects; and to the third, the various tribes composing the Aryan race. The distinct features of the Kolarian race may thus be summed up: "(1) Organisation by the totem; (2) Occupation of forest clearing; (3) Settlement under a non-hereditary chief, election of clan chiefs, tribal and clan priests; (4) Territorial division of the tribes and clans; (5) Independent houses; (6) Clan deities of the forest; (7) Government by a Council; (8) Ignorance of the plough and objection to cattle as food." Those of the Dravidians are: "(1) Tribes as totemistic groups, (2) Settlement on the model of camps under a king as general-in-chief with the subordinate chiefs for the outlying parts to guard the frontiers; (3) Territorial division into *parhas*; (4) The distribution of families in village streets or in compounds with a few huts, without gardens or orchards; separation of young men and girls from their parents in every village for settlement in separate lodgings called the bachelor and maid halls, under the care of one of the elders and matrons of the village; (5) Worship of the village god with offerings; (6) The central government to receive contributions from each village; (7) The privileges of the descendants of the men who formed the village."*

Thus the distinguishing features of the Dravidian villages show a strong central government, great advance towards territorial settlements and boundaries, the re-distribution of village land at the time of admission of a new village, and imposition of dues or payments for the purposes of Government. From an ethnographical standpoint, there is not much difference between the two races, Kolarian

* Gomme: *The Village Community*, pp. 26-29.

and Dravidian. Both are based on a tribal organisation, and their chief characteristic, in the history of the village community in India, is their power of amalgamation which thus produced did not alter the principle of social organisation. The village, before the advent of the Dravidians, was the same unit as the village after its absorption of the new-comers. The internal structure had to be knit gether, and the external shell was still the village.

The village community is a primitive institution of the backward races, and a subordinate one of the civilised nations of the world. It is also suggested that the latter is a survival of the former. The agricultural practices in the primitive village community were of immemorial usage. The traditional methods of agriculture, like traditional methods of belief, are valuable to the study of ethnology. They reveal the activities and achievements of primitive man. Among them may be mentioned the shifting of the cultivation site season after season, the felling of the trees for the clearing of forests, for the cultivation of food-stuffs, and the selection of a fresh site for cultivation, as the soil showed signs of deterioration. At the beginning of the season for cultivation, the arable land of the village was divided among the occupants. There were also lands appropriated by the prevailing custom among the village officers, namely, the accountant, the village watchman, the village carpenter, and the blacksmith. The villagers were assisted by three classes of servants, namely, slaves who were transferred with other privileges of the village occupants; secondly, bondsmen who might have mortgaged and could have redeemed themselves or worked out of their bondage; and thirdly hired labourers. All these classes were supported by allowance of grain and presents of cloth for clothing

and the benefits of gleanings and the sweepings of the threshing floor. They were also given small plots of ground for gardens, and presents on marriage occasions and births in their families. The foreigners did not possess any portion of the land set apart for them. They were, at the early stage, a community by themselves, and had to pay a fee to the superiority of the original settlers of the village. The component parts of the village community may thus be classified under the following heads: hereditary villagers, priests, the village officers, bondsmen, hired labourers and foreigners. Thus a distinction was made between the original inhabitants and foreigners (stranger settlers).*

ARYAN INFLUENCE ON EARLY VILLAGE COMMUNITIES

It is said that the Aryans who entered India were almost a pastoral people. Their wealth consisted of cattle, and they looked upon agriculture and trade as degrading. Their earliest laws forbade these occupations to the first two classes, the Brāhmans and the Kshatriyas. It is said in the laws of Manu that, agriculture was blamed by the virtuous, for the plough with iron point injures the earth, and the creatures in it. Their object, at first was, probably to find a country with open plains for their cattle, with abundant grain cultivated by a class of people of the alien race. Such a country was found in the plains of the Punjab, where they settled and composed the Vedic hymns. Their chief objects were probably the protection of their families from the original inhabitants, and the performance of sacrifices to the gods whom they adored. It was for this purpose that the early codes of laws were composed for the religious performances in each family. The most essential of them were: (1) The

* Baden-Powell: *The Indian Village Community*, pp. 151–170.

ritual of the daily sacrifice offered by the head of the family to the gods and the ancestors, (2) the maintenance of the sacred fire kindled at the wedding in the family, (3) the conduct of the student and the priests of the sacred laws, (4) the preservation of purity, and the avoidance of marriage with alien races. The Aryan did not, at once, settle down in the country in village communities, but introduced the idea of sacred rights in the family, and super-imposed upon a strongly organised economic system, their own strongly organised system. Within the framework of the original Dravidian villages, the Aryan race governed a body of cultivators. One of the most significant facts of the race history of the village community in India is that the boundaries of townships are preserved with the greatest care, and are often under the charge of the aboriginal tribe, the Parayans of the Madras Presidency, whose forefathers fixed them.

The Aryan clans were founded on common kinship attached to the soil, and the whole community was known to the State by the amount of revenue paid to the sovereign. They divided among themselves the produce of the land, and were exempted from the payment of the revenue granted at the commencement of the organisation of the village. They had the labour of the village officers, namely, the carpenter, blacksmith, potter, washerman, watchman, barber, herdsman, distributor of water, all free of any personal charge. They thus stand forth before the world and in their own eyes as free villagers, independent alike of national economy, self-governing and self-supporting.*

In his '*Aryan Rule in India*,' Mr. Havell says: "The non-Aryan system of primitive agriculture

* Havell: *The History of Aryan Rule in India*, pp. 11–13.

was purely empirical at the outset. These primitive village communities were loosely knit together by tribal customs and motives of self-interest without any capacity for self-improvement. From the study of primitive Dravidian sociology of the aboriginal Indian tribes of the present day, we gather what part Dravidian institutions took in the formation of the Indo-Aryan village system. The indigenous Dravidian system was probably the foundation upon which the Indo-Aryan economic superstructure was built. The Dravidian tribesmen were originally nomad hunters living in the forests and their social system was matriarchal. The mothers and their children formed the nucleus of a settled society. The fathers were the hunters of different tribes whose occupation of supplying food for the common meals kept them away from the village." The young men and unmarried girls of the same village had separate quarters, the survivals of which are even now to be seen in the typical families of Oraons, Mundas, and the jungle tribes of Cochin and Travancore.

"All the tribal social customs, including marriage were on a communal basis—the children were the offspring of the intercourse which took place when the young men and women of different tribes met and danced together in the forest glades at festivals of the seasons. In the most settled communities, the Dravidian mother added to the common food supplies by collecting edible roots, and forest produce which would be found near the village, and began a regular system of cultivation in the perfection of which they were helped, according to tradition, by the friendly teaching of Aryan Rishis who had retired to the peaceful seclusion of the forests for meditation. The agricultural lands of which the Dravidian tribes thus became possessed, were also communal property held in turn by different groups of cultivators, according to the redistribution made periodically at the village meetings." "The respective duties of the mothers and of the able-bodied men in the ancient communal system were thus well defined. The fathers had little concern with the affairs of the children. All the men and women

of the tribe were as brothers and sisters. The men of the village were skilful hunters and had their share in the communal life. When the children grew old, they took charge of their education, and taught them all the laws of the forest, the habits of the wild denizens, the use of the weapons of the chase, and the traditional laws and customs of the tribe. The village grove, where the children were taught, and where the elders discussed the affairs of the community, became the school and the temple of the tribe. Thus every village was more or less a little social organism, self-governed, and had its police and courts of justice. Its members shared among them, the public expenses. In course of time, the village system described above, led to a kind of social despotism and then to an autocracy. A woman taken by force became the property and wife of the captor, and a cultivated land or the spoils of the plundering raids became the property of the raiders. In the beginning, this system produced the ferocious bandits known as *Rākshasās* or demons, and finally gave rise to the powerful Dravidian kingdoms which the Aryans subdued by arms and intellect. But throughout the Dravidian civilization, the original matriarchal principle remained as the basis of the law of inheritance and the foundation of religious beliefs."*

The Aryans in the course of centuries became intermingled and assimilated with the Dravidians from whom the Indo-Aryan system was evolved. It had for its foundation, "the communal principle of the primitive Dravidian foreign settlement and for its superstructure the higher structure and organisation created by Aryan genius and dominated by Aryan spiritual ideals." In the scheme of Indo-Aryan civilisation the matriarchal system and the rudimentary culture of the Dravidian village retained their places. Dravidian kings were proud of their descent on their mother's side from ancient dynasties. Aryan forest hermits taught useful arts and higher spiritual truths in Dravidian village schools, so that the cruel "earth mother" came to be the bride of the Aryan Sun-God and the bringer of prosperity. The "dread" Durga was transformed into the

* Havell: *History of Aryan Rule in India*, pp. 14–16.

beauteous wife of the ascetic Śiva, the teacher of spiritual wisdom, and the destroyer of ignorance.

At the time of Alexander's campaign, the people of India had not even the faintest idea of their origin, retained vague traditions of their barbarism. This served as a favourable opportunity for the Aryans to impose their system of Government upon the primitive organization of the village communities. "Villages were generally federated for purposes of mutual protection under the rule of a Raja or king, who was either elected or made hereditary. He was invested with supreme authority, and was subject to the traditional law and custom. The villages were planted according to their model. The typical form was a rectangular enclosure with the four sides derived from the fortified camp of their first invaders."

VILLAGE CONSTITUTION.

Great importance has been attached to the constitution of the Indian Village Community, owing to its recognition as an important factor in the social stability of the country. Regarding its stability the famous words of Sir Charles Metcalfe are as true as ever. "Village communities seem to last when nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty changes; revolution succeeds revolution. Hindu, Pathan, Mughul, Mahratta, English, were all masters in return, but the village community remains the same. In later times the community has been weakened under the English law, which has tended to substitute personal for corporate property."

Briefly speaking, there are two types of the village community, the Aryan or joint village peculiar to North India, and the Dravidian raiyatwary village of the South. The former is the outcome of the Aryan clan system, a body of settlers occupying a tract, one part of which is allotted to the householders as separate farms, the other part is held

in common by the entire community. Such a form of land-holding was specially adopted to the dry plains of Northern India, where co-operation is needed for the provision of water supply. There were hardly any facilities for communal agriculture. But if we consider the period of development, we find that the Dravidian agriculture is earlier. While in the Aryan village the *patria potestas* has passed into clan organization, with the Dravidians, it continued to exist. There is here an influential hereditary headman who allots the free lands among the cultivators, and provides for the remuneration of that hereditary staff of servants by whose ministrations the village becomes a community, independent of aid from outside. Unlike the North Indian village, there is no common holding of the occupied land; it has been allotted to tenants, and enjoyed independently from the beginning.*

The salient features of difference between the two classes of villages, is thus summarised in a short table :—

Raiyatwary Village.	*Joint Village.*
1. Influential headman often still possessing certain privileges is a part of the natural constitution.	1. No headman originally, but a panchayat. In modern times an official headman appointed to represent the Community.
2. Holdings entirely separate and not shares of a unit estate.	2. The holdings (sometimes joint) are shares of a unit estate.
3. No joint liability for revenue	3. Liability (joint and several) always for the revenue assessed in a lump sum.
4. No joint area of waste or common land belongs to the village or is available for partition.	4. The village site, and usually an area of waste, owned in common and is available for partition.

* Baden-Powell: *The Indian Village Community.*

The form of the village indicates whether the modern history of the tract in which it is situated has been peaceful or disturbed. In times of anarchy and rapine, the villagers were large associations of people assembled together for self-defence. The village site was fortified. Thus Buchanan wrote of a Mysore village: "The defence of such a village consists of a round wall 40 feet in diameter and 6 feet high. On the top of this is a parapet of mud with a door in it to which the only access is by means of a ladder. In the case of a plundering party coming near a village, the people would ascend into the tower with their families, and most valuable effects, and being drawn up the ladder, defended themselves with stones, which even their women threw with great force and dexterity."*

Under the reign of peace, such fortified villages have disappeared. Yet there remains the remnants in various parts of the State. In some cases, the village is found to be protected by a dense hedge of thorns. The tendency to isolation is the special characteristic of the jungle tribes. The migratory nature of their cultivation prevents them from the growth of a compact village.

In the choice of site for habitation, a jungle tribe shows great taste. Their village is located at the foot of finely-wooded hills or in valleys well raised above the flood level. Their hamlets consist of two rows of houses forming a broad curved street, and closed at the ends by a strong wooden barrier. The headman has his dwelling in the very centre of the hamlet. The case is different in the case of an agricultural village which has its residential site mostly surrounded by mud walls having gateways leading to narrow winding lanes. Outside it

* W. Crooke: *Things Indian*, p. 502.

is an open space on which all the village cattle assembled both in the morning and in the evening. It is there where the village weavers stretch the webs for the cloth they are going to weave for local use. There is a pond or tank or a public well for their use, as also the village shrine for their worship. Generally, there is a small grove or a spreading tree with a raised platform round it, and this forms the common meeting place. In some cases, the village god also is located thereon. Besides the dwellings of the headman and the principal land-holders are cottages of ordinary cultivators and their dependents, and farm labourers, village servants and artificers. The dwellings are also arranged according to caste precedence. The village menials are kept outside the dwellings of the villagers, but not far from them. This organization is a common feature in Mysore as in other parts of the Madras Presidency.

In close proximity or surrounding the village are the village lands, consisting of cultivable ones, and those for grazing and wood-cutting. The arable lands have their boundary marks, and their sub-divisions of earth ridges for retaining water for irrigation. The inhabitants of the village pass their lives in the midst of these peaceful surroundings welded together into a community with its organization and government which differ in character in the types of villages, its body of customary rules and its functionaries. Their comparative isolation has resulted from various causes. Their community is the society known to them.

VILLAGE COMMUNITY IN MYSORE.

From the foregoing account of the village community which serves as a background, the village community in Mysore may be described.

The Village Twelve.—The constitution of the village corporation, the unit of the body politic, and

basis of administration at all times, has hardly differed from what was graphically described by Wilks:

"Every Indian village is, and appears always to have been, in fact, a separate community or republic; the *gauda* or *patel* is the judge and magistrate; the *karnam* or *shanbhog* is the registrar; the *talari* or *sthaliwar* and *toti*, are severally the watchman of the village and of the crops; the *nirganti* distributes the water of the streams or reservoirs in just proportion to the several fields; the *jotishya, joisa* or astrologer performs the essential service of announcing the seasons of seed-time and harvest, and the imaginary benefit of unfolding the lucky or unlucky days and hours for all the operations of farming; the smith and carpenter, frame the rude instruments of husbandry, and the ruder dwelling of the farmer; the potter fabricates the only utensils of the village; the washerman keeps clean the few garments which are spun and sometimes woven in the family of the farmer, or purchased at the nearest market; the barber contributes to the cleanliness and assists in the toilet of the villagers; the goldsmith, marking the approach of luxury, manufactures the simple ornaments with which they delight to bedeck their wives and their daughters: and these Twelve Officers, styled the *Barabaluti* or *Ayangadi*, as requisite members of the community, receive the compensation of their labour either in allotments of land from the corporate stock or in fees consisting of fixed proportions of the crop of every farmer in the village."*

In some instances, the lands of the village are cultivated in common, and the crop divided in the proportions of the labour contributed, but generally each occupant tills his own field; the waste land is a common pasture for the cattle of the village; its external boundaries are as carefully marked as those of the richest field, and they are maintained as a common right of the village, or rather the *township* (a term which more correctly describes the thing in our contemplation), to the exclusion of others, with as much jealousy and rancour as the frontiers of the most potent kingdoms.†

* Wilks: *History of Mysore*, Chp. V, pp. 75.
† Quoted in L. Rice: *Mysore Gazetteer*, pp. 574–575.

VILLAGE OFFICIALS AND THEIR DUTIES.

The following officers were hereditary, and established by Vijayanagar rulers in all towns and villages, under the general name of *Ayagar* in Canarese and *Bara Baluti* in Hindustani :—

(1) Shanbhog, accountant.
(2) Gauda, headman.
(3) Kammara, ironsmith.
(4) Badagi, carpenter.
(5) Agasa, washerman.
(6) Panchangi, astrologer
(7) Nayinda, barber.
(8) Madiga, shoemaker.
(9) Akasale, goldsmith.
(10) Talari, watchman of the village.
(11) Nirganti, watchman of the tanks.
(12) Kumbara, potter.

The *Ayagar* depended on the financial or revenue branch. The raiyats gave them a share called *nijayam* and *ardhayam* of the crops produced in their village; these were for each *kapila*, bed, *kandi* or *putti*, varying according to regulations established anciently in the different parganas. The *nijayam* above the ghats was four seers or measures of grain, and the *ardhayam* two seers. *Manyam* or privileged lands were also allowed to the *Ayagar*, for which they regularly paid the *jodi*, a small tax from which none of these officials' hereditary estates were exempt except the *Panchangi*.

To the *Shanbhog*, as accountant of the village, the raiyats paid the full *ayam*. If he had a share of any charity from the inhabitants or from the Sarkar, he paid the *jodi* to Government: to him and the head *Gauda*, the inferior classes rendered their rents or shares of the revenue.

The duty of the *Gauda* was to see that the farmers cultivated the land for the *kandayam* or rent agreed on in the *Jamabandi* or annual settlement; to collect the revenue composed of the different branches, duties, etc., and to pay it to the proprietors of the districts according to the *khist* or agreement; to adjust all accounts relating to these at the end of the year; and then to settle the rent of the ensuing year according to the estimate made by the Amildar by order of the Government. But, in adjusting these concerns, it frequently happened that, the raiyats having no access to people in the higher offices, parcels of lands were unaccounted for, and their produce clandestinely secreted by the *Gaudas* and Shanbhogs, which they collusively divided among themselves.

The *Kammar* or ironsmith, and *Badagi* or carpenter, had to supply the raiyats with ploughs and other implements of

husbandry without taking any price for the same. If a raiyat wanted to build a house, he must then pay some consideration to these artificers; but they paid nothing for the public duty such as ploughs, buckets, etc., for which the *hore-hullu* (a bundle of straw) and *mora-batta* (some portion of grain) were assigned.

The *Agasa* or washerman, and *Nayinda* or barber, must wash and shave gratis for all the raiyats of a village; the latter also dressed wounds and performed other surgical operations. For this they received *hore-hullu* and *mora-batta*. When the washerman delivered the cloths after washing, he received provision sufficient for one day. The washerman paid annually some money to the Sarkar for the rent of the drying-ground.

The duties of the *Panchangi* (always a Brāhman) were to make the proper times for sowing the great and small grains in their right season, also to declare from the calendar the fortunate time for commencing any new undertaking. This Brāhman also officiated as priest, to perform the ceremonies of funerals and marriages according to the laws. He must daily attend the headman of the village, and from his calendar read off the day of the week, month and year, the predominant signs and constellations, etc. For these duties, he collected the *hore-hullu* and *mora-batta*.

The *Madiga* or chuckler furnished shoes, ropes, leather buckets, and other little necessaries for cultivation, for which he was entitled to the *ayam*, *hore-hullu* and *mora-batta*.

The duty of the *Akasale* or goldsmith was to measure the *Songuru* or the half-share of the crop which the raiyats paid to the Sarkar, and to shroff the money collected in the village in payment of the revenue. For any other work done by him, he might take payment, but for these, the *hore-hullu* and *mora-batta* were his perquisites.

The *Talari* was the police officer or *kotwal* of the inferior villages. Besides the *nijayam* and *ardhayam*, and the *manyams* allowed for his maintenance to encourage him to a due performance of his duties, the raiyats privately bribed him with ragi, vegetables and conks (?) in the harvest time, to conciliate his favour and protect themselves from certain inconveniences, such as being forcibly delivered over to travellers to carry burdens to the next stage, etc. The appropriate duty of the *Talari* also was to watch over the safety of the village and to be ready to provide forage and conveniences for those employed by the Sarkar. He was responsible for all things stolen within the enclosure of his village; whatever was lost or stolen on the high ways, or without the precincts of the town, was to

A GROUP OF VILLAGE WATCHMEN, HOLEYAS.

be recovered or accounted for by the *Kavalgars*. People of all castes were employed in this station, except in the Chitaldroog country where only the Boyis or Bedars acted in this capacity.

The *Nirganti's* duty was to attend to the tanks and to shut up, when necessary, their sluices or *tubus* with the stoppers usually fitted for this purpose; in the winter time, he must watch carefully on the banks of the tanks to preserve the water. It was his appropriate duty to give water to the raiyats of the village; and when water diminished, he rendered account thereof to the managers, lest he be suspected of disposing of it clandestinely. For these duties, he received *hore-hullu* and *mora-batta*.

The *Kumbara* or potters was not stationed in every village, one or two being generally sufficient for a *hobli* or *taraf*; he furnished pots for all the raiyats of his *taraf* and was entitled to *ayam* in an equal proportion as the other *Ayagar*. For the *liberty* of exposing his wares for sale to travellers in the markets, he paid *chakra-kanike* to the Sarkar.

The above twelve were the village servants; their offices were hereditary, going from father to son; and they were authorised to sell or to mortgage their office when in distress. Of these, *Shanbhog*, *Gauda*, *Talari*, *Nirganti* are, under the same conditions, discharging the same duties.*

A group of ten to forty villages were called a *hobli* or *taraf* and that of four to ten of these constituted a *gadi*, called Pargana in the Northern Sarkars. Ten to twenty of these *gadis*, annexed to a *kasaba* or capital town, constituted a *sima* or country, a name in later times applied to provinces of considerable extent, in like manner as the Nadus more anciently. The chief officer of a *gadi* was the *Parpattegar*, at present an Amildar; of *hobli*, the *Nadiga*; of a village, the *Gauda*, in whose absence the *Shanbhog* was the chief.†

DISTRIBUTION OF JUSTICE. VILLAGE PANCHAYATS.

Equally important are the functions of the tribal or caste councils on social matters. For the purpose of self-government, the lower castes are much better organized than the higher ones which have only a loose machinery for the regulation of their affairs. The former have a powerful organization for

*—† Rice L.; *Mysore Gezetteer*, Vol. I, pp. 580-581.

enforcing their decrees. "The spirit of combination is said to be in the inverse ratio to the rank of the class, weakest in the highest, and strongest in the lowest class." The constitution of the governing body in a village is a Panchayat which literally means a body of five men. In practice, the number is by no means limited to the above number. It is in fact applied to an indefinite number of men or a representative assembly held in great esteem. The Panchayats are of two kinds, namely, the permanent, and the temporary. In the former as in Mysore, the headman who is called a Gauda, *Yajaman*, *Naik*,* Vadil † is assisted by a secretary known as *Hattaramanushya* or *Mudramanushya* ‡ as also *Kolkar* to assemble the elderly members of the community whenever necessary, either for the settlement of some particular question connected with the caste or for the adjudication of a special case. These functionaries are mostly permanent. In the temporary Panchayat, there are no officials responsible for bringing offences to the notice of the community. In some communities, the headman alone is responsible for the proper management of social matters as among the Banjaras. His word is law, and his orders are implicitly obeyed.

THE JURISDICTION OF THE PANCHAYAT.

The jurisdiction of the Panchayat is exercised in the violation of the following caste customs:—

1. Breaches of the communal law.
2. Restrictions on eating, drinking, and smoking.
3. Breaches of the marriage law which includes.
   - (*a*) the seduction of a wife or adultery,
   - (*b*) immorality or concubinage,
   - (*c*) breach of promise of marriage (refusal to main tain a wife),
   - (*d*) marriage of a widow without permission.

* Vol. II, p. 173.
† Vol. III, p. 95.
‡ Vol. III, p. 129.

4. Violations of caste custom in the matter of feasts.
5. Killing sacred animals, such as cow, and others.

In the trial of offenders against caste rules, the headman acts as the judge with the leading members of the caste who act as a jury. The functions of the caste council are judicial and deliberative. Sometimes, they also discuss and decide questions affecting the customs and interests of the caste, and formulate rules of conduct. The permanence and authority of this ancient institution tend much to promote the solidarity of caste, and preserve the discipline among members. For matters of great importance, it calls for a general assembly of the male members of the caste, and even then, the members of the council guide the discussion, and have a voice in the final disposal. Sometimes, questions affecting the customs and interests of the caste are discussed and decided, and rules of conduct are formulated for future guidance. The procedure of the council is simple. The charge is stated and the accused questioned on oath. If the guilt is admitted, the punishment follows, as otherwise witnesses are heard in support of accusation and in defence, after which comes the verdict. If the accusation is proved to be false and malicious, the accuser is promptly punished with fine or excommunication. Evidence is taken on oath. The accused also may profess his innocence by swearing. Ordeals were formerly resorted to in backward areas, but have now almost vanished.

The ordinary forms of punishment are usually fines and excommunications. It is interesting to note the gradations of fines levied by Dasaris for offences against caste rules.* In some cases, corporal punishment is inflicted.† An unfaithful wife is tied to a pole and flogged with a broom. In cases

* Vol. III, pp. 111-112.
† Vol. IV, pp. 670-671.

of fines, half the amount goes to the headman, and the remainder is spent either in drinking or in feasting. Thus the status of the headman in Mysore is one of honour and authority.* Somewhat connected with Panchayats, but organized on broader lines is the Caste *Sabhā* which is an association of castemen united by some bond of common interest. The Panchayats deal with individuals, while the *Sabhā* deals with questions of general interest. Most of the major castes of Mysore have the caste *Sabhās* which are a modern product.

VILLAGE IMPROVEMENTS AND RECONSTRUCTION.

Soon after the Census operations of 1911, special attention was bestowed by the State for the improvement of village life. The village improvement scheme was formulated in 1914, and reference was made in the Census of 1921. The Panchayat Regulation was introduced in 1927, the main object of which was to create for each village an organization that would promote the welfare, and provide it with the means of meeting the expenditure on ordinary improvements. All the villages of the State at present, either by themselves or in a group with the adjacent ones, are Panchayats under the regulation. There were in 1931 Panchayats, the income of which was mainly derived from house-tax which amounted to Rs. 7,95,885. Grants also were given by the Government for specific improvements of their own villages with a definite income of which they were certain, and regulated their expenditure according to a definite programme prepared by them. But the income of the Panchayat is not steady. The ignorance of the villagers coupled with a lack of patriotism and the factious spirit amongst them makes the scheme unworkable. Where the villagers

* *Vide* Influence of Desai Setti in Caste Organization, Vol. II, pp. 112–118.

understand the civic life, and their duties and responsibilities, good results have been achieved by their good work. Several villages situated near the transmission line of the Cauvery Power Scheme have taken electric lights. Some have built village halls and rest houses. Many have levied optional taxes, and organized communal labour for carrying out works of public utility. Efforts have also been made by Government to restore something of self-sufficiency of the ancient village community to some of the largest villages in the State during the past twenty years. The Mysore Tank Panchayat Regulation passed in 1911 was an attempt to make the villagers responsible for their village tanks. There were 126 Tank Panchayats in 1931. The Village Forest Regulation has made it possible for a village to raise its own forests on land which may be available and suitable for growth. There were 234 Panchayats in 1931.

DENSITY OF POPULATION IN VILLAGES.

According to the Census of 1931, the number of villages in the State was 19,108, as against 19,237 in 1921. Of these, 2,715 in 1931, and 2,669 in 1921 were uninhabited. The number of occupied villages in 1931 was 16,483 as against 16,568 in 1921. There was thus a decrease of 85. A vast majority of the villages are small. Eight hundred and twelve out of a thousand have a population of less than 500. Villages having a population of 5,000 are less than one per cent. But the average population of a village in the State is 334. In the districts of Chitaldrug and Mysore, the number is 476. The villages in the districts of Bangalore and Tumkur are of average size. The average population in the villages of these districts is 386, while that in Kadur is only 321. The district is a hilly tract, and in the village there is a conglomeration of planted units, each of

which may be called a village. Then much below the State average come Kolar, Shimoga and Hassan Districts. The villages in Mysore are fairly crowded, because the land is fertile, and this attracts people for cultivation or farm labour. Equally fertile is the land in the Chitaldrug District in spite of its scanty rainfall. Of all the main districts, Kolar like Bangalore has the least average density, and this is probably due to less heavy rainfall.

SUMMARY. The village community in India is a very ancient institution. Its starting point may be fixed at a very early stage of human history. For, everywhere the ruins of villages probably of the neolithic age are still to be found.

The earliest villages in India are those founded by the Dravidian races, the dolicho-cephalic Austroloids who called themselves sons of the tree. They are now represented by the South Indian jungle tribes and their cognates some of whom still use the boomerang. Many survivals of the old village communal life still remain.

CHAPTER XV.

EVOLUTION OF TASTE IN DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

(From Nudity to Raiment).

EVOLUTION OF TASTE IN DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—PAINTING—TATTOOING—TATTOO AND TOTEMISM—DEFORMATION AND MUTILATION—JEWELLERY—CLOTHING—HAIR-DRESSING—SUMMARY.

EVOLUTION OF TASTE IN DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

IT is said that the law of organic development in the animal kingdom, in the life of an individual man, and of the human race consists in seeking after food, then in feeling, and lastly in thinking. The nutritive want is the basis upon which depends all the habits of conscious life, but the phenomena of sensitive life show a higher complexity in his organization. Further, the energy in man places the genetic wants immediately after the nutritive wants, and from these originate the delicacies of the senses. The desire to look well, that is, to produce an agreeable impression by decoration by one's taste, is not peculiar to man alone. Many animals feel and show the same desire, especially during the period of gestation. This fact is very remarkable in birds, which know how to make their feathers look glossy and to show themselves off with grace, making the most of their bright colours. Man is the most intelligent of animals, and he has been using artifices of many kinds in order to look well, and it is interesting to study this tendency in the different divisions of the human races. Primitive man was at first in a state of nudity. He then

thought of painting and tattooing particularly those parts of the body which would lend themselves to ornamentation. This was the best decoration in its primitive mood, and in the genesis of art, it corresponded to drawing and painting. He then began to modify his shape by mutilations and deformations. With the progress of civilization, he began to clothe himself more and more, when the outer surface on which tattooing would appear was very much lessened, when the mutilations grew less, and were gradually abandoned. During this period, the desire for dress manifested itself in jewellery which caused some slight mutilations in head, face and other organs or parts of the body, all of which had to be shaped artistically. He had on this account to exercise his ingenuity in varying the shape, and in combining different colours. The three aspects in human decoration, namely, painting, tattooing and clothing, deformation, and mutilations which have been more or less found to be co-existing will be noticed here with instances drawn mostly from the manners and customs prevailing among the various tribes and castes in Mysore, as also from those in other parts of India, and in other parts of the world as well.

PAINTING.

The desire for painting and tattooing is even now very common among the primitive people of every race in all parts of the world, the survivals of which, to a large extent, may be seen even amongst the members of the higher castes of South India especially in Mysore, Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. The colour "red" is usually chosen by the people to paint or decorate themselves. During the village festivals in the district of Malabar, and in the States of Cochin and Travancore, the Parayans and Pulayans paint their faces in various

colours and dress themselves in fantastic costumes to dance before the deity.* They represent the demons and the *Rākshasas*, reminding one of the early palæolithic and neolithic men. Young women and grown-up girls of the higher castes on ceremonial and other occasions paint their faces red either with vermillion or with turmeric dipped in castor oil. They also paint their palms, fingers, even nails, as also the legs and feet red with a coating of the paste made of henna leaves (*Lawsonia inermis*). Further, all married young and grown-up Brāhman women dye their chins, hands, and legs and sometimes their whole body with turmeric. During their bath on the fourth day after menses and during the period in confinement after delivery, the women anoint their bodies with gingelly oil, and after cleaning with soap, they rub their bodies with turmeric, and then wash themselves in water. The actors of the Malabar dramas bear testimony to the fact that their fantastic paintings of the forehead, chins, nose and eyelids are still current among the people of low culture.

The custom of painting and adorning the body existed in prehistoric times. In palæolithic dwellings, coloured earths were found; and coloured pastes also made by mixing iron rust with reindeer fat were also used for the colouring of the human body. Ludwig Stein remarks that "the history of cosmetics, dated from the days of Biblical antiquity, and could be traced back to the man of the Ice Age."† This significant fact throws light upon his individual moral qualities. The palæolithic man probably was not satisfied merely with painting his skin, but also tattooed his body by means of fine flint knives.

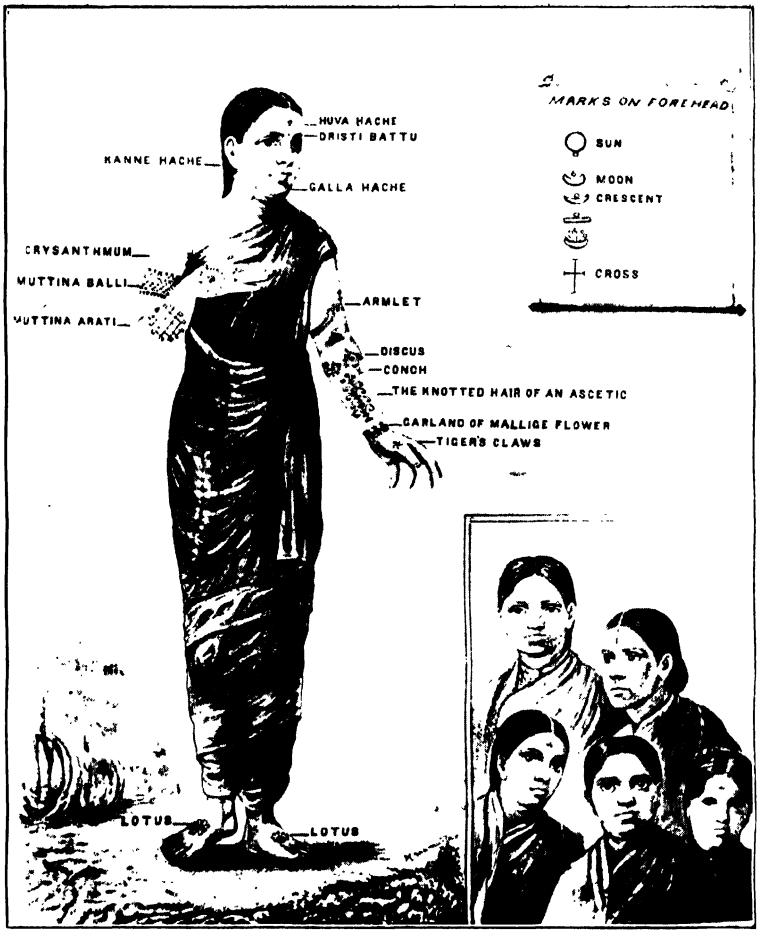
* *Vide* illustrations in the *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, Chap. IV, p. 83; Vol. II, Chap. III, pp. 65–66.

† Ludwig Stein: *The Beginnings of Human Civilization*, Leipzig 1906, pp. 74–75.

The practice of painting the body is said to have existed at the end of the quarternary and during the Neolithic periods. Red ochre was then, as well as in Palæolithic times, looked upon as the chief article of decoration. Black and white colours were also mostly in use, because they were esteemed as highly ornamental. Different motives were attributed to this means of adornment. The painting in the early stage of adornment was probably a protection against mosquitoes and other insects, and in the later stage as a means of adornment. In some cases, they might be for frightening the enemies in battle. Even in modern times, the savages in all parts of the world are fond of showy colours. "The Santhals at a feast" says Sir William Hunter, "are fond of displaying all the colours of the rainbow." Many savages are said to paint themselves for mourning or disguise themselves from the ghost of the dead man. Many authorities are of opinion that it is an adornment for sexual attraction and many examples are quoted in support of it.

TATTOOING. Next to painting and closely connected with it is the practice of tattooing which is most widespread all over the world both among the savages and the civilized people in prehistoric and historic times. "Not one great country" says Darwin, "can be named from the Polar regions in the North to New Zealand in the South, in which the aborigines do not tattoo themselves." The art is of Polynesian origin, and the word "tattoo" is derived from "ta" to "strike." It suggests the primitive method of the operation which is caused by beating into the flesh with a fine pointed bone dipped in a mixture which leaves an indelible mark behind.

The Polynesians according to Brown tattoo permanently, being urged partly by the courage, and partly



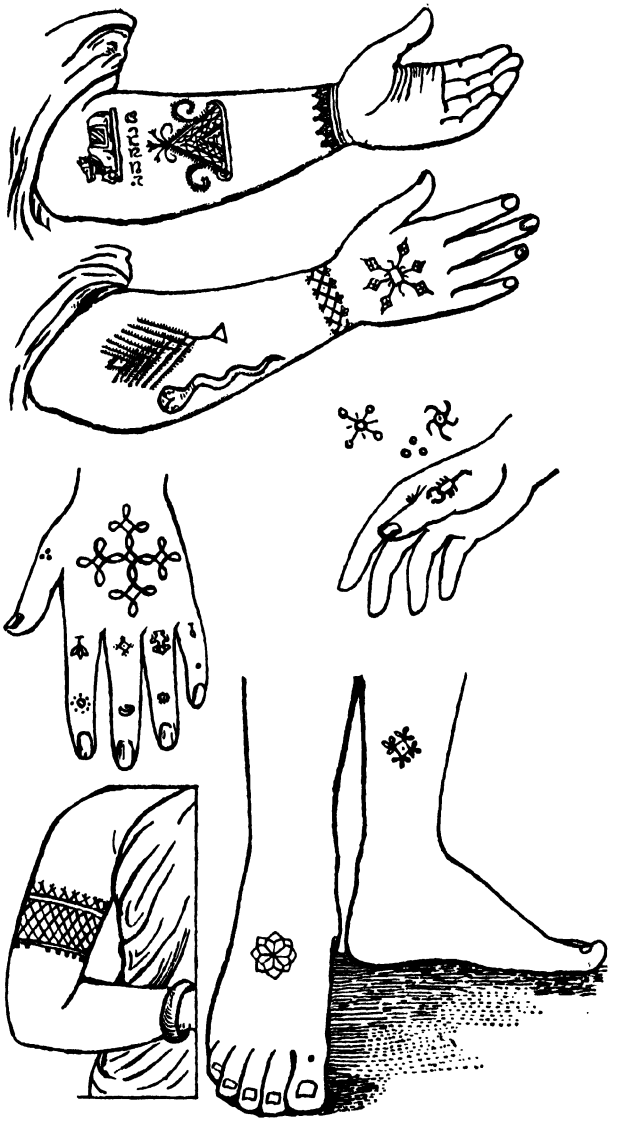
TATOO DESIGNS.

impelled by the desire to be beautiful for ever. It is done to inspire fear in the minds of the enemy. The Maori chiefs invented designs which gave them a most fearful look. In the Wallis Island, it gave them a mark of valour and dignity. In the islands of the Pacific Ocean, it was a mark of decoration. Among the American Indians, it indicates the beauty of the fair sex and the good looks of the brave men. According to Brown, Polynesian tattooing evokes the mutual attraction of the sexes. The girls were generally tattooed at the age of marriage or of puberty. In Samoa, it was often associated with licentiousness.

In every part of India, the art of tattooing is practised. Even in the days of Asoka, there is evidence to show that the custom was in vogue, for the art is depicted in bas-reliefs. Marco Polo says that even in his days people used to come from Upper India to Zyton to be tattooed. Nicolo Conti writing of the Irawadi valley about the fifteenth century says: "All the inhabitants as well as men and women puncture their flesh with pins of iron, and rub into these punctures pigments which cannot be obliterated, and so they remain painted for ever." The traveller Tavernier writes of the people of Banjera that "their women from their wrist upwards tattoo their skin with flowers, and they paint these flowers in diverse colours with the juice of the roots in such a manner to appear as though the skin was a flowered fabric." The wandering tribes have tattoo marks of circular and semi-circular forms on their foreheads and forearms. When they are convicted, they either enlarge or change them in some way or other so as to conceal the previous descriptive marks of identification entered by the police into their search books or other records. The Burmese Kings used to

apply this art to incorrigible offenders, who were tattooed with a circle on their cheeks or the title of their offence was described on their breast. Some rulers used to order the offender to be led about mounted on an ass with the names of crimes tattooed in blue upon his forehead. Among the tribes like the Abors of Assam, tattooing is a mark of dignity, and without the mark, no youth is allowed to marry. The intention seems to be to give additional fierceness to the warrior's appearance. Crooke tells us that the disfigurement is carried to such an extent that it gives him an unnatural darkness of complexion, and that fearful look results when he blackens his face. Every Gond woman tattooes her leg so far as she allows them to be seen with indigo or gun-powder blue, and the figures that are drawn constitute the whole decorative art of these people. The women of the higher castes in India are no exception to this decoration, though at present it is not found much in favour.* Among the Todas and other tribes of the Nilgiri Hills, tattooing is common, and is mostly confined to women who have given birth to one or two children. The designs in some cases are very elaborate. In order to appear beautiful, the women of most of the tribes and castes in India tattoo their bodies and the lower the culture, the greater the attachment for this art of decoration. The women of the Cochin Hills, Kadars, Malayans, Malcers, and Eravallens as also the low caste women of the plains profusely tattoo themselves in various figures. Syrian Christians have the sign of the cross on their fore-arm. Many of the Roman Catholics and Eurasians of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore tattoo on their arms and thighs with the figure of a bird as the emblem of the Holy Ghost.

* Crooke W.: *Things Indian*, p. 460.



TATOO DESIGNS.

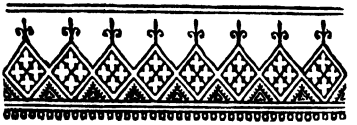
Generally, women in India are tattooed in their early youth either before or after their marriage ceremonies. The places selected for the designs are the exposed parts of their body, namely, the foreheads, the cheeks, the chin, occasionally the chest, abdomen, arms, legs and hands. The designs vary in different parts of South India and are mostly flowers, ornaments, trees, birds, fish, wild animals, scorpions and the sacred symbols of their gods. The dancing girls of Madras have their initials marked on their arms. Brāhman women have some of the following marks in tattoo: a dot on the right cheek or a shank or a circle, a dot above the crescent or a vertical line on the forehead, dots in clusters or circles, the lotus or the mace of Krishna, a branch of jasmine or plantain tree on the upper arm, the figure of a parrot or a peacock, the figures of both hands and similar ones on the legs. Low caste women have fish, spider, parrot or crocodile in tattoo on their chests.

In Malabar and Cochin, tattooing is known as *pacha kuthuka* or pricking with green colour. It is thus done. Turmeric powder and agathikira (leaves of *Testonia grandisflora*) are reduced to a paste, and the mixture is spread on a thin cloth and rolled up in the form of a wick which is placed in a lamp charged with castor oil. The wick is lighted and the lamp covered with a new earthen pot on the inside of which the soot is deposited. This is collected and mixed with woman's milk or water. Instead of agathikira, the edible leaves of *Sesbania Grandiflora* and Karuveppila (*Agrestis senaris*), green parts of *Cynodon dactylon* or *Karisaram ganni* or *Ecliptica alba* may also be used in the preparation of the wick. Sometimes, pigments are prepared from the soot mixed with ashes of burnt tobacco, and the juice of bael tree; indigo is used for blue dots,

and vermillion for red ones. The tattooing is done by Kākkālan women (Kākkālathies) and their pricking instrument usually consists of three or more needles tied together with a thread to perform the operations. The pattern is selected from the bundle of drawings, and is first traced on the skin with a small pointed stick, dipped in the prepared ink which is pricked with needles. The part is then well washed in cold water, and a coat of ink rubbed over the surface. To ally the pain, a little of cocoanut-oil is applied. A small quantity of turmeric powder is also added to brighten the colour and to prevent swelling. The Kākkālan women are very clever in executing complicate designs and patterns with which they are from a long practice very familiar. They also tattoo any form shown to them. The Burmese patterns are said to be very artistic, varied and complicated. The tattooer's fee is said to range from an anna for a dot to a line to twelve annas for a complex design. In villages, the payment is made in kind, and sometimes a measure of paddy is the usual remuneration. It is said that some of these substances used in the operations were known to the ancient doctors of India, and this led to the suggestion that the custom had been recorded of persons tattooed on their chests and shoulders with the object of getting rid of pain.

In Mysore, both the sexes are tattooed by trained women, of Korwanji Kormas, Kukke Koramas, Sillekyatars, Medars, Jogis, Burade Besthas and puppet show exhibitors of the Mahratta caste. These generally occupy the lowest rank in the social scale, being only higher than a Holeya or Mādiga, inasmuch as they are permitted to enter the house of a Brāhman. They are a set of nomadic beggars with no permanent residence. They roam about the country in every direction, and undertake frequent long tours for the

MUTTINA SATTU



CONCH

THE KNOTTED HAIR OF AN ASCETIC

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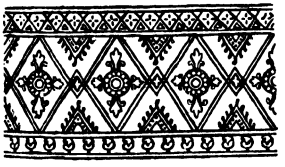
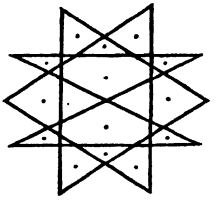
ARMLET

LOOSE END OF SADI



NECKLACE

MUTTINA ARATI



GAVARI MUDI

TIGER'S CLAWS

TATOO DESIGNS.

purpose of begging. In the course of their tour in villages and hamlets, they attract numerous folks around them to whom they relate, with a naive grace, the various legends regarding the efficiency of tattooing, and thus persuade them to get themselves tattooed. They receive their fee which consists of rice, plantains, betel leaves and nuts, sometimes enhanced by a present in cash.

The various methods of preparing the pigments generally used for tattooing in Mysore may be summarised as follows :—

(1) The juice of Baragaraganasoppu (*Eclipta alba hassk*), Hachesoppu (*Calamus Rotang lin*), or Honagane (*Alternantheru sessilis*) is mixed with soot sticking to the bottom of a ragi-cooking earthen pot; when the mixture is used, breast milk is added to it.

(2) The juice of Molahalinasoppu (*Asclepius rosea Roxb*) is smeared over a tile and allowed to dry in the shade. The tile is then held over the flame of a gingelly-oil lamp till soot deposits thereon, and the soot is mixed with women's milk to form a kind of ink.

(3) The juice of Maravarikesoppu is spread over the convex surface of a new tile, then turmeric powder is sprinkled over it. The tile is held over the flame of a gingelly or castor-oil lamp to form soot thereon, which is then scraped with a twig and kept in a small earthen vessel ready to be used, at any moment, with a little water added to it.

(4) The juice of Maniavaresoppu (*Dolichos lablab lin*) is rubbed over a tile which is then held over the flame of a castor-oil lamp. The soot is mixed with cold water.

(5) Betel-leaf juice is smeared over a new tile which is exposed to the flame of a castor-oil lamp to cause the soot to deposit thereon. The soot is then mixed with cow's milk or breast milk.

(6) Betel-leaf juice and cow-dung are spread over a tile. The tile is held over the flame of a castor-oil lamp. The soot that deposits thereon is scraped with a twig and kept in a small earthen vessel, and is mixed with cold water before it is used.

(7) Human milk is mixed with the soot adhering to the bottom of an earthen frying pan.

(8) The soot of gingelly-oil lamps is mixed with betel-leaf juice.

(9) Fine charcoal powder is mixed with the juice of a plant called Hachesoppu (*Calamas Rotang lin*) to form a kind of ink.

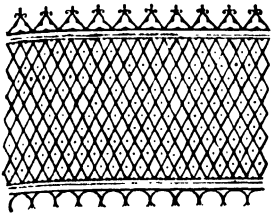
(10) The juice of the plant called Thumbesoppu (*Astera conitha longifolia*) is mixed with breast milk and dry cocoanut oil.

(11) The juice of the leaves of Hagalukayi plant *Momodica charantia*) or Chapradavare or Nellavare (*Dolichos Lablab lin*) plant is mixed with ghee and lamp-black.

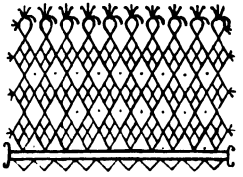
(12) The juice of Hagalu (*Mormodica charantia*) or Chapradavare (*Dolichos Lablab lin*) plant is slightly warmed in a small earthen vessel to form a kind of jelly-like ink.

(13) The juice of the leaves of plants called Chapradavare or Nellavare (*Dilichos Lablab lin*) *or* Honogone (*Alternanthera Sessilis*) or Garaga (*Eclipta albahassk*) is mixed with the finely powdered charcoal of dry cocoanut shell, or the juice of either of the two

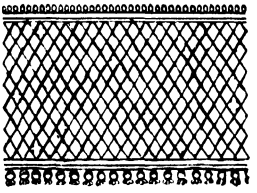
GODHI MANI



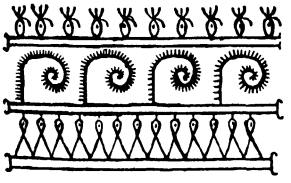
MUTTINA MALAKU



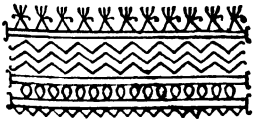
TONDE CHEPPRA



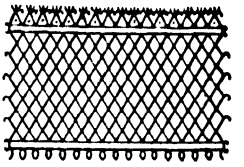
GOWRI'S EYES



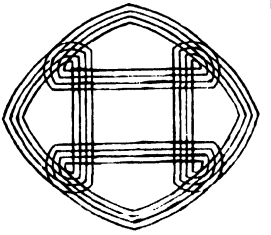
SIVANA SADARU



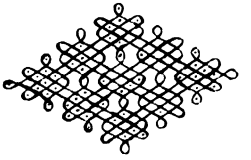
MUTTINA BALLI



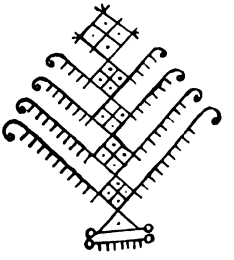
GOWRI'S PEDESTAL



NELLI HACHE



CAR



GARLAND OF MALLIGE FLOWER

TATOO DESIGNS.

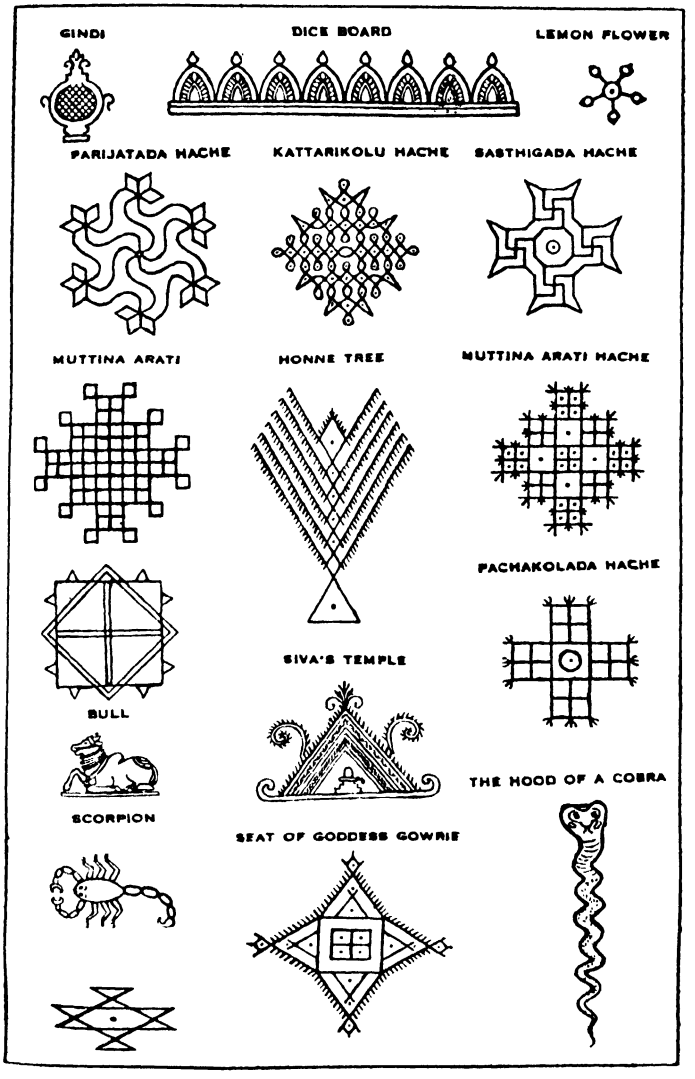
latter plants is mixed with breast milk or cow's milk, and to the mixture is then added the soot adhering to the bottom of an earthen pot in which rice has been cooked.

(14) The juice of Kirugonisoppu (*Urogstigma pisiferum*) which grows on the sides of drains, or Nellisoppu (*the greens of Cassia torat*) is mixed with the soot of gingelly-oil lamp.

The designs that are generally tattooed on the different parts of the body may be classified as hereunder :—

On the foreheads of a few non-Brāhman girls after their 7th year before they attain their puberty.	Figure of sun or moon called *Suryanahache* and *Chandranahache* respectively.
On the foreheads of a few Brāhman girls after marraige.	Figure of star called *Nakshatrahache.*
On the foreheads of non-Brāhman women.	Figure of a crescent with a dot in it or a perpendicular line or simply a small point called *Ardhachandra* and *Hanehache* respectively.
On the foreheads of Indian Christians as also on the back of their hands.	The mark of Cross called *Silubehache.*
On the junction of the eye-brows of youths.	A small point or a single dot *Drishtibottu.*
On the middle of the cheeks of women.	Two points called *Kennehache.*
On the middle of the chin.	A single point called *Gallahache.*
On the upper arm, a little above the elbow.	Figures in imitation of ornaments worn thereon by Hindu women.

On the right forearm of non-Brāhman women.	Figure of a plantain tree or either of the designs called *Muttinarathi* or *Jogijade.*
On the left forearm of non-Brāhman women.	Figure of a three-petalled *Tavare* flower or the design called *Gowrigaddige* (the throne or seat of Pārvati).
On the forearms of women.	Figure of a plaintain tree or a lotus or a crysanthemum.
On the arms of Sudra women.	The figure of a square called *Tholuchappara.*
On the arms of a Gollar woman.	A figure in the form of a bodice worn round the breast called *Kubsadahache.*
On the hind part of the right elbow, a little above the junction of the upper and forearms.	The figure called *Gowrigaddige* or a figure in the form of a sesamum flower called *Jesrigehuvvinahache.*
On the hind part of the left elbow, near the junction of the upper and forearms.	A figure of a lime flower called *Nimbehuvvinahache* or the design named *Muthinarathi.*
On the back of the hands of high caste females.	The figure of a discus or conch shell, lotus or a *Tavare* flower or the club of Yama.
On the back of the right hand.	The figure called *Jogijade* or *Tavare huvvu.*
On the back of the left hand.	A figure in the form of an octogonal pond called *Ashtakola.*
At the foot of the right thumb.	A figure in the form of tiger's claws.
At the foot of the left thumb, on the wrist.	The design called *Valeguppu.* The name in full or the initials of the person tattooed.
On the forearm, a little above the wrist.	The name of the wife or the husband of the individual tattooed.
On the back of the feet of women generally.	A figure of a lotus called *Kamaladahache* or a beautiful and symmetrical figure called *Hasay.*



TATOO DESIGNS.

On the junction of the eye brows of non-Brāhman males.

On the backs of the hands and on the elbows, a little above or below the junction of the upper and forearms of non-Brāhman males.*

The figure of a crescent with a point in the middle of it, or simply a single point.

Figures in the form of various flowers.

A specimen of the Korathi's songs sung during the operation is given below :—

"Stay, darling stay—'tis only for an hour,
And you will be the fairest of the fair,
Your lotus eyes can soothe the savage beast,
Your lips are like the newly blossomed rose,
Your teeth, they shine like pearls ; but where are they
Before the beauties of the handwork.

"Stay, darling stay—'tis only for an hour,
And you will be the fairest of the fair,
I've left my home, all day long I toil,
So to adorn the maiden of the land,
That erring husbands may return to them,
Such are the beauties of my handwork.

"Stay, darling stay—' tis only for an hour,
And you will be the fairest of the world,
In the days of old, fair Sita laid her head,
Upon the lap of one of our clan,
When with her lord she wandered in the wild,
And like emerald shone her beautious arms.

"Stay, darling stay—' tis only for an hour,
And you will be the fairest of the fair,
And often in the wilds, so it is said,
She also of the Pandus went in quest,
Of one of us, but found not even one,
And sighed, she was not her sister's blest.

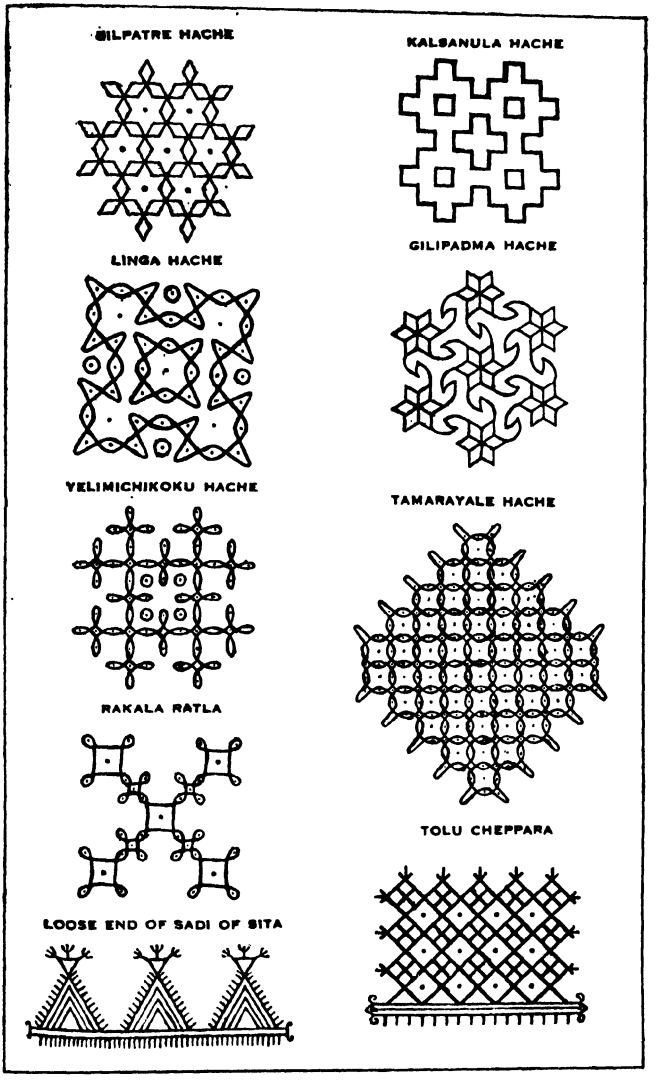
"Stay, darling stay—'tis only for an hour,
And you will be the fairest of the fair,
My work is done, rejoice, for you will be,
The fairest of your sisters in the land,
Rejoice for ever more, among them you,
Will shine as doth Moon among the stars." †

*—† *Mysore Census Report*, 1901, p. 556.

According to Hindu traditions, Vishṇu is said to have tattooed the hand of Lakshmi with the figure of his weapons, and with that of the Sun, Moon and Tulsi plant (*Ocimum sanctum*) as a protection for her during his wars with demons. It is said that he promised to protect those who wore the same marks from all evil influences.*

The traditional introduction of the custom is more or less connected with the religious beliefs of the people. It is said that Lord Krishna was in the habit of tattooing his four totems, the *sankh* the *conch* (shell), the *chakra* (wheel), *gadā* (mace) and *padma* (lotus), on the faces and limbs of his wives. The priests of Dwārakā still place certain marks on the arms of the pilgrims to Krishna's shrine. The Vaishnavas of South India receive similar branding marks at their initiation. It may be said that the first stage is the primitive branding, and that the second stage of evolution is the process of tattooing, and that the more refined is the stamping of the emblems with seals. The higher the caste and the social position of the women, the smaller and the fewer are the designs, until we reach the Brāhman girls among whom are now only three tattoo marks on the face. Another tradition attributed to tattooing is to Sita, the wife of Rama, and the reason alleged is the belief that tattooing had its origin in the fear of abduction of the women of the primitive races, and the tribal marks among the crude drawings would help them in identification. The tattoo marks are associated with ornaments, religious drawings, charms and symbols, which have their origin in sympathetic magic. A practised eye can discriminate the caste, and the social position of the wearer. A dot on the forehead is

* *Mysore Census Report*, 1901, p. 556.



TATOO DESIGNS.

a symbol of Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, the figure of peacock indicates royalty, and Sitā is the emblem of chastity. The fish is the symbol of fertility and good luck. Comb is the symbol of happy married life.

TATOO AND TOTEMISM.

Tattooing seems to be associated with totemism, at all events, in cases where the person assimilates himself with his totem by cicatrising or painting or tattooing his body with figures of totems. This totem mark signified, at the same time, that all persons having the same totem tattooed, belonged to one clan practising exogamy.

The operations of tattooing recommended it to the superstitions, often on the ground that it is a passport for the forgiveness of sins and admission to heaven, while the absence of tattoo marks is calculated to invoke the displeasure and condemnation of Yama, the god of death. It is also recommended on the ground that the tattoo marks bring riches to those who bear them. All this is sufficient to operate upon the feelings of the fair sex of the raiyat class and perhaps even for their sisters higher in the social scale, who undergo the operation, that tattooing makes a married woman predecease her lord. It is considered that the *summum bonum* for Hindu woman's existence is to be happy in her relations with her husband, and to avoid widowhood by predeceasing him. A woman, who has not got her body tattooed with certain designs is considered as unclean and not allowed to touch corn spread on the threshing floor or to serve at dinner.

There are no religious ceremonies, worth mentioning, performed in connection with tattooing, but it is said that some of the individuals to be tattooed worship Ganesa in the following way :—

They stick a green grass into a ball of cow-dung to represent god Vināyaka, burn frankincense and

offer cocoanuts emptied into the fire, as this is supposed to avert the effect of evil eye. A tattooer generally pronounces a benediction for the welfare of the individual to be tattooed, and then begins the operation describing the person, or chanting incoherent verses or nursery rhymes or singing *Gopikā gītā* songs with the object of making the person undergoing the operation disregard the pain.*

Painting and tattooing of the body are regarded as a primitive stage of clothing and the colouration of the skin in the operation is a means of allurement. That the tattooed man is more beautiful and a worthy object of desire may be seen from the numerous instances already given. It is also believed that in primitive man, there is a close connection between love of colour and sexual impulse.

DEFORMATION AND MUTILATIONS.

In the lowest stage of human development, when man is more or less like a brute, he has no thought of modifying the shape of his body for the sake of adornment or for any other purpose. The Australians pull some of their incisor teeth from the upper jaw. The Kadars of the Cochin and the Malavedans of the Travancore forests, chip all or most of their incisor teeth in the upper and lower jaw in the form of sharp pointed but not serrated cones. Pulling out the teeth among the Bantus, Nilotic tribes and the Congo natives is quite common. The Malays consider the filing of the teeth together with the subsequent operation of blackening them indispensable for beauty. Morasu Okkalu women of Mysore cut off one of their fingers as a propitiatory offering to their God.† The Australians and Melanesians pierce the septum of the nose for the purpose of

* Mysore Census Report, 1901, p. 556.
† Vol. IV, p. 247.

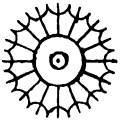
LINGA TEMPLE

PARROT

PEACOCK

CHRYSANTHEMUM

LOTUS



VALE GUPPE

WHEEL

SIVA'S HAIR

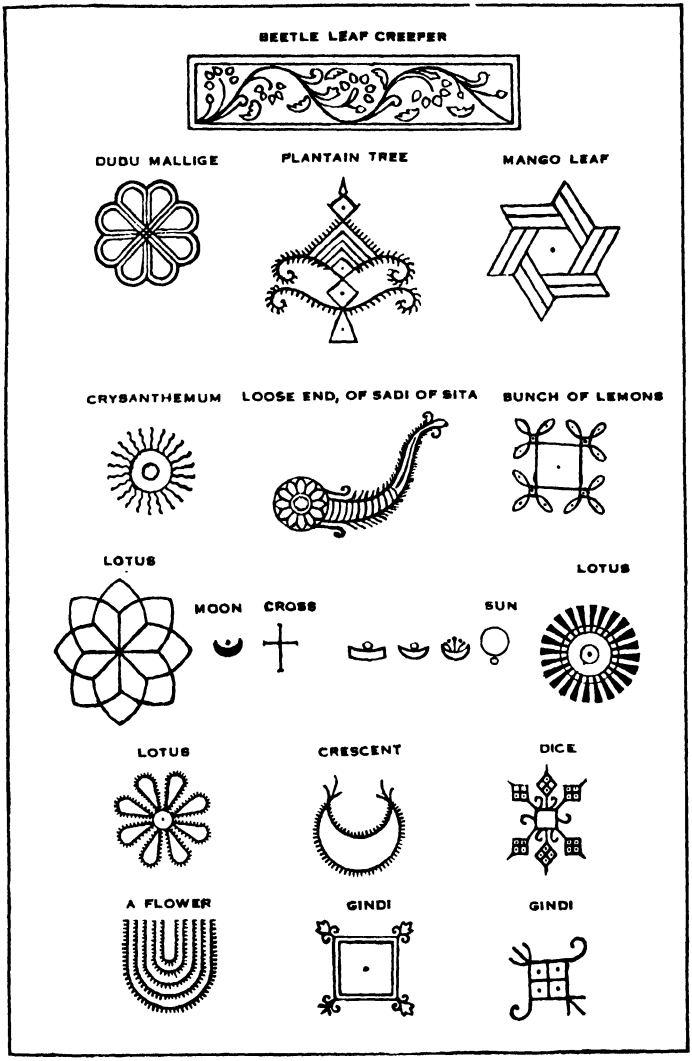
A FLOWER

TATOO DESIGNS.

introducing a bony stick. Nose-boring of girls is a ceremony among most of the higher Hindu castes all over India, and the boring of the septum also takes place during the third or fourth year of girls for wearing an ornament. Next in importance are the auricular perforations which are used for various purposes. It is said that a Papuan puts his cigar into the hole, he has bored in the ear. In ethnography, it is often a surprise to find the same custom in vogue among people, who widely differ in race, language and relationship. This fact is proved when we find that different people have mutilated and deformed themselves for what they have imagined to be on æsthetic grounds. Few ornaments are used all over the world, not excepting, it is said, Europe of the 19th century, and the love of æsthetic beauty has prompted men and women of all classes to bore their ears in early childhood. With the Hindus the ear-boring has become one of sacraments, and the ear-boring ceremony takes place among the Brāhmans and other higher castes on an auspicious day in the third or fifth year. The ears of the child are bored with a needle or knife having a triangular blade, which penetrates through half an inch of its length. Both the ears are thus bored and a little cotton wool is placed in the wounds to keep the cut portions dilated by means of lead weight or by the insertion of a wooden plug. The ear holes of Syrian Christians and of low caste Hindu girls are thus dilated with heavy lead rings, until they are fourteen years of age, when the ideal beauty, so far as the ears are concerned, will have been attained. In some cases, the ear lobes either alone or with the pendants will extend to the shoulders on each side. This is a perfection which reminds one of the men of New Guinea, the lobes of whose ears are so far dilated as to form large pendant rings

skin, through which it is possible to pass the arms. Many are the holes bored on the sides for wearing small rings by the women of Jonakan Mappilas. In Cochin, as in Malabar, dilated ear lobes are the fashion among women of all classes. It is now on the road to decline. The love of æsthetic beauty has also prompted many people to disfigure their lips. The worshippers of Subramania and Venkatesa of Tirupathi, often pierce their chins for the insertion of a wire to maintain a vow of silence. Instances of cranial deformations, and the pulling of the noses of the babies to the requisite shape are met with among some of the South Indian tribes and castes. There is also another kind of mutilation, namely, circumcision which must have been based on hygienic grounds. It is the most widespread of all the mutilations of the sexual organs. It prevails among the Muhammadan peoples, among most of the West African tribes, among the Kaffirs, and the tribes of East Africa, among the Abyssinians, Bogos and Copts. It is also practised in Australia, in many of the islands of Melanesia, in the Indian Archipelago as also in parts of America. It is current among the Myasa Bedas of Mysore. The Jews also are circumcised. It is said to be performed when the boy attains manhood. It is also a preliminary to marriage. Various explanations are given. The Muhammadans regard it as "cleansing." By circumcision, the boy becomes clean, and is fit to perform religious exercises of praying and entering the mosque. Ploss Renz says that it "makes the boy a man by giving him the appearance of sexual maturity, and by making him capable of procreation." Among the savages, it is regarded as a means of sexual attraction.

JEWELLERY. The taste for jewellery and bright coloured clothing is the last stage in a man's love for dress, and belongs



TATOO DESIGNS.

to human nature as low down as we can follow it. The practice of mutilation and painting disappears much sooner than the love for painting. It is also possible that all these customs may exist at the same time; some mutilations, at any rate, are necessary for the purpose of increasing the jewellery for the ears, nose and the lips. At first, man was content with shells, teeth, bony fragments worked in various ways, coloured and wrought stones pierced through and joined together by means of strings. As soon as metals were known, he was found to decorate himself with copper, iron, bronze, silver and gold. This jewellery, coarse as it may appear to a civilized man, continues to civilize the savage. Man and woman wear it in emulation of each other, and the former at the outset is much more richly adorned than the latter. Everywhere since the Stone Age man has had profound pleasure in wearing necklaces and bracelets, and similar ones in arms and legs. With the advance of civilization, the jewellery became smaller and more artistic. They were worn in profusion both by man and woman, and every part of the body exposed had some ornament or other for decoration. It is very seldom that an ordinary Hindu married woman will appear in public without wearing the following eight ornaments, namely, nose-rings or nose-screw, ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, armlets, finger-rings, anklets and toe rings. It is said that the use of them was prophylactic before they became ornamental. It is shown by the fact that they were meant to guard the orifices exposed to the entry of spirits. Among the jungle tribes, leaves, flowers, berries of sacred trees took their place, and to them were added bones, teeth and horns of animals.

In the use of jewellery, it is probable that the desire for protection by means of an amulet or

talisman preceded that of personal adornment. The amulet took the shape of fruits or flowers, sacred grasses, animal claws and so on. Much of the rudest peasant jewellery is modelled in imitation of such things. Later on, the holy flower and leaf were supplemented by the representations of other power-protectives, namely, the sun, moon, cobra, tortoise. In special combinations, the navaratna or nine-gems —ruby for the Sun, pearl for the Moon, coral for Mars, emerald for Mercury, topaz for Jupiter, diamond for Venus, saphire for Saturn, amethyst for Rāhu and cat's eye for Kētu—have all protective powers.* Beads, partly on account of the material from which they are made and partly from the fact that they are perforated, which suggests that they may be occupied by spirits, are valued as protective.†

It is in the peasant jewellery that we find the most primitive types, and being made of base metal it passes on from one generation to another, while that of higher value finds its way sooner or later into the melting pot. The distinguished savage type appears among the Nagas and the Garos of Assam and some of the Mysore tribes. The former wear ear-rings made from the tusks of the wild boar, a neck collar of goat's hair, dyed scarlet, armlet of brass, ivory or plated cane finely worked in red and yellow, while the latter wear a peculiar ornament of brass plate joined by a string which is the sign that the wearer has killed his men in battle. The dress and ornaments of the women form a characteristic feature of the above type.‡ The materials of jewellery are very much varied. The jungle tribes in West India make collars, anklets and girdles

* Vol. II, *Brahman*, pp. 422–423.
† *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 289.
‡ *Vide Banjara*, Vol. II, p. 195; *Brahman*, Vol. II, pp. 495–496; Vol. IV, *Musalman*, pp. 369–373.

of grass which are the prototype of the modern gold jewellery. The low caste men of the plains wear bangles of coarse glass or lac which when decorated with beads or metal foil are beautiful and artistic. Iron has now passed out of general use. The beaten gold swami work is of the purest Hindu style. The taste of the Hindus and Musalmans differ widely in the matter of jewellery. Brāhmans and members of the higher castes tie on the bride's neck with *Māngalya Sūtra* or lucky thread *tāli* besides several varieties of necklaces. These are replaced by chains of European pattern, while those of the Musalmans have merely a conventional pattern or geometric ornamentation.

Another function which jewellery fulfils is to act as a savings bank. In times of famine, vast quantities of ornaments are pledged or sold. Unfortunately, the obvious objections to the hoarding of wealth in this shape are that it is not available for productive industries, and that it encourages burglary and dacoity. The habit of decking small children with jewels is mainly responsible for many cases of murder.

Clothing is said to have originated in the decorative impulse. The three functions of clothing are protection, ornament and self-feeling, and as F. Ratzel says, it is difficult to say where clothing ends and ornament begins. The former according to him stands in an unmistakable relation to sexual life. The first and most primitive form of clothing was to cover exposure; the original purpose of that was adornment, and not concealment. At a subsequent stage, it was also thought that this wonderful demoniacal region should be concealed and protected from the potency of the evil eye. Both the ideas are ethnologically demonstrable. Waitz, Schurz, and Letourneau

CLOTHING.

propounded the theory that the jealousy of the primitive man was the primary ground of clothing, and was indirectly the cause of the sense of shame. The view is supported among many races, and the married women are dressed while the unmarried girl goes about naked. Further, the married woman is the property of the husband, to whom clothing is a protection against glances at his property. To unclothe the wife is dishonour to him. When the idea of relationship was extended between the father and the unmarried daughters, these latter were also dressed. The idea of chastity and the feeling of shame were gradually developed.

Girdle is the point of departure in the evolution of dress. The civilized idea of girdle is to lighten the skirt or trousers. The earliest one is a piece of string made of grass or vegetable fibre, worn neither very tight nor very loose. It is the male appendage of a savage who needs it to carry his superfluous articles. The wearing of a girdle or waist band has given rise to a formal ceremony at which a baby, male or female, has to be invested with a band in gold or silver at the expense of a girl's parents. The girdle and the band have contributed to a dual system of clothing, and from them was developed a fertile field for the activity of fashion. As regards the primitive form of loin dress, the use of leafy garments in South India as in other tropical countries has been widespread. The jungle tribes all over India, and the Indo-Chinese Peninsula had the leafy dress supplied to them by their husbands every morning. The Thanda Pulaya women of Cochin and Travancore, the Peringāla Vettuvans of North Malabar, Koravas (Korachas) of Mysore according to Buchanan Hamilton, the Kadavas of Coorg, the Gond women of the Ganjam district, the Juangs of Orissa, and other jungle tribes until

recently wore leafy garments. The use of the leafy garments is traditionally connected with the worship of the aboriginal goddess Mariamma. In Mysore, as in other parts of South India, at the worship of this Mother Goddess, the priest substitutes garments of leaves of the margosa for ordinary dress. Next comes the loin dress in bark cloth worn by the natives of the Brazilian forests, Kayans of Borneo, and the Polynesians who have carried to perfection the manufacture of tapa from the bark of paper mulberry. The skin garments were worn by the American Indians who knew how to prepare them.

Suits of leather are still worn in Mexico. Coming on to the historic period, the ordinary costume of man in South India is much simpler than that in any other part, for he is little subject to the vicissitudes of climate to provide against. While at work, agricultural labourers, tree climbers and fishermen wear only a shred of clothing. Ordinary Brāhmans go bare-headed, the head being shaved, all except the tuft at the crown, and most of the members of the higher castes observe the same practice. The raiyats are generally content with a turban, a kambli, and a short pair of drawers. When not at work, they often wear a blouse or short smock-frock. The present day young and grown-up men of the western culture adopt European costume in exchange for their national costume. In Mysore, the dress of males of all castes as compared to that of their brethren in other parts of India, is very decent. The dress of the Muhammadan males differs from that of the Hindus chiefly in cut and colour, and in the wearing of long loose drawers. But for undress, a piece of dark plaited stuff is worn like the *dhotra*. They shave the head completely,but retain all the hair of the face. A skull cap is worn, over which the turban is tied in full dress.

The dress of the women of Mysore is very graceful and becoming. A tight fitting short bodice is universally worn, leaving the arm, neck, throat, and middle, bare the two ends being tied in a knot in front. It is generally of a gay colour or variegated with borders and gussets of contrasting tints which set off the figure to advantage. In colder parts to the west, a somewhat loose vest, a somewhat loose jacket, covering all the upper part of the body and the arms is worn instead. The sāri, a long sheet, ordinarily dark-blue, or a dull red with yellow borders is wrapped round the lower part of the body coming down to the ankles. One end is gathered into a large bunch of folds in front, while the other passed across the bosom and over the head, hangs freely over the right shoulder. In the west, it is tied there into a knot. Brāhman women pass the lower end of the cloth between the legs, and tuck it in at the waist behind which leaves the limbs free. Their heads too are not covered, the hair being gathered into one large plait which hangs straight down the back, very effectively decorated at the crown and at different points with richly chased circular golden kauls or bosses. Women of other higher castes are similarly dressed, but often with less good taste. They smear themselves with saffron to produce a fair or yellow tint not only on their cheeks, but also over their arms and legs. This practice so common among the trading class is by no means attractive, nor is the habit of blackening the teeth adopted by married women agreeable. All these customs are on the decline.

So far about the dress of married women. When a woman loses her husband, all is changed. The Brāhman girl widow, when she comes of age has her head shaved, her glass bangles broken, her bodice taken

off, and she is allowed to wear no robes, except white and red, and no ornaments except gold finger rings. These rules are not rigorously enforced on them both by their parents and the local society. Grown-up women, as a rule, observe these rules. Wedding garments in all classes are rather costly and intensified by personality. It is an occasion of expansion and augmentation; as the social expression of the crisis of love, it is specially adopted. The bridal pair assumes superhumanity, and as such treated as royal persons. Magnificence is the characteristic of the wedding garments throughout the world. White colour is the expression of virginity. Red is often an expression or adaption to the circumstances of expansion. Wedding dress among the Hindus is red or yellow, both of which are supposed to repel demons. Inversion of the wedding garments at wedding is supposed to possess magical influence.

Shoes too have their fashions. The Hindu lady usually goes bare foot, slippers marking the Musalmani or dancing girl. The higher caste Hindus wear leathern slippers, curled up at the toe and turned down at the heel; the labouring classes wear heavy sandals with wooden or leathern soles and leathern straps. Muhammadans also wear slippers, but smaller, and very frequently, a very substantial big shoe, covering the whole foot. The chief fault of the Indian slipper is that it imposes a shuffling gait on the wearer. Here also fashion is rapidly spreading all over the State.

HAIR DRESSING.

Men wear the hair in various ways. The custom of shaving the head, wholly or in part, is a modern innovation. Curtius, writing of the time of Alexander, states that the hair of the head was seldom cut, but that the face was shaved, except the beard. The

wilder tribes leave it uncut, and hanging behind in rough masses. The priests of the low caste men do likewise. But men of most of the higher castes in South India shave the hair of the head and face at regular intervals. A small portion of it is left uncut either on the top or the back of the head which is removed only under certain circumstances. The *kudumi* is usually worn on the back of the head in Mysore, and the tuft tied into a knot is sometimes large enough. Very often it enhances the beauty of the person. Many wear the moustache, which the Muhammadan cuts short over the upper lip. The beard is everywhere a sign of manly dignity. Cropped head is the prevailing fashion of the young men of all classes at present.

SUMMARY. Primitive man was in a state of nudity, and was content with painting and tattooing. The various forms of dress and ornaments were adopted for the purpose of protection, ornament and feeling, and the fashions arising therefrom were for mutual attraction. The sense of shame and modesty is not innate in man and woman. It is a product of modern civilization. The modern fashion is the child of modern civilization. It has resulted in capitalism, which has wiped the older forms by the introduction of new ones. Nudity in itself is harmless, but when it is intentional, it has the effect of lascivious stimulation. Prudery is nothing more than looking at modesty with concealed lustful feelings.

CHAPTER XVI.

FOOD, GAMES AND DANCING.

FOOD—FOOD TABOOS—GAMES—DIVISIONS—CEREMONIAL (RELIGIOUS AND MAGICAL) SIGNIFICANCE AND THEIR ORIGINS—RITUAL SURVIVING AS AMUSEMENT—GAMES OF CHANCE—PRIZES AND STAKES, GAMBLING—DANCE, ITS ORIGIN AND HISTORY: INTRODUCTION—BODILY MOVEMENTS—THE PURPOSE OF THE DANCE—OCCASIONS FOR DANCING—COURTSHIP AND DANCING—MAGICAL AND RELIGIOUS DANCES—DANCING IN ANCIENT INDIA—SUMMARY.

Food.

IN the monographs of the Tribes and Castes in the three volumes, an account of the foodstuffs, food taboos, and other particulars has been given. Here, only a brief summary of the general characteristics is attempted. From a religious point of view, in Mysore as in other parts of India, the subject of food is held to be very important, and is discussed in the sacred literature. The Vedas enjoin a sacrifice of cattle for the purpose of entertaining a guest.* The *Charaka Samhita* of the first century A.D. ordains "that the flesh of cows, buffaloes and hogs should not be eaten daily," but that pregnant women may eat beef with a view to strengthening the unborn child.† In early sacrificial rites, worshippers ate off the flesh.

The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* has it, that food, when enclosed in the body becomes the body itself. Food is linked to the body by means of vital airs. The essence of food is invisible. Food is the highest of all things that can be swallowed. *Satapatha*

* Rajendra Lala Mitra, p. 1·355.
† *Ibid*, p. 360.

Brāhmaṇa identifies food and breath as the Āryan laws identify food and life. Food and breath are gods, "the two gods." Food is the deity of the *Prathihāra* hymns, for all live when they partake of it.*

The various and manifold rules of caste hinge mainly on food, its preparation, and the persons with whom it may be eaten. Thus eating the numerous kinds of prohibited food or eating with low caste men and women or with Muhammadans for a considerable period leads to the most ordinary causes of expulsion from caste. This is one of the dreaded punishments involving an interdict against interdining with members of the same caste. These rules have been recently relaxed to some extent. The kitchen is the most retired room in the house of a Brāhman, and no Sūdra should have a look in and defile the earthen vessel. Further, it is held sacred owing to the preparation of food for domestic gods. The cook must be a member of the same caste, and the vessels used for cooking must be previously cleaned.

In ordinary Brāhman families, cooking is generally done by women after a bath, and consists of several dishes. The domestic gods have to be served first with due ceremonies and formalities. Then comes the turn of children and the male members. Rice and other dishes are served either in silver or bell-metal trays with cups or on banana leaves or on those sewn together. The orthodox people and other elderly members prefer the leafy dishes to metal ones. Before meals, they wash their hands and feet, and take their seats on wooden planks (*mane*). The orthodox fashion is to eat with hands and fingers. Nothing must ever be touched with the left hand which is supposed to be unclean. After meals, hands and feet are washed, mouths are rinsed and throats

* *Ibid*, p. 365.

gurgled. Orthodox Brāhmans take only two meals a day, one in the morning before noon, and the other before 8 P.M. Women never sit down for meals before males, for it is considered highly immodest if they do so. The remains of food are thrown to dogs and crows. Ascetics and widows have special restrictions with regard to their diet. They are not ordained to take anything except perhaps a light meal.

The routine dietary of the Brāhmans is dealt with in the article on Brāhman. Most of the non-Brāhman higher castes have adopted the orthodox Brāhmanic customs. Nevertheless, the relaxation of the dietary laws is perceptible among those who have had western education and imbibed western culture.

FOOD TABOOS.

The various kinds of food taboos have been summarised by Mr. Blunt as follows:—

1. The *commensal taboo* which determines the person with whom a person can interdine.
2. The *food taboo* which lays down what kinds of food a man or woman can eat.
3. The *cooking taboo* which determines the persons who may cook the food that a man may eat.
4. The *eating taboo* which lays down the proper ritual at a meal.
5. The *drinking taboo* which determines the persons from whom water can be taken.
6. The *smoking taboo* which lays down the persons whose pipe one may smoke and in whose company one may smoke.
7. The *vessels taboo* which lays down the nature of the vessels that a man may use for eating, drinking and cooking.

The instances of these taboos may be seen from the paragraphs on food in the monographs of the Tribes and Castes in the three volumes.

The purity in regard to food was considered more essential than external purity, and the rules concerning food allowed and forbidden are very numerous. Drinking alcoholic liquors was reckoned as mortal sin. Anyone offering spirits to a Brāhman was liable to capital punishment, and one offering forbidden food to such, had to pay a heavy fine (*Vishnu*, XXXV, I. V. 88). A Brāhman tasting the food or water of, or eating with, a Sūdra or person of a low caste had to perform a penance, such as the *parāka* (fasting for twelve days) or *sāntapana* (subsisting for one day on the five products of a cow, including her urine and dung, and fasting on the next day). Another set of rules are concerned with the purification of inanimate objects (*dravyasuddhi*). Spirituous liquors and the impure excretions of the body are declared to cause the worst kind of pollution. Iron vessels defiled by them should be cleansed by heating them in fire. Impure utensils made of stone or shells should be buried in a pit for seven days. Articles made of ivory, horn or bone should be planed. In ordinary cases of pollution, the defiled objects should be rubbed with earth, ashes, and then well washed with pure water, as long as the scent or moisture caused by unclean objects continues on them. Specially purifying qualities are attributed to cows, and every Brāhman house should have one at least. Detailed provisions regarding a man's daily bath, prayers, etc., are given on page 427, Vol. II. Bathing in a sacred river is believed to be specially purifying, and the water of the Ganges is considered to be the purest of those in other rivers in India.

The daily life of a Hindu, from the cradle to the grave, is regulated by a code of rituals. Every act and every set of circumstances in which he finds himself have their proper observances which are minutely laid down. The rites from birth to death, the

fashion in matters of food, the dress and ornaments, the course of polite conversation, the salutation to a guest are carefully defined* and taught to children of every respectable family. Many of these circumstances are connected with the ideas of taboo which depend upon the conception that there is in every personality an inherent power for evil which is to be dreaded and avoided. This potentiality for evil is especially active at the crisis of life. The mother and her child at child-birth, the bride and bridegroom at marriage, the dying man and the corpse, are all dangerous, and especially susceptible to the evil-potentiality in others. It is one of the causes of the caste system. Since every stranger is a possible enemy, a man must know who are his friends, and therefore belong to the circle of friends, whose interests are undoubtedly identical with those of the others. From this point of view, the caste is a group of men united by bonds of common interests in self-defence against dangers of the outer world. The Jains and other religious sects have their own code of defilements and purifications. The ancient notions of purity and impurity have not died out in modern India.

The jungle tribes naturally use the food provided by the forests which they live in. When the supply of food products becomes scanty, they supplement them with various fruits, bulbs and berries which are mostly indigestible. The Irulans grow a little grain near their huts, and when it is ripe, pluck as much as they may require for the day's consumption. A fire is kindled on the nearest rock, and when it is well heated, the embers are brushed away, and the ears laid out to parch. The grain is then rudely crushed between two stones and made into cakes

* Vol. II, p. 400.

with water. The rock is again heated, and the bread is toasted upon it. They never dream of storing grain, and when it is consumed, they fall back upon the fruits and berries.

GAMES. A game is defined to be "an organised occupation undertaken by two or more persons, the primary intention of which is not utility, but pleasure or pastime by means of the exhibition of the skill or good fortune of the players." * It is based on definite rules and sometimes necessitates special instruments or apparatus.

DIVISIONS. Games may be broadly divided into three classes, namely, games of skill, games of chance, and games of imitation. The rules of the games of skill are made to bring out the various qualities, physical or moral strength, agility, quickness of senses, rapidity of calculations, endurance, and patience of the players. Games of chance, on the other hand, regard only the luck of the players, and are decided by the events, such as the fall of dice over which they have no control. The rules, therefore, are merely conventional, designed to emphasize coincidences. Many games combine the elements of chance and skill in varying proportions. In games of imitation, the rules are prescribed by the actions for imitation. They are limited, however, by certain conventions suitable to the circumstances of the players. Both in games of chance and in those of skill, there is a contest, but in games of imitation, there is often little or none, and the pleasure sought is attained by co-operation, the rhythmic movements, and songs.†

Games mentioned above are social institutions based on their origin to the inherent restlessness of

* Hastings: *E.R.E.*, Vol. VI, p. 167.
† *Ibid*, pp. 168-170.

human beings; and the necessity for the constant use and practice is for the development and preservation of their physical, mental and moral powers. They enter very early into the life of the individual, and are of great value in the training of children for the serious pursuit of adults. To the adult savage, they are of little or no importance, and from the lowest plain of culture upward, games either in the form of contests or of rhythmic movements (dances), are among the ordinary activities.

CEREMONIAL (RELIGIOUS AND MAGICAL) SIGNIFICANCE, AND THEIR ORIGINS.

Like other human institutions, games grew from vague and undefined beginning, which contained germs of ritual, dance and song. Gradually, they became differentiated. Games of imitation bear obvious witness to this origin. It is impossible to watch the games of children, whether savage or civilised, without being struck by the fact that, on the one hand, the ceremonies are the favourite subject of imitation, and that on the other hand, rhythmic movement and the utterance of a set form of words, rhythmical also, attached to musical notes, are the essential features.

All communities have, more or less, ceremonial games, which are really either religious or of magical import. Rain is a prime necessity of life, but it does not come in time and the droughts are long. There are games played for the bringing of rain, and for the growth of crops. Wherever games are played at a special season of the year, we may suspect that they have a ritual value. A kind of ceremonial game is the one played by the Khasi, a hill-tribe of Assam, for the purpose of expelling demons. The tug of war is also another kind of game. The games with a divine origin have sometimes been ascribed to deities.

RITUAL SURVIVING AS AMUSEMENT.

In spite of the divine origin and playing for ceremonial purposes, games fall back into mere

amusement. The marriage and funeral dances have some religious significance. Again, many games turn on love, on marriage and some of them enshrine ritual, such as bride capture.*

GAMES OF CHANCE.

Games of chance are generally played with instruments of the kind familiar to us such as playing cards and dice. In more barbarous states of culture, the instruments are seeds of plants or fruits, pebbles, shells, split reeds, and so far marked in various ways. They are drawn from a promiscuous heap, or tossed in the air and allowed to fall on the ground or on some other flat surface. According to the fall or as they are drawn the player scores. This process is the same as that by which divination is practised. In India, dicing was carried to extremes. The casting of dice was employed both to divine the future, and to be used as a part of the ritual of the *Sabhyāgni* or fire of the assembly house.

According to the *Āpasthamba Gṛihya Sūtra*, Vol. XIX, 21, a gaming table was set in the midst of the *sabhā* and sprinkled. Dice were thrown on the table, and gold was cast on them, and all were mixed up and then spread out. After two sacrifices had been made, the dice (hundred in number) were given to the sacrificer with the words, play for the cow against the rice, etc. It is plausibly suggested that the famous gambling game of the *Rigveda* is intended for the portion of this ritual. In the ceremonial of *Rājasūya* or the consecration of a king, ritual gambling was an important feature. A large number of children's games are either themselves used for divination or contain divinatory formulæ. Various ball games, including cricket, can be traced to divination. Various kinds of indigenous ball

* Haslines, J.: *E. R. E.*, Vol. VI, pp. 162–170.

and other games, hide and seek, tug of war, are played by boys as well as by girls. They are now replaced by European ones.

Prizes and Stakes, Gambling.

The winning of a game is among all nations frequently rewarded with prizes by an easy and natural gradation. The prize passes into the bet and games are played for stakes. This increases the excitement and thereby the pleasure of a game is created. It is a passion, confined to no race or country, to no rank or society, to no plan of civilization.

Dance: Its Origin and History.

Introduction.

By dance is meant, the movement of one person or more with measured steps to music. It refers to an instinctive mode of muscular expression of feeling in man and animals, especially birds. In the social life of every race, it has played a part which has touched every activity of the individual and the society. Primarily, it is a mere physical play. It has developed in many spheres, gymnastic and artistic, as a pastime and as a sexual stimulus. But in social evolution, the main applications of dancing are dramatic, including within it various other functions.

To the primitive man, dancing is very important and necessary in all crises of life, such as initiation, puberty, marriage and burial. He believed that he could hold communion with the supernatural powers for obtaining good crops, fruitful marriages and other purposes for which he danced. When the savage is asked why he dances, his reply is that the spirits rejoice as all people do when they dance; their crops grow well. In its absence the crops do not grow well, and gods do not bless them. Drum beating is one of its accompaniments. Therefore

in his conception, no dance is without purpose, and no drum is beaten in vain.

These statements indicate clearly the origin of the institution. In spite of the variations in ritual and mythology connected with dancing, there is a striking uniformity which suggests belief in identical traditions, which appeal more reasonably to the psychological theory that the human brain cells in different races at the same stage of development respond with the same religious speech or with the same religious act or stimuli, supplied by its environment. A study of the subject leads to the consideration that the stimuli which at the first stage induced the sacred dance appear to have been due to his spiritual or material needs.

BODILY MOVEMENTS.

A number of Egyptian inscriptions make it clear that both the arms and legs played an important part. The representations on Greek pottery show that the motions of the head and the whole body are the essential parts in the movements of dance. Among the sacred dances of the savages, legs are more or less still, but the arms and the body are constantly in motion. "Dancing," says Crawley, "is an instinctive mode of muscular expression of feeling." The intention which prompts the dancing has a great deal to do with its external form. The ancient Arabs were well versed in it, and they were a race that retained many customs, beliefs and practices, which were handed down from time immemorial. The evidence afforded by them is very valuable. They understood every rhythmic movement of the hands and feet. Rhythm is, therefore, an inseparable element in the movement of dancing, and is closely connected with the human love of excitement. Thus, we see that the origin of the dance of the primitive man was to satisfy the material

and spiritual needs. This he did by imitating what he conceived to be characteristic of supernatural powers. It was, to begin with, merely a movement whether in the form of swaying of the body in imitation of trees or a single file running in imitation of a stream, or a more boisterous movement of the waves of the sea or a storm-swept lake. The innate tendency to rhythmic motion would soon have asserted itself, and the primitive dance would be the result. It would be a sacred dance in so far that it was performed in imitation of some supernatural powers, vague and impersonal, to honour which it was his special intention.

THE PURPOSE OF THE DANCE.

It may be taken for granted that the savages danced to honour the supernatural powers. In the pre-animistic stage these powers were entirely vague and undefined; in the animistic stage, they developed into spirits, some benevolent, others malevolent, powerful for good or evil. Later, they became gods and goddesses. The performance was an act of imitation. Psychologically connected with this, is the "showing off" before a higher power. One must enter into the child-mind to understand the real significance of it. Uncultured man believed that by dancing he was so unconscious that he was doing something which was honouring to the deity, not by giving something in the form of sacrifice, but by making a fit temporary abode for his god, and thereby to win his pleasure in making the crops grow. Here his dance is an instance of sympathetic magic. There are many instances on record of the savage dance for the purpose of consecrating a victim for sacrifice, as in the case of the ancient Arabs performing a processional dance round a camel destined for sacrifice, or of the Israelites making the circuit round the altar, or of the Kayans of

Sarawak circling round their sacrificial pigs. In all such cases, it is an act of consecration by means of a magic circle. This is an act of homage to the god or goddess who is supposed to be present.

Occasions for Dancing

It has been said that the primary object of dancing is to propitiate the gods and goddesses to bless the primitive man with a rich harvest. In many such ceremonies at the operation of agriculture, the movements of the performers may be supposed to stimulate, by the action of the imitative magic, the growth of the crops, or the performers may themselves be supposed to represent the spirits of vegetation, and by their presence to disseminate virtue and fertility. Dancing at the agricultural festivals round a sheaf, tree or pole such as the May-tree and the like, are the ordinary folk dances which combine ritual with pastime. Dancing round an object may apparently have an honorific intention. In these dances, the sexual activity of the human beings is supposed to assist the activity of nature. Such dances are the celebrations of the seasons, the permanent and original element of which is the activity of the dancers. In this connection, the agricultural dances of the Hos and the Mundari tribes of Chōta-Nāgpur may be found to be interesting. The Hos keep seven festivals in the year, the chief of which is the *Māgh Parab* or *Desauli Bonga*. It is held in the month of Māgh (January-February) when the granaries are full of grain, and the people full of revelry. It is their belief that the women at this period are surcharged with vicious propensities. The festival, therefore, becomes a saturnalia, during which servants forget their duties to their masters, children their reverence to their parents, men their respect for women, and women also notions of modesty, delicacy and

gentleness. It opens with a sacrifice to *Desauli*, their god, of three fowls, a cock and two hens, one of which must be black, and offered with some flowers of the *Pala Tree* (*Butea frondosa*), bread made of rice flour and sesamum seeds. "The sacrifice and offerings are made by the village priest who prays for the health of the children, protection from all misfortune and sickness, as also for the blessings of seasonal rain and crops. Prayers are also made for the spirits of the departed. At this period an evil spirit is supposed to infest their locality, and to get rid of it, men, women and children go in procession through every nook and corner of the village with sticks in their hands as if beating for game, singing wild songs till they become sure of its flight therefrom. They make such a loud noise as to frighten a legion. After these religious ceremonies, they give themselves up to feasting and drinking of rice-beer, and are in a state of complete intoxication, a period most suitable for the letting of steam. The time during which it lasts is three or four days, and the neighbouring villages begin similar festivals, and thus continue for a month or more. The ordinary dance is similar to the *Rasa* dance of the Santals, and is amorous. It is not a very rapid and lively movement; but the *Magh* dance is like a grand gallop. For the Santal dance there is always reserved an open space in front of the *Jag Manjhi's* house to which the young men frequently resort after their evening meal. The sound of the flutes and drums attracts the maidens who tend their hair and add to it a flower or two. The national amusements of the Santals, as handed down to us, reminds us of the living representation of one prominent scene in the sports of Krishna in Vraja and Brindāvan." Most of the jungle tribes all over India have similar spring

festivals which serve as thanksgiving to their gods and goddesses for the blessing of rich harvest, and a similar prayer for similar blessings during the coming year. Such harvest festivals were current among the ancient Israelites, Greeks and other nations, the survivals of which may even now be seen all over the world. There are similar instances of dancing among the agricultural castes of South India, including Mysore.*

COURTSHIP AND DANCING.

It is well known that the male bird of several species parades and dances before the female with the intention of producing tumescence both in himself and in her. Precisely so is the savage dancing, as the chief means of courting a woman and for the same reason. In both bird and man the intention is unconscious and is engineered by instinct. The "showing off" of the modern youth is equally instinctive. The dancing of the modern ball room is a survival of the custom prevailing among the tribes, though at present it has become the recognised means of bringing the young couple together. It is a refined form of stimulus. Many peoples perform dances at ceremonies celebrating sexual crisis. The Kaffirs dance at circumcision and marriage. There are many examples of the same custom prevailing among the tribes of Chōta-Nāgpur and Southern India. In many of the Oraon villages there are houses called *Dhumkuria* or the Bachelor's Hall, in which all bachelors must sleep. Similar institutions are to be met with among the Hill Bhuiyas of Keonjur and Bunai. In fact, they are common to other Dravidian tribes as well. There are also similar houses for unmarried girls and women. In front of the *Dhumkuria* is the dancing arena called the

* *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, pp. 26, 61, 83, 132, 299. *Mysore Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, p. 193, Vol. III, 240.

Akhra, an open circus, about 40 feet in diameter, with a stone or a pole marking its centre. It is surrounded by tired dancers or the non-dancers, and shaded by fine old tamarind trees, which give a picturesque effect to the animated scene, and afford in their gigantic screens for moonlight or starlight flirtations. During the festive season the *Akhra* dance begins shortly after dark every night, and if the supply of the home prepared liquor holds out, it is often continued till sunrise. Very rakish do the dancers appear in the early morning after a night so spent. On some occasions the circus is laid down "with red earth which pulverises under the many twinkling feet and rises in a lurid colour about the dancers, till the garments, the dusky skins and the black hair of the performers become all of brick-dust colour." The party breaks up at dawn and goes back to their usual work cheerfully and vigorously, as if the night had been passed in sound sleep. It is the wholesomeness of the beverage that supplies them with the staying power. Similar dances are quite common among the Juāngs, Bhuiyas and other hill tribes. Dancing is believed by them as ensuring fertility.

MAGICAL AND RELIGIOUS DANCES.

The idea that dancing by virtue of its vigorous movement can induce movement in the environment, is illustrated by many curious customs. In South India, the dancers in old times used to accompany armies in the field. In Malabar, Barbosa says: "Whenever there is war, according to the number of men at arms whom the king sends there, he likewise sends with them a number of women, because they say that it is not possible to bring together an army, nor carry on war well, without women. These women are like enchantresses, and are great dancers; they play and sing and ironette."

Petro della Valle describes a dance performed in the temple at Ikkeri in Mysore! (*vide* p. 216). From the point of view of aesthetics, dancing may be described as muscular music. Like music it expresses itself primarily. Secondarily, it expresses whatever is within the scope and material of the art. In this secondary function dancing is pantomimic. It is said that it has the longest history of all forms of dancing. It is highly developed in the lowest cultures. The dancing of the actors of *Malabar drama* is a striking illustration.

The *Jātra* dance of the Oraons is of sociological character in honour of their tutelary deity. On the evening previous to their gathering, the deity is worshipped with sacrifices. This is followed by a general carousal in the village which is the usual accompaniment. The elders of the village are sure to be all drunk on the morning, when at a signal to the country around, the flag of each village is hoisted on the road, which serves as a signal to the place of meeting. This induces the young men and maidens to prepare themselves with their special attire to take part in the festivity. When they are ready, drums are beaten, huge horns are blown to summon each group to form its procession. In front are the young men with swords, shields and other weapons, the village standard bearers with special flags, and boys waving yak's tails. Behind this motley group are groups of dancers in alternate ranks of boys and girls who enter the grove where the meeting is to be held. The dance is peculiar to the tribe and is known as the *Khariah*. The dancers in their excitement march in a cheery and dashing style, forming lines and circles with grace and precision. The drums and musical instruments are laid aside. Voice alone plays a part to keep time. Many hundreds join

and the effect is grand. They circle round in file all keeping perfect facing step, and simultaneously jumping up and climbing down on the ground with a resounding stamp that marks the finish, but only a momentary pause. One voice with a starting yell takes up the strain, when a fresh start is made. When they feel tired they break up, and form separate groups till near sunset, when they all go home dancing. The elders are muddled with beer, but never cross in their cups, and the young people are merry in their excitement.

Various ideas connected with dancing are found latent in the religious dances. David danced before the Ark. Here the act meant something more than a desire to honour the object. In many cases, the intention is to move the deity, and the vigourous movement of the dancer partakes of the character of a prayer. In early Christianity the bishops led the faithful in the sacred dances in the churches and before the tombs of the martyrs. Though the practice was forbidden by the Council of 692, the prohibition was ineffective. The dancing by the priests on Saints' days was continued by them in the French provinces. Closely connected with the religious dance is the dancing resulting from a kind of auto-intoxication and ecstacy. This type of dance is the outcome of strong religious emotion, and the excitement caused by this becomes so contagious that others take part in it. The purpose of it is to effect union with a supernatural spirit. The body is, for the time being, emptied of its consciousness for the entrance of the spirit or god in whose honour the dance takes place. Among the uncultured people, the belief in external soul is common, and there can be no doubt about the conviction of the departure of soul from the body to make room for the higher spirit or god. While thus residing

in the body, the god utilises it for his own purpose. The chief motive of this dance was union with the deity. This type of dance existed among the old Israelites, Semitics, the Greeks and the Romans. It is still current among the people of low culture all over the world, especially among the cultured and uncultured Dravidians in India. In times of epidemics such as cholera, smallpox, influenza, ceremonies are performed with animal sacrifices, when their ecstatic dance takes place. There are also funeral dances to propitiate the spirit of the dead, the object of which is to invoke their blessings.

Thus far have we described the various types of dances the primary object of which is the propitiation of supernatural powers for rich harvests and help in time of need. Among the civilized people, dancing as a social pastime is comparatively modern. Plato was in favour of boys and girls dancing together. The evolution of the art of dancing throws much light on the evolution of the society and the individual. The higher cultures assimilate the dances of the simpler peoples, and their popularity serves to illustrate the continuity of physical evolution.

DANCING IN ANCIENT INDIA.

Singing and dancing were considered as special accomplishments of women. In the later Vedic texts, they were dubbed as unmanly. In the *Rāmāyana* the hundred daughters of Rājarshi Kusānava were said to be well versed in dancing, singing and music. Hemā was also an expert in the art of music and dancing. The wives of Rāvana were highly proficient in the art. There were special halls (*Nrityasāla*) for the training of girls in these arts, and the *Mahābhārata* refers to it in the palace of King Virāta where his daughters were trained in these subjects during the day. Vātsāyana refers to music halls. The king of the Matsyas had a

dancing hall, where maidens danced during the day and returned home during night. Arjuna disguising himself as a eunuch entered the service of King Virāta as a dancing master. Thus in 1537 A.D. Paes clearly describes the dancing hall in the palace of the king of Vijayanagar where the ladies of the harem were taught dancing and music.

Vātsāyana in his *Kāmasūtra* gives a liberal scheme of education for girls, and enumerates 64 *Kalas* or arts in which *Gitam*, (singing) *Vādyam* (playing on musical instruments) *Nātyam* (dancing) and *Alekhyam* (painting) form the foremost of the subjects for the training of girls.

SUMMARY.

From a religious point of view, the subject of food is considered to be very important. Various are the taboos connected with the choice of foodstuffs, preparations, vessels to be used and cleaned, the places for cooking, the priority of taking it, interdining with members of other castes, formality observed for guests and similar rules are also prescribed as to the taking of meals.

Games have a magico-religious origin and significance. Indigenous games have given place to foreign ones. Nevertheless, the survival of them are seen among boys of the villages and towns. Dancing and music are a time-honoured institution in India from ancient times, among all classes of people. It has been declining among the upper classes. It has a religious significance. Revival of the folk-dance in Bengal is a movement in the right direction, and is highly commendable.

APPENDIX.

TELUGU GOUDA.

HABITAT.

The Telugu Gaudas are an agricultural caste found in 38 villages of the Kadur Taluk, namely, 1. Mardia (strong) Halli, 2. Yare (black soil) Halli, 3. Jigine Halli, 4. Penche Hosa Halli, 5. Algatta, Lilegandan koppalu, 6. Doge Halli, 7. Gale Halli, 8. Hanumapura, 9. Hule Halli. They are also found in some parts of the Hassan District.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

The castemen are divided into five endogamous communities, namely, 1. Yellamma Devaru Okkalu, 2. Mayalāri Devaru Okkalu, 3. Mudligiri Thimmappa Okkalu, 4. Pasalu Vatte Rāyaru, 5. Mindlugudli Rāyaru. The first two divisions are named after the deities whom they worship, and the last after the leaders whose followers were their ancestors. The members of all the groups eat together. The members of the first two groups intermarry; so also the groups four and five, but not with one and two.

MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS.

Marriage prohibitions of the endogamous groups are given above. All the groups have *bedagus* or *kulas*, and the members of the same *kula* do not intermarry. The following are the chief *kulas* :—

1. Munda Gudli (pick axe) Kula.
2. Muthina (pearl) Setti Kula.
3. Aswararu (horse) Kula.
4. Paslu (crop) Hatti Rāyaru.

It is said that the members of these clans are not aware of the other *kulas*. On careful enquiry, they say that these are the only *bedagus* to which they belong. It is also said that there is intermarriage between the groups one and two living near the Kadur Taluk, while those near Birur intermarry among all the groups. There are no restrictions based on social status, geographical position, or change of occupation.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

Among the Telugu Gaudas, parents of the young men are responsible for the marriages of their sons and daughters. The bride and bridegroom elects are allowed to see each other only at the auspicious hour of *tāli* tying. There are no professional match-makers. When a girl is selected for the marriage of a young man, the parents of the latter along with his maternal

uncle go to the house of the girl, talk over the proposal of marriage. In the event of their approval, an auspicious day is appointed for settlement. The parents of the bridegroom elect, his maternal uncle, and some relations and friends go to the bride's family where also the bride's parents and their relations are assembled. They formally talk over the proposed match and select an auspicious day with the aid of a Brāhman astrologer. A lamp is lighted and placed at the time of their arrangement. The parties assembled are treated to a dinner. If in the meantime the lamp accidently extinguishes, or if cats are found quarrelling, the settlement is abandoned. The parties disperse.

The marriage is mostly adult, but girls are also married before puberty, generally during the twelfth year. The marriage *pandal*, as in other castes, is put up with 12 poles with the *hālu kamba* brought by the maternal uncle, and placed in the middle for which the usual worship is made. Married women go to the tank, river, or well, perform *Gangāpūja*, and bring water in two new pots, and place the pots in a conspicuous part of the *pandal*. The usual formalities are gone through, and the *tāli* tying by the husband takes place at the auspicious hour. The parties assembled are treated to a feast. The bridal pair return to the bridegroom's house, where he stays for one or two weeks, after which he returns home. Consummation takes place on an auspicious day soon after marriage, if the bride happens to be an adult. There is no formal ceremony for it.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a Gauda girl attains puberty, she is lodged in a temporary hut put up for the occasion. She is in company with a grown-up woman or her sisters, if any. She is bathed, neatly dressed, and ornamented. Grown-up women from among her relations and others of the village visit her with sweets to be given to her. She is fed with nourishing food during the nine days of her seclusion. She is formally bathed on the morning of the ninth day by a few of the grown-up married women, who are generally her relatives, and are treated to a feast. The leafy hut is removed outside the village where it is burned, lest the defiled materials might bewitch the passer by. In Birur, the menstruant girl is lodged in a room of the family, and the same formalities are gone through.

RITES CONNECTED WITH PREGNANCY AND DELIVERY.

When an adult becomes pregnant, there is no special ceremony. She is taken to her house for which her parents go to the house of her husband, and give her a *ravike*. The bridegroom

gives her a new cloth. The former are treated to a feast, after which the pregnant adult is sent along with her parents. If she happens to reside in her own house, the bridegroom's parents visit her with presents of cloth, and take leave of the bride's parents after enjoying the feast.

For delivery, a woman of the caste acts as midwife. She is helped by her mother. The pollution lasts for nine days, and the woman bathes on the tenth day, and takes a dose of sanctified water which is supposed to make her clean. She is not allowed to enter into the kitchen for 40 days. The naming ceremony takes place on the tenth day after consultation with the village astrologer, who generally suggests a name after consulting the constellation of his or her birth. There is no special ceremony for feeding the child or for tonsure if the baby is a boy. She joins her husband during the seventh month. The parents present her a cow, a buffalo and some ornaments which they can afford.

POLYGAMY. The castemen are polygamous. Being an agricultural caste, the members used to marry two, three or even four women at different intervals with a view to save wages to labourers. These supplementary wives help their husbands in field work. The first wife acts as the senior. My informants tell me that these wives live amicably. Opportunities are very rare for any misunderstanding and quarreling. Polyandry is unknown and never tolerated. Widow marriage is prevalent among them as in other corresponding castes. But the woman and her husband can neither go to temples for worship nor take part with others in marriage and other ceremonies. They are thus under a kind of ban. These disabilities do not affect their children who can mingle with the rest of the community.

FAMILY ORGANIZATION. The family organization of the Telugu Gaudas is of a patriarchal type with the father, mother and their sons and daughters, and their system of relationship is the same as in that of the corresponding nature. The custom of adoption exists among them in the absence of sons or daughters.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE. When a woman of the caste commits adultery with a member of the same caste, the amount of fine is handed over to her former husband as a compensation for the illegal appropriation of his wife. Sometimes, the fine is partly given to the temple, and partly for a feast to be given to the castemen of the village. In the event of adultery on the part of a woman with a man

of a lower caste, she is at once put out of caste. Cases of adultery occur very seldom among the members of the community.

CASTE ORGANIZATION.

Their caste organization is called *Savar Katte* consisting of *Katte* Gauda, Buddevantha and Kolkar. There are three such *Kattes* called Algatta *Katte* in Kadur, Thimmapura *Katte* and Hulle Halle in Birur. They adjudicate all matters in their villages, especially in social matters and disputes. The elderly members meet with the *Katte* Gauda as the president, enquire into the offences or disputes and pass their unanimous judgment. The delinquents are punished with fine or expulsion from caste in the event of any disobedience or insubordination on their part. On very important matters, the elderly members of the three *Kattemanes* meet in a village as determined beforehand, discuss the matters and pass their judgment.

MAGICO-RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

The Gaudas believe in magic, sorcery and witchcraft, as has been referred to in their marriage customs. At the commencement of the agricultural season, they perform a *puja* to the plough and the bullocks, as also to the *kurige*—an instrument for sowing. They perform another *puja* known as the *rāsi puja* to the corn in the threshing yard known as *kana*. They also feed the poor people who assemble at that time.

RELIGION.

They worship Hanuman—village god—Yellamma, Mariamma, Chidubamma and Gatte Amma. The last deity is named after the village. Some worship Thirupathi Venkataramana known to them as Thimmappa. Some adore Mailari Devaru.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

They bury their dead in the sitting posture, mostly among the Mailari Devaru Okkalu. But the castemen at Birur say that they bury their dead in a lying posture with the face upwards. Old men and women after child-birth are burnt. The chief mourner bathes and takes a shave. Some observe the pollution for ten days, and others for fifteen days. The chief mourner attends the burial ground, and feeds the dead with prayers on the third and fifth days. On the 11th or the 15th day, the chief mourner and his brothers, along with the agnates, go to the burial ground along with their relations, feed the dead, offer prayers, and return home after bath, and take a dose of sanctified water from a Brāhman priest and perform a funeral feast for the relatives and friends of the family assembled

there then. No regular *srādh* is current among them. They worship their ancestors before marriage and other ceremonies.

OCCUPATION. They are pure agriculturists, owning land by *darkas*, and improving them. Some purchase lands out of their savings. Their women are also very industrious, helping their husbands in all agricultural operations, and do all kinds of domestic work and look after their children. They prepare butter, curds from milk and carry them outside their village to the neighbouring town for sale and return home, purchasing daily necessary articles for the consumption of the family. Women make ropes during their leisure hours.

DIETARY OF THE CASTE. They eat goat, sheep, pig, wild fowl, deer, porcupine and all vegetables which are grown in their kitchen gardens. Ragi balls form their chief article of food, which they take three times a day. The Telugu Gaudas are a very industrious and frugal community, but are liberal in their marriage expenses.

NONABA.

INTRODUCTION.

The Nonabas are otherwise called Makshuka Virasaiva or Mokshamatadavaru. They are chiefly found in the Taluks of Chiknaikanhalli, Gubbi, Arsikere, Tiptur, Tarikere and Kadur. The Nonabas, also known as Nolambas, are the modern representatives of the Pallavas who conquered the Bānas and formed the Nolambavādi, one of the Provinces of Mysore along the Vedāvati river. This kingdom was a thirty-two thousand Province, the descendants of the people of which are represented by the Nonabas of the present day.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

Among the Nonabas, there are two endogamous groups: 1. Murudivasadavaru (those who perform the marriage ceremony in three days); 2. Nalkudivasadavaru (those whose marriage lasts for four days). The members of the two groups interdine but do not intermarry. They have exogamous clans the names of which are derived from their totems. Their names are:—

1. Belliavaru (Silver clan).
2. Honusure (Gold clan).
3. Govannu (Cow clan).
4. Huliavaru (Tiger clan).
5. Tene (Corn).

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

They are mostly like those of other corresponding castes. Marriage is adult, and takes place when girls are between 14 and 20 years of age, and boys between 20 and 25. Parents of the boy and the girl are alone responsible for the settlement. The bride and bridegroom elects have no voice in the matter, and are seldom consulted. The betrothal and marriage ceremonies take place in the house of the bride elect. For the former, the boy's parents, his maternal uncle, their relations and friends taking a metal tray, a sari for the girl, cocoanuts, plantains, betel leaves, areca-nut, *kunkum* and turmeric, go to the bride's house and hand them over to the bride elect. Formal settlement of the marriage and the auspicious day for celebration are made in the presence of those assembled. Formalities connected with the ceremony, are 1. Ancestor worship, 2. Biduva sastra, 3. Devatha kārya, 4. Muhurtham, 5. Mukshekeswara pūja, worship of Nonabeswara,

PUBERTY CUSTOMS. Customs connected with puberty are the same as in other sub-divisions. The girl is in seclusion for four days and the bath takes place on the morning of the fifth day. Consummation takes place after 16 days.

Customs connected with pregnancy and child-birth are similar to those in other castes. The Nonabas have their caste panchayets with the headman known as Katteyajaman. With the aid of the elderly members, he decides all social disputes. The delinquents are put out of caste.

RELIGION. They are Lingayats by faith, and Jangams are their priests.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS. The dead are buried in a sitting posture. The castemen observe no pollution. The spirit of the dead is fed on the third day, and there is a funeral feast on the eleventh day for the castemen who are his relations and friends.

OCCUPATION. The castemen are mainly agriculturists and traders, and very few are in Government service.

CONCLUSION. The Nonabas have their caste sabhās whose resolutions relate to education, economy in marriage, abolition of animal sacrifice.

A GROUP OF KEPMARIS (A NOTORIOUS CRIMINAL TRIBE), MALUR.

KEPMARI OR KORAVA.

INTRODUCTION.

The Kepmaris are known by different names in different places. In the Southern districts of the Madras Presidency; they are called Aghambadiars, Alagaries, Vellālas and Korava Pujāries; while in the Ceded Districts, and in the Northern Circars, they are known as Sāntha-dongalu, Rail-dongalu, Mudusumarlu, Kadiravallu and Pachipollu. They are really Koravas, but emphatically disown all connections or relations with them. They have assumed more dignified caste names especially of Pillay, Shedayan, and Vellān Chetty in addition to those already mentioned. They have, to a great extent, adopted their dress, manners and customs, perhaps to conceal their criminal pursuits. Some of them own and cultivate lands, while others take to doctoring. These latter pass for experts in the treatment of piles.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE CASTE.

The original habitats of this community were Pudukotta in the Tanjore District, Thogamala in the Trichinopoly District and Sanjikotta in the South Arcot District. The Thogamala gang has removed to Edayapatty, a village two and a half miles north-east of it. They were studied by the author at Malur at a distance of two miles from the railway station on the Jalarpet-Bangalore line. When questioned as to the internal structure of the caste, they say that they have no endogamous groups or exogamous clans. They say that they belong to Vishnu *gotram* which I cannot believe.

LANGUAGE.

They speak classical Tamil, and speak Kanarese also in Mysore. In fact, they are clever in learning the language of the people in whose midst they live, so as to pass for peaceful residents of the neighbourhood. Nearly all the men and a few of the females can read and write Tamil. As a rule, they make friends with the Reddies or Munsiffs of the village they visit, as also with the grog shopkeepers in the neighbourhood.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

Their marriage customs and ceremonies, the preliminary negotiations, formal settlement, the auspicious day for marriage, ancestor worship before marraige, the erection of the pandal with 12 poles, *tali*-tying, marriage feast, puberty customs are all the same as in other corresponding castes. Their marriage is both infant and adult. In the former case,

I am indebted to the late Bappu Rao Nayadu for information on the Criminal tribe.

the girls are between 12 and 14, while in the latter case, the boys are between 16 and 25. The bride-price varies from 35 to 50 rupees which they call *mulakutipanam* (price for mother's suckling the girl during infancy). When a girl comes of age for the first time, her period of uncleanliness is for sixteen days, when she is bathed by a few married women. The members of the community, especially women, are treated to a feast. Consummation takes place after three months. A Brāhman priest invariably officiates at their marriages. When a Kepmari dies, his wife marries his brother or some other relation. Very often, he has two or three such women whom he calls by different names of relationship as it suits his fancies. Widow marriage takes place in the presence of relations, when rice is cooked and distributed among them. There is no enforced widowhood. A man can marry two sisters at the same time. It is said that it is often done at Thogamalai. They are said to be lax in their morals, and divorces are very common among them.

CASTE GOVERNMENT.

Five leaders of the community or headmen constitute a *Panchāyat*, which adjudicates on all matters relating to marriages, partition, caste disputes and other minor offences. These leaders are individually and jointly empowered to punish members of the section for all minor offences, for deviations from traditional habits or from the code of rules laid down for the well-being of the community. Once, when a member of the caste was arrested for some theft, he gave information which led to the arrest of some other members, and to the recovery of the stolen property. One of the members of the *Panchāyat* sentenced him to starvation for three days, to severe beating and to carrying a big basketful of mud round their habitations. The leaders sometimes recommend or report for special reward, especially for skilful performance by members of their gang. Rewards sometimes take the form of the conferring of a title, or the right to a large share of booty for his success in escaping from the clutches of law, detection, or in bringing the plunder. The *Panchāyat* has the custody of a special fund formed by setting aside a certain proportion of any booty that may be brought in, and this is utilised to meet the expenditure of defending or rescuing a member who may be in trouble. All disbursements have to be sanctioned by a majority of the *Panchāyat* of whom one acts as treasurer. Very often, the peons of the Post Office are paid monthly sums, so that the information about their receipt of money orders from distant places may not be divulged.

RELIGION.

The Kepmaris are animists. It is said that they are Saivas, and wear on their foreheads the horizontal marks of holy ashes which are their distinguishing marks. They worship Kāli and Bethāla whom they call Muniswara; but their special deity is the presiding one of their profession, whom they call Mūthēvi, the goddess of sleep. They worship her more than any other god or goddess of the Hindu pantheon. Their object of worship is twofold, one being to keep themselves vigilant, and the other to throw their victims off their guard. Mūthēvi is invoked in their prayers to keep them sleepless while on nefarious practice, to make their victims sufficiently sleepy over their property. This goddess is worshipped by both males and females, but especially by the latter who perform strange orgies periodically to propitiate her. A spot is selected for the performance of their orgies at which animal sacrifices are made. There is also a free distribution of liquor in honour of the goddess, Subramanian, Maduraviran, Kāttiyāyee and Kāliamman.

OMENS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

They are the strict observers of omens especially when they go for plunder. When any evil omen is observed before they advance a fixed distance from the village, their trip is abandoned. A crow advancing from right to left, a single Brāhman or a widow coming towards them with an empty pot, a snake of any kind on the way are badly ominous.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

The Kepmaris bury their dead with the head towards the south, and only the cloth in which the corpse has been rolled is buried along with it. On the grave is left a quarter of an anna. The party returns home, after bathing in a neighbouring river, tank or well. Both on the third and the fifth day, the spirit of the dead is fed at the burial ground, after which the agnates assemble at the burial ground, and then have their bath, which sets them free from pollution. At the end of the month or before the expiry of the third month, all the castemen and relations are invited to a dinner when offerings of food are made to a *kalasa* set up in the name of the deceased. The ceremony ends with this funeral feast.

RECRUITMENT.

The castemen either receive or purchase male and female children under five years of age from all castes except the inferior Māla, Mādiga and the like, and bring them up in their own ways. Such children are instructed in the art of thieving, as also in the language of the community from the fifth year; and before the completion of the seventh or eighth year, they are supposed

to have become sufficiently trained in the art of thieving. They also admit women of other castes with a view to keep them as concubines and wives. The children thus begot are allowed all the privileges of the community without distinction. Adultery is said to be widely prevalent, but a Kepmari woman will never consort with a man of higher caste, lest the offspring should inherit their father's qualities, and prove unfit for the profession of thieving.

Occupation.

"Cultivation is put forward as their ostensible means of livelihood, and in support of this plea, some members of the community possess lands, and pay taxes in their own names. There, their cultivation ceases, and any crop that may be raised belong to the actual worker in the field. But thieving is the special occupation of the castemen. In their thieving excursions, they form themselves into small detachments with one or two women, and a trained boy or a girl about seven years old in each; and every detachment proceeds to a particular village. To avoid observation, they generally go through jungles as much as possible, until they reach their destination. In the villages, if they happen to see children playing about, the woman, the trained boy, or girl, will be sent to strip them of their jewels. Very often, they go to wells used for bathing purposes, and very dexterously remove cloths and jewels left by women on the banks, and pass them on from hand to hand. They also enter the open houses, and carry away things as they find it convenient. At railway stations and crowded places, where the elders cannot carry on their nefarious practice, the boy or girl who accompanies them mingles with the passengers who do not generally suspect juveniles, and steals whatever he or she can. They generally presume that when the boy or girl commits the theft, the natural kindness of the Indian will prevail, and the juvenile offender will be allowed to escape with a slap or two without being handed over to the police. As soon as they succeed in a theft, the stolen property is sent to an out-of-the-way place where it is buried to divert the suspicion of the police. In fairs and festivals, they make clever use of their scissors in cutting loose small knots of money and jewels from women and children. They carry away bundles and bags of the spectators, if they can do it conveniently."

When the bundles are borne on the person, they extract the contents by untying the bundles or slitting open the bags. When the merchants are busily engaged in their bargains, they carry away the purses and bundles of valuable articles from their shops.

"During fairs and festivals, they go in a gang, and encamp in a garden at a distance of a mile or two. During the day, they indulge in eating and drinking, and during night, they get mixed up in a crowd and come into the fair or the temple where, while the visitors are engaged in devotions, the Kepmaris busy themselves in cutting away as many of their ornaments as possible, and leave the spot before the owners know that they have missed them. Outside the temples, on pavement, on pials, or underneath trees, where persons sleep, they lie down, and pretend to sleep with the children, if any, close to the persons whose property they intend to steal, passing themselves off as residents of one of the neighbouring villages, and inspiring them by their talk and manner with a degree of trust and confidence. If, however, they find it difficult to carry out the purpose owing to the vigilance of the spectator, they post themselves on different sides close to him, and one of them seizing a boy of theirs, gives him a loud thumping to make the boy cry so loudly as to divert the attention of the watchful spectators. Seizing the opportunity of this momentary inattention, one of them carries away the bundle or other articles close to him. If the spectator notices the thief, he naturally runs in pursuit of him, leaving his other things behind, which in their turn are carried away by the other men of the gang present at the spot. When any of the by-standers see him running, and try to catch him, he flings the bundle in their face, and takes to his heels to elude pursuit. Such deeds are generally done during night, so that detection and identification become impossible. Sometimes, when he is caught red-handed, the people near by take the law into their own hands, give him a sound thrashing and let him go. The thieves are prepared for such contingencies and expect such treatment. They go fully drunk. All small jewels which the Kepmaris manage to steal are at once concealed in the mouth, or sometimes swallowed, if necessary. In the latter case, they are removed by means of a purgative."

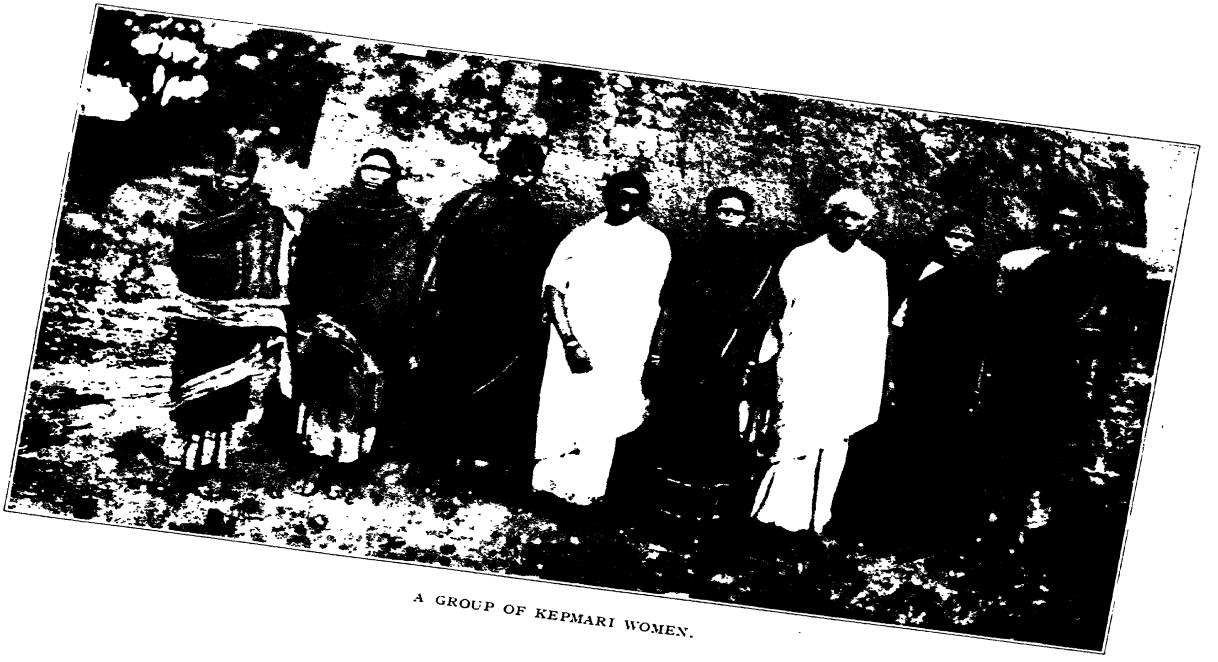
Their women also are clever in concealing ornaments in their private parts. The best way to find this out is to make the woman jump, so that the jewel may drop in the act of jumping. In this way, a jewel was recovered from one of their women, and she was convicted. There are many women of this class with more than half a dozen convictions for thefts against each.

"The Kepmaris are expert railway thieves, stealing carpet or canvas bags, bundles or small boxes, not only from platforms and ticket rooms, but also from railway carriages. They always carry with them decent canvas bags, sometimes a steel trunk

filled with useless rags under lock and key or a decent looking bundle of such rags. One of them taking this bag or bundle quietly near that of another passenger, places it close by for some time, pretending that he is also a fellow passenger, takes the earliest opportunity, quietly walks away with the other leaving his own behind, which the traveller believes his own till the next day when he opens it. In the absence of a suitable opportunity to carry out his purpose, he manages to learn the destination of the passenger, purchases a ticket for the same or intermediate station, and gets into the compartment. He remains in the carriage to carry out his purpose and waits till he becomes sleepy, or otherwise careless, and gets down quietly at the very next station with his booty. If the ticket is for a station far off, he runs into the latrine, and remains till the train passes. If he is questioned either by the Railway officials or the police, he complains that he has missed the train, and pretends intense sorrow at the mishap. These Kepmaris cut open bags, break open boxes, throw away property from the carriages on the line, and change compartments or carriages after the commission of thefts. But mostly their operations are confined to the platforms rather than the trains. Now-a-days, the Kepamris, decently dressed, and provided with a steel trunk, travel as second class passengers to carry on their nefarious practices. The males are dressed in Conjivaram or Coimbatore panches with silk or lace borders, with nice turbans and coloured *rumals*, and their women wear *Kornādu* cloths and bodices. Just before they reached their houses, steel trunks, large quantities of silk and *Kornādu* clothes were all in some cases seized as stolen property."

DISGUISES IN CASES ON RECORD.

"The Kepmaris adopt numerous disguises, and the following are some of them. Some of them once visited the bathing ghat at Rameswaram disguised as Komaties or Vaisyas on pilgrimage, and committed theft without being suspected. Another batch disguised as *mirasdar* with followers as servants was seen in the Ekadesi festival at Srirangam. Another of the gang posing himself as vakil's clerk with pen and ink was arrested at Kumbakonam, and was bound over for one year for good behaviour. On another occasion, one of the gang accompanied by a few associates pretended to be an agent of the collector of rents for the holdings of the petty bazaars in the Tanjore market. He had with him a bundle of palm leaves said to contain accounts of the collection of rents. While he was diverting the attention of the victim, one of his associates



A GROUP OF KEPMARI WOMEN.

walked away with a bag containing Rs. 700 in cash. But he was caught by the complainant and convicted. The rest ran away. On a similar occasion a batch of male and female Kepmaris went to a cloth merchant's shop at Madura, posed themselves as honest purchasers of cloths for females. The shopkeeper was asked to bring the cloths required. While he was inside the shop, one of them decamped with a small box containing the cash and some identifiable property of Rs. 400. This remained undetected for some time and was finally traced and the culprits duly convicted. On another occasion, one of the gang appeared as an auction bidder at the sales conducted by the Sub-Collector, and cleared off with Rs. 600 from one of the contractors who was there. He was caught and convicted. When arrested and brought under security sections, they offer to give some small security which they can arrange with ease. They are always ready to deposit money with their receivers who send men to stand surety when necessary."

PECULIAR EXPRESSIONS.

The language of Kepmaris is Tamil, but they know Telugu, Canarese and Hindustani. Till recently, as a class, they were illiterate, but some of the younger generation know how to read and write. In the presence of strangers they use certain expressions, words and signals known only to themselves, on matters which they consider unsafe to be understood by others.

The following are some of the slang expressions used by them :—

"1.	Valan or Mooli or Nayi	*meaning*	Constable.
2.	Pothalu	„	Carpet or canvas bag or bundle
3.	Polambi	„	Gold jewel
4.	Vadayam	„	Soon
5.	Vasare	„	Bring
6.	Voru koppu	„	Give arrack
7.	Kulambu	„	Arrack or toddy
8.	Shadayan	„	Cloth
9.	Boothi	„	Children
10.	Chalamuti	„	Necklace
11.	Varipudu	„	Leave him
12.	Vankittuvandan	„	Previously convicted
13.	Keppathi	„	Do not tell
14.	Peratu Kepathe	„	Do not give out your residence
15.	Valan varachiran male irechuti Varachu thu.	„	The constable is coming, conceal the jewel by burial.

16. Mooli Varachiran gendile inchiti kanayam kuppettu engu. *meaning* The constable is coming, escape by paying him the rupees you have."

SEARCHES. In conducting the searches of houses and persons of the Kepmaris, great care is taken, as these men often reside in towns. Their women should never be allowed to leave the place till the search is completed. The woman deputed to search Kepmari women should be carefully warned against all precautions that may be taken to baulk her. The women who have been proved to be dangerous with their frequent convictions for thefts are now bound over for good behaviour like their male members. The Kepmaris are expert cheaters. At times when they find their business dull, they go abroad with gilt jewels of good make, and offer them to receivers secretly, by night as genuine gold and thus cheat them. The receivers do not generally complain of the deception practised on them to any of the authorities, for fear of being marked as receivers of stolen property.

EFFECTIVE PUNISHMENT. In connection with the punishments usually inflicted on them, the one with the long term in jail which is more effective is very much dreaded. This has influenced them to a great extent. Consequently, this kind of rigorous punishment has led them to resort to minor crimes. When prosecuted for a crime, the Kepmari invokes the aid of the deity.

IMPLEMENTS FOR STEALING. "For the commission of a crime, the Kepmari carries with him a small knife or a sharp piece of broken glass which is often concealed in his mouth, a pair of scissors, an iron nail, two or three rupees in coin, a match box, and a few sets of clothes of different colours. The knife or glass is used for slitting bags or bundles, the scissors for cutting off the jewels on the persons of women and children, the nail to break open. As soon as a Kepmari safely gets out with the stolen property, he hands it over to another of his class outside the crowd, and changes his clothes so as to baffle suspicion. If the property be in the shape of gold or silver jewels, the man to whom it is handed over takes it with the match box to a pre-ascertained secluded spot in the neighbouring jungle where there is already another man of the gang ready to melt it. Sometimes receivers follow the Kepmaris in their thieving excursions."

They make counterfeit coins in mud moulds of several kinds of composition and plaster of Paris. They pass these counterfeit coins more easily than others.

The Kepmaris migrate to different parts of India and form temporary settlements to carry on their thieving operations. Their settlements are found in the Northern Circars, Hyderabad, Bengal, the United Provinces and in the Bombay Presidency.

KORAMA.

INTRODUCTION.

The Koramas have been treated as a separate tribe in the last Census Report. They are found largely on the borders of the Tumkur, Shimoga and Kadur Districts. They are mostly immigrants from the adjacent districts of the Madras Presidency, and are classed as criminal tribes under Regulation No. VII of 1916 for the registration, surveillance and control of criminal tribes. There is some confusion about the exact significance of the names 'Koracha' and 'Korama.' The Koravas of the British districts in and around Mysore are known as Korachas in the province. The Koramas are mostly from the Telugu districts and are known as such in Mysore. From a close study of the tribes, it is found that the name Korava is a generic one, in the Tamil districts; Korachas are so called in Mysore. The Koramas who are more or less identical, are known by a separate name. My study of the tribes reveals that they are more or less separate tribes with no interdining nor intermarriage. They are found in the following villages of the Kadur Taluk, namely, Harithimmanahalli, Nanjappanhalli, Kodihalli, Madigarahalli, Anegare, Yardakare and Kasuvanhalli. The castemen are called Kalla Koramas because of their being brought under the Mysore Criminal Tribes Regulation owing to their criminal propensities.

ENDOGAMOUS GROUPS.

The following are the endogamous groups among them :—

1. Ethina Koramas who are transporters of cattle.
2. Beragayi Koramas are those who are Tamil speaking Koramas.
3. Haggada Koramas are those who are rope makers.
4. Valagada Koramas are those who are village musicians.
5. Kalla Koramas are those who go for thieving.

EXOGAMOUS CLANS.

The members of the community who live near Birur are aware only of three *gotras*, namely, Satpadi, Kavadi and Menpadi. The members of the last *gotra* are the descendants of widows who have married the members of the other *gotras*. They now form one community.

POPULATION.

The Koramas were numbered at the last Census as follows :—

	Males.	Females.
Korama (Hindu) ..	6,893	6,714
Korama (Tribal) ..	1,801	2,617
Total ...	8,694	8,430

A GROUP OF KORAMAS.

MARRIAGE PROHIBITION

The members of the endogamous groups interdine, but do not intermarry. Those of the first two groups interdine and intermarry. The groups 4 and 5 neither interdine nor intermarry. In some places the Kavadis intermarry with Menpadis. Cross-cousin marriage prevails amongst them. The castemen are a poor and criminal class, and, therefore, marriage does not depend upon social status, geographical position, religious beliefs or change of occupation. Both infant and adult marriages are in vogue amongst them. The former takes place when girls are 10 to 14 years old, and the latter after 15 to 20, when girls have come of age. When a young man of their community arrives at the marriageable age, his parents and maternal uncle look out for a suitable girl, and go to the house of the girl, and have a talk over the matter. In the event of the approval of the latter, a day is appointed for formal settlement. The bride-price was at one time as much as Rs. 200 but is now reduced to Rs. 50. On the appointed day, the parents of the bride and bridegroom-elect with their friends and relations arrive at a final settlement. The members assembled are treated to toddy-drinking and chewing betels. The auspicious day for the celebration of marriage is also settled in consultation with the village astrologer.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIES.

Marriage celebration begins with the erection of the *chapra* or *pandal* with 12 poles, and the *halu kamba* is brought by one of their relatives, usually the maternal uncle of the girl. On the first day the ancestor worship is performed in the bridegroom's family. There is also a similar worship in the girl's family. On the second day, two married women, one from the boy's house and the other from the girl's, go to a tank, river or well, perform *Ganga puja*, and bring water in two new pots to which *pujas* are performed. On the third day, the *tāli*-tying by the husband takes place, and this forms the essential portion of the ceremony. The *tāli* consists of a necklace of black beads with a brass, silver or gold piece (*bottu*). The castemen assembled, are treated to a feast. On the fifth day, the bride is taken to the house of the bridegroom. The bride's party is asked to wait or stay at the boundary of the village or *devastānam*. At the auspicious hour, they are taken in procession to the boy's family where they are sumptuously entertained. For three days the bride's party stay in the boy's family, and they return to their family with the bridal pair. Here the bridegroom stays for a week or ten days, after which he returns home. Consummation takes place in the bride's family after three months.

On an auspicious day, fixed by the astrologer, the girl is bathed, dressed and decked out, *ostumayya* priest makes a red mark on the forehead. Some entertain the castemen on that day.

The following story is current among the Koramas, to account for the *tāli* or *bottu* being replaced by a string of black beads. Once upon a time a bridegroom forgot to bring the *tāli*, and he was told to procure the necessary piece of gold from a goldsmith. The parties waited and waited, but the young man did not return. Since then the string of beads has been used as a marriage badge. According to another story the *tāli* was prepared, and kept on the bank of the river, but disappeared before it was picked up. A man was sent to procure another, but did not come back.

CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH.

When a girl is pregnant, her mother goes to the girl's house, presents a jacket to the daughter, and after a sumptuous dinner there, the daughter is taken to her home. During the period of her pregnancy, her husband cannot take part in carrying a corpse, nor in a burial. After delivery, the mother is in confinement, and the pollution is observed for nine days. The naming ceremony takes place on the bathing day in consultation with the village astrologer or Dāsayya who, ascertaining the date and time of birth suggests a name. The castemen are treated to a feast on that day. The mother and the baby join the husband on the third, fifth or the seventh month.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl comes of age, she is lodged in a separate hut put up by the maternal uncle at a short distance in front of the house. The period of uncleanliness lasts for five days, during which she is fed with nourishing food. Formal bathing takes place on the morning of the sixth day, when she becomes clean. Women friends and relations are treated to a feast. The hut in which she has been kept under seclusion is removed to a distance from the village and destroyed.

POLYGAMY.

A man may have more than one wife. He may have a concubine also if he likes. A man can marry two sisters at different intervals. Widow marriage is current among them, and the formalities connected with it, are the same as in other corresponding castes.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE.

Customs connected with adultery and divorce are the same as in other castes. Adultery with a man of a lower caste leads to expulsion, but with one of the same or a higher caste,

A GROUP OF KORAMAS IN PROFILE.

she is punished with fine. A young man of the Uppara caste who committed adultery with a Korama girl was turned out of caste. She married a member of the Korama caste.

Tribal Organization.

The Koramas settle all disputes in their caste *Panchāyats*. They have their Gauda, Buddhivanta and Kolkar. The leading members assemble to adjudicate all caste disputes which are settled by fine or expulsion from caste in extreme cases. The fine levied is mostly spent in treating the assembled members with toddy. Outsiders are sometimes admitted to this caste.

Religion.

The Koramas worship *Antharaghattamma*, the so-called deity of the village. The tutelary goddess is *Yellamma* near Ajjampura. Hanuman is also their village deity. Some adore Tirupati Venkataramana. They observe the Gauri festival, Dipāvali, Kārthika Purnima and Āshad Ekādesi.

Funeral Customs.

The castemen bury their dead with the face looking upwards. Persons suffering from leprosy and other incurable diseases are generally burned. Pollution is observed for three days. On the third day, the chief mourner with his brothers and relatives goes to the place of burial, and makes offerings to the spirit of the dead, and pray to him not to molest. They are purified by a bath with a dose of sanctified water. The funeral feast falls on the 29th day when their castemen are treated to a feast.

Occupation.

Some profess to be cultivators, some make baskets. Some again continue the thieving propensities, and come under the Criminal Tribes Regulation No. VII of Mysore. They are under police control. Some are gang coolies along the railway line. At times they form a company for fishing and hare hunting.

Dietary of the Caste.

They eat the flesh of goat, sheep, wild fowl, fish, pigeon and peacock. Rice and ragi balls form the main article of food.

Social Status.

They eat the food of Brāhmans and Lingāyats, but not that of Holeyas, Mādigas, Agasa, Nāyinda, Muhammadans and Christians.

TAKKU ODDEN OR DONGA DASARIN OR GANTICHOR.

Takku Oddens are so called because of their cunning, false or deceitful nature and habits. In Mysore, they are known as Donga Dāsaris. They are not the religious mendicants of the Vaishnava sect, but receive their name from the fact that men and women disguise themselves as Dāsaris with Vaishnava marks on their foreheads, and carrying a lamp (*Garuda Kambam*) a gong of bell-metal, a small drum called *jagata*, and a tuft peacock feathers, go abegging in the villages, and are treated with sumptuous meals, including cakes, offered to them as disciples of Venkateswaralu.

"My friend, the late Pandit Natesa Sastri, gives an interesting account of the Donga Dāsari as follows. "They are the most dreaded of the criminal classes of the Bellary District. In the early years of their settlement in Bellary, these Donga Dāsaris were said to have practised kidnapping boys and girls of other castes to strengthen their number, and even now, as the practice stands, any person can become a Donga Dāsari though very few would like to become one. But for all that, the chief castes which furnished members to this brotherhood of robbery were the scum of the Lingayats and the Kabberas."

CONVERSION TO DONGA DASARI.

Other castemen who wish to enter the Donga Dāsari brotherhood are taken to the river side, where they are anointed with oil and bathed in the river water. They are dressed in new clothes, hold a council and give a feast. They burn the twig of a sami (*Prosopis specigera*), or margosa (*Melia Azadirachta*) tree, and slightly burn the tongue of the party who has joined them. Thus purified by the tongue-burning ceremony, they are entitled to seats in the general company, and allowed to take part in the feast.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNITY.

The Donga Dāsaris speak both Canarese and Telugu. They have only two *bedagus* or family names, called *Sunna Akki* (thin rice) and *Ghantelavaru* (Men of the bell). The latter is the family name of the Kabberas which proves that they have joined the Donga Dāsaris. Even now they marry the daughters of the Kabberas, but do not give their own daughters in marriage.

RELIGION.

Hanuman is their chief God. They also worship Venkatesa who is an incarnation of Vishnu. But in every one of their

A GROUP OF ODDER WOMEN, KAMASAMUDRAM.

villages, they have a temple dedicated to their village goddess *Huligavva* or *Ellamma*, to whom they sacrifice sheep or fowls. Vows are taken when their children fall ill. "Before starting for a thieving expedition the Donga Dāsaris take a vow, and perform ceremonies as follows: The gang proceed to a jungle near their village in the early part of the night, worship their goddess, *Ellamma*, and sacrifice a sheep or fowl before her. They place one of their turbans on the head of the sheep or fowl that is sacrificed, as soon as the head falls to the ground. If the turban turns to the right it is a good sign, the goddess having permitted them to proceed on their expedition; if to the left, they return home that night. Hanuman is also consulted on these expeditions, and the method adopted is as follows: They go to the Hanuman temple which is near the village, and after worshipping, garland him with a wreath of flowers. The garland hangs on both sides of the neck. If any flowers drop down on the right side first, it is considered as a permission by the God to start on plundering expeditions, and conversely, these expeditions are never undertaken if any flowers drop from the left side first. With these precautions, the Donga Dāsaris start on their thieving raids with their whole family, wife and children, along with them. They are great experts in house-breaking and theft, and children are taught thieving by their mothers, when they are five or six years old. The mother takes the boy or girl to the nearest market, and shows the child some cloth or vessel, and asks him to take it away. When he fails he is thrashed. When stroke upon stroke falls upon his back, the only reply he is taught to give is that he knows nothing. This is the reply which the child, when grown up to a man or woman, has to give to the police authorities, if he is caught in some crime and thrashed by them to confess. When the Donga Dāsaris are caught by the police, they give false names and false castes. They have a language of their own known only to themselves."

Dāsari women are very loose in their morals, and if one goes astray with a Brāhmin, Lingāyat, Kabbera, Uppāra or Rajput, her tongue is burned. Widow marriage is prevalent among them. They avoid beef and pork, but have no objection to eating other kinds of flesh.

The chief centres of the Dāsari gangs are at Mutupalli of the Cumbum Taluk, Kurnool District. They move all over the Madras Presidency, excepting the Tamil Districts. In the Nizam's Dominions, in the Central Provinces and in the Eastern districts of the Bombay Presidency they have some usual haunts in forests and hills, which they find to be convenient places of shelter.

Sometimes these spots are so situated that they can command a clear view of roads and paths for several miles in order to observe any officers coming towards them, and the spots are inaccessible to outsiders. It is known that they have been used for generations, and are littered with all kinds of pots, new and old, sheep's wool and horns, feathers, bones, etc., in large quantities.

THEIR OPERATIONS.

"They commit thefts, house-breaking, robberies and dacoities, and do not hesitate to commit murder, if necessary, to effect escape. Before starting on a predatory expedition, they select a convenient place and march straight to it in batches of 20 and 30 including women and children. While proceeding, they make themselves fully acquainted with the villages and different routes on the way, in order to avoid making enquiries about them on their return journey, when only they commit crimes The boys are let loose to commit petty thefts of fowl, sheep, etc. The old men and women go to the village during the day time, and reconnoitre the houses at their leisure on the pretext of offering beads, needles, etc. If dogs are kept in their house of selection, the boys are engaged to drug them on the evening of the day fixed to commit dacoity. The drug used is said to be a preparation of *dhatura* seeds and leaves mixed with food. Before going to the house for theft, they drink arrack or toddy, arm themselves with lathies, and each one keeps round his loins 40 or 50 good-sized stones. The drink serves to harden their feelings and make them bold and callous. Their mode of effecting an entrance into a house is to make a hole near the bolt which is then unfastened. On entering the house they first examine the boxes, and if they do not contain any valuable property, they ransack and search every nook and corner of the house, not excluding heaps of rubbish, husk or chaff. All the members of the gang do not simultaneously attack a single house, but they separate into batches of five or six, and each batch operates in different parts. Consequently when several thefts are reported in the same village in quick succession, the gang should always be suspected. Before starting on such an expedition the women and children are sent in advance to a selected place, and the different batches are instructed to collect there at the appointed time. When so ready, they do not wait for any absent member, but move on, leaving behind marks or signs indicating the direction they have taken for the information of the stragglers. The signs represented are arrows drawn on the earth by the foot. If any member is caught and

A GROUP OF GHATTI ODDENS.

traced to the gang, the members flatly disown him, the arrested man himself denies all connection with the gang. The gang avoids camping in the villages which they intend to loot. The dacoity they usually commit, is generally between 10 p.m. and midnight; they do not care whether it is moonlight or not."

"Once when a camp of Donga Dāsaris was searched, they got Rs. 253 and gold ornaments lost in several dacoities with the women, men being absent from the gang. They also found an ornament worth Rs. 100 from the private part of one of them. The women were all tried and convicted. These dacoit gangs who seem to have settled in some of the villages of the taluks of Dharwar, Nowgond, Hangal and Bankapur, talk Telugu like their brethren in the Madras Presidency, often arrange periodically to visit the Mysore Province especially the Tumkur District, passing through Anantapur and Bellary, and the Nizam's territory. Both men and women disguise themselves as Dāsaris with the usual Vaishnava marks on their foreheads, and carrying *garudakamba*, a gong of bell-metal, a small drum called *jagata*, and a tuft of peacock feather, go abegging in villages, and are sometimes well fed."

ADMISSION OF OUTSIDERS.

They admit men and women of all castes except Muhammadans and Pariahs into their community. Among some of these classes there are no marriage ceremonies at all. The mere congregation of men and women around the bride and bridegroom, and a formal worship by the pair of a deity set up for the occasion constitute a marriage. They then treat themselves to a hearty meal and drink. The widows and divorced women can marry in the same or neighbouring gang without any compunction.

ABSENCE OF MEN FROM CAMP.

It is interesting to note that men do not reside with women during day time. They meet at night in the jungles. The men cannot all be got at, by the police. When women are asked about the whereabouts of their husbands, they unhesitatingly say that they have deserted them. Very often the village officials connive at their crimes, more through fear than through any other monetary consideration. It is next to impossibility to recover the stolen property from the men. It is only by watching carefully their habitual receivers, that the property can be recovered. The receivers and the women travel by trains soon after a crime, but alight at two or three stations in advance of theirs, and travel by foot to their camp with the property.

ODDEN.

The Oddens or Voddens are described as being the tank-diggers, well-sinkers, road-makers. They live in detached settlements building their huts in conical or bee-hive forms with only a low door for entrance. They work in gangs on contract, and every one except the very old and very young has a share in the work. They are largely employed in the Public Works Department, and in the construction and maintenance of railways. They eat every kind of animal food, especially pork and field rats. In Mysore, the caste divides itself into two main divisions, namely, Kallu Oddens, and Mannu Oddens, between whom there is no social intercourse of any kind or intermarriage (*vide* Vodda, Vol. IV).

We are here mainly concerned with their criminal habits. They are brought under criminal tribes. They came under my observation and study at Bhadrāvati Iron Works, Kāmasamudram and a few other localities. They are called Ghatti Oddens at Bhadravati, and Mannu Oddens at Kāmasamudram, and Bowringpet. Those of the tribes who have adopted criminal habits are skilful burglars, and robbers. Some belong to the stone-cutter class. By going about under the pretence of mending grind-stones they get much useful information as to the houses to be looted or parties of travellers to be attacked. In committing a highway robbery or dacoity, they are always armed with stout sticks. Burglary may be traced to them, when careful observations are made of the breach in the wall. The implement is usually the crowbar used by them in their profession as stone workers and the blunt marks of the crowbar are noticeable. They never confess nor implicate another in the fraternity. If one of them should be accused of a crime, the women are most clamorous, and inflict personal injuries on themselves and their childern to prevent the police from doing their duty, and then accuse them of torture.

Women and children belonging to criminal gangs are experts in committing grain thefts from threshing floors where they are engaged during harvest time, and also in stealing their neighbour's poultry. Stolen property is seldom found with them. Their receivers are legion; but they favour liquor shop-keepers in the vicinity of their encampment. Instances have been known of valuable jewellery being exchanged for a few drams of arrack. There is always a headman in each Odden community who receives two shares of the spoil. Identifiable property is changed at once. Many of the Oddens are able to melt gold and silver jewellery which they dispose of for about one-tenth of the value.

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A GROUP OF ODDENS IN THEIR USUAL COSTUME.

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